

Kinga Frojimovics

# Jewish Refugees from Austria in the Hospitals of the Jewish Community of Pest after the 'Anschluß'

## Abstract

This paper analyses the social characteristics of Jewish refugees who fled from Austria to Hungary after the 'Anschluß' through a unique source base: the hospital records of refugees treated in the hospitals of the Jewish Community of Pest. Moreover, the correspondence of Jewish organisations dealing with hospitalised refugees offers a glimpse into the decision-making processes that the Jewish community had to make alone, as the Hungarian state left it to aid and care for refugees. This happened in the years from 1938 onwards, when the Hungarian Jewish community itself was a victim of continuous legal and economic discrimination by the Hungarian state.

From 1933, foreign Jewish refugees came to Hungary in several waves. A first wave from Germany in 1933 was followed by greater numbers beginning in the autumn of 1935 after the passing of the Nuremberg Laws. According to German sources, between Adolf Hitler's assumption of power on 30 January 1933 until 31 December 1935, a total number of 28,850 Jews fled Germany, with approximately 800 coming to Hungary.<sup>1</sup> Thus, following the increase after the passing of the Nuremberg Laws, their number still only lay below a thousand. According to data from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), there were about 3,730 refugees in Hungary at the end of 1939, of whom 3,080 were located in Budapest. Of the refugees in Budapest, 1,840 received permanent JDC aid. 1,380 of them were from Austria (45 per cent), 683 from Germany (22 per cent), 620 from Slovakia (20 per cent), 312 from Bohemia (10 per cent), while the remaining 85 were from other places (3 per cent).<sup>2</sup> According to the Reichssicherheitshauptamt, by 31 October 1941 there were already 6,310 Jewish refugees in Hungary from all the territories of the Third Reich: 4,380 from the 'Altreich' (Germany), 1,310 from the 'Ostmark' (Austria), and 620 from the 'Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia' (the Czech lands).<sup>3</sup>

Austrian Jews began arriving in Hungary from the 'Anschluß' in March 1938 onward. Viennese Jews arrived first, followed by refugees primarily from the Sheva Kehilot (Seven Communities) in Burgenland, which had belonged to Hungary until

1 Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Bonn, R 99359, Bericht der Reichsstelle für das Auswanderungswesen an das Auswärtige Amt, 5 April 1937, quoted in René Geoffroy, *Ungarn als Zufluchtsort und Wirkungsstätte deutschsprachiger Emigranten (1933–1938/1939)*, Frankfurt am Main 2001, 88.

2 JDC Archives, New York, RG 4.30: Hungary, Series 1: Hungary: Administration, File 707: Hungary: Administration, General, 1936–1940.

3 Bundesarchiv Potsdam, 75.C.Re.1.311+ Reichsvereinigung, Bl. 34. See Geoffroy, *Ungarn als Zufluchtsort*, 91–95 and 109. For more detailed information on the different waves of Jewish refugees in Hungary, see Chapter 4 in Kinga Frojimovics, *I Have Been a Stranger in a Strange Land. The Hungarian State and Jewish Refugees in Hungary, 1933–1945*, Jerusalem 2007, 44–56.

the First World War.<sup>4</sup> Most of those who succeeded in crossing the border illegally first went to the larger Jewish communities in western Hungary, where local Jews as well as Jewish communities helped them escape further from the border, usually to Budapest, where they believed the refugees could disappear more easily in the crowds of the capital.<sup>5</sup>

Some of the refugees arriving in Budapest were registered with the Jewish Community of Pest, where they received aid. Unfortunately, the community's personal aid cards have not survived. However, the registration cards of those patients who were unable to pay or only able to partially pay for their hospitalisation – including refugees – and whose cases were therefore sent to the community's legal affairs department, have survived. These registration cards are crucial and to date unexplored sources about Jews who were not Hungarian citizens.<sup>6</sup> With the help of these registration cards, this paper analyses the social characteristics of Jewish refugees who fled from Austria to Hungary after the 'Anschluß'.

### The Hospitals of the Jewish Community of Pest

The first small hospital of the Jewish Community of Pest was opened in 1805. A large, representative, and well-equipped hospital befitting the community, which was on its way to becoming the leading Jewish community of the Hungarian Neolog religious movement at the time, was opened in 1889. The hospital, called the General Hospital of the Jewish Community of Pest (hereafter referred to simply as the Jewish Hospital), was equipped with the most modern medical instruments of the time.<sup>7</sup>



The Szabolcs Street facade of the main building, opened in 1889.

