

**The Holocaust and North Africa, edited by Aomar Boum and Sarah Abrevaya Stein. Stanford University Press: 2018.**

A Review by Edith Shaked, June 3, 2019.

**The Title: *The Holocaust and North Africa***

The Holocaust in Europe was a political "state-sponsored" process, as stated by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. It took place in imperial Europe, a "Europe, including the North African colonies" as correctly defined by the European Holocaust Research Infrastructure (EHRI). And that's the "proper contemporaneous context" for Holocaust history and Holocaust education that historians at EHRI, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (ushmm) and Yad Vashem are demanding. After all, Hitler himself defined Europe as "the European nations and their overseas territories, while he emphasized: "Europe of today was nothing but a geographical term."<sup>1</sup> It just seem that the editors of *The Holocaust and North Africa*, adopted a geographical continental approach to European Holocaust history rather than a political one.

The Holocaust, and in this book, meaning "Shoah the Holocaust of the Jewish people"<sup>2</sup> in Europe, was an ideological political, "systematic, state-sponsored the **persecution and murder** of millions of Jews",<sup>3</sup> between 1933 and 1945, by Hitler's Germany and its collaborators, in "the intent"<sup>4</sup> and "**Nazi attempt to annihilate the Jewish people.**"<sup>5</sup> Nazi-German racial Anti-Semitism ideology," was the main driving force, behind the Shoah,"<sup>6</sup> which *resulted* with the death of some six million Jews, by the end of World War II in 1945. "Of the total world

---

<sup>1</sup> Martin Bormann's Minutes of a Meeting at Hitler's Headquarters, July 16, 1941: ... the Führer emphasized that we had to understand that the Europe of today was nothing but a geographical term.

<sup>2</sup> Avner Shalev, Yad Vashem Director, June 2, 2013, at he opening of a new permanent exhibition Shoah designed by YV, at the Jewish Museum, in Block 27 at the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum; and Yehuda Bauer. Shaked visited Block 27 in 2014.

<sup>3</sup> ushmm

<sup>4</sup> Bauer, Yehuda. *Rethinking the Holocaust*. Yale University Press: New Heaven and London, 2001, 44.

<sup>5</sup> Avner Shalev, Director of Yad Vashem, June 2, 2013, at he opening of a new permanent exhibition Shoah designed by YV, at the Jewish Museum, in Block 27 at the Auschwitz- Birkenau State Museum; and Yehuda Bauer. Edith Shaked visited Block 27 in 2014. Bauer, Yehuda. *Rethinking the Holocaust*. Yale University Press: New Heaven and London, 2001, 44.

<sup>6</sup> Avner Shalev, Director of Yad Vashem, June 13, 2013, at he opening of a new permanent exhibition Shoah designed by YV, at the Jewish Museum, in Block 27 at the Auschwitz- Birkenau State Museum

Jewish population of eighteen million in 1939, one in three had been killed.”<sup>7</sup> Hundreds of Jewish communities in Europe some centuries old disappeared forever.”<sup>8</sup>

The Jewish Holocaust in Europe or the Holocaust of European Jews was *not* an event but a *process* with stages. It was not about “destruction of European Jews,” “the murder of the Jews of Europe,” “mass deportations,” “mass murder,” and “death camps in Europe.” In pp. 221-222, Miller writes: “Institutions such as Yad Vashem were founded to preserve and validate a specifically European experience –the destruction of European Jewry-to gather testimonies...preserve memory of those events.” But, “The Martyrs’ and Heroes’ Remembrance Law, 5713 – 1953 determines in Article No. 2 that – The task of YAD VASHEM is to gather into the homeland material regarding **all those members of the Jewish people** who laid down their lives, who fought and rebelled against the Nazi enemy and his collaborators, and to perpetuate their memory and that of the communities, organizations, and institutions which were destroyed because they were Jewish (Shoah Law 28.8.1953, art. 2.).

“Yad Vashem Task. “Since its inception, Yad Vashem has among its many tasks to inform and remember those who suffered. One of the ways in which it fulfills this directive is by publishing about the Shoah. ... *Yad Vashem* has been entrusted with documenting the history of the Jewish people during the Holocaust period, preserving the memory and story of each of the six million victims, and imparting the legacy of the Holocaust for generations to come through its archives, library, school, museums and recognition of the Righteous.”<sup>9</sup>

“Documentation. Yad Vashem is dedicated to documenting the events of the Shoah by collecting and safeguarding millions of pieces of evidence, so that an accurate and detailed historical record of the atrocities committed against the Jewish people may be preserved and disseminated.”<sup>10</sup>

The evidence clearly shows that the Shoah in Europe is “a European story,” even when its narrative includes the persecution, deportations and murder of the Vichy Jews of French Tunisia, French Algeria, French Morocco and the Jews of Italian Libya (*not*: North African Jews, Tunisian Jews, Algerian Jews, Moroccan Jews, Libyan Jews), all “Under European regimes Aligned With Nazi Germany,”<sup>11</sup> as per the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (ushmm). Vichy Tunisia and Italian Libya will be occupied by the Nazi regime for a short period.

---

<sup>7</sup> Gutman, Yisrael at Yad Vashem, ed. Encyclopedia of the Holocaust. 4 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1990; p. 666. The United Nations Resolution A/RES/60/7

<sup>8</sup> The ushmm.

<sup>9</sup> <http://www1.yadvashem.org/yv/en/about/institute/publications.asp> The url you requested was not found – Shaked noticed that some of her links disappeared.

<sup>10</sup> <http://www1.yadvashem.org/yv/en/about/documentation.asp>

<sup>11</sup> Vichy Morocco and V. Algeria were “Under European regimes Aligned With Nazi Germany” (ushmm).

The Jews of European North Africa were part of the Jews of Europe/European Jews, the Nazi regime had planned to annihilate in its final solution to the Jewish question in Europe – they were part of the Holocaust in Europe. The overwhelming evidence clearly shows that the only reason the Vichy Jews of Fr. Tunisia, Fr. Algeria, Fr. Morocco, and the Jews of Italian Libya were persecuted, deported, and murdered during World War II, was because they were *de facto and de jure* ruled by the pro-Nazi Vichy and Mussolini regimes, “Under European regimes Aligned With Nazi Germany”<sup>12</sup> – they were *politically* considered, *de facto and de jure*, part of the Jews of metropolitan France and mainland Italy respectively. Thus, they were part of the Holocaust in France and the Holocaust in Italy, and consequently an integral part of the Holocaust in Europe.

Moreover, the target was the JEW – *not* Jews of North Africa, European Jews, North African Jews, Jews of Maghreb/Maghrebim, Ashkenazim, Sephardim<sup>13</sup>, Mizrahim. The Nazi perpetrators and their collaborators didn’t make distinction among Jews, as clearly stated at NIOD, “During World War II, approximately 5.7 million Jews were murdered by Nazi Germany. The dead were not victims of war, but they were killed because they were Jewish.” Indeed, Ulrich Friedrich Wilhelm Joachim von Ribbentrop, foreign minister of Germany, to his ambassador in Rome, January 13, 1943 (NG-4961 (YVSH, -N11/465/E): “I am asking you to point out the great threat posed by Jews wherever they are. ... Jewry in its totality is our greatest enemy... We regard Italian Jews {in Nazi occupied ‘Vichy Tunisia’ – term used in the National Archives of Tunisia} as being Jews...” And in fact, the German words “*Juden Europas*” in the primary sources mean the Jews of Europe, and not European Jews. “Careful historians choose words and maps both for what they mean and for what they suggest, their connotations and associations.”

“Nazi policies ... were brutal, but not identical,”<sup>14</sup> as per the ushmm. “Though Nazi ideology prescribed the same fate for all Jews, to remove them by death, the relentlessness, and brutality of their persecution varied in each region, mainly depending upon the relative strength of the perpetrators, and the tide of the war.” “Different methods of implementation of anti-Jewish policy were employed in the different territories.”

---

<sup>12</sup> Vichy Morocco and V. Algeria were “Under European regimes Aligned With Nazi Germany” (ushmm).

<sup>13</sup> Benbassa does comment that in his book *Survival in Auschwitz*, Primo Levi does not mention the term “Sepharades”/“Sephardi,” but only that there were Jews speaking “Spanish,” and “Greek” (Benbassa 1999: 36). In a lecture on June 2005, Aron Rodrigue, a professor of history at Stanford University, also noticed the fact that Levi does not refer to camp inmates as “Sepharadi.” The reason is because the term Sepharadi/Sfaradi was *not* used during the Jewish Holocaust.

<sup>14</sup> <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/mosaic-of-victims-an-overview>

The Jews of Denmark, the Jews of “Vichy Tunisia,”<sup>15</sup> the Jews of Vichy Morocco, the Jews of Vichy Algeria and the Jews of Italian Libya, were spared the mass deportations that took place in the rest of Nazi-occupied Europe.

See “Europe’s boundaries” in Dwork and van Pelt’s *Holocaust: A History* – Europe in the summer of 1938, pp. 136-37; Europe January 1941, pp. 162-63; Europe January 1943, pp. 188-89; The “Final Solution of the Jewish Problem,” January 1942, pp. 282-283.

**North Africa ceased to exist as a political entity.** During the Holocaust in Europe, Maghreb, North Africa, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria (three French “departments.”<sup>16</sup>) – all suggesting a Muslim and Arab world – were just “geographical expressions.” The historian André Chouraqui correctly wrote that, “with French occupation of Algeria in 1830 –an event which marked the beginning of profound French influence...- and the subsequent establishment of French protectorates in Tunisia and Morocco in 1881 and 1912 respectively, North Africa could no longer be regarded as an historical and political unit. Henceforth, its development proceeded along national rather than regional lines, each country with its own distinguishing characteristics.”<sup>17</sup> ”



France = (*République française*) = 'France, an Empire,'<sup>18</sup> “the French imperial nation-state,”<sup>19</sup> *Frankreich* in German = Metropolitan/mainland France, *France métropolitaine* or *la Métropole*, in the European continent  
+ Corse

<sup>15</sup> “Vichy-Tunisie <http://www.ishmn.rnu.tn/archives.htm>

Guerre 1939-1945. Vichy” - Tunisie in National archives of Tunisia.

