Elizabeth Bernstein RHCS 350 Rhetoric in a Globalized World Dr. Barney Rhetorical Analysis December 8, 2022

Acting as a conduit for knowledge, the media has and continues to contribute to the construction of history. Media coverage of a story can influence both public opinion and reaction. During World War II, newsreels, radio broadcasts, newspapers, and magazines all contributed to how Americans perceived the outside world. The years 1933 through 1945 marked the Holocaust era, when six million European Jews were subjected to systematic, state-sponsored persecution and murder by the Nazi German government and its allies and accomplices. While there was a vast amount of coverage during this time, the United States' top priority was to stay out of this war, leading many Americans to dismiss claims of Jewish oppression as propaganda to provoke the U.S. into war. Within newspapers, these stories, if published at all, were often buried and inconvenient to find. When it came to newspapers, the placement of stories played a huge role in what information would be consumed by the reader.

Prior to 1944, when the *Washington Post* introduced the new word "genocide" to the United States, any story on the holocaust was found under the massive "World War" listing or scattered under individual country headings. Due to almost all those stories appearing deep inside newspapers, it was exceedingly difficult to obtain this information. There was also a tendency to downplay reports of antisemitic brutality and Nazi cruelty within the media. Many believe news organizations complied with the United States government, as the government did not highlight the war's impact on Jews and kept news of the inhumane acts hidden. Beginning in 1933 through the major events of the Evian Conference, Kristallnacht, the "Final Solution" and concluding with the liberation in 1945, this paper examines media and government responses of

the news from Germany in the United States that deeply underscored the gravity of the Holocaust, clouding American's perceptions of the Nazi war against the Jews and reinforcing public confusion, doubt, and shock.

The Holocaust began in January 1933 when Adolf Hitler was appointed chancellor and the Nazi party came to power in Germany. The Nazi German government immediately prohibited Jews from participating in German economic, political, social, and cultural life. Numerous antisemitic measures were established including discriminatory laws, which "drew directly from the influence of American racial policies", and organized violence targeting Germany's Jews (Anti-Defamation League [ADL], 2020). American newspapers reported regularly on Hitler and Nazi Germany during the 1930's. According to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum [USHMM] "at least 2,000 daily newspapers were printed in the United States in 1933" (n.d.-a). The *New York Times* published an average of seven stories on political events in Germany each day during February and March of 1933, Hitler's first two months in power. This added up to "a total of 444 news items ... printed" by the New York Times, "about five times that of its major competitors" (Klein, 2001, p. 127). Yet, with all this coverage, Americans were consistently being misled by the rhetoric being used. A February 26, 1933, editorial from the New York Times titled "The German Contest" (figure 1), described the federal elections that would be held in Germany on March 5, 1933, following the Nazis lawful obtainment of power in relation to the terms of Weimar Constitution. Within the piece, the author compared Hitler's followers to "a gang of sophomores trying to break up the freshman dinner" ("The German Contest," 1933). The choice of words minimalized and underestimated the Nazi threat, depicting the Nazi party as inept, immature, and non-threatening political amateurs.

Additionally, this *New York Times* article expresses absolute confidence that the German people would resist dictatorship and defend democratic principles. The author states "there is a good deal of force in the reminder addressed to HITLER that 20,000,000 Germans are not going to submit to him as the Italian people did to MUSSOLINI" ("The German Contest," 1933). This was a common recurring theme in New York Times editorials. With multiple reporters stationed in Europe and its strong reputation for extensive and reliable coverage, Journalism Professor Laura Leff of Northeastern University states, "No American newspaper was better positioned to highlight the Holocaust than the *Times*, and no American newspaper so influenced public discourse by its failure to do so" (Tyler, 2021). In Buried by The Times, Leff explains how Arthur Hays Sulzberger, the New York Times publisher who was also Jewish, believed "being Jewish was solely a religious, not a racial or ethnic orientation . . . [and] carried with it no special obligation to help fellow Jews In fact, American Jews who helped other Jews because they were Jews threatened to undercut their position as Americans" (Puckett, 2011, p. 221). Not only did this opposition play a role in the way information was written and published, but it makes one consider the concept of who in the United States is considered an American, and who is not.

