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Examination session (May or November)

May

Year

2012

Diploma Programme subject in which this extended essay is registered: History ✓

(For an extended essay in the area of languages, state the language and whether it is group 1 or group 2.)

Title of the extended essay: 'A Matter of Decency': To what extent was the role of the Danish people significant in saving the Danish Jews in 1945?

Candidate's declaration

This declaration must be signed by the candidate; otherwise a grade may not be issued.

The extended essay I am submitting is my own work (apart from guidance allowed by the International Baccalaureate).

I have acknowledged each use of the words, graphics or ideas of another person, whether written, oral or visual.

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Please comment, as appropriate, on the candidate's performance, the context in which the candidate undertook the research for the extended essay, any difficulties encountered and how these were overcome (see page 13 of the extended essay guide). The concluding interview (viva voce) may provide useful information. These comments can help the examiner award a level for criterion K (holistic judgment). Do not comment on any adverse personal circumstances that may have affected the candidate. If the amount of time spent with the candidate was zero, you must explain this, in particular how it was then possible to authenticate the essay as the candidate's own work. You may attach an additional sheet if there is insufficient space here.

at first, struggled to find resources but she went to Denmark and visited a number of museums and sites of interest to her EE. _____ overcame the challenge of finding resources and she has written a very good and well detailed answer to her question. _____ has learned a great deal about how to write an essay of this size and she feels that the research skills will help her in her chosen university. During her visit to Denmark, Louisa walked from one of the hospitals to the harbour to see how long the walk was and to empathise with the Danish Jews. Written over time, well researched and written, Louisa has had a number of meetings with me discussing her EE, in the Viva Voce she was able to discuss at length her EE in a most illuminated manner.

limited effort

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I have read the final version of the extended essay that will be submitted to the examiner.

To the best of my knowledge, the extended essay is the authentic work of the candidate.

I spent 3 hours with the candidate discussing the progress of the extended essay.

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Date: 18/01/2012

See

Assessment form (for examiner use only)

Candidate session number

Achievement level

Criteria	Examiner 1	maximum	Examiner 2	maximum	Examiner 3
A research question	2	2	2	2	
B introduction	2	2	2	2	
C investigation	4	4	4	4	
D knowledge and understanding	3	4	3	4	
E reasoned argument	4	4	4	4	
F analysis and evaluation	3	4	3	4	
G use of subject language	4	4	4	4	
H conclusion	2	2	2	2	
I formal presentation	4	4	4	4	
J abstract	2	2	2	2	
K holistic judgment	4	4	3	4	
Total out of 36	34		33		

Name of examiner 1: _____
(CAPITAL letters)

Examiner number: _____

Name of examiner 2: _____
(CAPITAL letters)

Examiner number: _____

Name of examiner 3: _____
(CAPITAL letters)

Examiner number: _____

IB Cardiff use only: B: 1

IB Cardiff use only: A: 1094468

Date: 23/5

HISTORY EXTENDED ESSAY

German Occupation of Denmark During
the Second World War

Research Questions:

'A Matter of Decency': To What Extent was
the role of the Danish people significant in
saving the Danish Jews in 1943? ✓

Word Count: 3,962

Abstract

The extended essay examines the rescue of the Danish Jewry in 1943. It undertakes a historical investigation of the circumstances and the countries involved in the rescue mission, attempting to explain how it was possible to save up to 95% of the Jewish population in German-Occupied Denmark. More specifically, the investigation deals with the relationship between the Jews and the Danish people, examining the question: **To What Extent was the role of the Danish people significant in saving the Danish Jews in 1943?**

To answer this question, the role of the Danish people, Germany and Sweden will be examined and evaluated. The Danish people demonstrated their support to the Jews throughout the German occupation of Denmark. The Dane's rejection of the Nazi anti-Semitic ideology became even more apparent with their tremendous rescue efforts in 1943. The significance of the role of German natives Georg F. Duckwitz and Richard Camman in the rescue mission, Sweden's neutrality and its role in providing asylum to the Jewish refugees will be assessed. Interviews and memoirs of Danish Jews and other individuals involved in the rescue efforts of 1943 and secondary sources are used to interpret the role of each nation.

Conclusion
The conclusion reached is that the success of the rescue of the Danish Jewry was to a great extent the result of the decency and help offered by the Danish people to their Jewish compatriots in each stage of the rescue mission, but also the role played by the Germans Georg F. Duckwitz and Richard Camman in warning the Danes of the impending deportation and ensuring the safety of the Øresund and Sweden. Sweden's neutrality in the Second World War and her change in foreign policy was key in opening the frontiers of Sweden to the Jewish refugees in Denmark.

