

**Expert group
responsible for establishing the list of Jewish people in
Monaco arrested and deported during the Second World
War**

Report

Delivered to H.S.H. the Sovereign Prince
on 12 February 2015

In a letter dated 17 October 1991, Mr Serge Klarsfeld drew the attention of Prince Rainier III to the "memory of Jewish people in Monaco arrested and deported during the Second World War." In his response dated 7 November, the Sovereign Prince expressed that "remembering past atrocities" was "essential". He approved the "installation of a commemorative plaque in Monaco, at a location to be determined – which could be the Jewish cemetery". This plaque, which details the historical context surrounding the arrests in Monaco and subsequent deportations, was placed at the entrance to the Jewish section of the cemetery on 27 October 1993.

H.S.H. Prince Albert II expressed his desire to go further in honouring this duty of remembrance. Less than one year after his accession, he set up a "Commission responsible for examining compensation claims from individuals on behalf of victims, or their heirs or assigns, of material or consequential financial loss as a result of the expropriation of assets occurring in Monaco during the Second World War".

Following on from the creation of the commission which offers assistance to victims whose property was plundered in Monaco during the Second World War (Commission pour l'Assistance aux Victimes de Spoliations, CAVS) by Sovereign Ordinance no. 461 of 23 March 2006, the Sovereign Prince asked his Government to form an Expert Group. On 10 June 2011, the Minister of State charged this Expert Group with establishing and submitting a list of Jewish people in Monaco who were arrested and deported during the Second World War.

The Expert Group comprised:

- Mr Thomas Fouilleron, Director of the Prince's Palace Archives and Library, Doctor of History and Associate Fellow at the Centre of the Modern and Contemporary Mediterranean, University of Nice, Sophia Antipolis (EA 1193).
- Mr Serge Klarsfeld, lawyer and historian, member of the CAVS.
- Mr Fernand Levi, Chair of the CAVS.
- Mr Richard Marangoni, Chief Superintendent and Deputy Commissioner of the Police Department of Monaco.

Mrs Marie-Noëlle Albertini, who acted as secretary to the group until 3 February 2012, when she was replaced by Mr Marc Vassalio, Deputy Secretary-General of the Ministry of State.

The group was formally established on 21 September 2011. It met on nine occasions, on the following dates: 8 November 2011, 14 June 2012, 20 September 2012, 28 September 2012, 12 October 2012, 14 May 2013, 11 March 2014, 6 June 2014 and 18 September 2014. During the course of its work, several members were required to travel to Paris on 2 July 2013 (Diplomatic Archives Centre in La Courneuve), to Nantes on 17 and 18 July 2013 (Diplomatic Archives Centre) and to Nice on 2 July 2014 (Alpes-Maritimes Departmental Archives). The Expert Group would like to thank the Embassy of Monaco in Germany, which helped to arrange access to the archives of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Mr Serge Klarsfeld, who translated the documents from these archives into French.

This report is dedicated to Mr Fernand Levi, who passed away in Monaco on 15 August 2014. His knowledge of the Principality and its Jewish community, and his insight into the events of the Second World War, proved indispensable to the work of the Expert Group. Following the death of Mr Levi, Mr Jacques Wolzok, Doctor at Law, was appointed as Chair of the CAVS by Sovereign Ordinance of 3 November 2014 and joined the Expert Group to act as the liaison between the group and the commission.

Antisemitic measures applied later than in Vichy France

The Vichy Government passed its first law governing Jewish people on 3 October 1940. There was no equivalent law in the Principality of Monaco. Under French law, Jews were already prohibited from holding certain occupations (civil servant, teacher, journalist, director of certain types of company, etc.). The Act of 4 October 1940 provided for the incarceration of "foreign Jews" in prison camps, where they would subsequently be joined by Jews sent on convoys from Germany.

A second Act, which toughened the provisions of the first, was passed by the Vichy Government on 2 June 1941.

