

Archival Memory Systems: The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and Latin America

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In the six decades following the end of World War II, only twenty percent of Holocaust-era records had been analyzed, according to the late distinguished scholar Raul Hilberg.¹ Considering the proliferation of books, journal articles, and academic programs in Holocaust studies, this figure seems shockingly low, but when we consider the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's archival holdings from Latin America and Spain, we are reminded of the unclaimed histories these archives hold, for few scholars have pursued studying these in earnest. Diplomatic correspondence, records of concentration camps, Jewish communities, businesses and institutions, newspaper articles, texts from private collections of individuals, and more from Latin America and Spain, speak to the tremendous amount of material that is forgotten, and the history that is forgotten with them.

The Museum holds over 170 million paper documents of Holocaust-era records, though this figure does not include its oral histories, photos, historical footage, artifacts, art, and other primary sources.² The scope of this article cannot convey the implications of each archive from Spain and the Americas, for these holdings are vast and growing; however, by examining a select sample, we can begin to appreciate the avenues the Museum provides for Latin American scholarship. We acknowledge the urgency to rescue the evidence, and we begin to imagine how the Museum's archives can provide memory systems inside and outside its permanent exhibition space that hold the potential to expand the knowledge of Spain and Latin America for a more nuanced, complicated,

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and accurate historiography beyond one-sided beliefs about nation states in the Ibero-American world.³

Latin America as Refuge: The *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Wien* (IKG; Jewish Community Vienna) Archive and the David Glick Collection

Scaling one wall on the Museum's fourth floor, its sheer size and grandiose detail compel Museum visitors to contemplate the chart of forced emigration created by Adolph Eichmann's Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Vienna. The chart, *Die Jüdische Wanderung aus der Ostmark*, is a visual aid to the pointillistic and dilatory process of expulsion Viennese Jews faced in Austria after the March 1938 *Anschluss*. It is but one document from the stunning discovery of multiple wooden cabinets and 800 boxes in a building owned by Vienna's Jewish Community. This discovery in the year 2000 of the IKG records yielded 500,000 Holocaust-era documents detailing the final years of the Viennese Jews, and they are now available in the museum for exploration.⁴ The forced emigration chart alone can be viewed for the layers of meaning it portended for emigration to Latin America from 1938 to 1941, most prominently the high percentage of doctors, lawyers, and other advanced-degreed professionals in the Viennese Jewish community, the antithesis to the agricultural workers most Latin American countries sought. Most significantly, the chart dictates the process that turned the Viennese Jewish community into what historians Jürgen Matthäus and Mark Roseman call "a laboratory for what German policy planners saw as a promising model of violent and enforced emigration."⁵

Thus, the IKG archive is a conduit for understanding the perplexities faced by those emigrating from the Third Reich to Latin America. In addition to records such as the forced emigration chart, the IKG archive holds request forms of those who applied to the Viennese Jewish community for assistance to immigrate to Latin America. Among them is the request of Heinrich Weisinger, who was sent to Dachau and Buchenwald after the *Anschluss*, and with the aid of the IKG fled Austria on the *SS Koenigstein*, the ship whose passengers were ultimately allowed to disembark in Venezuela in early 1939 after being turned away from Barbados and British Guyana. Cross-referencing Weisinger's information in the IKG records with the documentary film, *Caribia and Koenigstein: Los Barcos de la Esperanza*,⁶ which features Weisinger's testimony, and contrasting it with information from the David Glick report on the treatment of the *Koenigstein* passengers upon arrival in Venezuela, divulges a discrepancy in the documentary's salutary tone toward the refugees' new country.⁷ The acceptance and aftermath of the *Koenigstein* passengers' treatment are more deeply complex than the film

depicts. This further confirms the need for more scholarly research in the Museum's archives regarding the true reception and treatment of Jewish refugees before and after their arrival in Latin America, and how these factors impacted future decisions to accept more refugees.