Throughout the 1930's, the Nazi German regime progressively pressured Jews to emigrate. By 1938, Nazi Germany began to expand its territory, annexing neighboring Austria in March of that year as well as other additional countries between 1938 and 1942. Following Germany's abrupt conquest of Austria, another 200,000 Jews came under Nazi control. Nearly 140,000 Germans and Austrians, most of whom were Jews, had filed for United States visas by the middle of 1938. There was an eleven-year waiting list after this figure rose to more than 300,000 in just a single year (USHMM, n.d.-a).

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's "Americans and the Holocaust" webpage provides a compilation of newsreel clips from 1938 that discuss Germany's annexation

of Austria and the immigration situation at hand. Within these Universal Newsreel clips, the narrator speaks to Austria's Jews being "desperate" to immigrate to the United States, though the immigration laws in place made doing so difficult. As stated from one of the newsreels USHMM exhibits:

The dream of almost every one of Hitlers victims is to emigrate to the United States. But

U.S. immigration is restricted by law to a selective annual quota from each foreign country. From Germany: 27,000 each year. Every immigrant must have found someone in the United States to guarantee that he will not become a public charge. (n.d.-a) Potential immigrants to the United States were to collect numerous types of documents and find an American financial sponsor. However, to even become a potential immigrant to the U.S. was extremely difficult. Due to the Johnson-Reed Act that was passed by the U.S. Congress in 1924, which restricted the total number of immigrant visas that could be granted annually to citizens of each country, only around 27 thousand German born individuals were able to immigrate to the United States each year. Nevertheless, "in 1934, the State Department had allowed only about 5,000 to enter the country. Approximately 6,000 were permitted to enter in 1935 and less than 11,000 in 1936" (Facing History and Ourselves, 2022). These quotas were put in place to restrict the immigration of those deemed to be "racially undesirable", which included Jews from southern and eastern Europe. The immigration laws were not adjusted nor did the United States government make any exceptions for refugees fleeing persecution during these times. The enforcement of these immigration laws clearly reflected and imposed American views on Jews as they remained reluctant to welcome Jewish refugees.

In July of 1938, delegates from thirty-two countries convened in Evian, France for nine days as they expressed sympathy for the refugees but refused to alter their laws to assist these Jewish refugees. While this international conference on refugees was called upon by President

Franklin D. Roosevelt, he was not in attendance, rather a close friend and businessman, Myron C. Taylor, represented the United States. One of the Universal Newsreel clips states "The problem is to formulate a plan enabling one million political, racial, and religious refugees to immigrate to other lands" (USHMM, n.d.-a). There was a common theme and vast emphasis in nearly all-American media arguing that other nations should take in these immigrants. While most local newspapers during the 1930's and 1940's obtained their international news from wire services such as the Associated Press, United Press International, or International News Service, Americans across the country consumed similar copies of news articles (USHMM, n.d.-b). This can be seen in articles from *The Herald* in Miami, Florida (figure 2), *The Pawtucket Times* in Pawtucket, Rhode Island (figure 3), and *The Daily Illini* in Urbana-Champaign, Illinois (figure 4). Each of these three newspapers published nearly the same exact article on July 6, 1938, covering the Evian Conference. The papers announced "He [Myron C. Taylor] was expected to suggest that South American countries and the British dominions could most easily give a fresh start in life to thousands of anti-Nazis, especially those from German Austria who have left or want to leave" (Associated Press, 1938). This was a nationwide message that aided American ideals, demonstrating that the United States could not assist in the refugee issue and clearly did not want European Jews in their country.

Five months following the Evian Conference was the occurrence of an event known as Kristallnacht, or The Night of Broken Glass. On the night of November 9, 1938, Nazi Party leaders in Germany and Austria ignited a widespread riot against Jews. Jewish shops, homes, offices, and synagogues were destroyed by the Nazi party's' Sturmabteilung, or SA, and Hitler Youth. Instigated after a Jewish boy assassinated the German embassy official; Ernst vom Rath, the burning, looting, and destruction continued all night and throughout the entire day of

November 10th as around "30,000 Jewish men were arrested and sent to concentration camps" (USHMM, n.d.-a).

These attacks on Jews shocked Americans. At no other point throughout the Nazi era did any other story regarding the persecution of Jews receive such wide-ranging and consistent coverage from American newspapers. Headlined on the front page of the *Los Angeles Examiner* (figure 5) read "Nazis Warn World Jews Will Be Wiped Out Unless Evacuated by Democracies" (Los Angeles Examiner, 1938). Newspapers across the United States predominantly expressed the absolute danger the Jews under the Nazi regime were at risk of for the first time. This dismayed Americans who had been provided with mitigated accounts of the ongoing horrors over the past five years.