Source: Klösz Album: Photo by György Klösz.

- 4 The escape of Austrian Jews to Hungary and their fears during the border crossing were recorded in the biography of Sándor Benamy, a Jewish journalist of Hungarian origin living in Vienna during the 'Anschluß'. Sándor Benamy, *Állampolgár voltam Közép-Európában* [I Was a Citizen in Central Europe], Budapest 1983, 87-90.
- 5 Szita Szabolcs, *Embermentés Sopron megyében, 1944–1945* [Rescue in Sopron District, 1944–1945], in: *Soproni Szemle* 4 (1993), 393-394. See also Milka Zalmon, *Forced Emigration of the Jews of Burgenland. A Test Case*, in: *Yad Vashem Studies* 31 (2003), 301-302.
- 6 The original records – the debt registry – are kept in the Hungarian Jewish Archives, a microfilm copy of which can be found in the Yad Vashem Archives (YVA). See *Hungarian Jewish Archives* (Budapest), PIH iktatott iratok, 1938–1944, and YVA, JM/28586-18628. This research is based on the microfilms kept in the YVA.
- 7 Concerning the short history of the Jewish Hospital, see Imre Strausz, *Egy zsidó kórház 1944-ben. Emlékezővázlat ötven év múltán* [A Jewish Hospital in 1944. Memoir Sketch after Fifty Years], in: *Múlt és Jövő* [Past and Future] (1994). Available online: [www.multesjovo.hu/en/aitdownloadablefiles/download/aitfile/aitfile\\_id/1224/](http://www.multesjovo.hu/en/aitdownloadablefiles/download/aitfile/aitfile_id/1224/) (6 October 2018) and <http://egykor.hu/budapest-xiii-kerulet/pesti-zsido-korhaz/3988> (6 October 2018).

The Jewish Hospital developed dynamically from the turn of the century and into the interwar period. In 1897, the Adél Bródy Children's Hospital was opened and in 1910 the Alice Weiss Birthing Home started to offer its services to poor women.<sup>8</sup> The latter was managed by the Jewish Women's Association of Pest, a part of the Jewish Community of Pest.<sup>9</sup> The Aladár Kaszab and Józsa Weizskopf Polyclinic was the last hospital to be built. It served the ambulant patients of the Jewish Hospital. It opened its doors in 1925.<sup>10</sup>

Due to the Neolog policy of integration into Hungarian society at the turn of the century, every department of the Jewish Hospital from the outset treated non-Jewish patients as well. In 1910, for example, of the 25,098 patients of the Jewish Hospital, 62 per cent were not Jewish.<sup>11</sup> Following the great changes in the social and political climate in the second half of the 1930s, the ratio of Jewish to non-Jewish patients had changed. Henceforth, two thirds of the 14,000 patients who were treated each year in the Jewish Hospital belonged to a Jewish denomination, while the remaining third belonged to one of the Christian denominations. The ratio at the Bródy Children's Hospital was 53 per cent Jewish to 47 per cent Christian.<sup>12</sup> The hospitals of the Jewish Community of Pest (with the exception of the Alice Weiss Birthing Home) operated as private hospitals as opposed to the so-called public hospitals, which meant that the existing public welfare organisations did not contribute anything for patients who had poverty certificates. The Alice Weiss Birthing Home was a public hospital and consequently treated women with poverty certificate free of charge.<sup>13</sup>

In 1936, Lajos Lévy (1875–1961) became the directing chief physician of the Jewish Hospital. He was one of the leading internists in Budapest in the 1930s and belonged to the inner circle of friends of Sigmund Freud and his family. Lévy's wife, Katalin Freud, was an analytic psychiatrist and Sigmund Freud's niece. In 1954, Dr. Lévy emigrated to London, where he became the physician of Sigmund Freud's daughter Anna.<sup>14</sup>

8 There is a short newsreel from 1919 about the Bródy Children's Hospital entitled *Mesedélután a Bródy Adél kórházban* [Story Time in the Adél Bródy Hospital], *Vörös Riport Film4* (Red Reporter Film4), April 1919. Available online: <http://filmhiradokonline.hu/watch.php?id=5240> (6 October 2018).

9 Sándor Eppler, *A budapesti zsidóság szociális munkája* [The Social Work of the Jews in Budapest], in: *Magyar Zsidó Szemle* [Hungarian Jewish Review] 55 (1938) 1-4, 1-44, here 16-17.