Nombre de cartons microfilmés  
79

<sup>16</sup> Judt, Tony, *Postwar 1945: A History of Europe Since 1945*, 282. Penguin Books; Reprint edition (September 5, 2006). Awards: [New York Times 10 Best Books of the Year](#) · [Arthur Ross Book Award](#) · [European Book Prize](#). Finalist for the Pulitzer Prize. Winner of the Council on Foreign Relations Arthur Ross Book Award; the *New York Times*' Ten Best Books of the Year

<sup>17</sup> Chouraqui, 1968: 141

<sup>18</sup> Judt 2005: 114

<sup>19</sup> Gary Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State: Negritude and Colonial Humanism between the Two World Wars* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

+ France d'outre mer/overseas France, Fr. Tunisia, Fr. Algeria, Fr. Morocco – “France on the other side of the Mediterranean,”<sup>20</sup> “an extension of Western Europe.”

-----

The editors and some authors of this book use "France" for mainland France. French North Africa was considered “an extension of Europe,” “*l’Afrique du Nord française ... ce prolongement de l’Europe*,”<sup>21</sup> and an extension of western Europe - “ce prolongement de l’Europe occidentale.”<sup>22</sup> “French school children were insistently presented with the image of France itself as a trans-oceanic continuum, a place in which the civic and cultural attributes of Frenchness were open to all; where elementary schools from Saigon to Dakar taught about ‘*nos ancêtres les Gaulois*’ (‘our ancestors the Gauls’) ... Only in France could the metropolitan authorities seriously treat their most valued colonial possessions not as foreign soil but as administrative extension of France itself.”<sup>23</sup>

“The French colonies in North Africa, especially Algeria, were seen more as a direct extension of metropolitan France than overseas territories. The reason for this was their relative proximity to France and their large number of European settlers. The Vichy vision of the empire as a territorial continuation of metropolitan France led the regime to implement its official ideology in the colonies. Vichy treated its colonies as an integral part of France. Every decree and law that was published in France was immediately valid in the colonies as well.”<sup>24</sup>

**Article 109 of the French Constitution:** “The territory of Algeria and the colonies are declared French territory.”

---

<sup>20</sup> R. Poznanski, an expert on the Holocaust in France

<sup>21</sup> Kaspi, 1991:175.

<sup>22</sup> Sabille 1954: 30

---

<sup>23</sup> Judt, 2005:282.

<sup>24</sup> Ginio, Ruth. *French Colonialism Unmasked: The Vichy Years in French West Africa*. University of Nebraska Press, p. 165.



Gare du Kef vers 1922 (Train station in Kef, city in Fr. Tunisia). Inside the card it's written "*Edition Au Pays de France*" (Edition: In the country of France)



Marshal Petain ruled all of France, inclusive of its empire – France, a transcontinental nation, an empire nation, Frankreich in German. It seems that the reviewed book takes a misrepresentation of France, limited to the continent, without its French colonies in North Africa, to faulty conclusions.



French Moroccan medal








**Source of the map**, GHDI: 'Europe at the Beginning of December 1941,' in *Germany and the Second World War*, edited by the Research Institute for Military History, Potsdam, Germany. Volume IV, *The Attack on the Soviet Union*, by Horst Boog, Jürgen Förster, Joachim Hoffmann, Ernst Klink, Rolf-Dieter Müller, and Gerd R. Ueberschär. Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1998. **This map** above is also accurate, because one can see that Vichy-Tunisia, Vichy-Algeria, and Vichy Morocco were part of France, a fact that question the titles: *The Holocaust and North Africa*, *The Jews of the Maghreb*, *Anti-Jewish Legislation in North Africa*, *the Holocaust in Arab lands*, *the Holocaust in the Muslim world and Arab world*.

\* Compare this map with maps in the reviewed book, pp. 13-15. Over a hundred have been recognized by the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany as sites of Jewish forced labor.



La France en 1942 :

-  État français
-  État français, zone d'occupation militaire allemande
-  Protectorats français.



Source: West Point

“NOTE P.B.5 du 6 mai 1942 relative a la reprise de certaines relations postales a partir de la zone non occupee du territoire francais. Depuis le 20 Avril 1942, des relations postales limitees sont reprises entre la **zone non-occupee** du **territoire francais** (y compris **la Corse** et les **possessions nord-africaines**), d'une part, l'Allemagne, le protectorat de Boheme et de Moravies, le gouvernement general, ....d'autre part.



Rencontre Eisenhower - Giraud à Gibraltar. le général Giraud demande le commandement de l'ensemble de l'opération (Torche) sur le **territoire français**.



Un timbre au type de métropole de 1954 repris dans toute l'Union Française, est consacré aux trois débarquements qui ont conduit à la Libération de la France et de l'Empire (Y&T Algérie No 312).

“The French colonies in North Africa, especially Algeria, were seen more as a direct extension of metropolitan France than overseas territories. The reason for this was their relative proximity to France and their large number of European settlers. The Vichy vision of the empire as a territorial continuation of metropolitan France led the regime to implement its official ideology in the colonies. **Vichy treated its colonies as an integral part of France.**”<sup>25</sup> In the 16 pages of *The Holocaust and North Africa*, “Maghreb,” Arabic word for west and the western part of the Arab world, is mentioned more than 5 times, while “French North Africa” never appeared.

“Au sens strict, le **Maghreb** (mot qui signifie en arabe « le couchant » du Soleil) est une région composée d'un groupe de pays : la Tunisie, l'Algérie, et le Maroc; les pays d'**Afrique du Nord**, autrefois colonisés par la France.

The **Mashriq** (Arabic word also **Mashreq**, Mashrek) is the eastern or, less commonly, north-eastern part of the Arab world. This comprises the modern states of Egypt, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Oman, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, and Iraq.

“Under the French-German cease-fire agreement, June 1940, French North Africa (l'Afrique Française du Nord – AFN) was considered part of unoccupied Vichy France.”<sup>26</sup> “As a result, the establishment of the antisemitic Vichy regime brought 415,000 Jews {of Vichy Algeria, Vichy FranceMorocco, and Vichy Tunisia} into the orbit of persecution.”<sup>27</sup> “Note P.B 3 du 28 janvier 1942...Aux termes de l'ordonnance du 17 octobre 1941 du Militärbefehlshaber en France,...la zone non-occupée de la France (B. O. 1941, page 1005), cette dernière zone comprend également les possessions françaises en Afrique du Nord, ainsi que les colonies françaises, les protectorats et les territoires sous mandat, à l'exception des territoires dissidents.” “ZONE NON OCCUPÉE (LES COLONIES «NON-DISSIDENTES» SERONT ULTÉRIEUREMENT CONSIDÉRÉES COMME SITUÉES EN ZONE NON-OCCUPÉE)”

“La France, comme les autres ... a vu le prétexte de l'antisémitisme donner lieu aux pires exactions.”<sup>28</sup> (France, like other countries saw the pretext of anti-Semitism result in the most extreme exactions). The discriminatory, exclusionary, and antisemitic Statutes were “for the whole of France,”<sup>29</sup> and thus, were applicable “in the colonies, in the French protectorates of Tunisia and Morocco

---

<sup>25</sup> Ginio, Ruth. *French Colonialism Unmasked: The Vichy Years in French West Africa*. University of Nebraska Press.

<sup>26</sup> [http://www.yadvashem.org/odot\\_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%205726.pdf](http://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%205726.pdf)

<sup>27</sup> [http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/holocaust/about/02/middle\\_east.asp](http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/holocaust/about/02/middle_east.asp) The url you requested was not found

<sup>28</sup> *Crimes ennemis en France: La persécution Raciale, Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de la Guerre*. 1947: Preface by Jacques Billiet.

<sup>29</sup> Marrus, Michael R., and Robert O. Paxton. *Vichy France and the Jews*. New York: Basic Books, 1981 p.98, note 59 whole france

(since 1881 and 1912, respectively), in the mandated territories, and in Algeria.”<sup>30</sup>  
“Il le décret présidentiel du 23 juin 1885: Le résident général est dépositaire des pouvoirs de la République dans la régence... devient seul maître à bord Le bey n’a plus d’autre pouvoir que celui de signer les décrets qu’on lui propose.”

---

---

#### **LOI DU 29 MARS 1941**

*Il est créé pour l'ensemble du **Territoire national** un  
Commissariat général aux Questions juives :*

*Celui-ci :*

- 1. Prépare et propose au Chef de l'État toutes mesures législatives relatives à l'état des Juifs.*
- 2. Fixe la date de la liquidation des biens juifs.*
- 3. Désigne les Administrateurs-séquestres.*
- 4. Le Commissaire général est désigné par le ministre d'État chargé de la vice-présidence du Conseil.*

“In March 1941 the Vichy authorities, *under pressure from the Germans*,<sup>31</sup> set up an Office for Jewish Affairs (Commissariat Général aux Questions Juives), *under the direction of Xavier Vallat, until May 1942*.<sup>32</sup> “The office was responsible to institute for instituting and carrying out France's anti-Jewish legislation, including the confiscation of Jewish property and businesses.”<sup>33</sup> “Vichy was persuaded to create a Commissariat-General for Jewish Affairs (CGQJ) headed by Xavier Vallat... Best urged that Vallat be informed of the German goal of a “total dejudaizing” (*vollständigen Entjundung*) of Europe.... The Germans found Vallat willing to expand Vichy anti-Jewish measures.”<sup>34</sup>

#### **German telegram from German embassy in Paris to Foreign Office, Berlin, dated 3 April 1941:**

“Antisemitic Laws in France to Prepare the Expulsion of French Jews

Xavier VALLAT, the Commissioner for Jewish matters, newly appointed by the French government, called this morning at the embassy. ... Xavier VALLAT's duties are of a ..... Nature:

to supervise the carrying out of the laws concerning the Jews which have already been decreed by the French government.

To coordinate the laws concerning the Jews which were laid down by the French government **for the whole of France** with the ordinances concerning the Jews

---

<sup>30</sup> Benbassa, p. 169

<sup>31</sup> France: [http://www.yadvashem.org/odot\\_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%20205857.pdf](http://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%20205857.pdf)

<sup>32</sup> France: [http://www.yadvashem.org/odot\\_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%20205857.pdf](http://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%20205857.pdf)

<sup>33</sup> [http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/education/newsletter/25/algeria\\_marocco.asp](http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/education/newsletter/25/algeria_marocco.asp)

<sup>34</sup> Christopher R. Browning, *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939-March 1942*; 2007; p. 201

which were issued by the Military Commander in France at the suggestion of the Embassy and which applied to the occupied territory.  
To formulate further French laws concerning the Jews. ...