One collection signals how the United States was reluctant to accept refugees and supported Latin America as a preferred destination for European Jewry. Donated to the Museum in 2004, the David Glick collection contains written records and film footage detailing the 1939 visit by Pittsburgh attorney Glick and Friedrich Borchardt, the former managing director of the *Reichsvertretung* in Germany, as representatives of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), to eleven South American countries. Concerned by refugees' complaints of a lack of interest regarding their welfare in their new countries, the JDC sent Glick and Borchardt to signal its support of refugees' "special social and economic adjustment" and to "do what we can to establish closer ties of friendship and solidarity" with South American nations, a reference to the Roosevelt administration's Good Neighbor Policy.⁸

Through succinct descriptions of each of the countries visited, the report stimulates new thought and consideration of South America as a refuge and the influence of the United States in the issue. It measures the challenges—sociological and economic—faced by each country, the capabilities and limitations of each country's established Jewish communities to provide aid, and an assessment of each country's ability to absorb and support further European Jewish immigration. From interviews with members of the local Jewish communities, the report crystallizes the ongoing historical schism between established Eastern European and Sephardic Jewish communities—Glick writes that "especially in South America, the cleavage between these two groups is very marked and noticeable"⁹—with the arrival of Central European Jews creating an uneasy triumvirate. While scholars may perceive that Glick's affiliation with the JDC had jaundiced his views of HICEM,¹⁰ the report gathers evidence of the polemical nature of local HICEM officials, and it ultimately advocates that the HICEM office in Paris be "more completely informed concerning the situation in South America."¹¹ In short, the report depicts a continent that is often contradictory, at times corrupt, and in dire financial straits to adequately aid refugees, but that is nonetheless worthy of the JDC's financial support because the refugees continue to suffer yet have no other options for flight, especially as the war was commencing while Glick was submitting his final proposal for aid.

The twenty-four minutes of amateur moving images in the Glick collection contain no audio, yet the film yields a stunning historic visual record by capturing the foreign topography that South America offered European Jews. The images also reinforce the primacy of multiple perspectives, for they depart from the

normative characteristics of Jewish life in European settings. Contained in the Museum's Steven Spielberg Film and Video Archive, the film depicts, in color and in black and white, the Andes, open fruit markets, llamas, dilapidated homes, intricate Spanish architecture, palm trees, bullfights, and the day-to-day life and interactions between the refugees and the native indigenous populations.¹² A scholar can surmise the dissonant feelings among the refugees, that they were strangers in a strange land, in awe and wonder of their new world but more often than not at serious odds with the exotic settings. Invariably, these images afford some comfort in what the images do not show, and through the knowledge that hindsight brings: despite the discordant nature of life in their new countries, the refugees probably escaped the annihilation that destroyed the loved ones and the culture they left behind.

Archives from Spain and Argentina

The Kingdom of Spain opened its Holocaust-era archives when it joined the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research (ITF)¹³ in 2004, but the Museum's International Archival Programs Division (IAPD) began acquiring Spanish records years before. These archives deserve analysis for they carry the potential to shift the knowledge base from earlier published works about Spain during the Nazi era. While Chaim Lipschitz's book, *Franco, Spain, the Jews, and the Holocaust*,¹⁴ exalted Francisco Franco as a rescuer of European Jews, other research by Haim Avni¹⁵ and Stanley Payne,¹⁶ among others, paint multifarious realities which call for more analysis. These acquisitions, upon further study, can magnify our understanding of Spain as rescuer and haven, way station for flight, and country of internment.

Records of the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1936 through 1946 unearth Jewish emigration issues and relief agency activities regarding Jewish refugees from Spain and other countries. Spain's relationship with Sephardic Jews who saw Spain as a spiritual homeland can be unpacked in this collection to determine how Spain's purported diplomatic stance to protect its brethren whom it had expelled nearly 500 years earlier extends far enough to save them from probable death in the twentieth century.¹⁷ Diplomatic and consular correspondence from 1939 through 1963 addresses Jews who sought asylum in Spain or those who saw Spain as a transit for escaping Nazi persecution. These records provide a deeper understanding of Spanish nationals and the Central and Eastern European Jews and Latin Americans who fought alongside them in the Spanish Civil War. Spanish consulate activity in Marseilles regarding opponents of the Franco regime, among them Spanish Jews who fled to France, can be

researched, as these veterans of the Spanish Civil War became part of the Nazi vortex upon France's occupation in 1940.¹⁸