The first law governing Jews was not passed in Monaco until 1 July 1941. The bill, received no comments from the Council of State or the National Council Legislative Commission, and, once enacted, required a census of "all persons of Jewish origin staying in the Principality"¹. Victor Jeannequin, the Consul General of France, reported to Admiral Darlan, Minister of Foreign Affairs, that this decision had been made "both to comply with the measures taken by the French Government, and to avoid an influx of Jews from France into Monaco. Indeed, since the implementation of our new law on 2 June, many Jews from France and elsewhere have been trying to enter Monaco to avoid the mandatory census in France". The census took place on 16 July 1941 and revealed a population of around 250 Jews resident in the Principality². Due to the lack of any previous census, it is not possible to calculate the proportion of the Jewish population deported compared with the Jewish population with a Monegasque residence permit during the Second World War.

Furthermore, it is not possible to establish, to any degree of accuracy, the size of Monaco's "hidden" Jewish population due to a lack of documentary records. The Consulate General of Germany in Monaco estimated the size of this population to be at around 1,000 in September 1943, and between 300 and 1,000 in December 1943.

Of the 250 Jews recorded in 1941, 10 would be arrested and would subsequently die following deportation (4%); of these, five were arrested in Monaco (2.5%) – four by the Gestapo and one by the Monegasque Police.

Monaco's Jewish residents therefore felt very strongly that they were protected and spared.

¹ "I, Louis II, by the grace of God, Sovereign Prince of Monaco, pursuant to Act no. 278 of 2 October 1939 assigning temporary delegation of legislative power; pursuant to Act no. 321 of 4 April 1941 renewing the delegation of power; Having consulted my Council of State; Do hereby order as follows: Article 1 Any person residing in the Principality, who is of Jewish origin pursuant to the provisions of Article 2 hereafter, must, before 15 July 1941, submit to the Ministry of State (Ministry of Interior): a written declaration indicating that he/she is Jewish under the terms of this Act, stating his/her civil status, nationality, profession and marital status. Where the person is a woman, such declaration shall be made by her husband; where the person is a minor or is deprived of legal capacity, such declaration shall be made by his/her legal representative. Article 2 The following persons shall be considered Jewish: 1) any person, whether a practising member of any religion or otherwise, who has at least three Jewish grandparents, or two Jewish grandparents where his/her spouse has two Jewish grandparents; for the purposes herein, a grandparent shall be considered Jewish if he/she is/was a member of the Jewish religion; 2) any person who is a practising Jew, or was a practising Jew on 25 June 1940, and who has two Jewish grandparents. Non-membership of the Jewish religion shall be established on the basis of evidence of membership of another religion. Denial or disownment of a child considered Jewish shall have no effect with regard to the provisions above."

² 16 July, 251; 30 August, 219; 1 September, 218. Letter from the Consul General of France, Victor Jeannequin, to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, 30 August 1941; memo from the Police Commissioner of Monaco to the Minister of State, 1 September 1941.

In a document held in the archives of the Consulate General of France in Monaco, the widow of lawyer Jacques Lambert stated that "from 1940 onwards, Jews residing in Monaco undoubtedly enjoyed protection and tolerance, for which they will be eternally grateful. The problems that they faced in Monaco came from the representative of France [Consul General Victor Jeannequin] who, despite protecting certain Jewish families such as the Schwobs of Héricourt and the Bernheims of Villers (who were recommended to him by a personal friend), was antisemitic both in his words and in his deeds. After the Act came into force, H.S.H. [His Serene Highness] allowed Mr Lune to continue teaching at the Lycée until the French Government appointed his replacement and elevated him to an honorary position; my husband was able to continue his practice and shopkeepers were allowed to continue running their shops. Residence permits were granted to French and foreign Jews, and many of them have remained in the Principality ever since. [...] Well-known families such as the Lunels, the Jessulas and ourselves remained in their homes and kept their original surnames without fear or concern."

On 18 September 1944, Monaco's Jews demonstrated their gratitude for the fact that "while, over the last four years, their brothers and sisters have suffered tremendous hardship throughout the rest of Europe, they were able to find protection and asylum in Monaco due to the liberal and humanitarian policies of the Government of H.S.H. Prince Louis II, represented by his Minister of State [...]. Despite occupation by two foreign powers and under increasingly difficult circumstances, His Excellency Mr Roblot managed, with both tact and determination, to preserve the dignity, assets and human rights of Jews in Monaco by protecting them from police harassment, confiscations and deportation."