These anti-Jewish measures announced hitherto concern the removal of foreign and French Jews from high positions in the government and in the army and from all spheres of activity in the press, the radio the theatre and the film industry.

16 copies made

Distributed as follows:

No. 2 " Reich Labor Ministry

" 3 " State Secretary

" 5 " Office of Reich Foreign Minister

" 6 " Chief Pol. Div.

" 9 " Commercial Policy Div.

" 10 " Cultural Matters

" 11 " Press Div.

This is No. 3

Initial by WEIZSAECKER

(page 2 of original)

"The laws still to be formulated by VALLAT are to force the largest number of Jews resident in France also out of the remaining professions in the world of economies and commerce

the laws which VALLAT has been commissioned to formulate can be expressed in very definite terms, which at present would be of the utmost importance. ... I have advised Xavier VALLAT to propose a law of this sort to Vichy and have informed the expert of the Paris offices of the S.D., with whom I put VALLAT in touch, to this effect.

In the Embassy Legationsrat ZWITSCHER is responsible for liaison with the French Commissioner for Jewish matters and the Referent for Jewish questions of the SD in Paris. Signed: ABETZ"<sup>35</sup>

"The Third Reich came to control Vichy Tunisia, Vichy Algeria, and Vichy Morocco, because Pétain had decided on a policy of Nazi collaboration, "in order to preserve the unity of France." Darlan too was convinced that France's best interests were served by an accord with Germany. "On 28th May 1941, Vichy France signed the *Paris Protocol*. ... an agreement between Nazi Germany and Vichy-France ... granted the Germans military facilities in Syria, Tunisia, and French West Africa." "The Germans obtained military, naval, and economic concessions which gave them virtual control of North Africa. ... Further Vichy concessions to the Germans in Africa at this time and in 1942 relating to

---

<sup>35</sup> Shoah Resource Center, The International School for Holocaust Studies. Yad Vashem Archives TR2\N11\1009\E, NG 2432  
[http://www.yadvashem.org/odot\\_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%205223.pdf](http://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%205223.pdf)

supplies, convoys, ports, railroads, military cooperation in Tunisia”<sup>36</sup> <sup>37</sup> “The Germans didn’t invade Vichy Algeria and Vichy Morocco, like they did with metropolitan France, but their representatives were there.”<sup>38</sup> “The Warner Bros got it right when Nazi officials could be seen in Fr. Morocco in the 1942 American movie *Casablanca*, which was released in November 1942, just after the Allies victory in Operation Torch.”

“In the summer of 1941, SS Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler said: “the Fuehrer has ordered that the Jewish question be solved once and for all. The Jews are the sworn enemies of the German people and must be eradicated. Every Jew that we can lay our hands on is to be destroyed now during the war, without exception ... obliterate the biological basis of Jewry.”<sup>39</sup> “The *Einsatzgruppen* (or mobile killing units in charge of annihilating Jews), which had been following the Wehrmacht during invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, had already been mass shooting tens of thousands of Jewish men, women, and children in Eastern Europe. A month later, on July 31, 1941, Herman Göring, Reich Marshal of the Greater German Reich, under instructions from Hitler, ordered SS-*Gruppenführer* General Reinhard Heydrich, head of the Reich Security Main Office (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*-RSHA), to design a plan “for a complete solution of the Jewish question in the entire German sphere of influence in Europe.”

In July 1941, the CGQJ introduced the program of ‘Aryanization,’ appropriating Jewish-owned property for the French state. In a press conference near the end of his tenure, Vallat told reporters that aryanization involved 18 different laws, 18 décrets d’application (executive orders) for metropolitan France, 13 for Algeria, 5 for the colonies.” In August 1941, Vallat carried the antisemitic flag in person to check ‘the Jewish problem’ in Vichy North Africa. “an abundant correspondence between Vallat and Dr. Best’s staff.” Vallat provided reports “to SS Dr. Best, an active proponent of ridding Europe of Jews<sup>40</sup> {chief of the Section “Administration” (*Abteilung Verwaltung*) of the Administration Staff (*Verwaltungsstab*, Dr Schmid) in occupied France), and to SS- officer Theodor Dannecker {in the occupied northern zone}, head of Jewish Affairs in Paris, sent to Paris directly by Adolf Eichmann’s bureau IVB4, the branch of the RSHA in Berlin devoted to Jewish matters.} Vichy legislation had already been extended to Algeria as it appeared; but, following Vallat’s tour, an additional official, one Franceschi, was appointed to head a new aryanization service.”<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> Michael Robert Marrus, *Vichy France and the Jews*, pp. 345-47.

<sup>37</sup> G. Lefebvre, Ch. H. Pouthas and M. Baumont. *Histoire de la France pour tous les Français*. v. 2. Librairie Hachette, 1950.

---

<sup>38</sup> Kaspi, 1991:175.

<sup>39</sup> Reference: Commandant of Auschwitz: The Autobiography of Rudolf Hoess (Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1959).

<sup>40</sup> Michael Robert Marrus, *Vichy France and the Jews*, p. 78

<sup>41</sup> Michael Robert Marrus, *Vichy France and the Jews*, p. 106.

“Le 21 août 1941, Xavier Vallat, Commissaire Général aux Questions Juives, vint à Tunis en personne, flanqué de l’avocat Franceschi. {“pour se rendre compte sur place de l’importance du problème juif dans ce protectorat.”} “Il passa deux jours dans la capitale, eut de longs entretiens avec Esteva, MM. Lamotte et de Font Réaux, conseiller juridique et de législation. ... Il partit en laissant à Tunis une Délégation de son commissariat. Une longue ... kyrielle de décrets et d’arrêtés ... s’abattit sur la population juive de la Régence. Le dernier est daté du 22 octobre 1942.”<sup>42</sup> (In August 21, 1941, ‘Vallat visited Vichy France-North Africa to check “the Jewish problem.” He left a delegation of his Commissariat in Tunis, where Franceschi, was appointed to head a new aryanization service.”<sup>43</sup> They {the Jews} were all identified, counted, ostracized, isolated, systematically discriminated, objectified, diabolized, and deprived of their civil rights and property – the preparatory measures that laid the foundation for an eventual annihilation. The bureaucracy and the machinery to deal with the Jewish question were set for them, and a deadly Final Solution had already started elsewhere.”

In 1941, thousands of Jews were arrested and sent to transit camps, mostly to Drancy and Compiègne, from which they were later deported to occupied-Poland. In 1941, between 14,000 and 15,000 were interned in slave labor camps in the Sahara in Vichy France’s North Africa.”<sup>44</sup>

“Hitler’s meeting with Husseini, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem in Berlin in November, 1941. This is a third example of evidence that points to a wider application of the Final Solution. “During his meeting with Haj Amin al-Husseini, the Mufti of Jerusalem, on November 28, 1941, Hitler assured him, that “Germany stood for uncompromising war against the Jews. ... This ‘exterminatory’ war against the Jews would be carried on beyond the European continent. »

“Between December 1941 and July 1942, the Nazi regime built five killing centers or “death camps” in German-occupied Poland to efficiently murder Jews: Chelmno, Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka, Majdanek, and Auschwitz-Birkenau.

“On January 20, 1942, RSHA chief SS Reinhard Heydrich convened the Wannsee Conference, where one issue discussed was the coordination of the “Final Solution to the Jewish Question.”<sup>45</sup> (in German: “*die Endlösung der Judenfrage*”) “The Wannsee Conference was held near Berlin on January 20, 1942. High-ranking German officials convened to deliberate the “Final Solution to the Jewish Question,” the code name for the elimination of Jews “without

---

<sup>42</sup> Sabille:25-26. Michael Robert Marrus, *Vichy France and the Jews*, p. 106.

<sup>43</sup> Arch. C.D.J.C. “FA” 40a. Michael Robert Marrus, *Vichy France and the Jews*, p. 106.

<sup>44</sup> Marrus, Michael R., and Robert O. Paxton. *Vichy France and the Jews*. New York: Basic Books, 1981 p.166. Benbassa Esther, 170

<sup>45</sup> [http://www.ghwk.de/fileadmin/user\\_upload/pdf-wannsee/texte/protocol.pdf](http://www.ghwk.de/fileadmin/user_upload/pdf-wannsee/texte/protocol.pdf)

regard to geographical borders;<sup>46</sup> without consideration of geographic limitations/without regard to geographic borders<sup>47</sup>/without regard to geographic boundaries.”<sup>48</sup> “For the first time in history, the **annihilation of a people** had become official government policy.”<sup>49</sup> “The importance of Wannsee lies in the fact that ... the entire German bureaucracy became involved in the conscious effort to murder a nation.” (Yehuda Bauer)



German military map of Europe, inclusive of *France d'Outre-Mer* (French for France overseas: Vichy-Tunisia, Vichy-Algeria, and Vichy Morocco), dated 1942.

"In the Wannsee meeting ... a group of bureaucrats ... were asked by Heydrich ... to coordinate the execution of a Hitler order to murder all the Jews in territories within German reach that had evolved in the previous year. ... Wannsee? ... a historical significance ... it contributes to our knowledge of the processes involved in the design for mass murder ... "<sup>50</sup> Heydrich officially listed

<sup>46</sup> Steve Hochstadt, *Sources of the Holocaust (Documents in History)*, p. 132. Wannsee Protocol, January 20, 1942 <http://www.h-net.org/~german/gtext/nazi/wanneng2.html>

<sup>47</sup> Official translation:

<http://www.writing.upenn.edu/%7Eafilreis/Holocaust/wannsee-transcript.html>

<sup>48</sup> [http://www.ghwk.de/fileadmin/user\\_upload/pdf-wannsee/texte/protocol.pdf](http://www.ghwk.de/fileadmin/user_upload/pdf-wannsee/texte/protocol.pdf)

<sup>49</sup> Longerich 2010: 305-10

<sup>50</sup> David Cesarani, *The Final Solution: Origins and Implementation*; p. 302

<http://books.google.com/books?id=1LeGAgAAQBAJ&pg=PA26&dq=The+final+solution+;+the+attempt+to+exterminate+the+Jews+of+Europe+1939->

the figure of 700,000 Jews for "France/unoccupied territory. " Included in the 700,000 Jews are those of" Vichy North Africa.