Two weeks following Kristallnacht, the American Institute of Public Opinion, later to be called the Gallup Poll, asked Americans "Do you approve or disapprove of the Nazi treatment of Jews in Germany?" The results revealed that 94% of respondents disapproved. However, that same week when Americans were asked "Should we allow a larger number of Jewish exiles from Germany to come to the United States to live?", 72% of Americans said "No" while only 21% said "Yes" (Greene & Newport, 2018). The media revealed knowledge on the holocaust yet downplayed the situation for numerous years. Americans were aware of only surface level information and therefore understood Nazi Germany was harmful yet kept their own interests above all else.

While the Great Depression was in its ninth year and profound economic insecurity played into America's reluctance to accept refugees, many Americans held discriminatory beliefs about Jews. More than half of Americans, according to a survey conducted in April 1938, blamed European Jews for their own persecution at the hands of the Nazis (Greene & Newport, 2018). A year later, after the widespread news of the brutal nationwide attack against Jews, a poll

from July 1939 found less than 40% of Americans agreed Jews should be treated "like any other American" (ADL, 2020). Between the years 1933 and 1941, over one-hundred new antisemitic organizations were founded in America. The German-American Bund, for instance, which held parades and youth training camps across the U.S., organized a rally at Madison Square Garden in 1939 and projected virulent antisemitism at 20,000 applauding Americans (ADL, 2020). Prejudice against Jews was thoroughly evident in much of the United States. The government's clear resistance towards European Jews and their lack of acknowledgement along with the media's poor projection of Nazi cruelty enforced these antisemitic views.

Almost a year after Kristallnacht took place, World War II officially began. In September 1939 Hitler and his Nazi party invaded Poland. In response, both Great Britain and France declared war on Germany. By 1942 Nazi Germany ruled the majority of Europe and portions of North Africa because of annexations, invasions, occupations, and alliances, bringing millions of Jews under German control. As they continued to expand, they brought their severe and discriminatory laws, organized violence, and, ultimately, the mass murder of Jewish populations throughout Europe. 1941 began the Nazi "Final Solution to the Jewish Question", the last stage of the Holocaust. Though numerous Jews were killed prior, the "Final Solution" was a premeditated and organized mass extermination of European Jews which murdered the vast majority Jewish Holocaust victims. The Nazis carried out programs that resulted in the starvation of Jews, the spread of disease, random acts of terror, mass shootings, and gassings.

The Nazi goal to exterminate all the Jews in Europe was not disclosed to the United States government until September 1942 and by late November American citizens were informed (USHMM, n.d.-a). Newspapers and periodicals in America increasingly covered stories concerning the continuous mass murder of Jews alongside the dominating war news. A December 18, 1942, editorial from the *New York Times* titled "Hitler's Terror" (figure 6),

discusses the issued press release from December 17. This joint statement (figure 7) between governments of the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the United States and ten other allied nations, was the first public acknowledgment by the United States Government of the ongoing mass murder campaign against European Jews by the Nazi dictatorship. The *New York Times* quotes the British Parliament as it describes the Nazi persecution of Jews as the "greatest single horror in all history" ("Hitler's Terror," 1942). The editorial carries on starting "The most tragic aspect of this situation is the world's helplessness to stop the horror while the war is going on ... But at least this we know: that there can be no compromise with this evil force. It must be driven from the face of the earth" ("Hitler's Terror," 1942). Unlike many of the *Times*' past articles, this editorial clearly communicates the gravity of the situation. Yet, the United States continued to refrain from taking decisive action to save European Jews.