The following day, Émile Roblot himself stated that he was "deeply touched" by this statement. "Its authors have revealed the profound sense of generosity that guided the Sovereign Prince and his Government in their determination to protect the victims of this truly odious persecution. The Prince's Government does not take particular pride in the fact that it saved the lives and protected the interests of Jews – lives and interests that are as sacred as those of any other person. It simply adhered to causes that should be close to the hearts of all human beings. Through their attitudes and policies towards the Jews, and despite intense pressure and threats, the Prince and his Government reasserted the Principality's commitment to freedom and liberty. On a personal note, the part that I played in this policy, and this humanitarian effort, will be the proudest moment of my career."

On the same day, 19 September, dentist Samuel Wolzok addressed the Minister of State, declaring "the gratitude of the entire Jewish community, which has always found you to be kind and actively benevolent". He also dedicated a special version of the Rosh Hashanah prayer to mark the occasion: "May God bestow upon His Serene Highness Prince Louis II and his Noble Family one hundred times the blessings that we have received from him. Let us remember, Dear Brothers, that while our unfortunate brothers were caught up in the whirlwind of injustice and persecution that swept across our people during these past years, we were protected from such a fate in this blessed land, the Principality, where we found welcome refuge against this terrible hurricane."

On 15 April 1946, *Essor de Monaco* contained an anonymous testimony from the German-language Jewish periodical *Aufbau*, published in New York: "I am often asked how my family and I managed to survive the Nazi reign of terror in the Principality of Monaco. I feel duty-bound to answer this question openly and honestly, via the press, as a testament to my gratitude, on behalf of all Jews living in the Principality who were spared from the Nazi atrocities. In June 1942, a total of 169 people were officially declared as Jews to the Monegasque Government. The real number was much higher, however, since many of our fellow-believers were too afraid to publicise their existence. When the ethnic round-ups began in 1942, many Jews sought refuge in the Principality. Several arrests were made in August

that year, at the order of the Vichy Government, and we now know that lengthy discussions were held between the French and Monegasque Governments. The Monegasque Police conducted themselves impeccably and allowed all refugees from Nice and the surrounding areas to enter the Principality without even the slightest objection. During the Italian occupation, the fascist Race Bureau began deporting Jews from the Côte d'Azur, under pressure from Germany, under an assigned residence arrangement. I, along with my family and 42 other Jewish families living in Monaco, were to be sent to Megève where several thousand other Jews were already being held. It was then that the Minister of State granted myself and my daughter an audience. The Monegasque Government took up our case with the Italian authorities and, in the end, we all avoided being deported to assigned residence. We were extremely fortunate in that respect, since few people ever returned from exile. Then came the German occupation, led by the Gestapo and its secret agents who set up their base in the city's largest hotel. Despite Monaco's weakness in the face of this powerful occupying force, the Germans were persuaded to recognise the Principality's laws of neutrality – although they did not always observe these laws. The Monegasque Government and Police, and the population itself, conducted themselves impeccably and provided extensive protection to the persecuted groups. They successfully concealed and saved a great number of vulnerable people. They were not able to prevent a small number of arrests, all of which were, to a greater or lesser extent, made on the grounds of false accusations. Yet Monaco must be singled out as the most successful German-occupied territory in Europe when it came to defending the laws of humanity. Many Jews residing in the Principality managed to escape the German terror through legal concealment, and many enjoyed protection not only of their lives, but also of their possessions. It is therefore my solemn duty to express our profound gratitude, on behalf of all survivors, to H.S.H. Prince Louis II, his Government, his Police and the entire population for everything they have done for us."