**Peter Longerich** : "Included in the 700,000 Jews for unoccupied France are those of the North African colonies."<sup>51</sup> 2012 email from Longerich to Shaked : «I interpret the figure of 700.000 Jews for 'France, unoccupied' as an overall figure including the Jews in French North Africa." (about 300,000 Jews in metropolitan France and "400,000 according to the 1941 {Vichy} census"<sup>52</sup> in FNA. "*En 1939 la France métropolitaine compte 330,000 Juifs don't la moitié seulement sont de nationalité française*)." <sup>53</sup>

**Peter Witte** about the published Himmler's appointment book confirms the above. Witte wrote to me (Shaked) in e-mail: "On December 10, 1942 Himmler reported to Hitler on "Juden in Frankreich 600-700.000 abschaffen" (Jews in France 600-700.000 to be deported or to finish.

: the German word is a bit ambiguous in fact. At any rate the word "abschaffen" is Hitler's reaction to Himmler's proposal, which is emphasized by the addition of a hook (about like V). The meaning is always that Hitler has agreed to Himmler's proposals.

Immediately after Himmler's report to Hitler he made a note on it. Himmler sent a note to Heinrich Müller, head of the Gestapo, in which he stated: "Der Führer hat die Anweisung gegeben, dass die Juden und sonstigen Feinde des Reiches in Frankreich verhaftet und abtransportiert werden. Dies soll jedoch erst geschehen, wenn er mit Laval darüber gesprochen hat." (The Führer has given order to arrest and deport the Jews and other enemies of the Reich in France. But this shall happen only after talks with Laval about it. 6 to 700.000 Jews are concerned.)

We have commented on this remarkable note that these exaggerated numbers have already appeared in the protocole of the Wannsee conference on January 20, 1942, and that these numbers must include the Jews of the French northern African colonies Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia in all probability, as in France only 290.000 Jews were still alive at the end of 1942. Our reasoning is in accordance

---

[1945+/+Gerald+Reitlinger&hl=en&sa=X&ei=Qa1qU4yCOYzwoATlzoKgCw&ved=0CDcQ6AEwAg#v=onepage&q=Wannsee&f=false](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/312111111_1945+/+Gerald+Reitlinger&hl=en&sa=X&ei=Qa1qU4yCOYzwoATlzoKgCw&ved=0CDcQ6AEwAg#v=onepage&q=Wannsee&f=false)

<sup>51</sup> Longerich 2010: 1-5

<sup>52</sup> *Jewish Population of French North Africa*

<https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007310>

Benbassa, Esther, *The Jews of France: A History from Antiquity to the Present*, p. 170.

<sup>53</sup> [\*La Shoah en France\* \(10 min\)](#)

Georges Bensoussan, historien at the Memorial of the Shoah - Paris, mars 2014

[http://www.akadem.org/pour-commencer/histoire-de-la-shoah/la-shoah-en-france-21-03-2014-58305\\_4522.php](http://www.akadem.org/pour-commencer/histoire-de-la-shoah/la-shoah-en-france-21-03-2014-58305_4522.php)

with other scholars, e.g. Goetz Aly: "Endloesung", p. 300. The printed sources and this information can be found in: Peter Witte u.a. (editors): Der Dienstkalender Heinrich Himmlers." End of email.

**Norbert Kemp, at Wannsee Museum, to Shaked:** For France, Eichmann had obviously also included the Jews in the French colonies in North Africa. Also at: <http://www.ghwk.de/wannsee/die-wannsee-konferenz.html?lang=gb>.  
[http://www.ghwk.de/fileadmin/user\\_upload/pdf-wannsee/texte/conference.pdf](http://www.ghwk.de/fileadmin/user_upload/pdf-wannsee/texte/conference.pdf)  
**American historian Robert Satloff** firmly states: "The hugely inflated Wannsee number for the Jews of unoccupied France was no mistake. It is also the view expressed to me {Satloff} by Professor Robert O. Paxton, coauthor of Vichy France and the Jews, in an e-mail correspondence, October 8, 2003."

Nazi leaders, who gathered at the infamous Wannsee Conference in Berlin in January 1942. ... Nazi planners ... including Eichmann, ... formulated the systematic plan for the execution of the "final solution." ... unoccupied France had 700,000 Jews. In reality, there were fewer than 200,000. How could the exacting, meticulous Nazi planners – who concerned themselves with the most minute logistical problems of transporting millions to their death, disposing of their remains, and hiding this hideous crime from the world – make such a huge error? Could the Germans have simply made a mistake? No. The hugely inflated Wannsee number for the Jews of unoccupied France was no mistake, because it included the hundreds of thousands of Jews who lived in France's North African possessions: the colony of Algeria and the two protectorates ... of Morocco ... and ... Tunisia." (Satloff 2006: 19)

'In 1942, Pierre Laval, an opportunistic French fascist and dutiful Nazi collaborator, won the trust of Nazi leader Adolf Hitler, and the elderly Petain became merely a figurehead in the Vichy regime.' "Pierre Laval, a former Socialist politician who cultivated good relations with Otto Abetz (the German Foreign Office representative in Paris), functioned as the acting chief of government for most of the period of German occupation."<sup>54</sup>

"In March 6, 1942, Vallat wrote to the French minister Bonzon in Paris, stating that he visited Fr. Tunisia last August "pour se rendre compte sur place de l'importance du **probleme juif** dans ce protectorat. L'Amiral Esteva est d'accord pour appliquer progressivement dans ce pays la legislation de la metropole, notamment en ce qui concerne les professions liberals ... Un numerus clausus va etre pris ..."<sup>55</sup> The Admira Esteva agrees to implement in a ) progressive manner in this country, the legislation of the metropole {France} ... .numerus clausus ... Vallat left in Tunis a delegation of his commissariat"Abetz

---

<sup>54</sup> <https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005429#>

<sup>55</sup> Letter of Vallat to the French minister Bonzon in Paris, dated March 6, 1942. Arch. CDJC in Sabille, p. 176.

correctly perceived that through the CGQJ the Germans would gain the leverage for extending the anti-Jewish measures from occupied to **unoccupied France**.<sup>56</sup>

'In June 1942, the Germans forced the Jews in the occupied zone to wear the Jewish badge for easy identification, began arresting large groups, and restricted the movements of the remaining community. The "roundups", carried out mostly by the French police, continued throughout the summer. In one severe Aktion, which took place on 16-17 July, they rounded up about 12,000 Jews in Paris, jamming some 7,000 of them into the Velodrome d'Hiver. The Vichy authorities also arrested and deported Jews from their zone. Altogether, 42,500 Jews were sent to Poland during 1942, of which nearly one third came from unoccupied France. 11,000 Jewish children from France were murdered.

"Then, during the summer of 1942, the Germans, on their side, began to implement the 'final solution' on the Jewish problem in France. Arrests, internments, and deportations to Auschwitz in Poland occurred with increasing frequency, often with the direct complicity of the French government and administration. (Marrus: Introduction)

#### **"The Further Development of the Policy of Extermination**

... The direct consequence of the geographical extension of the war after the Allied landings ... on 8 November 1942 "was that a further large Jewish group was exposed to German attack: the Jews of French North Africa, who had already been included among the victims of the coming 'Final Solution' envisaged at the Wannsee Conference."<sup>57</sup>

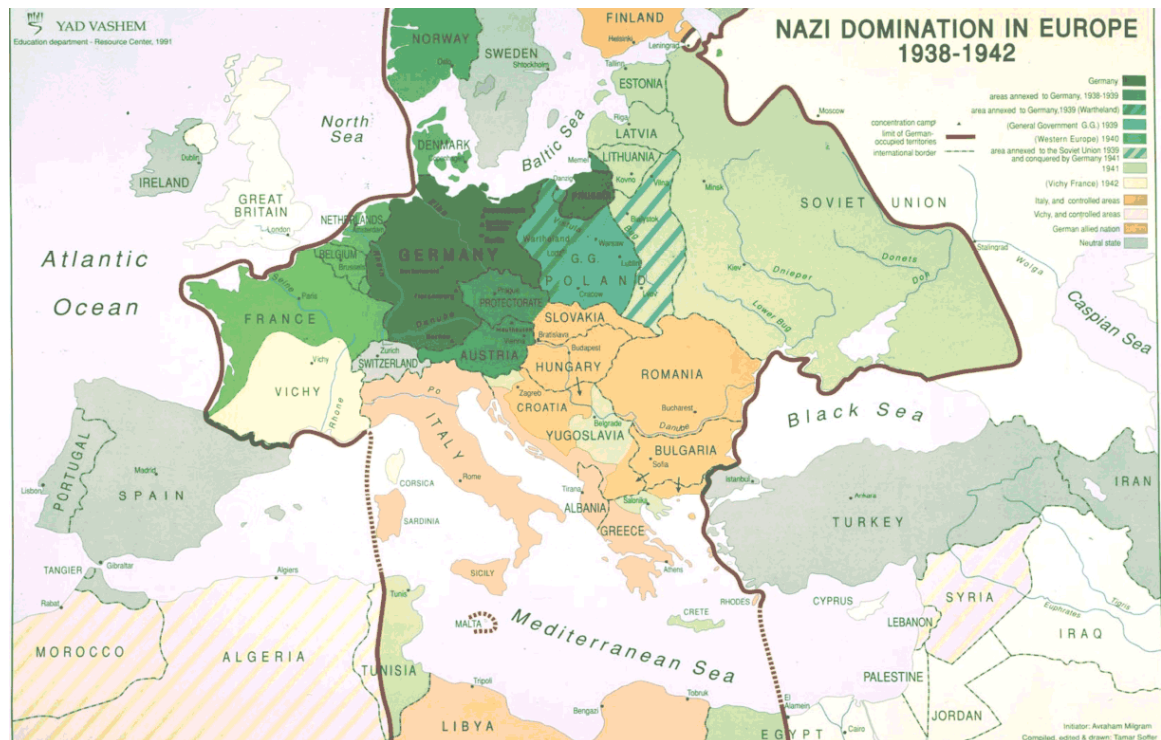
'On November 8, 1942, the Allies launched Operation Torch, the code name for the Allied plan to invade Vichy North Africa, in order to open a second front in the European theater of World War II. It ended on May 13, 1942 with liberation of Tunis. The long-term goal was to clear Germany and Italy from French North Africa, enhance naval control of the Mediterranean, and prepare an invasion of Italy in 1943. The US and British forces, commanded by American General Dwight D. Eisenhower, landed on the beaches of Casablanca, Oran, and Algiers in Vichy North Africa, and fought against French forces. Marshal Pétain, the nominally and compliant ruler of France exclaimed: "*Nous sommes attaqués!*" (We are under attack!). The Vichy forces resisted briefly, then under the leadership of Vichy Admiral Darlan (who happened to be on the scene), cooperated with the Allies. On November 10-11, after negotiating a deal with American officials, Admiral François Darlan, commander-in-chief of the French forces, agreed to a cease-fire, and joined the Allies. Algiers became the new capital of France. He ordered Vichy forces to cease resisting and cooperate with the Allies, and they did so.