The previously mentioned archives also lay bare a contrary view of Spain not as haven and corridor but as internment, a trope not widely portrayed in earlier scholarship. A critical evaluation of Spain's internment of refugees can be undertaken by examining the previously mentioned archives and by using the Museum's list of names from Miranda de Ebro.¹⁹ The central facility for male foreign prisoners, Miranda de Ebro's variegated categories of prisoners—members of the International Brigades captured during the Spanish Civil War, foreigners who illegally entered Spain, German military personnel and collaborators, and a small number of foreign Jews—prompt questions about the relationship of the Spanish Civil War to Nazi aggression in World War II. These memory systems also raise questions about the treatment of prisoners according to the categories under which they fell.²⁰ Thus, the answers to where Spain's sympathies rested during the Holocaust are heterogeneous and address multiple perspectives. The scope of these archives is justification for sustained scrutiny, so that the answers are not left to lie dormant, and so that we begin to understand how a seemingly neutral Spanish presence impacted the lives of millions.

Excellent research and publications in Latin American Jewish contexts have shown that the categorization of Spain solely as a perpetrator haven is false. The Museum's archives further dislodge this tendentious perception of a monolithic response to the Holocaust that has obscured the survivors' perspective and many other perspectives. Of the Museum's archives from Latin American countries, the largest holdings are, not surprisingly, from Argentina; these records are a forceful expression of Argentina's dynamic Jewish presence that stretches back to decades before the Nazi rise to power and that remains one of the most vibrant today. Moreover, the records accentuate the Argentine government's actions and presence in pre- and post-war Europe. What responses did the Argentine diplomatic corps provide to European Jews seeking to emigrate? How did Argentine national politics interact with national Jewish concerns? What were the "push-pull-push back" factors that impacted post-war Jewish immigration to Argentina?²¹ And, not least, how did survivors in Argentina rebuild their lives?

Confidential government records from 1933 through 1955 reveal the government's tone toward Jewish immigration, legal and illegal, to Argentina and other Latin American countries. Included in the *Secretos y Reservados* files are documents detailing Jewish union workers and leftist politicians who were perceived as "anti-Argentine."²² The Ministry of Foreign Affairs' records from 1938 through 1945 highlight individual cases and confidential consular correspondence across Argentine embassies in Europe. One unique record, for example, relates to attacks on Argentine nationals in the Third Reich during the November pogrom

of 1938.²³ This prompts more research on Argentine nationals, Jewish or not, in Europe and the responses of diplomats to aid them. These records alone bear a depth too expansive to be examined here, yet this heightens the Museum's reputation as a centralized institution for such scholarship to percolate.

On a personal level, the Argentine archives add individual voices to the collective experience by portraying Holocaust survivors in their post-war lives. The acquisition of the *Comunidad NCI-Emmanuel*, which was founded as *Nueva Comunidad Israelita* in Buenos Aires in 1939 by a rabbi who had been imprisoned at the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, provides documents of milestone occasions of the German Jewish refugee community. Detailing sixty years of Jewish life, this archive includes vital records of births, bar/bat mitzvahs, weddings, and funerals.²⁴ If the Comunidad NCI archive marks Jewish life's normative milestones, the José Moskovits case files of the 1950s through 2007 identify a new tumult of survivors' post-war experience: restitution claims. A Holocaust survivor and lawyer in Buenos Aires, Moskovits allowed reproduction of his archive as part of an IAPD project in partnership with the Fundación IWO. The archive consists of case files of hundreds of Holocaust survivors living in South America, including their testimonies, affidavits, and other legal documents and correspondence.²⁵ These documents, combined with the diplomatic records, salvage all these personal stories as integral scholarship in explicating Argentina's diverse responses to the Holocaust and its place in post-war immigration studies.