Word Count: 296

Rp ✓
Sc - all - could have been better machine pages
Concl ✓

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Introduction

As a Dane who has never lived in Denmark, the country's history, particularly its acts of moral courage during the Second World War, has always been of great interest to me. Denmark was occupied by Germany on 9th April 1940, during the early stages of the Second World War when Nazi Germany was expanding its frontiers over the majority of continental Europe. The Danish people lived under a peaceful cooperation policy until October 1943 when the 'Final Solution' was employed to the 'Jewish Question' in Denmark. The deportation was thwarted by the Danish people who forewarned, had mobilized a nationwide rescue effort to save the Jews. By the end of November 1943, 95% of the Jewish population in Denmark had successfully and surreptitiously been shuttled into neutral Sweden.¹ To assess how this was possible, the research question that will be investigated is **To What Extent was the role of the Danish people significant in saving the Danish Jews in 1943?** In answer to this question, the investigation will examine the role of the Danish people in the different stages of the rescue mission. This essay will also assess the significance of the acts of two magnanimous Germans, Georg F. Duckwitz and Korvettenkapitan Richard Camman, and the role of Sweden in the rescue of the Danish Jews. The essay will use eyewitness accounts in order to depict events and attitudes in October 1943. Additionally the researcher conducted visits to two key museums and Gilleleje Church central to this time in Denmark's history. Many historians argue the success of the rescue mission was due to the help provided by the Danes. Thus, the author of the investigation will argue that the success of the rescue of the Danish Jewry to a great

¹ Ellen Levine. *Darkness over Denmark: The Danish Resistance and the Rescue of the Jews*, (New York City: Holiday House, 2000). Vii.

extent was the result of the spontaneous decency, goodwill and courage of the Danish people but will also argue the importance of the two Germans and Sweden. The question is important to study, as Denmark was the only nation in Europe where the vast majority of the Jews escaped from the Germans. Only 60 Danish Jews perished at the hands of the Nazis, compared to the overwhelming 75,000 Dutch Jews.²

In order to understand why the people of Denmark underwent a dangerous and clandestine rescue mission to save the Danish Jews, the investigation will first examine the German Occupation of Denmark and the relations between the Danish people and Jews pre-1943.

German Occupation of Denmark

The morning of 9th April 1940 not only marked the beginning of the German occupation of Denmark, but the first time in over 900 years that Denmark no longer stood as an independent nation.³ At 4 am, the German Wehrmacht anchored at several sites in Denmark whilst German planes bombarded streets of Danish cities with leaflets urging the Danish people to accept German occupation.⁴ The Danish military did not immediately surrender and resisted the German forces at the Jutland border and Amalienborg.⁵ After two hours, King Christian X accepted the Germans' ultimatum and ordered a ceasefire. Denmark was vital for German war strategies. The airfields and military bases in northern Jutland were ideal for the planned occupation of Norway, and Denmark provided

² Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*, (London: Abacus, 1997). 413.

³ Levine, *Darkness Over Denmark*, 4.

⁴ Appendix 1- Leaflet dropped over Danish cities by German aircraft urging Danes to accept the German Occupation1.

⁵ Levine, *Darkness Over Denmark*, 2.

transportation for Swedish war materials to Germany. Moreover, Denmark served as a geographic buffer zone between Great Britain and Germany.⁶

Relations between Danish People and Jews pre-1943

In 1814, King Frederik VI decreed full equality to the Jewish Danes.⁷ Throughout the following century, the Jews became integrated into the Danish society and regarded by the Danish people as fellow countrymen who merely happened to belong to a different religion. There was never a "Jewish Question" in Denmark as relayed by Danish Chief of Police Thune Jacobsen to SS Reichsführer, Heinrich Himmler, in 1941.⁸ If a question were to arise, it would be a national question, for it would be Danes persecuted. During the first three years of the German Occupation, the Danish Jews lived in peace. Never once did the Danish government require Jews to identify themselves with the yellow Star of David, confiscate their businesses and residences, or segregate and isolate them, as demanded in the other German-occupied countries.⁹ The welfare of the Danish Jews was of great importance to King Christian X who was later labelled "protector of the Jews".¹⁰ He continuously demonstrated his support to the Jewish Community and his rejection of the Nazi's rabid anti-Semitic ideology. His opposition to Nazism symbolized the views of the majority of the Danish population who protected its Jewish citizens.¹¹

⁶ Ibid., 3.

⁷ Ibid., 21.

⁸ Ibid., 27.

⁹ *Holocaust Encyclopedia*. Washington D.C.: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Denmark." <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005209> (accessed August 8, 2011).

¹⁰ Aage Bertelsen, *October'43*, trans. Milly Lindholm (New York City: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1954). 27.

¹¹ *Holocaust Encyclopedia*. Washington D.C.: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Denmark." <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005209> (accessed August 8, 2011).

"The Final Solution"

By 1943, there were approximately 7,800 Jews in Denmark, accounting for 0.2 % of the total Danish population.¹² The Jews survived three years free of persecution and harassment in German-Occupied Denmark. In 1943 their fate changed. On 8th September, German Civilian Administrator in Denmark, Werner Best, conveyed a telegram to Adolf Hitler:

"It is in my opinion that measures should now be taken toward a solution of the problems of the Jews".¹³

Hitler approved the telegram within nine days and the deportation of the Danish Jewry to Theresienstadt concentration camp¹⁴ was scheduled to transpire the night between October 1st and 2nd 1943.¹⁵ The "Final Solution" had been delayed for so long because Germany wanted a peaceful occupation in Denmark. Denmark was vital for German war strategies and its farming lands provided food for millions of Germans. Germany wanted to maintain the status quo, thus they thought it best not to act on the "Jewish question" as it would cause an uproar from the Danish people who supported its Jewish.¹⁶ The planned round up was a stunning failure as the Germans only captured about 5% of the Danish

because?

not policy in 1943
final 1944

¹² Peter H. Tveskov, *Conquered, Not Defeated: Growing up in Denmark during the German occupation of World War II*, (Central Point, Oregon: Hellgate Press, 2003), 12.