---

<sup>56</sup> Christopher R. Browning, *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939-March 1942*; 2007; p. 201

<sup>57</sup> Longerich, 2010:391.

D'après l'Acte Constitutionnel du 10 février 1941, L'Amiral Darlan, qui se trouve en Algérie à ce moment, prend le titre de «**Haut Commissaire de France en Afrique Française.**» But in p. 19 of *The Holocaust and North Africa*, the title is "French high commissioner in North Africa" which is *not* the same as High Commissioner of France in French Africa. The Allies recognized Darlan's self-nomination as 'High Commissioner of France in Africa' (head of civil government) for North and West Africa. 'The 117,000 Jews of Vichy Algeria and the 200,000 Jews of V. Morocco were freed from the danger of deportation to metropolitan France...and beyond,' because of the military successes of the English-American amphibious landing. The Jews of Vichy Morocco celebrated their freedom by reading *Megilat Hitler* (The Book of Hitler), which paraphrased the story of *The Book of Esther*. That *megilah* describes the rise of Hitler, his deadly plan to deport all the Jews to the death camps, and how that plan was foiled because of President Roosevelt (Persian King *Achashveroch/Ahasuerus*). *Megillat Hitler* is now displayed at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC.



<http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/nazi-domination-in-europe>

Following 'Operation Torch,' that started November 7-8, 1942, the German and Italian forces simultaneously took over the Vichy metropolitan zone and Vichy Tunisia, in November 9. "Following orders from Vichy, the French colonial army surrendered the cities of Tunis and Bizerte without opposition and withdrew to Algeria. ... The diplomat Rudolf Rahn served as the highest civilian representative of Nazi Germany and the contact person for the executive authority of the French resident-general Admiral Estéva ... Italian troops also

arrived ... a few days after the Wehrmacht. "With the occupation of V. Tunisia in November 9 some 85,000 Jews came under German control."<sup>58</sup>

During the 6 months of Nazi occupation, the Germans were fighting two wars, one against the Allies and one against the Jews, with the war against the Jews, a priority. "Hitler's obsession with the Jewish question ensured that the Nazi commitment would not slacken. Though the German's military policy was confused and disorganized during this time, their policy regarding the Jews was cohesive and consistent – they began to take action against the Jews of Tunisia as early as two weeks after their invasion. First, they arrested the leaders of the Jewish community."<sup>59</sup> "To a real degree there was what Lucy Dawidowicz has called a '*war against the Jews*.' ... . Eradication was to be total. In principle, no Jew was to escape. ... In this important respect, the Nazis' assault upon Jewry differed from the campaigns against other peoples and groups. ... Nazi ideology ... required their total disappearance."<sup>60</sup>

"The Gestapo chief of Tunis was SS *Obersturmbannführer* (Colonel) Walther Rauff, a brutal and notorious killer involved in developing the death gas vans and the Final Solution in Eastern Europe from October 1941 to July 1942. Rauff was empowered to carry out "executive measures on the civilian population," the Nazi code for mass murder and enslavement. "Rauff, colonel in the SD and Gestapo, was in charge of the extermination team that was to operate in Palestine."<sup>61</sup> He had entered Tunis with "Einsatzkommando Tunis"<sup>62</sup> (SS task force, a unit of the Einsatzgruppen). Oswald Pohl, former administrative head of the SS, charged by *Reichsführer-SS* (SS chief) Heinrich Himmler to organize the concentration camps in Eastern Europe, joined Rauff. "When the Afrika Korps was defeated at El Alamein, the Einsatzkommando shifted its operations to Tunisia, where it implemented cruel anti-Jewish policies for many months. The authors {of *Nazi Palestine: The Plan to Exterminate the Jews of Palestine*, Klaus-Michael Mallmann and Martin Cüppers} have identified the relevant documents and analyzed the racist, ideological, political, and religious implications of the planning of a specific regional extermination program within the context of the Holocaust. ... 'It is to the credit of the authors...that they have been assiduous in

---

<sup>58</sup> Longerich, 2010:391.

<sup>59</sup>

[http://www1.yadvashem.org/about\\_yad/magazine/magazine\\_new/mag\\_35/The.html](http://www1.yadvashem.org/about_yad/magazine/magazine_new/mag_35/The.html)

<sup>60</sup> Marrus, Michael R., *The Holocaust in History*. University Press of New England, Hanover, 1987, p. 24.

<sup>61</sup> Klaus, 175.

<sup>62</sup> Klaus-Michael Mallmann, Martin Cüppers, and Krista Smith, *Nazi Palestine: The Plan to Exterminate the Jews of Palestine*. New York: Enigma Books, 2010. Published in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

<https://www.ushmm.org/research/publications/academic-publications/full-list-of-academic-publications/nazi-palestine-the-plans-for-the-extermination-of-the-jews-of-palestine>

locating information either inaccessible or overlooked before... - Gerhard L. Weinberg, *Central European History*.<sup>63</sup>

**HOLOCAUST HISTORIANS** Yehuda Bauer, academic advisor at Yad Vashem and its former Director, Benbassa, Leni Yahil, Peter Longerich, Martin Gilbert, Leon Poliakov, S. Kaspi and others correctly narrate the history of the European Holocaust as not taking place in geographically continental Europe, but as taking place in the *political* proper context of imperial political Europe, inclusive of Europe's overseas North African possessions "Under European regimes Aligned With Nazi Germany,"<sup>64</sup> Vichy Tunisia, Vichy Morocco, Vichy Algeria, and Italian Libya. That's why they narrate the persecution, deportations, and murder of the Jews in Vichy Tunisia, Vichy Morocco, Vichy Algeria, and Italian Libya as an integral part of the Shoah in France ("an empire nation;" "Frankreich" German for French Empire) and Italy respectively. Those historians simply use "Historians habits of the mind," **"to show the past as it really was,"** and the true historical methodology of "proper context" and "precision of language," promoted by the National Council for History Education, and historians at Yad Vashem, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, and EHRI.

-----  
**Berg, Roger (1947).** *Crimes ennemis en France* (in French). vol. V - *La Persécution raciale*. Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la Guerre, par: Service d'Information des Crimes de Guerre, 20 février 1947. A utiliser avec: *Les Juifs en France pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale* par Renée Poznanski, 1994. *Documents pour servir à l'Paris: Service d'information des crimes de guerre - Office français d'édition.*  
<https://www.scribd.com/document/25713363/La-Persecution-Raciale> "A utiliser avec: *Les Juifs en France pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale* par Renée Poznanski, 1994." The book also narrates the persecution of the Jews in French North Africa and has a chapter on the persecution of the Jews in Nazi-occupied Vichy Tunisia.

### **"Memo Sent to the Reich Minister of Foreign Affairs Regarding the Italian Government's Lenient Treatment of Jews, October 1942**

In the course of the measures aiming at the solution of the Jewish question in Germany and in certain other European countries, ...

### **III. Other European States.**

In the rest of Europe, it is a crucial aspect of the problem that Italy is rating the

---

<sup>63</sup> *Nazi Palestine: The Plan to Exterminate the Jews of Palestine*, Klaus-Michael Mallmann and Martin Cupper; <https://www.ushmm.org/research/publications/academic-publications/full-list-of-academic-publications/nazi-palestine-the-plans-for-the-extermiation-of-the-jews-of-palestine>

<sup>64</sup> Vichy Morocco and V. Algeria were "Under European regimes Aligned With Nazi Germany" (ushmm).

economic power of the Italian Jews in the Mediterranean Area rather high, which applies particularly to Tunisia...

**IN Tunisia**, this has led up to Italian protest against the French tendency toward Aryanization; ...as much as in **Tunisia and in Algeria**, the French were appearing in the part of Jew-baiters and the Italians in the part of protectors of the Jews. ...

IN Greece, preliminary discussion on the question of introducing a distinctive badge for the Jews have taken place between the German and the Italian delegates;..."