The most diverse, and most profound, archival project that the IAPD is undertaking is the digitization of survivor archives from the *Centro de Documentación e Información sobre Judaísmo Argentino* "Marc Turkow," housed at the AMIA building.²⁶ What gives it so many shades of meaning is that it constitutes a "double" rescuing of the evidence. First, it rescues the voices of the survivors from the Holocaust itself to balance the perpetrator perspective. The archive's other shade of meaning is that it was rescued from the tragic attack on July 18, 1994, that claimed eighty-five innocent lives. For the Museum to hold this memory system fittingly binds the Museum to the present of Latin American memory, to the larger geo-history of the Holocaust, and to the literal doorstep of the deadliest act of anti-Semitism in the Americas since World War II. As historians Matthäus and Roseman affirm, such records "rescue the diversity and individuality... of women, men, and children whom their tormentors tried to treat as the faceless, undifferentiated 'Jew.'"²⁷

The Victims of Nazi Persecution: The Anthony Acevedo Collection and the Records of the International Tracing Service

Understanding who the victims of Nazi persecution were challenges scholars to look at the Museum beyond a one-dimensional and simplistic view. To be sure, European Jews were the primary victims and the archives related to them represent most of the Museum's holdings. Yet other unique memory systems disclose an amalgam of victims whose backgrounds gave no indication that they would one day become targets of Nazi persecution. The Museum honors as survivors and victims "any persons, Jewish or non-Jewish, who were displaced, persecuted, or discriminated against due to the racial, religious, ethnic, social, and political policies of the Nazis and their collaborators between 1933 and 1945."²⁸ Through this definition, the Anthony Acevedo collection expands the normative survivor paradigm while addressing the Museum's growing Latino audience, an audience that interacts with the Museum through its memory systems of educational programs and its web site as well as its strong presence among visitors to the physical space.

The collection is significant for many reasons, not least of which is that it is the first original material received from and about Berga an der Elster, a satellite camp of Buchenwald, one of the largest concentration camps that is located five miles outside of Weimar in east-central Germany. Serving as a medic for the 275th Infantry Regiment of the 70th Infantry Division, Acevedo was captured at the Battle of the Bulge and taken to a prison camp known as Stalag IX-B in Bad Orb, Germany. He was later selected as one of 350 US soldiers transferred to Berga, some of whom were chosen because they were Jewish, had Jewish-sounding names, or were thought to "look" Jewish. Acevedo survived a three-week death march and was liberated on April 23, 1945.²⁹ As Acevedo is the US-born son of Mexican immigrants, the collection is the first received from a Mexican-American who followed his parents to Durango, Mexico, upon their deportation from California in 1937, only to be drafted for service in the US Army in 1942.

Contained in the collection is Acevedo's diary, the first such chronicle donated to the Museum that is written by an American in captivity, as Acevedo began writing in his diary after he was sent to Berga. Acevedo's diary crafts an historical record that depicts fragments of the daily life, treatment, and in many cases, the deaths in Berga of American victims of the Holocaust. With precision, Acevedo registers the names of his deceased fellow prisoners and the causes of their deaths while simultaneously sketching scenes of prisoner abuse and a death march. At the same time, his diary is his coping arsenal to counteract the camp's brutality; he fills pages with his original art of beautiful women and architec-

ture, and his March 24, 1945, diary entry alternates between despair and hope as he writes that “another of our boys dies last night from mal-nutrition,” [sic] while noting that it is Palm Sunday, a day that “reminded me of the hundreds of people attending mass at the Cathedral in Durango, Mexico.” This reflection is a reminder that Acevedo’s pre-war life was situated firmly in Mexico due to his parents’ deportation, as the full collection unmasks tensions not uncommon for minorities fighting for a country that practiced segregation toward them while enlisting them to fight a racist state overseas.

The Acevedo collection demonstrates that the Museum does not focus solely on the Jewish survivor paradigm. Scholarly inquiry of the collection further unveils the history of the American Jewish prisoners of Berga, a history that was muted for decades after Acevedo and his fellow American prisoners were forced to sign affidavits holding them to not speak of their experiences; they only spoke out sixty years after their liberation.³⁰ While donating his collection to the Museum in October 2010, Anthony Acevedo registered as the first non-Jewish, Mexican-American survivor with the Museum’s Benjamin and Vladka Meed Registry of Holocaust Survivors. This critical fact, among other facts that were revealed by studying the Acevedo collection, elucidates an understudied aspect of World War II’s impact: the role of Latinos as war loomed, during the war, as witness and liberator, and, through Acevedo’s account, as victims of Nazi racial policies. The collection draws attention to Latino veterans’ reception upon their homecoming, one that was often beset by denial of their contributions to the nation’s welfare. The theme of denial, pervasive in Holocaust historiography, is fomented in Acevedo’s biography, yet it would be unfair to focus attention solely on this theme. The Acevedo story is imbued with themes from the larger Latino experience—immigration, commitment to family and religion, a desire to attain the American Dream and be part of the American experience—that is equally part of the Jewish survivor narrative in the United States.