Initiatives to combat anti-Semitism within the population

Writer Armand Lunel (1892-1977) was the winner of the Prix Renaudot in 1926, a former student of the Ecole Normale Supérieure and an accredited teacher of philosophy at the Lycée de Monaco. On 22 October 1941, one year after the French had banned Jews from teaching, he was forced into compulsory retirement, along with one of his colleagues. However, that was the extent of his persecution. Here is his testimony of the period: "As antisemitism gained currency in Nazi Germany and Jewish refugees began to flood into Monaco, a certain sense of hostility began to rise to the surface from the depths where it had lain dormant. One day, in 1938, I saw a piece of paper pinned to the door of my classroom at the Lycée de Monaco. This sheet of school-issue paper bore the following words, in red ink: Death to the Yids! Allowing myself to believe that it was the work of an old colleague known for his acerbic sarcasm and his aggressive melancholy, I simply screwed up the offending note and threw it into the toilet without further ado [...]. On a personal level, I am duty-bound to declare my profound gratitude to the Principality of Monaco, which demonstrated exemplary tolerance and liberalism in its resistance to pressure from the Vichy Government. The walls remained free of racially motivated inscriptions, our ID cards were spared the sinister stamping, our assets were respected and, even though I was forced into retirement by the Act, I still continued to teach for another academic year, while several of my successors refused to take my place. The kindness that we received, from both the authorities and the population in general, was of great reassurance. With the benefit of hindsight, I now look back on that time with a shudder down my spine. I am convinced, and will always be convinced, that my family and I would have fallen victim to this monstrous tragedy had we not enjoyed such extraordinarily generous protection."

His son-in-law, Georges Jessula (1919-2003), gave his own perspective of the situation: "There was no Jewish community in Monaco as such, just a group of around 20 families living in the Principality. Some of these families had been there for 50 years or so. Armand Lunel acted as the spokesman for his fellow-believers, expressing their anxiety to the Monegasque authorities. Prince Louis II [...], through his Prime Minister, reassured them that he would offer these families his personal protection. But he also recommended that they never cross the borders of the Principality. This was extremely sound advice. Our families were spared, and for this reason we take every possible opportunity to express our gratitude to the Prince and his family."

Father Jean Boulrier, vicar of Sainte-Dévote, expressed his sympathy for teachers barred from practising their profession because of their religious beliefs. On 26 October 1941, he gave a sermon in protest against the screening of the antisemitic film *Jud Süss* in Monaco. In his memoirs, he made the following observation: "The first discriminatory measures were being passed in the Principality. I was determined to protest. I sent my calling card, along with an expression of my indignation, to Mr Lunel, a teacher of philosophy at the Lycée de Monaco and to Mr Pollack, a senior teacher of grammar, Albanian language and literature expert and former friend of Péguy. In my address to the latter, I added the words: "Péguy's France is dead!". Around the same time, I organised a lecture on Freemasonry for my circle of young men. My idea was not to defend Freemasonry, but rather to explain its history. It was a

subject that, I believe, captivated my audience. It soon became apparent that my words and deeds had been listed in detail and reported to the bishop. One day, I was called to a meeting with the Minister of State³: "I see you disagree with the measures taken against the Jews?" "I certainly don't approve of them." "But rather than simply stating your opinion, you are writing about it, as demonstrated in your letters to Messrs Lunel and Pollack." "Has someone been reading my correspondence?" "No, but Messrs Lunel and Pollack have shown us your letters." "That's because they enjoyed reading them!" I said with a smile. "I'm sure that's true. But this is a much more serious matter than you appear to believe. The same goes for Freemasonry. You gave a lecture about it. What did you say?" (He was a Freemason himself, as I learned in Nancy where he had been Prefect) [...] The German presence was beginning to make an impression in the Principality, with a reach that extended as far as the cinema. The German propaganda machine screened three films in Monaco. The first was *Ohm Krüger*, depicting the oppression of the Boers by the British. The second was *Bel Ami*, which focused on the cynicism of the French in love and politics. The third was *Jud Süss*, which told the story of a small, 18th-century German principality exploited by a crooked and debauched Jew with the support of the Prince. "This is Monaco!" came the cries in the cinema – at least according to reports I received from the Countess of La Fortelle. One Saturday evening, a few days after the screening of *Jud Süss*, I was having dinner at Pierre Naquet's house when his daughter, a 15-year-old college student, told us about the battles that had been taking place at the Lycée, both for and against the Jews. Following my previous dressing-down, I had decided to take a vow of silence on the matter. However, having listened to this young girl's story, my sense of duty became irresistible and I took the decision to speak about this unsightly matter at mass the very next day – and at the 11 o'clock mass in particular. I had seen a growing number of college students attending my services, encouraged by their parents who would say "Go and listen to Father Boulier. You'll be interested to hear what he says!" I congratulated myself on this expanding audience, even though I knew that quite a few would head straight off to the port to meet their girlfriends the minute they stepped foot outside the church. On that Sunday, I decided to talk about *Jud Süss*, from a strictly religious perspective. "In my view," I said, "Christians should not be going to see a film that incites lust, cruelty and hatred between citizens." I knew that I was on solid ground."