**Bauer, Yehuda. *A History of the Holocaust* {in Europe}. He doesn't use the false term "North African Jews." He narrates the persecution of the Vichy Jews in FNA in chapter "ten. WEST EUROPEAN JEWRY, 1940-1944" under "FRANCE" and under the sub-heading**

**"The Southern (Vichy) Zone** ..... In Algeria, the Vichy government ... introduced ... antisemitic measures. ... Similar measures were taken by the Vichy government in the French protectorates of Morocco and Tunisia."<sup>65</sup>

**Peter Longerich, *Holocaust: The Nazi Persecution and Murder of the Jews*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press: 2010. This historian tells about the fate of the Jews in French North Africa as part of the Holocaust in France, in his "brief survey of the fate of the Jews in the countries occupied by and allied with Germany" and the "systematic murder of the Jews of Europe." "... research on the murder of European Jewry ... this study is based on primary sources... take account of the latest scholarship."<sup>66</sup> "Madagascar project. Planning had evidently been extended in the meantime to include German allies and satellites in Eastern Europe and the Jews in the French colonies."<sup>67</sup> "... the Jews of French North Africa, who had already been included among the victims of the coming 'Final Solution' envisaged at the Wannsee Conference."<sup>68</sup>**

"Conclusion. In this study we have made an attempt to interpret the decision-making process leading to the systematic murder of the Jews of Europe within the wider context of German *Judenpolitik*."<sup>69</sup> "Madagascar project ... Rademacher's August memo ... he now estimated the number of Jews to be sent to Madagascar as 6.5 million, an indication that the Jews from south-east Europe as well as those from the French colonies in North Africa were to be included."<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>65</sup> Bauer 2001: 250-56

<sup>66</sup> Longerich 2010: 1-5

<sup>67</sup> Longerich 2010: 1-5

<sup>68</sup> Longerich 2010: 391

<sup>69</sup> Longerich 2010: 492

<sup>70</sup> Longerich 2010: 510

\_\_\_\_\_*Heinrich Himmler: A Life*, Oxford University Press: 2012. “Peter Longerich, author of the critically acclaimed book *Holocaust*, has written what is almost the definitive biography of Heinrich Himmler, the architect of the Nazi genocide against the Jews.”<sup>71</sup> In his book, Longerich writes that in December 1942, Himmler discussed with Hitler the destruction of 600-700.000 Jews of France: “... there are currently at least 1.5 million deadly enemies of the Axis living ... in the previously part of France, namely 600,000-700,000 Jews... ‘The *Fuhrer* gave orders that the Jews and other enemies in France should be arrested and deported. This should take place, however, only once he has spoken with Laval about it. It is a matter of 6-700.000 Jews.’” in ch. **21. The Murder of the European Jews**, p. 648.

**Peter Longerich**’s 2012 email to Shaked: «I interpret the figure of 700.000 Jews for “France, unoccupied” as an overall figure including the Jews in French North Africa. The text itself does not give any evidence how they arrived at this figure. Otherwise we had to assume that the RSHA had a completely distorted picture of the numbers of Jews in Southern France. ... the list presented by Heydrich contains other figures of Jews who were not living under German control at the time (Britain, Turkey) etc.

**Leni Yahil**. *The Holocaust: The Fate of European Jewry, 1932–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press: 1990). The Hebrew title uses ***the Jews of Europe*** –*Yehudey Europa*). Yahil tells the story of the persecutions, deportations, and murder of the European Jews of European North Africa (French North Africa and Italian Libya) in part II of her book about the final solution, in her chapters about “European Jewry” in the sub-headings “France” and “Italy,” respectively:

## **PART II. PROLOGUE TO THE ‘FINAL SOLUTION’: THE FIRST PHASE OF WORLD WAR II, SEPTEMBER 1939-1941**

### **6. The War Against European Jewry: The First Assault (Autumn 1939 to Spring 1941) ...**

#### ***The Jewish Policy in the Occupied Countries of Northern and Western Europe***

**In France** ... by the summer of 1940 the Jewish problem had become a highly pressing one for the regime in southern France, and the first orders limiting the rights of the Jews were, in fact, issued by the Vichy French. ... on August 16, 1940, a second order was issued prohibiting aliens to practice as physicians, dentists, or pharmacists. This order applied to the French colonies ... North Africa. ... the Jewish Statute ... in the French protectorates in North Africa ... **Morocco...Tunisia...Algeria...** the French authorities issued one order after the next imposing some of the laws of the Vichy regime on the Jews-and even

---

<sup>71</sup> Review by Jack Fischel.

interpreted them in radical terms. (Yahil 1990: 123-145; 172-74). Yahil also tells about Jews in Libya, in the section called "The Jews in Fascist Italy."

**14. European Jewry Prior to Deportation to the East (1941-1942), p. 336:**

Once the Wannsee Conference had laid the foundation for the wholesale transportation of the Jews of Europe to the extermination sites ... the staff of Adolph Eichmann...required cooperation of other agencies such as the Foreign Ministry. ... Foreign Ministry diplomats were present in all the satellite states...occupied territories such as Holland...France...and even Tunisia."

"Yahil, professor emeritus at Hebrew University, has written a masterful, meticulous book integrating the best of world scholarship with her own research of the last two decades to create a first-rate synthesis showing the gradual evolution of the "Final Solution." She is particularly adept in portraying discrete Jewish experiences in different European locations ... Leni Yahil's book won the Shazar Prize, one of Israel's highest awards for historical work.

Her writing is balanced, objective, and compelling ... marshal an impressive array of documentary ... Along the way, she destroys persistent myths about the Holocaust: that Hitler had no plan for exterminating the Jews, ... *she conclusively demonstrates* that Hitler was always working toward *a final reckoning with world Jewry*, envisioning his war as a war against the Jews. The Holocaust is a monumental work of history, unsurpassed in scope and insightful detail. Objective yet compassionate, Leni Yahil brings together the countless diverse strands of this epic event in a single gripping account."

**Gilbert, Martin.** *The Holocaust – A History of the Jews of Europe During the Second World War.* Henry Holt & Company, Inc., New York: 1985, considers the Jews of European North Africa as "Jews of Europe," and narrates the story of their persecution in his book. Gilbert also issued a statement in it, he firmly declares that "the fate of the Jews living in French North Africa was directly connected to the fate of the Jews living in Metropolitan France ... an integral part of the history of the Holocaust in France."

**Poliakov, Léon.** Poliakov, L (1966). *"France. The Fate of the French Jews"*. *Algemeyne Entsiklopedye* (in Yiddish). New York: Shulsinger Pubs. and Dubnov Fund & Entsiklopedye Komitet. Poliakov, one of the most eminent of Holocaust historians, wrote an article for a Yiddish-language encyclopedia, in a section of the *Algemeyne Entsiklopedye* devoted to the Holocaust in various countries. In his article *France*, Poliakov also writes the stories of the persecution of the Vichy Jews of Fr. Tunisia, Fr. Algeria, and Fr. Morocco.

**J. Robinson**, Coordinator of Research Activities and Publications on the Holocaust for Yad Vashem and YIVO, New York: "The Holocaust was ... methodically conducted in virtually all areas of Nazi-occupied territory... in different parts of Nazi controlled territory...pursued over the length and breadth

of a continent and beyond, ... condemned to mass murder. ... every Jew was condemned. ... The area in which anti-Jewish measures were imposed is commensurate with the ever-expanding territorial and political German power: ... May 10, 1940, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France (reaching out to French North Africa and the French Levant); Sept. 8, 1943, the day of partial occupation by German troops, Italy (the anti-Jewish action in Libya...)”<sup>72</sup>

**Klaus-Michael Mallmann, Martin Cüppers, and Krista Smith**, *Nazi Palestine: The Plans for the Extermination of the Jews of Palestine* (New York: Enigma Books, 2010): The fact that the Jews of French Tunisia very existence was under direct threat because of the presence of the *Einsatzkommando* of the security police and the SD (*Sicherheitsdienst*) assigned to the Africa Korps has been until recently completely overlooked by academic researchers

**Esther Benbassa**, *The Jews of France: A History from Antiquity to the Present*, 1999 Princeton. She narrates history of the fate of the Vichy Jews in French North Africa, “France on the other side of the Mediterranean Sea.”

**Renée Poznanski**, an expert on the Holocaust in France, writes, “I have limited the scope of my study to mainland France. Granted, it did not take long for the Vichy authorities...to extend the anti-Semitic laws beyond the shores of the Mediterranean. However ... {difficulty} of examining both sides of the Mediterranean in the same study.” Poznanski, *Jews in France during World War II*. Brandeis University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: 2001, p. xvi.

**Kaspi, André**, *Les Juifs pendant l’Occupation* – The Jews during Nazi occupation of France. Paris: Seuil, 1991. Kaspi tells the story of the persecution of the Jews in France during Nazi occupation, inclusive of Fr. Tunisia, Fr. Algeria, and Fr. Morocco.

**“IN HISTORY, BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT MATTER.”** Today, it is difficult for one to visualize the independent countries of North Africa, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco and Libya, as part of political Europe, as it was during the Holocaust in Europe. It is imperative to “perceive past events and issues as they might have been experienced by the people of the time, with historical empathy rather than present-mindedness.” - History’s habits of mind, The National Council for History Education - NCHE. How a Holocaust scholar approaches the evolution of political events, assembles historical evidence, and contextualizes them by using a precise terminology, are very important decisions within historiography, because they determine the quality and the accuracy of the historical account.

---

<sup>72</sup> Dr. Jacob Robinson. *The History of the Holocaust*. In Holocaust (material originally published in the *Encyclopedia Judaica*). A Keter Book; pp. 4-17

**Yehuda Bauer, current academic advisor at Yad Vashem**, its former Director, one of Israel's most prominent Holocaust scholars, and former Academic Advisor to the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research, stressed the importance of placing the narrative of the Holocaust in "proper" historical context, stating that "Holocaust ... first must be understood historically ... we have to start with the history, and the history has to be placed in the proper context."<sup>73</sup>

**Historians at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum** add another methodological consideration, writing that while it is critical that "{History}" of the Holocaust should be placed within its contemporaneous context so students can begin to comprehend the {political} circumstances that encouraged or discouraged particular actions or events," one must also "Strive for Precision of Language. Because of the complexity of the history, there is a temptation to ... distort the facts. ... Avoid this ... clarify the information presented... Words ... often have multiple meanings." The USHMM also warns to "Avoid simple answers to complex questions. The history of the Holocaust raises difficult questions ... Be wary of simplification. Seek instead to convey the nuances of this history."

**C. Kristel, Project Director of European Holocaust Research Infrastructure**, also writes that it is imperative to 1) perceive and assess past events as they were experienced by people at the time, noting that "reliable Holocaust material {must be} set in the proper context;" and 2) use an exact linguistic wording. Kristel explains *and* emphasizes, that "precision in language leads to precision in thought and to precise conclusions. EHRI will ... reach new, more precise conclusions."<sup>74</sup>

RAOUL HILBERG, aware of pressure to conform to an approved Holocaust narrative, stated, "You can create an illusion that is totally misleading by leaving things out, even though everything you say is true." Geyer explains, "*If you want to stay within the purview of the Nazis, you have to reconstruct what they did. You can't just ignore some of what they did because it does not fit your point of view.*"

**Truth and accuracy are vital** when researching & informing about this tragic project - Florida Holocaust Center. "There is responsibility to the whole Historical Truth: Perpetuation of distortions, or failure to debunk them, ill seriously hinders the ability of educators and students to derive meaningful lessons from study of the Holocaust." "...the Holocaust is never separable from politics," and thus, "its history has been abused and distorted."<sup>75</sup> In late 2011, **Lipstadt** attacked American and Israeli politicians for what she called their invocation of the Holocaust for contemporary political purposes, something she thought mangled

---

<sup>73</sup> Bauer's speech at the Ceremonial Opening of the Forum. Stockholm International Forum, 26-28 January 2000.