¹³ Emmy E. Werner, *A Conspiracy of Decency*, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2002), 29.

¹⁴ Levine, *Darkness Over Denmark*, 117. Theresienstadt concentration camp was located forty miles north of Prague, in Czechoslovakia. Theresienstadt became a Nazi concentration camp in November 1941 where over one hundred and forty thousand Jews from Hungary, Germany, Holland, Austria and Denmark were imprisoned. Theresienstadt was used as a transit camp and many were sent from the camp to the gas chambers in Auschwitz, however a Danish Jew was never transported to an extermination camp.

¹⁵ *Holocaust Encyclopedia*. Washington D.C.: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Denmark." <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005209> (accessed August 8, 2011).

¹⁶ Tveskov, *Conquered, Not Defeated*, 11.

Jewry.¹⁷ Denmark became the site of the greatest rescue mission in German-Occupied Europe.

Denmark and the Rescue Mission

By the end of November 1943, 7,220 members of the Danish Jewry had successfully and surreptitiously been smuggled into neutral Sweden.¹⁸ 384 Jews were captured and sent to Theresienstadt concentration camp¹⁹ whilst others either died during the flight to Sweden or committed suicide.²⁰ (Historian) Michael Mogensen notes "that it was possible to transport up to 7,000 refugees to safety in Sweden within a few weeks was a result of the extensive help given to the Danish Jews by other Danes".²¹ On the other hand historian Ellen Levine argues geography, timing, politics and demographics contribute to the success of the Danish people in saving 95% of the Danish Jewry.²² Both sources are valuable because Mogensen meticulously researched the rescue of the Danish Jews from The Danish Centre for Holocaust and Genocide Studies. Levine bases her interpretation on her extensive study of credited books of the subject and extensive interviews with survivors from 1943.

extent

one argument

consider 2 sources

Danes from all walks of life helped the Jews in each stage of the clandestine rescue mission, from those who spread the initial warnings of deportation and hid the Jews, to the individuals who raised money to help the refugees and finally the fishermen who sailed the

¹⁷ Michael Mogensen, *Denmark and the Holocaust: October 1943 – The Rescue of the Danish Jews*, (Copenhagen: Institute for International Studies Department for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, 2003), 33.

¹⁸ Tveskov, *Conquered, Not Defeated*, 15.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 16. Of the 384 Danish Jews sent to Theresienstadt Concentration Camp, around 60 died in the camp, mainly old and sick individuals from the Jewish Elderly Home next to the Copenhagen Synagogue. There is no recorded case of a Danish Jew dying in a German Concentration Camp.

²⁰ Levine, *Darkness Over Denmark*, 92. Some Jews took their own lives in order to escape the risk of falling into the hands of the Germans.

²¹ Mogensen, *Denmark and the Holocaust*, 41.

²² Levine, *Darkness Over Denmark*, Vii.

refugees to Sweden. Preben Munch-Nielson, a courier in the Danish Resistance during the Second World War, described the Danes responsibility to save their Jewish compatriots in an interview to the United States Holocaust Museum, as "some sort of decency in a man's life" and a tradition in Denmark to always help others.²³ Leni Yahil relates to Nielson's interpretation. The thesis held by Leni Yahil in her book, The Rescue of Danish Jewry: Test of a Democracy, proposes that the non-aggressive nationalistic character of the Danish people and their belief in freedom, justice and democracy encouraged the Danes to safeguard the lives of the Jews.²⁴ The limitation of Yahil's thesis is the heavy criticism it received from historians specialized in the German occupation of Denmark, when it was first released. Moreover the majority of the book is primarily based on insufficient empirical evidence, as there were not many records available when Yahil wrote her thesis.²⁵

Once Georg Duckwitz informed leader of the majority Social Democratic Party, Hans Hedtoft, of the pending action against the Jews, Hedtoft and other members of the party illegally acquired cars from the Danish police and raced across Copenhagen to warn the Jews of the "terrible disaster".²⁶ The following morning on 29th September 1943, Rabbi Marcus Melchior announced to the congregation at an early morning Rosh Hashanah service of the imminent raid. The Rabbi urged the congregation to contact all their Jewish

²³ Preben Munch-Nielson, Interview by United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Preben Munch-Nielson," *Holocaust Encyclopaedia*, 1989, August 12, 2011.
http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/media_oi.php?ModuleId=10005185&MediaId=1193
²⁴ Leni Yahil, *The Rescue of Danish Jewry: Test of a Democracy*, (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1969). 118.
²⁵ However, Leni Yahil's book provides comprehensive insight on the position of the 'Jewish Question' in German-Occupied Denmark from April 1940 to October 1943. This information is based on approved scholar work from a number of official documents including the Auswärtiges Amt, from the German Foreign Ministry.
²⁶ Bertelsen, *October'43*, 31-32.

one argument
criticized
significance should be considered especially compared to conquest of Poland
Germany
solely used to Danes

discovery? discovery? evidence?