At the Chapelle du Sacré-Coeur in Les Moneghetti, Jesuit priest Arici protected Jews by producing false Catholicism certificates to satisfy the Police between summer 1942 and spring 1943.

Hospital surgeon Dr Jean Drouhard, meanwhile, operated on "the wife of a doctor from Nice (both Jews and members of a famous French family), keeping her in the clinic for several weeks to conceal her from police investigations. This was not without danger. On 16 March one of my Swiss friends, Mr de Planta, came to warn me that I was about to be arrested by the Gestapo. [...] I avoided deportation through a fortuitous set of circumstances: I was called to perform an emergency operation on the Vice Consul of Germany."

³ Émile Roblot (1886-1963), Doctor of Law, Prefect of Meurthe-et-Moselle from 1931 to 1935 and of Bas-Rhin from 1935 to 1937, seconded to Monaco as Minister of State from 1937 to 1944: René Bargeton, *Dictionnaire biographique des préfets (septembre 1870-mai 1982)*, Paris, National Archives, 1984, p. 477-478. Prince Louis II finally accepted his resignation as Minister of State on 20 November 1944, after he had initially rejected his resignation on 12 September, along with the resignations of French Ministers Albert Bernard and Edmond Hanne.

Intense diplomatic pressure from the Vichy Government

On 4 August 1941, Xavier Vallat, Commissioner-General for Jewish Matters within the Vichy Government, expressed his concern to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, highlighting "the abnormal situation in which many French Jews are able to take refuge in the Principality of Monaco along with their possessions, with the sole aim of avoiding the measures taken against them in mainland France. Under the current legal framework, I have no jurisdiction over this neutral territory." On 27 August, Admiral Darlan, Minister of Foreign Affairs, demanded that the Consul General of France in Monaco, Victor Jeannequin, "engage in discussions with the Prince's Government with a view to enforcing, in the Principality, the provisions of the Act of 2 June 1941 concerning the census of Jews and the prohibition or restriction imposed on certain professions". On 30 August, Jeannequin replied that "the Prince and his Government did not agree on the need to legislate on Jewish matters".

Despite this, the Monegasque Government began preparing an Ordinance on the status of Jews on 23 September, stating that "the Minister of State had come under pressure from Vichy on the subject of Jews in the Principality" (according to reports by Jeannequin on 13 November). However, the National Council refused to examine the draft bill, "declaring that it refused to associate itself with any measures against the Jews and Freemasons", according to the report from the Minister of State to the Prince's Cabinet. According to Jeannequin, the Minister "faces grave difficulties in the form of opposition from the National Council, since no such bill can be ratified without its consent. Indeed, the National Council has already signalled that it will not go along with the Government's proposed plan [...]. According to the Minister, the only way to have his draft bills passed into law is to apply the provisions of Article 1 of the Treaty of 17 July 1918, i.e. to "align its policies with our interests". Under these conditions, the Prince may legislate by way of simple Ordinances "in application of treaties", which would not require the consent of the National Council because, under the terms of the Constitution, elected representatives have no power to veto Sovereign acts on foreign policy matters."

On 3 December 1941, the Consul General of France submitted an official request from the Vichy Government, invoking the provisions of Article 1 of the Treaty of 1918⁴.

The Council of State examined the draft Sovereign Ordinance on 15 December 1941, apparently seeking to gain time by issuing extensive observations. On 22 December 1941, the Consul General of France reported on the Council of State's reluctance to pass any laws governing Jews, Freemasons and Communists: "the Monegasque Council of State members [...] put up strong opposition on the basis of the liberal principles that Monaco seems to be deliberately championing at this time". On 5 February 1942, Jeannequin informed Darlan that "the Council of State still has not given its consent, and the Prince is refusing to overrule the objections of the Assembly".