<sup>74</sup> <http://www.ehri-project.eu/about-ehri>

<sup>75</sup> John K. Roth, *Holocaust Politics*, 2001; p. 27

history. "Holocaust education has been deeply influenced by national and political perspectives on this tragedy. ...in the educational process, when it came to discussions vis-à-vis the issues of Holocaust Studies, political and social arguments were stronger than educational arguments" (Keren, Nili. 2004.

"Teaching the Holocaust: A mission." In Samuel Totten, Paul R. Bartrop, and Steven Leonard Jacobs, Eds, *Teaching about the Holocaust: Essays by College Teachers*, pp. 124-131. Praeger Publishers).

"When Holocaust scholars do their work responsibly, they utilize different methods, represent different disciplines, draw on diverse experiences, and persistently strive for accuracy and sound judgment. ...Sometimes misguided approaches must be revised, if not rejected, and mistaken claims must be corrected.

Holocaust politics involved not only immense amounts of wealth but also the status of justice in a post-Holocaust world. ... there is no recompense for the Holocaust. ... Holocaust politics involves more than disagreements about history. It also includes international relations... Middle Eastern politics and Israeli politics in particular are intertwined with Holocaust politics. ... How might we turn memory of the Holocaust to ends that divide people less and bring them together more ... - in directions that can increase respect and compassion, the very ingredients whose absence did so much to unleash the Holocaust's fury? Holocaust politics invites reflection on these themes." - John K. Roth, *Holocaust Politics*, 2001, p. 258.

### Addendum

#### **Nazi-Occupied Vichy Tunisia and More maps**

"The Germans take the first step against the Jews there, when they arrest four leaders of the Jewish community, among them its president, Moïse Borgel."<sup>76</sup> 'The ruthless occupiers and their local collaborators stepped up the persecution of the Jews, and used propaganda written in Arabic and French, designating the Jews as responsible for the war.' In Tunis, Rauff established a reign of terror during this six-month presence, 'harassed, persecuted and killed Jews, winning rewards from Berlin, and condemnation to death in absentia after the German evacuation.'<sup>77</sup> During a frightening at the *Kommandantur*, "Rauff berated the Jewish notables: Jew dogs! I have taken care of Jews in Poland and Russia. I'm going to show you!"

Like in Nazi-occupied Poland, Jews were accused of cooperating with Germany's enemies, and the same methods and same language, of "great threat posed by the Jews, "dangerous Jews with economic influence, " as part of "international

---

<sup>76</sup> Gutman, Yisrael, ed. *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*. 4 vols. NY: Macmillan, 1990

<sup>77</sup> Gilbert, Martin. *The Holocaust – A History of the Jews of Europe During the Second World War* (Henry Holt & Company, Inc., New York: 1985); 578-79.

Judaism,” “responsible for the Anglo-attack,” “the present war is clearly of Jewish origin... the work of international Jewry.” Jews were described as posing a great threat, being dangerous, and having economic influence. They were accused of being part of international Jewry, cooperating with Germany’s enemies, and responsible for the Allied attack and the war.

‘With the Allies a few miles from Tunis, the Germans remained persistent in their war against the Jews as a priority. Despite relentless attacks by the Allies from the East, the South and the air, Rauff instigated more drastic anti-Jewish policies, inflicted heavy fines to compensate civilian victims of Allied bombing raids, converted the Great Synagogue of Tunis into a horse stable, and confiscated Jewish property. “The German occupiers introduced forced labour for Jews; some 5,000 Jews were affected by these measures ... {they sent to more than 30 forced labor camps...many had died from ill-treatment, disease, and even during Allied aerial bombing}. “... the forced labor arrangements organized by the Einsatzkommando in other Tunisian cities differed, from the situation in Tunis. ... Plans even called for the construction of a concentration in Sfax, but they were not realized, due to impending military defeat.”<sup>78</sup>

“...Three additional SS officers were assigned to the commando site: Obersturmführer Theo Saevecke (was assigned to Einsatzgruppe VI in September 1939, Sturmbannführer George Best, and Untersturmführer Heinrich Harder...and Pohl maintained contact with the Jewish community in Tunis after Dec. 10. Best was the contact for the community in Sfax; he was also responsible for the Jews living in Sousse.

Rahn telegraphed Berlin on December 9 with the message, “Jewish labor service initiated. ...the proximity of the Allied troops ... limited transport capacity to deport Jews directly to the extermination camps in occupied Poland. Allied control of most air and sea routes. Rauff couldn’t engage in mass murder as his earlier action strongly suggests...because of Italian protest, their ally’s attitude, the Germans were forced to dispense with the use of Italian Jews for forced labor; the SS Einsatzkommando failed to organize mass murder; they were primarily engaged in registering, robbing, and terrorizing the Jews, as well as using them extensively as forced laborers for the Axis powers.”<sup>79</sup>

“Rauff demanded thousands of Jewish workers, and demanded as well that they wear a yellow star on their backs {and in the front} so that they could be identified from a distance and shot in the event they tried to escape.” (Yad Vashem). “Rauff also ordered the Jewish forced laborers to wear yellow stars on their back, so that they could always be recognized and could be shot if they tried to escape.”<sup>80</sup> The German occupying forces had also sent around twenty arrested Jewish

---

<sup>78</sup> Abitbol: 138

<sup>79</sup> Klauss, 170-174.

<sup>80</sup> Klaus, 2010:174.

activists to the extermination camps. In addition, there were large-scale confiscations of Jewish property, and large sums of money were extorted.”<sup>81</sup> “Rauff’s men seized silver, jewellery and sacred objects. On the Tunisian island of Djerba alone, 43 kilograms of gold was taken from the local Jewish population.”

“Since international Jewry is responsible for Anglo-American attack against North-Africa, the sum of twenty Million has been raised from Jewish property by the Einsatzkommandos, the Security Police and SD and has been turned over to mixed Arabian-Italian-French committee for emergency aid to bombed out people.’

The German army and the SS also subjected the Jews to acts of violence and terror, storming into synagogues, harassing rabbis and worshippers, raiding Jewish street, raping Jewish women, and looting stores. They expropriated the Jews’ belongings, and forced them to establish a local Judenrat. March 17, 1943: The Germans ordered the Jews to wear “the Jewish Star of David.”<sup>82</sup> The Nazis require the Jews to pay fines, and they confiscated their property.” It was the precursor elements of the Final Solution. That shows you how motivated the Germans were to implement their eventual plans for the Final Solution ....” (interview with Satloff <sup>83</sup>). ‘The Tunisian Jews were very much concerned with the threat for their existence. And indeed the Germans were planning to exterminate them. An SS unit was preparing gas chambers near Kairouan. Plans were not completed because of lack of time. Tunis was liberated May 7, 1943

It has been estimated that 260 Jews died. Yad Vashem lists this number in the table, “Nearly 6,000,000 Jews murdered in the Holocaust,” that is displayed in its exhibit *SHOAH*, commemorating “the murder of European Jewry,” located at the Auschwitz Museum in Poland that opened in June 2013. Shaked saw the list. In 2018, scholar Victor Hayoun came up with a new study listing 700 Jews. about 100 Jews perished during the period of recruitment: some were murdered in cold by their German guards; others died from ill-treatment, disease, and others were killed in aerial bombardments. The total victory of the Allies in North Africa in May 1943 prevented a catastrophe.”<sup>84</sup> Nazi-occupied Vichy Tunisia was the first European territory to be liberated.

**Liberation – Khamus Jenah** - The Judeo-Arabic code name for the arrival of the Allies was *Khamus jenah*. (Khamus means khamesh, five a lucky number for the Jews). The Jews had the fortune to be saved and liberated, as the tide of the war

---

<sup>81</sup> Longerich, 2010:391.

<sup>82</sup> Crimes Ennemis en France, p. 31.

<sup>83</sup> [http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/religion/july-dec06/satloff\\_12-26.html](http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/religion/july-dec06/satloff_12-26.html)  
Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories from the Holocaust’s Long Reach into Arab Lands*, 2006

<sup>84</sup> Peter Longerich, *Henrich Himmler: A Life* (Oxford University Press/ ), 2013; p. 662.

turned in favor of the Allied armies. On May 13, 1943, the Allies involved in Operation Torch defeated the Axis forces that unconditionally surrendered. According to witnesses, only Jews were outside in the streets joyfully welcoming their liberators, who saved them from annihilation. Also the same day, the Jews of Tunisia went to synagogue to pray for their Jewish brothers in continental Europe. In May, the racial laws in Tunisia were abolished. Some Jews were subjected to harsh treatment by the returning French authorities who arrested and imprisoned dozens of Jews with Italian passports as "collaborators." Several weeks went by before those Jews were released.'

---

Operation Torch brought the Allies troops to face for the first time anti-Jewish persecution and the horrors of the Holocaust – terror, yellow star even on children, slave labor camps, deportations to the death camps, and executions. Thanks to the Allied victories of the troops involved in Operation Torch, a total of about 400,000 Vichy Jews living in Vichy North Africa were liberated. Torch also prevented the German occupation of British mandated Palestine, saved the Jews there, and consequently enabled the eventual establishment of Israel ("Some very specific plans were being drawn in Berlin to ensure the genocide of the Jews in Palestine. ... The process of extermination was about to be activated and the SS and SD officers had been selected and assigned to the effort. ... When the Afrika Korps was defeated at El Alamein, the Einsatzkommando shifted its operations to Tunisia."<sup>85</sup> Last but not least, Torch paved the way for the Allies to jump from Tunis to Sicily, move onto mainland Italy, and push to Berlin, and victory – ending the Holocaust project in Europe, with the help of other Allied forces. 'The liberation of metropolitan France began on 6 June 1944 with the Allied forces landing on D-Day and the Battle of Normandy and ended in December. Paris was liberated on 25 August 1944.