Rather than rescuing Jews in Europe, American media stressed Naziism as a direct threat to Americans' safety and an opponent of American ideals. Posters were used as the primary communication tool in a number of vigorous propaganda efforts that were initiated by federal agencies. These posters were designed to persuade American support of the war effort and rarely addressed the continuous persecution and murder of the Jews in Europe. The 1942 poster, "Don't Let That Shadow Touch Them Buy War Bonds", was designed by Lawrence Beall Smith and distributed by the United States Treasury Department. As pictured in figure 8, the poster portrays three fearful, young American children surrounded by a large dark shadow in the shape of a swastika. Indicating that purchasing war bonds would keep children safe from the Nazi threat, the image of children in danger as an emotional device combined with patriotic representation were used to effectively reach the public. Other posters were simply created to remind Americans that Nazism posed a danger to the United States. The images appealed to the public through popular culture. A 1943 poster distributed by the United States War Production Board

(WPB) illustrates enormous Nazi boots standing over factories (figure 9). Written across the top of the poster are the words "It Can Happen Here", playing off the title of the popular 1935 novel *It Can't Happen Here* by Sinclair Lewis about the attempted destruction of democracy in the United States. The 1943 "This is the Enemy" poster, published by the United States Office of War Information (OWI), depicts a Nazi supporter stabbing a dagger through a bible (figure 10). The Nazi regime was frequently illustrated as one who despised religion and therefore as an enemy of Christianity. These posters, each characterizing the danger of Nazi Germany, fail to represent the Nazi's primary victims, European Jews.

As news about the mass murder of Jews and death camps continued to circulate American media, the public struggled to comprehend the vast extent and magnitude of the crime. Sixty percent of Americans in 1944 reported hearing recent "criticism or talk against Jews" (ADL, 2020). With little visual evidence of the crimes to print, the reports in the media may have been ignored by many American readers, especially considering the exaggerated accounts of German atrocities during World War I. In July of 1944, the Soviet Union liberated the first major concentration camp: Majdanek, located in Lublin, Poland. On January 27, 1945, Soviet troops liberated Auschwitz, the largest Nazi killing center and concentration camp. Prior to Germany's surrender in May of 1945, the Soviet Union liberated numerous concentration camps in the Baltic states and Poland including two additional camps located in Germany. Meanwhile the United States liberated four camps located in Germany and one in Austria while British forces liberated two camps in Germany. In a poll conducted by the American Institute of Public Opinion, "just under one-quarter of Americans who answered ... could believe that more than 1 million people had been murdered by Germans in concentration camps; 36% believed that 100,000 or fewer had been killed" (Greene & Newport, 2018). By May of 1945, the Nazi government and its allies and accomplices murdered approximately six million European Jews.

Following the liberation of these camps, journalists inspected and documented the horrors that occurred at these concentration camps. The full scope of Nazi savagery was finally exposed to the world, "The photographs of skeletal survivors and stacked corpses, and the wrenching accounts of mass murder became a staple of American publications and newsreels" (Baron, 2003, p. 65). The first widely shared photos of concentration camps were released by American magazines. Life magazine, specifically, published the first glimpse into the depth of Nazi corruption through photos of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp located in Germany. Photographer George Rodger was on the magazine's staff in the late 1930's through the mid-1940's and traveled widely as a war correspondent. After the liberation, Rodger was the first photographer to enter the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. Several of these photos first appeared in *Life's* May 7, 1945, issue (figures 11 & 12). Alongside Rodger's featured photos explains "For 12 years since the Nazis seized power, Americans have heard charges of German brutality ... Last week Americans could no longer doubt stories of Nazi cruelty. For the first time there was irrefutable evidence" ("The German Atrocities," 1945, p. 33). These photographs and eyewitness accounts from the liberation of camps like Bergen-Belsen converted skeptics into terrified believers and gave even those who had never questioned the worst, a new and disturbing perspective on reality. The magazine revealed to its readers a "barbarism that reaches the low point of human degradation" ("The German Atrocities," 1945, p. 33).

Both the presence and absence of media coverage of the Holocaust is a rhetorical phenomenon. American impressions of the Nazi war against the European Jews were distorted beginning in the 1930's by the vast number of media downplaying the news coming from Germany. The undermined stories and use of rhetoric in U.S. media in addition to the government's clear resistance towards European Jews and their lack of acknowledgement during the Holocaust's twelve years, served to further the public's uncertainty, disbelief, and shock

during the liberation in 1945. When Adolf Hitler was appointed chancellor and the Nazi party came to power in Germany in 1933, newspapers minimalized and underestimated the Nazi threat. As the Nazi German regime expanded, spreading discriminatory laws and organized violence towards Jews, the number of refugees drastically increased. American newsreels and newspapers reflected the United States government's unwillingness to help the thousands of Jews who were trying desperately to leave the Third Reich and insisted on other nations to take action. Following Kristallnacht, the danger the Nazi regime had brought upon European Jews dominated American newspapers for the first time, leaving the public feeling empathetic towards those being targeted, but keeping their own best interests in mind. By 1942, news of the "Final Solution" reached the United States. Although newspapers accurately delivered the gravity of the situation, the United States government did not act and rather promoted posters reminding Americans of the threat the Nazi regime poses on the U.S. However, none of this media prepared the public for the liberation in 1945. The photographs that documented the horrors of what occurred at the multitudes of concentration camps left Americans shocked and disturbed while providing them with the most accurate viewpoint received over the past twelve years.