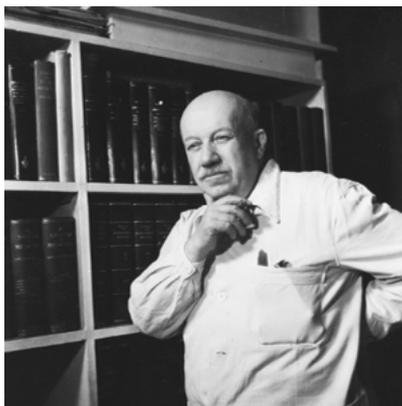
10 The Hungarian state nationalised the Jewish Hospital in 1950. In 1956, the *Orvostovábbképző Intézet* (Medical Training Institute) was opened there. The building complex served as a hospital until 2007. Nowadays, a medical centre for the homeless operates in one part of the run down building block. There are plans for the central storage of the planned Museum Quarter of Budapest to be housed in the building of the former Jewish Hospital.

11 *A pesti izr. hitközség előjáróságának jelentése az 1910-iki közigazgatási évről* [Report of the Governing Body of the Jewish Community of Pest Concerning the Fiscal Year 1910], Budapest 1911, 14-19. Quoted in Miklós Konrad, *Zsidó jótékonyosság és asszimiláció a századfordulón* [Jewish Charity and Assimilation at the Turn of the Century], in: *Történelmi Szemle* [Historical Review] 43 (2001) 3-4, 257-285, here 272.

12 Sándor, *A budapesti zsidóság szociális munkája*, 16-17.

13 *Ibid.*, 17-18.

14 On the biographies of Lajos Lévy and Imre Strausz, see István Préda, *A zsidókórház. Belgyógyászat, kardiológia a Szabolcs utcában 1889–2005* [The Jewish Hospital. Internal Medicine and Cardiology at Szabolcs Street 1889–2005], in: *Remény* [Hope] 2006. Available online: <http://www.remeny.org/remeny/2006-tavas-5766-adar-nisan-ijjar/prof-dr-preda-istvan-a-zsidokorhaz> (24 October 2018). Concerning Lévy, see also Ágnes Drelyó, *Ma született 137 éve Lévy Lajos* [Lajos Lévy Was Born 137 Years Ago], <https://hu-hu.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.415915011790767.86951.103088633073408&type=1> (6 October 2018). Imre Strausz became a famous cardiologist after the Second World War. In the second half of the 1940s, he realised that many former deportees and POWs were suffering from bacterial endocarditis. Since penicillin was hardly available for the purposes of treatment at the time, many of them died from this infectious heart disease. Bacterial endocarditis was one of the central topics of Imre Strausz's dissertation entitled *A negatív haemokulturájú subacut septikus endocarditis esetek háború utáni halmozódásának kérdései* [Questions about Post-War Cumulative Subacute Septic Endocarditis Cases in Negative Hemocultures]. See Strausz, *Egy zsidó kórház 1944-ben*, 59.



Dr. Lajos Lévy, chief internist, 1954.

Source: FORTEPAN/The Archive of the Semmelweis University.

Dr. Lévy was known for his leftist convictions and treated poor Jewish patients free of charge in his private practice alongside his well-to-do patients. In the hospital, he also tried to help those in need. In the beginning, he helped mainly the so-called “stateless” people who had been registered by the *Külföldieket Ellenőrző Országos Központi Hivatal* (National Central Alien Control Office, KEOKH) and, after the ‘Anschluß’, he helped the refugees who arrived in Hungary in increasing numbers.

### Jewish Refugees from Austria in the Hospitals of the Jewish Community of Pest

The charity department of the Jewish Community of Pest dealt with issues concerning Jewish refugees. The department included, among other entities, the so-called *Wanderfürsorge fund*. The *Hauptstelle für jüdische Wanderfürsorge* was originally a German Jewish aid organisation which helped Jews who were forced to leave their homeland and places of residence.<sup>15</sup> The organisation created stations within Jewish communities in various countries, with refugees visiting these stations along the way. In Hungary, only the Jewish Community of Pest operated such a station with the help of the community’s burial society, the *Chevre Kadisha*.<sup>16</sup>

The hospital fees of Jewish refugees from Germany were paid by the Pest *Wanderfürsorge* station, which also created their registration cards. The documents show, however, that the Jewish Community of Pest did not exclusively use the resources of the *Wanderfürsorge fund* for paying the hospital expenses of the refugees arriving from the Third Reich. Although the majority of the recipients undoubtedly arrived from Nazi Germany and Austria after the ‘Anschluß’, there were also numerous Slovak and Polish refugees. From 1940 onwards, as a result of the large wave of Polish refugees arriving in the autumn of 1939, the community created a separate fund, which also covered hospitalised Polish Jewish refugees.<sup>17</sup>

15 Concerning the *Hauptstelle für jüdische Wanderfürsorge*, see: Scholem Adler-Rudel, *Jüdische Selbsthilfe unter dem Naziregime 1933–1939 im Spiegel der Berichte der Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland*, Tübingen 1974, 94–97.

