International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (Ed.)

Bystanders, Rescuers or Perpetrators?
The Neutral Countries and the Shoah

Editors:
Corry Guttstadt (Project Coordinator)
Thomas Lutz (Topography of Terror Foundation, Berlin)
Bernd Rother (Willy Brandt Foundation, Berlin)
Yessica San Román (Centro Sefarad-Israel, Madrid)
## Contents

### Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust

9

### About IHRA

11

### Preface

13

*Steven T. Katz*

### Foreword

15

*Corry Guttstadt, Thomas Lutz, Bernd Roher, Yessica San Román*

### SECTION I

#### JEWISH REFUGEES BEFORE THE WAR (1933–1939)

23

*Susanne Heim*

*The Question of Jewish Refugees*

25

*Salomé Lienert*

*Swiss Immigration Policies 1933–1939*

41

*Corry Guttstadt*

*Turkey—Welcoming Jewish Refugees?*

53

*Pontus Rudberg*

*Sweden and Jewish Refugees from Nazi Germany, 1933–1939*

65

*Haim Avni*

*Discussion of the First Panel*

77
SECTION II
JEWISH REFUGEES DURING THE WAR (1939–1945) .................. 81
Corry Guttstadt
Introduction .......................................................... 83

Ruth Fivaz-Silbermann
Ignorance, Realpolitik and Human Rights:
Switzerland between Active Refusal and Passive Help .................. 87

Avraham Milgram
Portugal and the Jews 1938–1945 ........................................ 101

Josep Calvet
Spain and Jewish Refugees during World War II ......................... 113
A Difficult Balance: Free Entrance, Expulsions and Detentions

SECTION III
REACTIONS BY THE NEUTRAL COUNTRIES TO THE HOLOCAUST ..... 123

Cláudia Ninhos
What was Known in the Neutral Countries about
the On-Going Genocide of European Jews? .......................... 125

Corry Guttstadt
Origins of the 1942–1943 German Ultimatum on the Repatriation
of Jews with Citizenship of Neutral and German-allied Countries .. 139

Irene Flunser Pimentel
Neutral Portugal and the Holocaust .................................. 145
Salazar and the German Ultimatum of 1943

L. Izzet Bahar
Turkey's Stance toward Turkish Jews in Occupied France
and the German Ultimatum on their Repatriation in WWII .......... 157

SECTION IV
RESCUE MYTHS, PUBLIC DEBATES, HISTORICAL INVESTIGATIONS 199

Thomas Lutz
Introduction .......................................................... 201

Alejandro Baer - Pedro Correa Martín-Arroyo
The Politics of Holocaust Rescue Myths in Spain ..................... 205
From Francoist Humanitarianism to the Righteous Diplomats

Pinar Dost-Niyego
Myths of Rescue and their Use and Abuse in Turkey ................ 217

Uki Goñi
Argentina's Rescue Myth ............................................ 231

François Wisard
The Swiss Experience with State-Commissioned
Historical Investigations ........................................... 243
A Short Overview with a Focus on the Bergier-Commission

SECTION V
THE CHALLENGES OF HOLOCAUST REMEMBRANCE
AND EDUCATION IN NEUTRAL COUNTRIES ..................... 257
The members of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance are committed to the Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust, which reads as follows:

1. **The Holocaust (Shoah) fundamentally** challenged the foundations of civilization. The unprecedented character of the Holocaust will always hold universal meaning. After half a century, it remains an event close enough in time that survivors can still bear witness to the horrors that engulfed the Jewish people. The terrible suffering of the many millions of other victims of the Nazis has left an indelible scar across Europe as well.

2. **The magnitude of the Holocaust**, planned and carried out by the Nazis, must be forever seared in our collective memory. The selfless sacrifices of those who defied the Nazis, and sometimes gave their own lives to protect or rescue the Holocaust's victims, must also be inscribed in our hearts. The depths of that horror, and the heights of their heroism, can be touchstones in our understanding of the human capacity for evil and for good.

3. **With humanity still scarred** by genocide, ethnic cleansing, racism, antisemitism and xenophobia, the international community shares a solemn responsibility to fight those evils. Together we must uphold the terrible truth of the Holocaust against those who deny it. We must strengthen the moral commitment of our peoples, and the political commitment of our governments, to ensure that future generations can understand the causes of the Holocaust and reflect upon its consequences.

4. **We pledge to strengthen** our efforts to promote education, remembrance and research about the Holocaust, both in those of our countries that have already done much and those that choose to join this effort.

5. **We share a commitment** to encourage the study of the Holocaust in all its dimensions. We will promote education about the Holocaust in our