Over the past 77 years since the liberation, stories have been told, photographs have been published, documentaries have been made, books have been written, movies have been filmed, museums have been built, and yet there is still an extreme lack of awareness in the United States revolving around the Holocaust. The *Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness Study* was commissioned by the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, or Claims Conference, in 2020, interviewing adults ages 18 to 39 in each of the 50 states. Of all national survey respondents, 63% do know that six million Jews were murdered during the Holocaust and 36% believed "two million or fewer Jews" were killed. Nearly a quarter of respondents (23%) believed the Holocaust was a myth, exaggerated, or were unsure, while 12% of respondents

claimed they had definitely not heard, or didn't think they had heard, about the Holocaust (Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, 2020). These statistics are both alarming and upsetting. It clear that the United States is lacking in educating the younger generations about the Holocaust and lessons of the past. Understanding and preserving memories of the past are essential to our ability to comprehend ourselves, our society, and our aspirations for the future. Measures must be taken on account of the alarming levels of ignorance about the greatest crime of the 20th century.

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Figure 1

"The German Contest"

THE GERMAN CONTEST.

Of next Sunday's election in Germany it is significant that our Berlin correspondent should have felt entitled to speak so confidently. Nobody, he wrote on Friday, seriously expects HITLER'S own National Socialist party, "no matter under what favorable circumstances they context this election," to win a majority. The utmost that HITLER can hope for is control of the Reichstag in conjunction with the Hugenberg-von Papen Nationalists. The more probable outcome is that the two together will need the support of the Centrists. One cannot in such matters prophesy with assurance; yet it will be noted that forecasts concerning the actual swing of votes in German elections have hitherto been remarkably correct. It is the party manoeuvres that have been hard to forecast.

Many people, to be sure, consider it of secondary importance whether HIT-LER gets a majority next Sunday or fails to do so. There is widespread anticipation that the Nazis are in power to stay, and that the long-awaited coup d'état for the destruction of the Weimar Republic and the setting up of the Third Reich will come off in any event. Indeed, HITLER'S failure to secure a majority would hasten such an attempt. With a majority in the Reichstag he might find it more expedient to bring about his revolution gradually, on the model of NAPOLEON III, who was President before he became Emperor. Here again it would be rash to say that a Nazi attempt to seize power in case the election next Sunday goes wrong is impossible. But the probabilities do not run that way.

Chief among the reasons for doubt-

Chief among the reasons for doubting a coup d'état is that the proper alignment of forces is not there. The manner in which HITLER'S followers behave in the first intoxication of office is more like a gang of sophomores trying to break up the freshman dinner than of CAESAR'S legions marching upon Rome. On the other side the democratic parties opposed to HITLER. Socialist and Centrist, with a strength of 14,000,000 votes, and Communists with another 6,000,000 votes, do not give the impression of a terrorized multitude fighting a hopeless battle. There is a good deal of force in the reminder addressed to HITLER that 20,000,000 Germans are not going to submit to him as the Italian people did to MUSSOLINI.

Everything is possible, but the Mussolini stroke repeated in Germany is not probable. Italy in 1922 did labor under the fear of a Communist overturn, whether justifiably or nct. But it is absurd for HITLER to charge that the Fatherland is in danger from 14,000,000 Socialists and Centrists whose record, ever since the flight of WILLIAM II, has been one of consistent and admirable moderation. That is one reason why HITLER has called off the war against the Centrists. He may feel that he will need them after March 5.

A New York Times article published on February 26, 1933.

"Nations To Decide Problem of Jews"

OBLEM OF JEWS

Countries' Representatives Meet To Find Shelter. For German Exiles

BY THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

EVIAN . LES . BAINES, France, July 5.—Delegates of more than 32 nations assembled here Tuesday night to thrash out the problem of sheltering Greater Germany's Jews, political refugees and wouldbe exiles at a conference called by President Roosevelt.