15 notes

the 'identity'

How much is needed to identify Jewish persons?

and Christian relatives, friends and neighbours to spread the warnings.²⁷ The warning swept across Copenhagen like a domino effect and within hours, the majority of the capital knew of the planned raid. The story of Jørgen Knudsen, an ambulance driver in Copenhagen, is just one illuminating story from many that exhibits the spontaneous decency shown by the Danes in aiding their unfortunate countrymen. Instead of going to work on September 29th, Knudsen drove his ambulance to the homes of people with Jewish names and alerted them of the impending deportation. Knudsen drove any Jew without a place to hide at Bispebjerg hospital where he worked.²⁸

Most Jews left their homes as soon as they had received the warning. However there were few who refused to believe the truth or hadn't received a warning.²⁹ For the majority who did trust the warnings, the next step was to find a secure place to hide from the Germans but the question was where; Denmark is a very flat country making it an arduous task to hide a body of over 7000 people. An outpouring of sympathetic Danes opened their homes to provide temporary refuge to their fellow Jewish citizens. Others were hidden in churches, stables, empty summerhouses and hotels.³⁰ The Germans only caught 384 Jews during their raid on October 1st-2nd; the rest of the Jewish population was in hiding.³¹ In this phase of the rescue, the hospitals in Copenhagen played a remarkably decisive role. Many Jewish refugees were hidden in the hospitals, registered under fictitious Danish names and given different diagnoses.³² They would remain hidden until transport was organized to take them across the Øresund to Sweden. The Jews were furtively smuggled

²⁷ Werner, *A Conspiracy of Decency*, 42.

²⁸ Levine, *Darkness Over Denmark*, 71-72.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 92.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 74.

³¹ Tveskov, *Conquered, Not Defeated*, 14.

³² Werner, *A Conspiracy of Decency*, 49.

out of the hospitals in ambulances and mock funeral processions. Steffen Lund recounts one day at 9am when 200 Jews left the chapel at Bispebjerg Hospital in a mock funeral procession and how the Germans ^{and if possible?} respectively did not check the cars.³³ In total, the Copenhagen hospitals were responsible for saving about 2000 Jews.³⁴ This accomplishment was chiefly the result of “the relationship of trust between doctors and patients” as related by historian Herbert Pundik who also maintains that neither the hospitals nor the transports that embarked from them were once penetrated by the Germans and no one affiliated in the process was ever harmed.³⁵

To evacuate the entire Jewish community in Denmark to Sweden created obvious financial troubles, especially with transportation costs ranging from 1,000 to 10,000 kroner³⁶ per person.³⁷ Costs varied depending on the individual fishermen and how high the chance of being detected was. These high prices meant only affluent Jews could afford to escape leaving the rest stranded in Denmark in jeopardy of deportation. Money was first collected from the refugees and if the amount didn't cover the costs of transportation, the money was collected elsewhere. Many Danes organized small groups to raise funds for the Jews whilst the affluent of the population donated to the cause.³⁸ Aage Bertelsen recounts in his book, October'43, how he collected a sufficient sum to send seven hundred Jews to Sweden from his hometown of Lyngby. Bertelsen raised the money through subscriptions and funds from several generous parties including the Domus Medica physicians and the

³³ Herbert Pundik, *In Denmark, It Could Not Happen: The Flight of the Jews to Sweden in 1943*, trans. Anette Mester (Jerusalem: Gefen Publishing House, 1998), 41.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Pundik, *In Denmark, It Could Not Happen*, 38-41.

³⁶ Bertelsen, *October'43*, 73. In 1943, the rate of exchange was 20 US cents to 1 krone.

³⁷ Werner, *A Conspiracy of Decency*, 61.

³⁸ Tveskov, *Conquered, Not Defeated*, 15.

former Danish prime minister, Vilhelm Buhl.³⁹ However it is important to mention that historians Peter H. Tveskov and Herbert Pundik affirm no legitimate refugee was left behind for lack of fare.⁴⁰ The historian views are reliable because both historians experienced the events of October 1943 as Danish Jews themselves. However Pundik's In Denmark, It Could Not Happen, is particularly valuable as Pundik, an esteemed journalist in Denmark, conducted extensive research with many interviews with eyewitnesses and used his own memoirs for the book.

consider
2 more
sources

Some might not believe it could be possible

The last stage of the rescue mission was to transport the Jews across the narrow body of water between Denmark and Sweden.⁴¹ The operation was extremely dangerous. German soldiers patrolled numerous harbours along the Zealand coastline, keeping their eyes out for any suspicious and illegal behaviour. The consequence of helping a Jew escape was imprisonment and fishermen would lose ownership of their boats.⁴² Danish fishermen offered transportation across the Øresund, however the high risk came at a high price. Some gallant fishermen, at peril to their own lives, offered free passage to the Danish Jews.⁴³ Almost the entire Danish Jewry escaped to Sweden with ferries, rowboats, kayaks or fishing boats. The refugee transports embarked from more than fifty different points from Gilleleje in northern Zealand to Stubbekøbing in the South.⁴⁴ Copenhagen was the principal embarkation point. Henny Sinding Sundø and his manning crew of three sailed several hundred Danish Jews to safety from Christianshavn Canal in Copenhagen with the *Gerda III* for free. Sundø recalls the danger and difficulty posed to the rescue efforts by the

³⁹ Bertelsen, *October'43*, 78-88.

⁴⁰ Tveskov, *Conquered, Not Defeated*, 83.