16 Eppler, *A budapesti zsidóság szociális munkája*, 21.

17 Concerning the hospitalisation aid of the Polish fund of the Jewish Community of Pest, see for example YVA, JM/28606, 1293–1296.

The present phase of this research project allows for a sketch of the characteristics of those patients who were hospitalised from 1938 until 1941 at the expense of the Wanderfürsorge fund.<sup>18</sup> The majority of the Jewish refugees from the territories of Germany, Austria, and the Czech lands were relatively well-off, or had relatives or business relations in Hungary. Most of them did not require assistance from Jewish aid organisations and, as a result, they were not registered. That is why the hospital registration cards are such important sources, because they contain the only information concerning some refugees who arrived in Hungary.

According to the hospital records, about 400 refugee patients were cared for in the Jewish Hospital and the Adél Bródy Children's Hospital between the spring of 1938 and the summer of 1941.<sup>19</sup> The exact number can be determined only with difficulty, because some of the patients were hospitalised repeatedly during the years under examination.

Of the approximately 400 refugee patients, 25 came from Germany and 67 from Austria.<sup>20</sup> The remaining refugee patients hospitalised at the expense of the Wanderfürsorge fund had fled or emigrated from Slovakia, Poland, Romania, the Czech lands, the Soviet Union, and Italy.

The overwhelming majority of the patients arriving from Austria and admitted to the hospitals of the Jewish Community of Pest had been born in Vienna or in Burgenland. The oldest patient among them was born in 1864, the youngest in 1938. The latter was admitted to the Department of Infectious Diseases of the Jewish Hospital in January 1941, when he was not yet three years old. The duration of the hospitalisation of the refugees varies greatly: between 2 and 432 days. Three of the refugee patients died in the hospital, a three-and-a-half-year-old boy among them.

One group of the refugees from Austria consisted of well-to-do people, who had to leave all their belongings behind and to flee from the Nazis to Hungary. István Halász's story exemplifies this kind of fate. Since 1922 he had worked in Vienna as chief accountant of the famous Zsolnay publishing company. Halász wrote a letter to the leaders of the Jewish Community of Pest in February 1939, stating:

“As a consequence of the known circumstances, I was forced to suddenly leave not only my job, but also the city, and I was lucky in the sense that even though I had to leave without a penny, I could at least bring my movable belongings with me.

Unfortunately, trouble does not strike only once. I became seriously ill, and I have been hospitalised in the Szabolcs Street hospital since September last year, where I have been operated upon on three occasions. In addition to the Almighty, I owe my survival only to the selfless and endlessly conscientious treatment of the doctors, though I am still in such a serious condition that I still require medical treatment and hospitalisation.

I am ill and penniless and I cannot expect financial support from anywhere. My family lives on gradually selling any belongings of value.

[...] Today, though not through any fault of my own, I am the one who has to ask for something, and I have to turn to the venerated presidential body with

<sup>18</sup> The topic of refugees in the hospitals of the Jewish Community of Pest forms part of the monograph on the history of the community between 1938 and 1945 that I am currently working on.

<sup>19</sup> The statistical data presented in this paper is drawn from a database I compiled on the basis of the patient cards.

<sup>20</sup> The terms Austrian and German have to be clarified in this context: The refugees' place of birth and refugee status are registered in the sources, whereas the place they arrived from are not. In our database we categorised as Austrian refugees those who according to the community registers were born in Austria and had been hospitalised in any of the hospitals of the Jewish Community of Pest.

the respectful request to please be so kind as to arrange that the costs of my hospitalisation until now and the costs of my future hospitalisation be paid from the fund for the assistance of refugees from Germany and which is, according to my knowledge, under the management of the revered Jewish Community.”<sup>21</sup>

In addition to those arriving individually, other refugees were taken to the Jewish Hospital from one of the detention barracks in Budapest under the control of the KEOKH, where they had been imprisoned because they had arrived in Hungary illegally. Of those refugees coming from Austria, 26 were taken to the Jewish Hospital from one of the detention barracks: 19 from the barracks at 39 Szabolcs Street, next to the Jewish Hospital, two from the auxiliary detention barracks at Páva Street, four from the barracks at Rumbach Street, and one from the barracks at Columbus Street. Among them were people in a life-threatening state.