This constituted the world's first attempt at a round-table conference of nations to settle a problem as

old as the Caesars.

Officially styled the Intergovernmental Committee on Political Refugees Conference, the sessions were scheduled to start at 4 p. m. Wednesday at this sunny resort on Lake Geneva to discuss means of finding new homes for those who have no place in the third reich.
Other Nations Concerned

Some Eastern countries, how-ever, were expected to raise almost

as pressing a problem of Jews in Poland, Rumania and Hungary.

Myron C. Taylor, former head of the United States Steel Corporation, led the United States Kalegation and was widely mentioned as probable president of the conference. ence.

He was expected to suggest that South American countries and the British dominions could most easily give a fresh start in life to thousands of anti-Nazis, especially those from German Austria who have left or want to leave.

An article from *The Herald* in Miami, Florida published on July 6, 1938.

11

"Taylor Urges Refugee Aid"

Taylor Urges Refugee Aid

Tells 32-Nation Conclave Catastrophic Suffering Threatens World

EVIAN LES BAINS, France, July 6 (AP) — Myron C. Taylor, head of the United States delegation, gave a blunt warning to the 32-nation conference of refugees today that forced migration of political and racial groups can bring "catastrophic suffering" upon the world.

Addressing the opening session of the meeting, result of President Roosevelt's invitation to other nations to discuss the refugee problem, Taylor said "general unrest and international strain" were unavoidable results of this migration.

He named only one country-Germany.

"I need not emphasize that discrimination and pressure against minority groups and disregard of elementary human life are contrary to the principles of what we have come to regard as accepted standards of civilization," the former head of the United States Steel Corporation declared.

He outlined the scope of the conference as to take in all problems J dealing with the "great bodies of d reluctant migrants who must be absorbed in abnormal circumstances with a disregard of economic conditions and at a time of stress."

This wave of migration, he said caustically, is forced upon the world at large and "artificially stimulated by governmental practices in some countries"

Calling forced migration of minorities "chaotic dumping of unfortunate peoples," he declared this a more disturbing practice even than dumping merchandise, the disruptive consequences of which are generally known.

It renders racial and religious problems more acute in all parts of the world, he said, and encourages retaliation against the responsible countries.

"International mistrust and suspicion is heightened," he asserted, and fear, which is an important obstacle to general appeasement between nations, is accentuated."

He predicted "castastrophic hu-

An article from *The Pawtucket Times* in Pawtucket, Rhode Island published on July 6, 1938.

"Will Discuss Aid for Refugees"

Will Discuss Aid for Refugees

Men of 30 Nations to Settle Problem of Germany's Jews

EVIAN-LES-BAINS, France, July 5.—(P)— Delegates of more than 30 nations assembled here tonight to thrash out the problem of sheltering greater Germany's Jews, political refugees and would-be exiles at a conference called by President Roosevelt.

This constituted the world's first attempt at a round-table conference of nations to settle a problem as old as the Caesars.

Officially styled the intergovernmental committee on political refugees conference, the sessions were scheduled to start at 4 p. m., tomorrow at this sunny resort on Lake Geneva to discuss means of finding new homes for those who have no place in the third reich.

Some eastern countries, however, were expected to raise almost as pressing a problem as that of Jews in Poland, Rumania, and Hungary.

(Altogether, some quarters have estimated 1,000,000 persons would emigrate from greater Germany if given an opportunity. Religious Jews in German Austria alone are estimated at approximately 200,000, while persons with some part of Jewish blood in their veins are believed to be a few hundred thousand more).

Myron C. Taylor, former head of the United States Steel corporation, led the United States delegation and was widely mentioned as probable president of the conference.

He was expected in American quarters to suggest that South American countries and the British dominions could most easily give a fresh start in life to thousands of anti-nazis, especially those from German Austria who have left or want to leave.

An article from *The Daily Illini* in Urbana-Champaign, Illinois published on July 6, 1938.

Figure 5

"Nazis Warn World Jews Will Be Wiped Out Unless Evacuated by Democracies"



A headline from the Los Angeles Examiner on November 23, 1938.