⁴¹ Appendix 2- Map of Denmark and Sweden.

⁴² Levine, *Darkness Over Denmark*, 79.

⁴³ Mogensen, *Denmark and the Holocaust*, 43.

⁴⁴ Appendix 2- A map indicating the escape routes from Sweden to Denmark.



two German guards who daily patrolled the Wilders Square in front of the *Gerda III*.⁴⁵

Without the valiant cooperation of fishermen like Sundø who risked their lives to save their imperilled countrymen, but also those who charged for passage across the Øresund, the shipments would not have been possible.⁴⁶

Not all Danes cooperated in the rescue operations. On a few rare occasions stikkere⁴⁷ would inform the German Gestapo the location of Jews.⁴⁸ Herbert Pundik states that the greatest tragedy that occurred during the evacuation of the Danish Jewry took place in the seaport town of Gilleleje.⁴⁹ At the tip of Zealand, across the Swedish port of Høganäs, Gilleleje harbour was the departure port for about one fifth of the Danish Jews.⁵⁰ On October 6th, a group of 80 Jews hid in the attic of Gilleleje Church⁵¹, waiting for the opportune moment to sail across the Øresund. That evening, the German Gestapo captured the 80 Jews. A Jewish woman hiding in the church revealed:

*A van took us to the Horserød camp. My young son and I were released after questioning, because my husband was not Jewish, but most of the others were deported.*⁵²

The woman and her son were not the only fortunate ones, 38 Jews were released because they had documental evidence proving their status as "half Jews". The others were transported to Theresienstadt concentration.⁵³ From the evidence collected, two interpretations of the causes of the Gilleleje tragedy are raised. Author of Darkness over

⁴⁵ Pundik, *In Denmark, It Could Not Happen*, 109-112.

⁴⁶ Appendix 3- A Photograph of the Danish fishing boat *Elisabeth* returning to Dragør, Denmark after sailing Jewish refugees to safe haven in Sweden in October 1943.

⁴⁷ Danish translation for informers and collaborators.

⁴⁸ Bertelsen, *October'43*, 28.

⁴⁹ Pundik, *In Denmark, It Could Not Happen*, 64.

⁵⁰ Gilleleje Church.

⁵¹ Appendix 4- Photograph of Gilleleje Church Today.

⁵² Pundik, *In Denmark, It Could Not Happen*, 67.

⁵³ Levine, *Darkness Over Denmark*, 96.

Denmark, Ellen Levine, claims the Danish girlfriend of a German soldier, who had been sent to the Eastern Front, had betrayed the Jews in Gilleleje attic. She hoped her betrayal would bring her boyfriend back to Denmark, yet he never returned.⁵⁴ Conversely, Henrik Pundik argues in In Denmark, It Could Not Happen that Gestapo Officer Juhl, who led the raid on Gilleleje church, found the Jews by pure luck.⁵⁵ However the reliability of Levine's interpretation is limited due to the fact that there is no first-hand evidence to support the claim and it is loosely based off a rumour. Pundik's work on the other hand, is of great value here. Pundik presents facts founded from his own memories and empirical evidence from Danish Jews. Either way, the Jews from the attic of Gilleleje church were the largest group of Jews caught in Denmark and sent to a German concentration camp at the same time.⁵⁶ Regardless of the tragedy, the town of Gilleleje continued helping the Jews and as gratitude for their rescue efforts, the town received a medal of honour from Jewish-American War veterans in 1970.⁵⁷

2 theories
both anecdotal

The people of Denmark went to great lengths to save their fellow Jewish compatriots with rescue efforts ranging from isolated actions of individuals to organized networks. Despite the perilous consequences of helping a Jew, the Danes ensured that the Jews received warnings of the impending deportation, had a place to hide from the Germans and organized Danish fishermen to sail them across the Øresund to Sweden. The nationwide rescue effort revealed the goodwill and gallantry of the Danish people.

Study of arguments

⁵⁴ Ibid., 97.

⁵⁵ Pundik, *In Denmark, It Could Not Happen*, 67.

⁵⁶ Levine, *Darkness Over Denmark*, 97.

⁵⁷ Appendix 5- Photograph of Medal of Honour.

Germany and the Rescue Mission

The people of Denmark managed to save 95% of the Danish Jewry.⁵⁸ However the success of the rescue mission is partly due to two magnanimous Germans. One man in particular was the naval attaché at the German embassy in Copenhagen, Georg Ferdinand Duckwitz.⁵⁹ Historians have disputed over Duckwitz's true political allegiances. Polish historian, Tatiana Brustin-Berestein suggested he was an officer of the Schutzstaffel, however Danish historian, Hans Kirchhoff, has verified there is no documentary evidence in support of Brustin-Berenstein's claim.⁶⁰

Georg Duckwitz's fight to save the Danish Jews began on 13th September 1943 when he flew to Berlin with the intent of intercepting ^{Why?} Werner Best's telegram before it could reach the Führer.⁶¹ Unfortunately his determination proved useless, as Hitler had already received the transmission. On 19th September, Duckwitz received confirmation that Hitler had accepted Best's proposal to implement the Final Solution to the Jewish Problem in Denmark. Duckwitz wrote in his diary later that day: "I know what I have to do".⁶² Jeopardizing both his career and life, he arranged a secret meeting with Sweden's Prime Minister, Per Albin Hansson, on the evening of September 22nd in Stockholm.⁶³ Duckwitz urged Hansson to offer asylum in neutral Sweden to the Danish Jews. The Swedish government was hesitant due to their neutrality but on October 2nd, Sweden publicly welcomed the Danish refugees.⁶⁴ On September 28th, Best informed Duckwitz of the

⁵⁸ Mogensen, *Denmark and the Holocaust*, 33.