The stateless persons and refugees in treatment had to be reported to the KEOKH by the Jewish Hospital. The staff at the admission office of the hospital called the patients under KEOKH supervision “kályhások” (stove-fitters), a word that, although it meant nothing in this context, had some meaning as an ironic paraphrase of the sinister and threatening acronym “KEOKH”.

A physician from the KEOKH also sometimes inspected patients under its jurisdiction. In the summer of 1941, for example, a young cardiologist, Imre Strausz (1909–2000) who had worked in the Jewish Hospital since 1936, had to accompany the supervising KEOKH physician. Without any examination, the physician stated that the condition of about 20 patients, mainly elderly women, did not require hospitalisation, and they were taken back to the detention barracks.<sup>22</sup> He did not consider them to be genuinely ill. Yet a letter from the Magyar Izraeliták Pártfogó Irodája (Welfare Bureau of Hungarian Jews, MIPI), then the top organisation of the Jewish denominational aid work in Hungary, sheds a different light on the physical condition of refugees arriving from Austria. The MIPI turned to the governing body of the Jewish Community of Pest on 17 March 1941:

“As you know, the situation of the Viennese Jews has recently become intolerable, because on the orders of the authorities our Viennese brothers are being transported to Poland in groups. The situation of the Jews who were relocated to Poland is the most deplorable according to the reports sent to relatives, which have become well-known by now. Their belongings have been taken away from them, so that they cannot help themselves in the absence of financial means. They are virtually starving and they become infested with lice in their places of accommodation.

As you also know, all of those who are able try to escape this suffering illegally and to get to the territory of Hungary. Therefore, the numbers of Viennese Jews in our homeland are growing. Many from among these unfortunates turn to the MIPI daily and ask for our help. The MIPI obviously reports their presence to the authorities as is its duty, and we are trying, with the consent of the authorities, to accommodate our unfortunate brothers-in-faith in any of the camps to avoid them being incarcerated in the detention barracks.

21 Letter from István Halász to the presidential body of the Jewish Community of Pest, 17 February 1939, YVA, JM/28606, 501-502.

22 Strausz, *Egy zsidó kórház 1944-ben*, 50.

As you can imagine, the circumstances of getting through [the border to Hungary] illegally are most difficult.

They are attempting to escape from their former homeland trudging through forests, meadows, and bogs for long hours, during which they are living in constant uncertainty and dreading the thought of being returned. We are only able to receive them and care for them within the limits of our possibilities when they physically arrive and are physically completely broken and ill.

Day after day it happens that the unfortunate Viennese refugees arrive here so ill that it is not enough for them to be placed in a camp, but medical care must also be provided.

On the basis of the above, we are turning to the esteemed governing body with our request to make available a so-called sickroom in the Jewish hospital to us for the purpose of allowing the Viennese refugees arriving here ill to be able to rest for a few days and receive medical care, so they can go afterwards to the detention barracks.<sup>23</sup>

In their letter dated 23 March 1941, the Jewish Community of Pest rejected the idea of a sickroom for refugees as practically impossible, but assured the MIPI that it would continue to admit the refugees in need in its hospitals, as far as possible.<sup>24</sup>

This exchange of letters offers a glimpse of how the largest Jewish community of Hungary, by drawing upon its institutions, tried to aid the foreign Jewish refugees arriving in increasing numbers from 1938. We learn the sad fact that the Hungarian state, at the time, did not extend humanitarian aid to the refugees; it was merely interested in their immediate internment. Giving the most basic humanitarian aid meant a large burden for the Jewish organisations – particularly for the Jewish Community of Pest and the MIPI – which had already been heavily deprived of both rights and financial means as a consequence of the Hungarian state's official anti-Jewish policy.

Unfortunately, there are no easily available sources on the further fate of the refugees in the hospitals of the Jewish Community of Pest. However, future systematic research can hopefully allow at least some of them to be traced, through whose example we can gain insight into the fates of Jewish refugees fleeing from abroad to Hungary during the Holocaust.<sup>25</sup>

## Conclusion

The hospitals together with the other institutions of the Jewish Community of Pest engaged heavily in the assistance of the refugees, who were either illegally on Hungarian soil or who were interned in Budapest. The Jewish Community of Pest, uniquely in Hungary, set up a fund to provide for the refugees arriving from the Third Reich. This fund made it possible to take care of refugees who required medi-

23 A MIPI levele a PIH Elöljáróságának, 1941. március 17 [Letter from MIPI to the Governing Body of the Jewish Community of Pest, 17 March 1941], YVA, JM/28620, 786.