HITLER'S TERROR

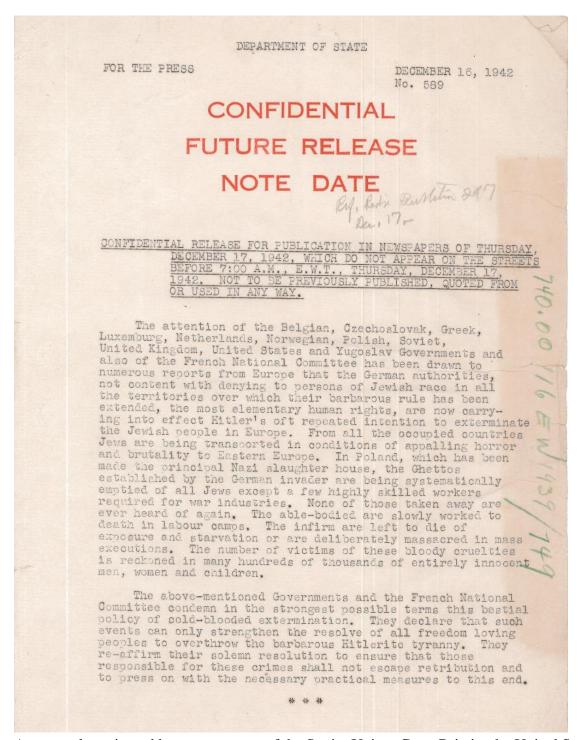
Despite all that has been written about Nazi persecution of the Jews, the facts in the joint statement issued vesterday in Washington, London and Moscow in the name of the United Nations will come as a shock to all civilized people who have preserved a modicum of human decency. For this statement is not an outcry of the victims themselves to which many thought it possible to close their ears on the ground that it might be a special plea, subject to doubt. It is the official statement of their own Governments, based on officially established facts; it is an official indictment of the Nazi rulers and their satellites; and it is the pledge of the United Nations that just retribution shall be visited upon all those responsible for what one member of the British Parliament rightly calls the "greatest single horror in all history."

Not since the days of Ghengis Khan has the Western World come even into remote contact with such stark and systematic savagery as is described in this brief document. And that is exactly what Hitler's doctrine of the German super-race and its right to dominate the world represents—a terrible, deliberate reversion to the savagery of a primitive age which knew neither humanity nor human rights but saw life only in terms of a tribe to which every other human being was an enemy to be killed or enslaved.

The most tragic aspect of the situation is the world's helplessness to stop the horror while the war is going on. The most it can do is to denounce the perpetrators and promise them individual and separate retribution. But at least this we know: that there can be no compromise with this evil force. It must be driven from the face of the earth.