⁵⁹ Appendix 6- Photograph of Georg F. Duckwitz.

⁶⁰ Werner, *A Conspiracy of Decency*, 27-28.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁶² Levine, *Darkness Over Denmark*, 68.

⁶³ Tveskov, *Conquered, Not Defeated*, 12.

⁶⁴ Pundik, *In Denmark, It Could Not Happen*, 23.

scheduled deportation of the Danish Jews for the night during October 1-2. Duckwitz immediately contacted Hans Hedtoft.⁶⁵ Hedtoft recalled Duckwitz looking him up at the “old workers’ Assembly House at 22 Rømersgade” on 28th September, his face “white with indignation and shame”, as he informed Hedtoft of the procedures for the planned deportation.⁶⁶ Hedtoft was right, Georg Duckwitz “personally did everything that was humanly possible to save whatever lives could be saved”.⁶⁷ Not only did he warn the Danish people of the pending arrests, he also ensured the safety of the Øresund as a route to Sweden for the Jews. Duckwitz enlisted the help of an old acquaintance and German harbour commander of Copenhagen, Korvettenkapitan Richard Camman. Duckwitz wrote of Camman, “He took a great personal risk, but he did so without hesitation”.⁶⁸ The week before the planned round up, Camman guaranteed that all German patrol ships under his command were in dry dock; enabling the Danish fishermen to safely transport the Jews to Sweden without risk of meeting German naval units in the Øresund waters. Camman’s heroic actions proved successful for in the first two weeks of October, the Swedish coast guard did not report any interference in the rescue efforts involving German patrol ships.⁶⁹ Richard Camman risked his military career and more importantly, his life, to safeguard hundreds of Danish Jews reached the shores of Sweden safely.

Duckwitz's role

Georg Ferdinand Duckwitz was instrumental in saving the Danish Jewry. He ensured the Danish people were warned of the imminent raid and helped persuade the Swedish government to offer a safe haven to the Danish Jews. With the help of Korvettenkapitan

Sum

⁶⁵ Werner, *A Conspiracy of Decency*, 39.

⁶⁶ Bertelsen, *October'43*, 30.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Werner, *A Conspiracy of Decency*, 37.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 38.

Richard Camman, Duckwitz secured the safety of the Øresund. His heroic actions were officially recognized on March 21st, 1971 when he was honoured "Righteous among the Nations" by the Israeli government.⁷⁰ However, Duckwitz forewarnings only proved effective because sympathetic Danes nationwide responded quickly.

Sweden and the Rescue Mission

Help was not only given to the Jews on one side of the Øresund. The Swedish side was also of great value to the rescue mission. The distance from Denmark's Zealand coastline to Sweden varies from two to fifteen miles.⁷¹ The proximity of the two nations made Sweden an ideal escape hatch for the Danish Jews.⁷² Sweden remained neutral throughout the Second World War; nevertheless for the first three years of the war, her "neutrality" swayed in the direction of the Third Reich. Swedish air space, railway and maritime territory helped power the German war machine.⁷³ In 1943, Sweden's allegiances began to drift away from Germany towards the Allied nations. Historian Peter Tveskov suggests Sweden's change in foreign policy followed Germany's defeats at El Alamein and Stalingrad in 1942-43, the Allied invasion of Sicily in July 1943 and Mussolini's arrest.⁷⁴ Historian Emmy Werner stresses the pivotal defeat of the German army in Stalingrad as the foremost influence in Sweden's change in foreign policy.⁷⁵ From both sources, it seems evident that Sweden's foreign policy was a direct response to Germany's status in battles. By autumn 1943, it appeared as though the war was nearing its end with the Allies as the

⁷⁰ Yad Vashem, "Georg Ferdinand Duckwitz." Accessed August 15, 2011.

<http://www1.yadvashem.org/yv/en/righteous/stories/duckwitz.asp>

⁷¹ Appendix 2- Map of Denmark and Sweden.

⁷² Levine, *Darkness Over Denmark*, 79.

⁷³ Werner, *A Conspiracy of Decency*, 84.

⁷⁴ Tveskov, *Conquered, Not Defeated*, 12.

⁷⁵ Werner, *A Conspiracy of Decency*, 84.

clear victors. Sweden's shift in policy proved to be advantageous for the Danish Jewry. At 7:00 pm on October 2nd, the Swedish radio announced:

*In addition, the Minister extended an offer from the Swedish government to receive all the Danish Jews in Sweden.*⁷⁶

Following the public announcement, the Swedish Navy vacated the Øresund of all German warships to ensure the Jews could reach Sweden without being seized by Germans.⁷⁷ The navy had also been ordered to apply all means possible to stop German patrol boats from encroaching Swedish territorial waters. To secure the Jews reached Sweden, fuel was distributed to 30 Swedish fishermen who had volunteered to provide support to the Danish fishermen and refugees.⁷⁸

Sweden's
speci-
actions

Sweden also proved to be great hosts to the Danish Jews. They organized Danish schools for Jewish children, ensured the Jews had enough food and clothing, provided free medical treatment and built refugee camps.⁷⁹

Sweden's role in the rescue mission was widely appreciated by the people of Denmark. Sweden was a vital component in the rescue of the Danish Jewry. She had offered a safe haven to the Danish Jews, an offer that saved their lives.