24 A PIH főtitkárának levele a MIPI Vezetőségének, 1941. március 23 [Letter from the Chief Secretary of the Jewish Community of Pest to the Directorate of the MIPI, 23 March 1941], YVA, JM/28620, 787.

25 In the future, I would like to compare my database of about 400 people (at the time) with the databases of the major Holocaust collections in the world: the International Tracing Service in Germany, Yad Vashem in Israel, and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

cal treatment. Until the end of 1939, when a large wave of Polish refugees reached Hungary due to the outbreak of the Second World War, the Jewish Community of Pest assisted all the refugees staying in Hungary by drawing upon the Wanderfürsorge fund regardless of whether the refugees were from Germany, Austria, the Czech lands, or even from Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Italy, or the Subcarpathian region. They also helped everybody irrespective of Jewish religious orientation. The Jewish Community of Pest thus expressed solidarity and even managed to disregard the deep antagonisms that otherwise characterised Jewish communities and religious movements in Hungary and helped all Jews (treating them, if needed, in their hospitals) regardless of whether they had Orthodox, Neolog, or Hassidic backgrounds.

During the German occupation of Hungary, the hospitals of the Jewish Community of Pest operated in their established ways. In April 1944, the occupying German forces seized the Jewish Hospital. It subsequently had to move into two schools of the Jewish Community of Pest: one on Wesselényi Street and another at Bethlen Square, where it operated as an emergency hospital. They were not allowed to remove any equipment from the seized hospital buildings. Lajos Lévy became the director of the emergency hospital at Wesselényi Street; the minimum equipment necessary for the operation of the hospital was collected from private clinics and consulting rooms of Jewish physicians. The hospital of the ghettos of Pest ceased to operate as an emergency institution when the Pest side of the capital was liberated in January 1945.<sup>26</sup> Before liberation, the emergency hospital also treated those who were shot and thrown into the icy Danube by Arrow Cross men during the winter of 1944/45. They were amongst those very few lucky people who were less seriously injured and managed to swim to the riverside and ultimately to reach the hospital. After liberation, the survivors found the buildings of the Jewish Hospital completely looted, so it took several months for them to resume the treatment of patients at the same level as in previous years.

<sup>26</sup> Concerning the activities that went on in the hospital after the German army occupied Hungary, see the testimony of Mrs. Lajos Lévy, Magyar Zsidó levéltár [Hungarian Jewish Archive], DEGOB jegyzőkönyv 3596, and Imre Strausz's memoir cited above.

Kinga Frojimovics  
Historian, Vienna Wiesenthal Institute  
[kinga.frojimovics@vwi.ac.at](mailto:kinga.frojimovics@vwi.ac.at)

Quotation: Jewish Refugees from Austria in the Hospitals of the Jewish Community of Pest after the 'Anschluß', in: S.I.M.O.N. – Shoah: Intervention. Methods. DocumentatiON. 5 (2018) 2, 95-103.

DOI: 10.23777/SN0218/SWW\_KFRO01  
<http://doi.org/czwh>

Context

Copy Editor:  
Tim Corbett

**S:I.M.O.N. – Shoah: Intervention. Methods. DocumentatiON.**  
ISSN 2408-9192

Board of Editors of VWI's International Academic Advisory Board:  
Peter Black/Robert Knight/Irina Sherbakova

5 (2018) 2  
DOI: 10.23777/SN.0218  
<http://doi.org/cztw>

Editors: Éva Kovács/Béla Rásky/Marianne Windsperger  
Web-Editor: Sandro Fasching  
Webmaster: Bálint Kovács  
Layout of PDF: Hans Ljung

S:I.M.O.N. is the semi-annual e-journal of the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies (VWI) in English and German.

The Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies (VWI) is funded by:

 Federal Ministry  
Education, Science  
and Research



 Federal Chancellery

© 2018 by the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies (VWI), S:I.M.O.N., the authors, and translators, all rights reserved. This work may be copied and redistributed for non-commercial, educational purposes, if permission is granted by the author(s) and usage right holders.  
For permission please contact [simon@vwi.ac.at](mailto:simon@vwi.ac.at)