Jews, when they could, valiantly fought. Many Jews of Vichy Tunisia were later decorated with the French government military distinction of the Legion d'Honneur, earned the Croix de la Liberation and Medaille militaire, and were awarded the Croix de Guerre. Alfred Rossi Croix de Guerre, Legion d'Honneur; Victor Attias: Croix de Guerre, Legion d'Honneur; Lucien Lumbroso: Croix de Guerre; Francoise Grumbach: decoration of "Croix de Guerre"; Maurice Taib: deported to Sachsenhausen, and Buchenwald, came back - decoration of "Croix de Guerre"; Henry Smadja: deported to Germany, came back, Croix de la Liberation, Legion d'Honneur; Louise Hannon: decoration of "Croix de Guerre."

'Khaled Abdelwahhab; Si Ali sakkat, former mayor of Tunis, gave shelter to sixty Jewish workers who fled labor camp during the height of battle. "The men of Mahdia were forced into labor camps and the women, children, and elderly were left alone without the protection of their male family members. Luckily, Khaled Abdul-Wahab, a wealthy and influential Tunisian Arab-Muslim man offered

---

<sup>85</sup> *Nazi Palestine: The Plan to Exterminate the Jews of Palestine*, Klaus-Michael Mallmann and Martin Cupper; <https://www.ushmm.org/research/publications/academic-publications/full-list-of-academic-publications/nazi-palestine-the-plans-for-the-extermination-of-the-jews-of-palestine>

protection to a Jewish woman named Eva Boukris-Wiesel and her family. The Wiesenthal center honored Khaled Abdelwahhab, now known as the Arab Schindler.”<sup>86</sup>

“Yad Vashem has included definitive volumes on Libya and Tunisia by Irit Abramski-Bleigh in its *Pinkas Ha-kehilot* series on the Holocaust in various countries - *Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities from Their Foundation Till After the Holocaust: Libya, Tunisia*. In Hebrew. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1997;”<sup>87</sup> In 1973, the Pinkas HaKehillot (Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities) project of Yad Vashem was awarded the [Israel Prize](#), for its special contribution to society and the State.

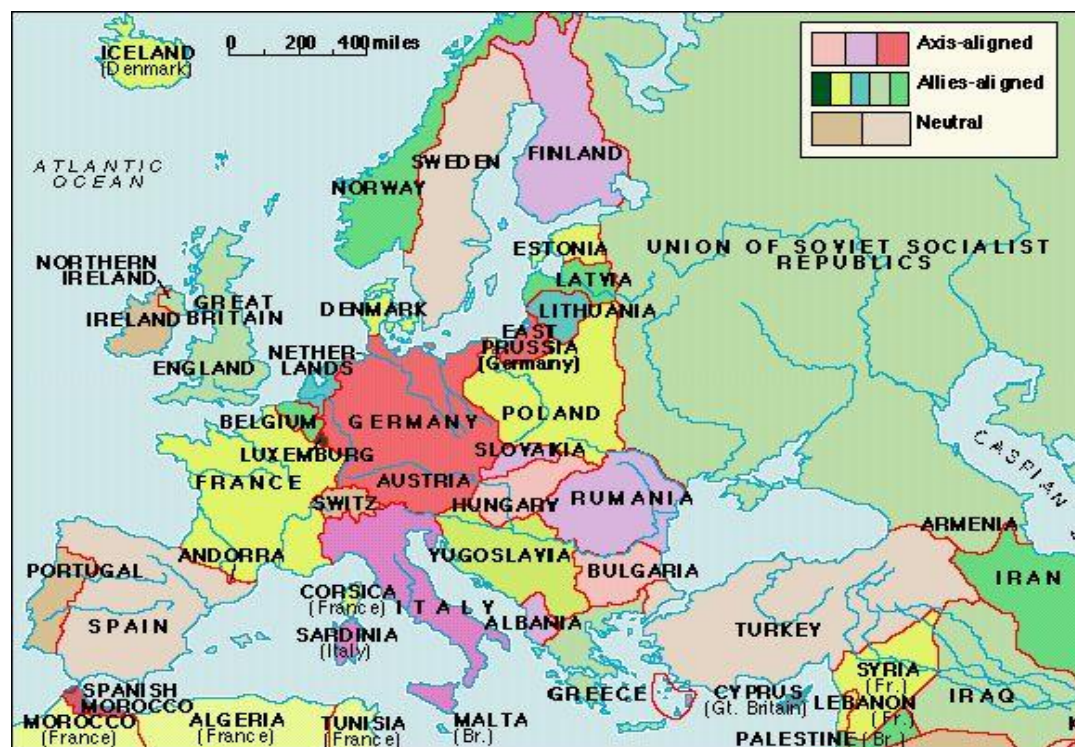


<sup>86</sup> "Honoring All Who Saved Jews," *New York Times*, December 27, 2011.

<sup>87</sup> Satloff, Robert. *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories from the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands*. New York: Public Affairs, 2006. (Extended bibliography). In Hebrew at [http://ecom.gov.il/YadVashem/ProductPage\\_he.aspx?product=211&language=he-IL](http://ecom.gov.il/YadVashem/ProductPage_he.aspx?product=211&language=he-IL)

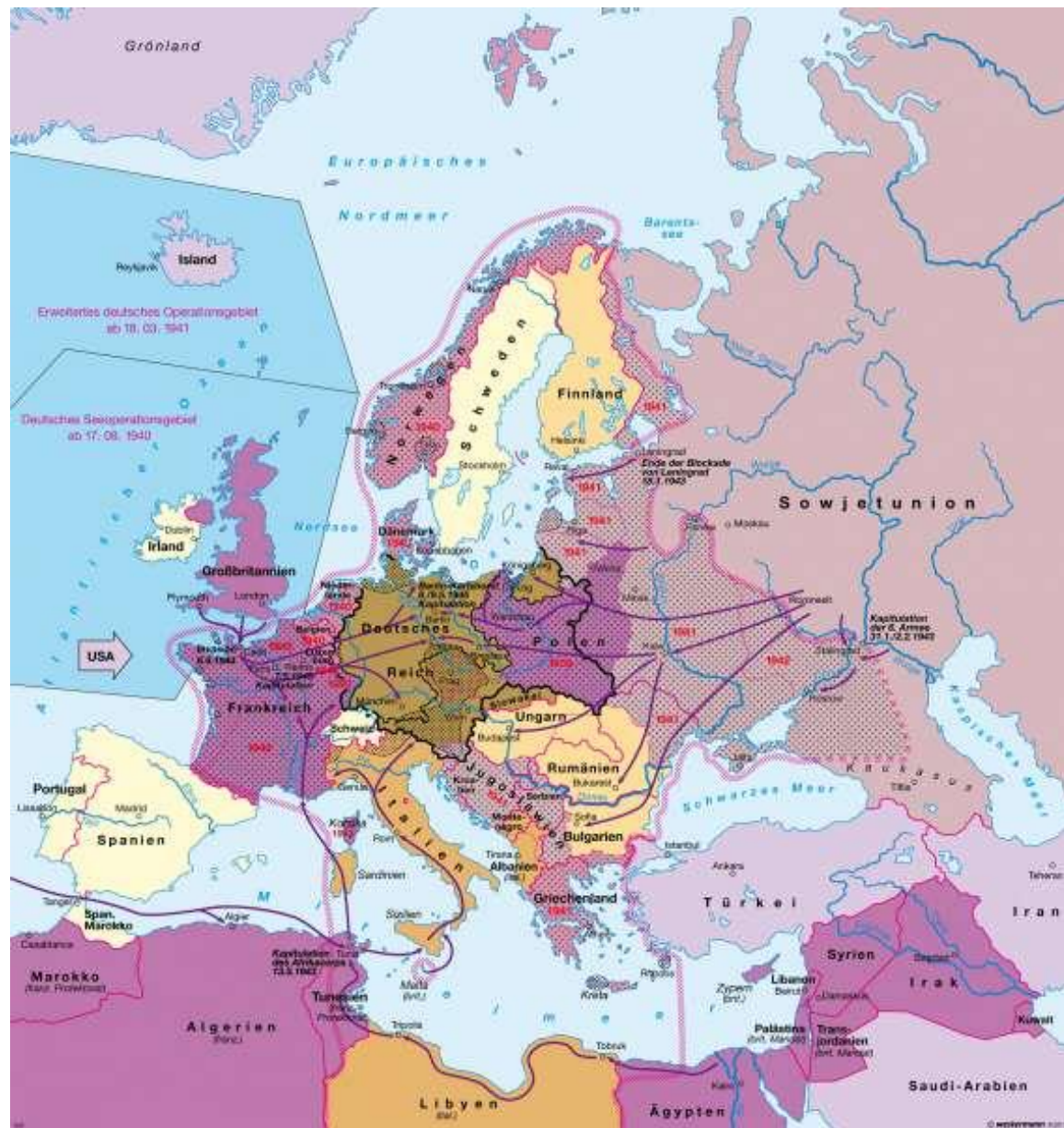
Source: "Europe in April 1944," in *Germany and the Second World War*, edited by the Research Institute for Military History, Potsdam, Germany. Volume V, *Organization and Mobilization of the German Sphere of Power*, Part 2, *Wartime Administration, Economy, and Manpower Resources 1942-1944/45*, by Bernhard R. Kroener, Rolf-Dieter Müller, and Hans Umbreit. Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1998





**France, the French Republic** (French: République française) comprises *Metropolitan France* (French: France métropolitaine or la Métropole), described as mainland France, located in continental Europe (color YELLOW), and *Overseas France* (France d'outre-mer, also in YELLOW) – includes French territories outside continental Europe, such as the 3 "Départements français d'Algérie" and the two French protectorates of Tunisia and Morocco.





**Deutschland im Europa des Zweiten Weltkrieges (1.9.1939 bis 8.5.1945)**  
<https://www.diercke.de/content/deutschland-im-europa-des-zweiten-weltkrieges-191939-bis-851945-978-3-14-100770-1-62-1-0#>



Edith Shaked Advisory Board Member, H-Holocaust, an international academic consortium/H-Net's Network for scholars of the Holocaust  
Award from the National Council for History Education