Conclusion:

That a notable 95 % of the Danish Jewry escaped the gruelling fate of millions of Jews across Europe and found safe haven across the Øresund in neutral Sweden "was a

⁷⁶ Hans Kirchhoff, "Doing All That Can Be Done- the Swedish Foreign Ministry and the Persecution of the Jews in Denmark in October 1943," *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 24, no. 1 (1999): 5.

⁷⁷ Mogensen, *Denmark and the Holocaust*, 42.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁷⁹ Werner, *A Conspiracy of Decency*, 90-99.

small light that could be seen from far away in the total darkness".⁸⁰ After examining the role of the three nations in the successful smuggling of almost the entire Danish Jewry, the investigation comes to the conclusion that it was to a great extent, the result of the spontaneous and extensive support and goodwill of the people of Denmark. However, Germany and Sweden also marked their significance in the rescue mission. Despite the naïve approach that all Germans during the Second World War were collectively responsible for the horrific actions of the Holocaust⁸¹, two magnanimous Germans deserve a great deal of credit for their courageous acts. George Ferdinand Duckwitz was a key figure in the rescue mission. Without him, the Danish Jews would not have been warned of the imminent raid. Duckwitz also secured the aid of the harbour commander of Copenhagen, Korvettenkapitan Richard Camman, who ensured the safety of the Øresund as a transport route. It is evident that the safe haven in Sweden played a major part in the events of 1943. Combined these three factors are responsible for the greatest rescue mission during a terrible time in human history. It is somewhat a sobering notion that whilst Hitler and his Nazi regime massacred an approximate 6 million Jews across Europe, at least the Nazi web of evil did not entrap the goodwill of the Danish people who succeeded in saving the majority of their Jewish population. The benevolent and courageous actions of the Danish people were truly a matter of decency. Though this raises the question of why was this decency and acts of courage were not experienced to the same extreme in other countries in continental Europe. This question remains unresolved and may be the basis of another investigation.

⁸⁰ Melchior, Bent. "The Salvation of the Danish Jews Forty Years Ago." *Politikens Kronik*, 1983.

⁸¹ Refer to Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*.

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✓ Mogensén, Michael. *Denmark and the Holocaust: October 1943 – The Rescue of the Danish Jews*. Copenhagen: Institute for International Studies Department for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, 2003. 33-43.

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✓ *Holocaust Encyclopedia*. Washington D.C.: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Denmark." <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005209> (accessed August 8, 2011). ✓

Pundik, Herbert. *In Denmark, It Could Not Happen: The Flight of Jews to Sweden in 1943*. Translated by Annette Mester. Jerusalem: Gefen Publishing House, 1998. ✓

Tveskov, Peter H. *Conquered, Not Defeated: Growing up in Denmark during the German Occupation of World War II*. Central Point, Oregon: Hellgate Press, 2003. 11-83. ✓

Werner, Emmy E. *A Conspiracy of Decency*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2002. 29-99. ✓

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{Museums Visited for Research Purposes}

The Danish Jewish Museum: *Proviantspassagen 6*

1218 København K

Denmark

Visited 3/8/2011.

The Danish Resistance Museum: *ChurchillParken*

1263 København K

Denmark

Visited 3/8/2011.