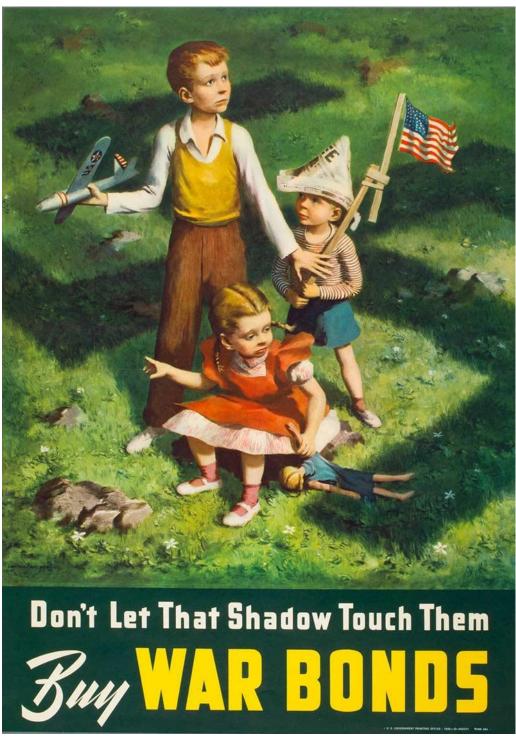
Figure 7

Declaration of December 17, 1942



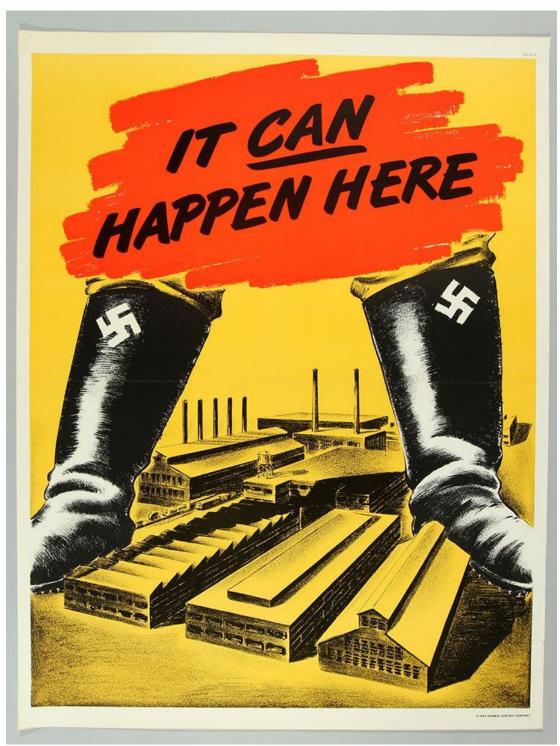
A press release issued by governments of the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the United States and ten other allied nations on December 17, 1942.

Figure 8
"Don't Let That Shadow Touch Them Buy War Bonds"



A 1942 poster designed by Lawrence Beall Smith and distributed by the United States Treasury Department to urge Americans to buy war bonds during WWII.

Figure 9
"It Can Happen Here"



A 1943 poster distributed by the United States War Production Board created to remind the public of the Nazi threat on the United States.

Figure 10
"This is the Enemy"



A poster published by the United States Office of War Information in 1943 and created to remind the public of the Nazi threat on the United States.

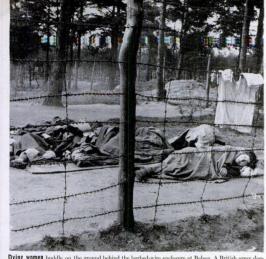
Figure 11Bergen-Belsen 1945

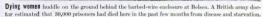


A photograph by George Rodger published in *Life* magazine's May 7, 1945 issue capturing the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp post liberation.

Figure 12

German Atrocities







Dying men stretch out on a dirt bank behind one of the Belsen barracks. Last week the inmates, too far gone for Allied medical help, were still dying at the rate of 300 a day.

ATROCITIES

last week the jubilance of impending victory was soble bered by the grim facts of the atrocities which the Allied troops were uncovering all over Germany. For 13 years since the Nazis seized power, Americans have heard charges of German brutality. Made skeptical by World War I "atrocity propaganda," many people refused to put much faith in stories about the inhuman

Nazi treatment of prisoners.

Last week Americans could no longer doubt stories of Nazi cruelty. For the first time there was irrefut-

CAPTURE OF THE GERMAN CONCENTRATION CAMPS PILES UP EVIDENCE OF BARBARISM THAT REACHES THE LOW POINT OF HUMAN DEGRADATION

able evidence as the advancing Allied armies captured camps filled with political prisoners and slave laborers, living and dead. Touring newspaper editors and legislators from the U. S. and Britain made reports based on firsthand observation. Representative John Kunkel of Pennsylvania told reporters. "Anything you hear about conditions... will be understatement. The full truth would get... so low you couldn't print it." Ten members of Britain's Parliament declared, "The memory of what we saw and heard will haunt us inef-

faceably for many years. Such camps as this Buchenwald mark the lowest point of degradation to which humanity has yet descended."

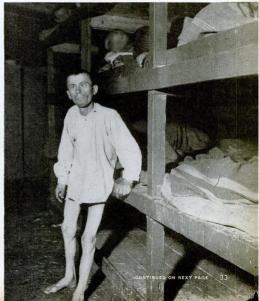
With the armies in Germany were four LIFE photog-

With the armies in Germany were four LIFE photographers whose pictures are presented on these pages. The things they show are horrible. They are printed for the reason stated seven years ago when, in publishing early pictures of war's death and destruction in Spain and China, LIFE stated, "Dead men will have indeed died in vain if live men refuse to look at them."

In the barracks at Buchenwald, near Weimar, emaciated prisoners stare from their hard bunks at the Americans who liberated them. They were so hungry that the first U. S. food rations made them sick.



Deformed by mainutrition, a Buchenwald prisoner leans against his bunk after trying to walk. Like other imprisoned slave laborers, he worked in a Nazi factory until too feeble.



Page 33 from *Life* magazine's May 7, 1945 issue featuring George Rodger's photographs of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp post liberation.