As historical bookends to the Spanish and Latin American records, pre- and post-war European archives prevail upon any study of flight and post-war immigration to the Ibero-American world. We have seen how records such as the IKG encouraged Austrian Jews to seek refuge in Latin America in light of the *Anschluss*. Yet the most significant focus is on more than 150 million documents of the International Tracing Service (ITS),³¹ the largest closed Holocaust archive until 2007. The Museum is the United States repository for accessing these records and more are expected to be received soon. Chaos, loss of lives, devastation, displacement—ITS documents report these consequences of war that affected millions of individuals, the majority of whom are not Jewish, who appear in the records, and the massive challenges these consequences posed for the Allied nations in negotiating the survivors’ futures. Exposing significant

factors of post-war displacement, ITS records belie the notion that the world assuaged the survivors' trauma by providing easier passages for their emigration. An inspection of its documents excavates further consequences of war: Spanish and Latin American victims of Nazi persecution, how Latin American citizens factored into survival in Nazi-run camps, and why these nationals were in the camps in the first place. These records cross-reference the Spanish and Argentine archives highlighted earlier, shedding light on the critical intersection between Latin America and the European conflicts that reshaped the world in the twentieth-century.

Among the seventeen and a half million individuals whose information is contained in the ITS, the records of Spanish and Latin American nationals serve as a lens for understanding the mosaic of victims, just as the Acevedo collection does. A list of names from the Bergen Belsen concentration camp delineates its foreign national prisoners, and we should question whether some were truly of Latin American nationality, as stated, and what this implied for survival.³² Records of relief agencies also substantiate how the ITS supports Latin American scholarly interests; for example, the International Refugee Organization forms depict information on Yoachim Kallweit, a Chilean Jew from Calama, Chile, who "lived" in the Stutthof Concentration Camp between November 1942 and March 1945. His trajectory from 1936 to February 1948 appears on the forms with his requests to return to Chile, where his uncle still lived.³³ Did his Chilean nationality spare him from deportation to the deadliest killing centers in the East? What was the repatriation process for returning to Chile, and where did Mr. Kallweit finally settle?

ITS documents confirm the Museum's centrality to deconstructing and thus understanding survivors' journeys to Latin America years after the war's end. This spotlights a strand of the Diaspora in Latin America: post-war immigration. We examine the post-war record of Gertrude Mangel, born in Kassa, Hungary, from age twelve, when she entered Auschwitz's Block 9 in November 1944.³⁴ But for the timing of her arrival, Gertrude might have been one of nearly 500,000 Hungarian Jews murdered under German occupation. And but for the April 2011 visit to the Museum by high school students from Caracas, Gertrude's arc might have remained uninvestigated by Museum staff. The students sought information on one Trudi Spira, né Gertrude Mangel, who recently spoke at their school and who moved from Israel to Venezuela in 1980. Her oral testimony, recorded in 1997 by the USC Shoah Foundation Institute,³⁵ is a companion source to her ITS forms, as the Museum is a repository for the Institute's more than 52,000 interviews that in-house and visiting scholars are utilizing with increasing frequency.³⁶

The opening of the ITS archive was the result of complicated international wrangling in which the Museum prevailed in its insistence that after sixty years,

survivors and those who lost family in the Holocaust had waited too long to learn how their loved ones suffered and died in Nazi-occupied Europe.³⁷ This victory over a morass of diplomatic struggle ruptured many long-held beliefs about the victims, their perpetrators, the organizations that provided aid, and those who populated the sidelines. ITS documents offer no simple answers to the ramifications of the Holocaust and its intersections, but they are a start for the survivors, the families of those who did not survive, and for those who seek to trace this history's complex ties to Spain and Latin America.