Gilleleje Church: *Gilleleje Hovedgade 43*

3250 Gilleleje

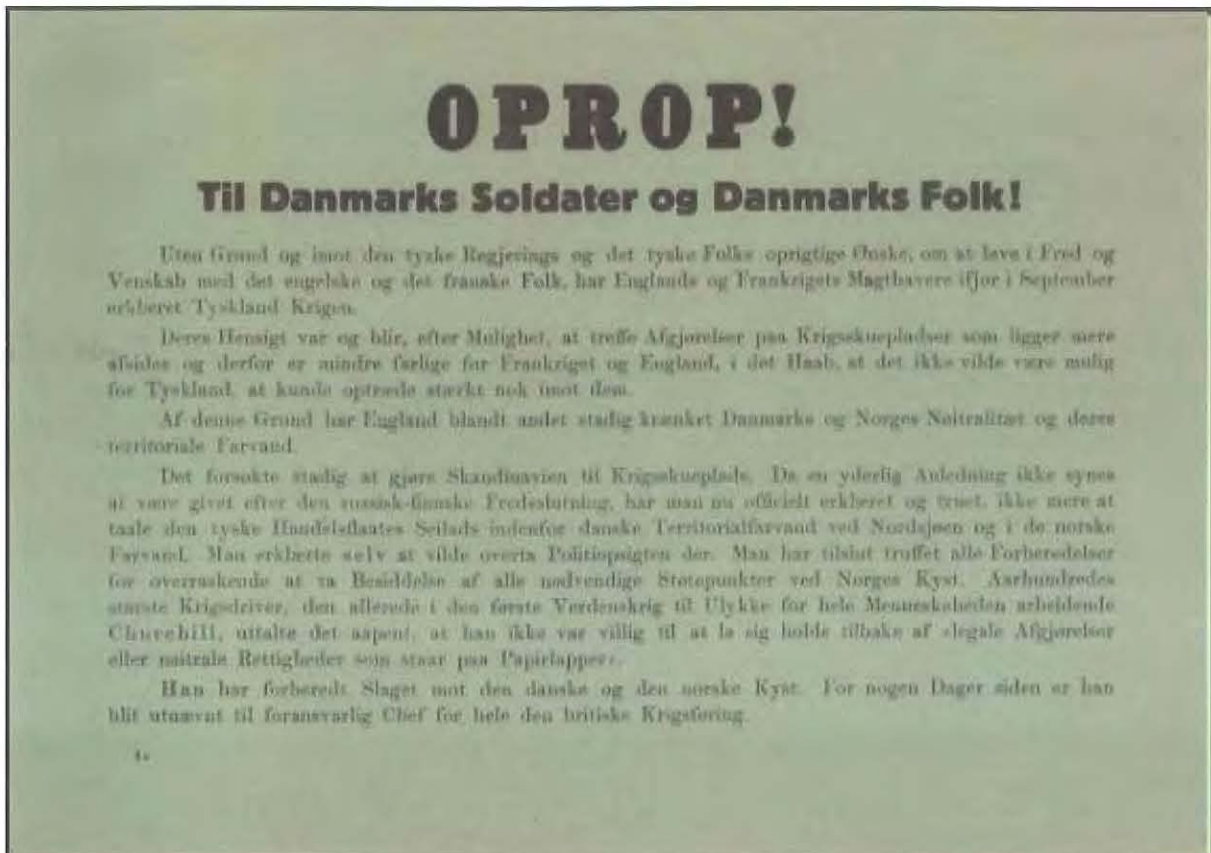
Denmark

Visited 2/8/2011.

clearly written with a specific R.D. - argument
with 3 strands - considers reliability of sources
well researched with obvious effort
- one weakness is identified a last sentence
why were the Danish more "decent" courageous
than Jews? - candidate accepts this as one
reason Jews escaped -
Context re. different treatment of Danes by the
Germans more than was mentioned -
probably needs more depth to the first strand of the argument
out overall - excellent

Appendices

Appendix 1- Leaflet dropped over several Danish cities by German aircraft urging Danes to accept German occupation on 9th April 1940



Source: "File # 1208070". Frihedsmuseet Archive. JPG,

http://erez.natmus.dk/erez4/erez?tmp=default&vtl=natmus%2fvviewer_flash_popup.html&cmd=view&adhoc=1&src=FHM+-+Frihedsmuseet%2fProjekter%2fCD-Bes%3aC3A6ttelsestiden+i+Billeder%2f1208070.jpg (accessed August 10, 2011)

The Leaflet states England is trying to turn Scandinavia into a war zone, therefore the Danes should accept the German invasion of Denmark in order to be protected from the Allied Forces. The leaflet ensures that German forces will secure the Danish kingdom, uphold the Navy and Army, and respect the freedom of the Danish people and its political independence.

Appendix 2- A map with legend marking the escape routes to Sweden during the rescue mission of the Danish Jews



Source: "Rescue of Danish Jews, fall 1943". Holocaust Encyclopaedia. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. JPG, http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/media_nm.php?MediaId=437 (accessed August 10, 2011)

Appendix 3- A Photograph of the Danish fishing boat *Elisabeth* returning to Dragør, Denmark after sailing Jewish refugees to safe haven in Sweden in October 1943.



Source: Scanned from Photograph Bought at The Danish Jewish Museum from Dragør Lokalarkiv.

The fisherman of the *Elisabeth* fled to Sweden in the spring of 1944 in order to not get caught by the Germans.

Appendix 4 - Gilleleje Church Today



Source: Photograph taken at Gilleleje Church, August 2, 2011. By: Louise Bredholt.



Appendix 5- Medal of Honour given by Jewish-American war veterans in March 1970 to the town of Gilleleje for their rescue efforts in October 1943



Jødiske krigsveteraner i U.S.A. - gav
medalje her i marts 1970 - tak for
medalje til Gilleleje kirke i tak
nemlig erindring om Gilleleje-befolk-
ningens indsats under jødeforfølgel-
serne i oktober 1943.

Med beundring og respekt.

George H. Diamond, National Commander

Source: Photographs taken inside Gilleleje Church, August 2, 2011. By: Louise Bredholt.

The label writes Jewish war veterans from the United States- visiting here in March 1970- presented a medal to Gilleleje Church in thanks for the people of Gilleleje's efforts during the Jewish persecution in October 1943. On the back of the medal translates to English: With admiration and respect.

Appendix 6- Portrait of Georg Ferdinand Duckwitz



Source: "File # 42D0000025: Duckwitz, Georg Ferdinand". FrihedsMuseet Archive. TIF, http://erez.natmus.dk/erez4/erez?tmp=default&vtl=natmus%2fviewer_flash_popup.html&cmd=view&ad hoc=1&src=FHM+-+Frihedsmuseet%2fFotos%2fNummererede-fotos%2fFotografernes+scanninger%2f42D0000025.tif (accessed August 10, 2011)