A sample of the Museum's archives reflects the fact that the Holocaust and the role of Latin America are irreducible to single and simplistic perspectives, a view that demands expert consideration as the Museum seeks to expand, diversify, and engage its audience. While the Museum does not, and should not, convey the Holocaust's comprehensive geographic sweep in its permanent exhibition, its purview is not confined to one exhibition space and its consequent limitations, but is rather heightened by the methodologies and authentic research Latin American studies can contribute. The Museum's programs that support emergent scholarship have produced unprecedented corpora of knowledge on regions once unexplored. Investigating the Museum's fertile documentary evidence can shift Latin America from the periphery of Holocaust memory to a place that is closer to the center.³⁸

NOTES

- * The views expressed are the author's alone and do not necessarily represent those of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum or any other organization.
- 1 *Founding the Field of Holocaust Studies: The Scholarship of Raul Hilberg*. Roundtable; 10 December 2007; United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC.
- 2 This does not include digital collections such as the International Tracing Service archive.
- 3 Edward Linenthal uses the term *memory systems* to denote temporary exhibitions, archives, educational programs that can include topics that were not included in the permanent exhibition. Edward Linenthal, *Preserving Memory: The Struggle to Create America's Holocaust Museum* (New York: Penguin Books, 1997), 250.
- 4 "A Nation's Lost Holocaust History, Now on Display," *New York Times*, 2 June 2007: B7. See also "Preserving and Rebuilding the Archive of the Jewish Community Vienna," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Web Page: www.ushmm.org/research/center/acquisitions/details/vienna/.
- 5 Jürgen Matthäus and Mark Roseman, *Jewish Responses to Persecution, Volume I, 1933-1938* (Lanham, Maryland: Altamira Press, 2010), xiv.
- 6 Elisabeth Mundlak, *Caribia y Koenigstein: los barcos de la esperanza* (Genius Productions, 2000); this documentary film is in the library of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

- 7 See David Glick Collection, RG-60.4308 to RG-60.4311; Steven Spielberg Film and Video Archive, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collections Division.
- 8 Allen S. Hepner, "Rescue and Resettlement: Thousands Saved from Nazi Germany," *Details of David Glick's Private Mission to Save German Jews (1939)*. Copyright 2003. Bound Report in David Glick Collection; "Report on Jewish Refugee Problems in Central and South America," 20 July 1939, 1.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 HICEM was formed with the merger of three Jewish migration associations: HIAS (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society), which was based in New York; ICA (Jewish Colonization Association), which was based in Paris but registered as a British charitable society; and Emigdirect, a migration organization based in Berlin. The name HICEM is an acronym of HIAS, ICA, and Emigdirect.
- 11 Hepner 2003.
- 12 David Glick Collection, RG-60.4308 to RG-60.4311; Tapes 2701-2704; MS 4L-5-4 (20050629); Steven Spielberg Film and Video Archive, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.
- 13 The Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research is an intergovernmental body whose purpose is to "place political and social leaders' support behind the need for Holocaust education, remembrance, and research both nationally and internationally." Founded in 1998, its members number twenty-eight states, including Spain and Argentina. Membership is open to all countries, and members must be "committed to the implementation of national policies and programs in support of Holocaust education, remembrance, and research. The governments comprising the Task Force agree on the importance of encouraging all archives, both public and private, to make their holdings on the Holocaust more widely accessible." See www.holocaust-taskforce.org.
- 14 Chaim Lipschitz, *Franco, Spain, the Jews, and the Holocaust* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc. 1984).
- 15 Haim Avni, *Spain, the Jews, and Franco* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1982), 2-3. In his book, Avni refutes Lipschitz's claim that 60,000 European Jews were rescued during the Holocaust, many through General Francisco Franco's personal intervention.
- 16 Stanley G. Payne, *Franco and Hitler: Spain, Germany, and World War II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 232-233. Payne posits that any documents made available by the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs for scholarly study, during Franco's lifetime and immediately after, were chosen for their bias in favor of the General. Further complicating the role of Franco and Spain's diplomacy is the unearthing in 2010 of a 1941 census purported to contain the names and information of 6,000 foreign Jews living in Spain. This list was reportedly given to Heinrich Himmler by Franco's head of security, José Finat Escrivá de Romani, at Himmler's request. See "El regalo de Franco para Hitler," *El País*, 20 June 2010.
- 17 Among the records I examined are two diplomatic memos describing efforts to protect Sephardic Jews in Europe, particularly in France and Romania, and also those who lived in French territories in North Africa as well as Sephardic Jews of Salonica; 1942-1944.

- RG-36.002M, Acc. 2002.334, Reel 1, File #8901. Source: *Archivo General de Administración, Madrid*. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collections Division.
- 18 Records and Names Registers of the Miranda de Ebro Concentration Camp, Archivo General Militar de Guadalajara, RG-36.002M, Acc. 2002.334, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collections Division, Archives Branch.
- 19 Reel 1, File 1. "Spanish Prison Life Described," *Brooklyn Tablet*, 12 June 1943. This account is from Eli Rubin, a well-known Austrian Jewish writer who was held at Miranda de Ebro and who claimed to have seen no evidence of anti-Semitism at the camp.
- 20 Reel 1, File 1. "Spanish Prison Life Described," *Brooklyn Tablet*, 12 June 1943. This account is from Eli Rubin, a well-known Austrian Jewish writer who was held at Miranda de Ebro and who claimed to have seen no evidence of anti-Semitism at the camp.
- 21 Author interview with Dr. Sandra McGee Deutsch, El Paso, TX, 19 April 2011. The phrase is taken from Dr. Sandra McGee Deutsch's paper, "Jewish Immigration to Argentina: Were the Late 1940s a Turning Point?," in which she examines factors that impacted Jewish immigration to Argentina and Brazil in the post-war years. The author thanks Dr. Deutsch for permission to reference this article.
- 22 RG-72.008M, Box 20. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collections Division, Archives Branch.
- 23 El Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores de Argentina, 1938-1945. RG-72.002M, Acc. 2004.319, Folder 4, #26. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collections Division, Archives Branch.
- 24 Comunidad NCI-Emmanuel, Buenos Aires. RG-72.007M. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collections Division, Archives Branch.
- 25 Estudio José Moskovits, Uriburu 272 PB, 2, Buenos Aires. RG-72.006M. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collections Division.
- 26 Author interview with Anatol Steck, Project Director, International Archives Programs Division, Washington, DC, 17 March 2009 and 23 March 2011; Author interview with Samanta Casareto, Contractor for South America, International Archives Programs Division, Buenos Aires, 1 September 2009.
- 27 Jürgen Matthäus and Mark Roseman, *Jewish Responses to Persecution, Volume I, 1933-1938* (Lanham, Maryland: Altamira Press, 2010), 276.
- 28 See <http://www.ushmm.org/research/collections/resourcecenter/>. In addition to who the Museum honors as a survivor, it is suggested that one be familiar with how the Museum defines the Holocaust, which is "the state-sponsored, systematic persecution and annihilation of European Jewry by Nazi Germany and its collaborators between 1933 and 1945. Jews were the primary victims—six million were murdered; Gypsies, the handicapped and Poles were also targeted for destruction or decimation for racial, ethnic, or national reasons. Millions more, including homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, Soviet prisoners of war and political dissidents, also suffered grievous oppression and death under Nazi tyranny." This definition can be found at <http://www.ushmm.org/museum/mission/>.
- 29 Acc. 2010.440, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection Division, Art and Artifacts Branch. The author thanks Kyra Schuster, Curator, Art and Artifacts Branch, for providing a transcript of the Acevedo diary as well as PDF scans of Antony Acevedo's diary. Anthony Acevedo's oral history contains the facts of his life included here. For

- more on his donation, see <http://act.ushmm.org/index.php/tony?tr=y&auid=7258886>. CNN's story on Acevedo in 2008 alerted the Museum to his story and his diary. After two years, Acevedo donated his collection to the Museum. CNN covered the donation. For the coverage, see story " 'You Don't Forget': Medic's Holocaust Diary Tells Story of Hell," by Wayne Drash, CNN, 28 October 2010, <http://www.cnn.com/2010/LIVING/10/28/acevedo.holocaust.soldier/index.html>.
- 30 An elaboration of this appears in two published accounts of the treatment of the survivors of Berga and the family members of those who died, when they attempted to learn what became of the camp's German commanders, Erwin Metz and Ludwig Merz, whose death sentences were commuted and who served only a few years in prison before being released. Both books detail the Cold War's impact on denying the Berga survivors compensation or acknowledgment of what they endured in Berga. The survivors were finally recognized in late 2008. Quotes from Anthony Acevedo's diary appear in *Soldiers and Slaves: American POWs Trapped by the Nazis' Final Gamble*, and CNN's web site contains a handful of links to Acevedo's story and the story of the American troops who were imprisoned there. A slide show of the diary is also viewable on CNN's web site: <http://www.cnn.com/2009/US/06/09/berga.recognition.btsc/index.html?iref=allsearch#cnnSTCOther1>.
To read the US War Department's statement for commuting the sentences of the camp commanders, go to: <http://www.cnn.com/2009/US/06/09/berga.recognition.btsc/index.html?iref=allsearch#cnnSTCOther2>.
To see CNN's special film on Anthony Acevedo and his diary, go to: <http://www.cnn.com/video/#/video/us/2010/10/27/natpkg.holocaust.survivor.cnn?iref=allsearch>
Roger Cohen, *Soldiers and Slaves: American POWs Trapped by the Nazis' Final Gamble* (New York: Albert Knopf, 2005).
Flint Whitlock, *Given Up for Dead: American GI's in the Nazi Concentration Camp at Berga* (New York: Basic Books, 2005).
- 31 See the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's web page on the ITS: <http://www.ushmm.org/museum/exhibit/focus/its/faq/>; to learn more about the ITS in Arolsen, Germany, its mission and history, please see http://www.its-arolsen.org/en/about_its/index.html.
- 32 General Information on Bergen Belsen Concentration Camp, KL Bergen Belsen, daily reports concerning nationality groups, arrival and departures, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, International Tracing Service Collection 3394123.
- 33 "Application for Assistance PCIRO," 16 October 1947, as in IRO "Care and Maintenance" Program. CM/1 Files Originating in Germany, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, International Tracing Service Collection, 3.2.1.1, folder K01301, Documents No. 79252191 and 70252192.
- 34 "Prisoner Release Names List," Auschwitz Incarceration Records, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, International Tracing Service Collection, Document No. 818450. Post War Cover Page: "Children (Predominantly Twins) in Block A: December 1939-12 November 1944," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, International Tracing Service Collection, Document No. 534074.

- 35 Trudy Mangel de Spira, 1996. Interview by USC Shoah Foundation Institute, Caracas, Venezuela, 7 April. Interview Code 13948, Tapes 1-7. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.
- 36 For more on the USC Shoah Foundation Institute, see <http://dornsife.usc.edu/vhi/aboutus/>.
- 37 Paul Shapiro, the Museum's Director for the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, was a leading figure at the Museum who advocated and worked for several years to open the ITS. His efforts have been mentioned in various magazines, newspapers, and television programs. See Paul Shapiro, "History Held Hostage," *Reform Judaism*, Winter 2009. <http://reformjudaismmag.org/Articles/index.cfm?id=1531>.
See also "Putting Holocaust Victims' Names to Numbers Remains Daunting 60 Years Later," Associated Press, 10 February 2007; "Documents from Vast Nazi Archive to be Made Available to Scholars," *New York Times*, 16 May 2007; also "D.C., Jerusalem Museums Given Huge Nazi Archive," *Washington Post*, 22 August 2007; "Hitler's Secret Archive," *60 Minutes*, CBS, 17 December 2006. <http://www.cbsnews.com/video/watch/?id=2972691n&tag=contentBody;storyMediaBox>.
- 38 The Museum's Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies offers substantial support for scholars to conduct research of the Museum's archives for sustained periods of time. The Visiting Scholars Program, Silberman, Hess, and Seminary and Religious Studies Seminars, International Summer Research Workshops, International Tracing Service programs, and other opportunities for research at the Museum. For more information, go to <http://www.ushmm.org/research/center/>.