The government's draft bills were presented to Prince Louis II following the Council of Government sessions of 16 and 20 January 1942, and were initially rejected by the Prince. The Minister of State presented the two draft bills on Jews and Freemasons on 26 February, arguing that the "observations [...] are designed simply to delay publication of the texts". A Sovereign Ordinance governing the status of Jews, based on the provisions of Articles 1 and 6 of the Treaty of 1918 and on the "special agreement" with the French Government, was finally signed on 28 February⁵.

⁴"The Government of His Serene Highness the Prince of Monaco does hereby undertake to exercise its sovereign rights in full compliance with the political, military, naval and economic interests of France."

⁵ "I, Louis II, by the grace of God, Sovereign Prince of Monaco, pursuant to Article 21 of the Constitutional Ordinance of 5 January 1911, amended by the Sovereign Ordinance of 18 November 1917; Pursuant to Articles

According to the memo sent by Minister of State Émile Roblot to Prince Louis II, the provisions were "similar" but not "identical" to those imposed by the Vichy Government. Following the Liberation and Allied victory of 1945, he recalled that "Vichy had called for the enforcement in Monaco, [...] in the name of compliance" with France's interests as stated in Article 1 of the Treaty of 1918, of French law, which expelled Jews and Freemasons from the positions they held in Administrations or public or controlled services. The Prince's Government responded by publishing a text worded in such a way that it did not affect any individual who already held a particular post. The Vichy Government once again protested against what it called "subterfuge" and a violation of the treaties. This protest went unheeded, and no action was taken against the parties concerned, where they fell exclusively under the jurisdiction of the Monegasque Government."

1 and 6 of the Treaty with the French Government of 17 July 1918; Pursuant to the Special Agreement with said Government; Having consulted my Council of State; Do hereby order as follows: Article 1 The following persons shall be considered Jewish: 1) any person, whether a practising member of any religion or otherwise, who has at least three Jewish grandparents, or two Jewish grandparents where his/her spouse has two Jewish grandparents; for the purposes herein, a grandparent shall be considered Jewish if he/she is/was a member of the Jewish religion; 2) any person who is a practising Jew, or was a practising Jew on 25 June 1940 and who has two Jewish grandparents. Non-membership of the Jewish religion shall be established on the basis of evidence of membership of another religion. Denial or disownment of a child considered Jewish shall have no effect with regard to the provisions above. Article 2 Jews shall not be permitted to hold the civil service positions and mandates listed hereafter: Minister of State; Secretary of State; Secretary of Justice; accredited Diplomatic Representatives to Foreign Powers; Personal Advisors; Ministers; Members of the Council of State; Presiding Judge and Members of the Supreme Court; Chancellor of the Order of St-Charles; Director and Head of the Prince's Cabinet; Secretary-Generals; Members of the Court of Revision, the Court of Appeal, the Court of First Instance, the Justice of the Peace and, in general, any tribunal; Members of all elected Assemblies, arbitrators; Members of Teaching Bodies and Police Service civil servants of all grades; Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers of the Palace Guards and Fire & Emergency Service; Directors and Secretary-Generals of companies receiving concessions or subsidies from the State or the Commune; holders of Government-appointed posts in public interest companies. Article 3 Jews shall not be permitted to access and exercise skilled professions, or to hold positions devolved to ministerial officials or legal practitioners. However, this prohibition shall not apply to those persons who exercise the professions or hold the positions defined in paragraph 1 of this Article at the time when this Ordinance comes into force. Article 4 Jews shall not be permitted to exercise the following professions: Bankers, money changers and door-to-door sales representatives; Insurance brokers; Advertising agents; Estate agents or Mortgage brokers; Business and goods traders; Brokers and Commission agents; Publishers, Managing directors, Directors, Copywriters (including as local correspondents) for newspapers or printed periodicals, with the exception of strictly scientific or religious publications; Operators, Directors, Managers of companies involved in the manufacture, printing, distribution or broadcasting of films; Stage directors, Film directors and Screen writers; Operators, Directors, Managers of cinemas and theatres and gambling houses, in any form whatsoever; Public entertainment producers; Operators, Directors, Managers of any company involved in radio broadcasting. [...] Article 6 Jews who exercise the positions, mandates and professions listed in Articles 2 and 4 of this ordinance shall cease to exercise such positions, mandates and professions within two months of the date upon which this Ordinance comes into force. Jewish civil servants affected by these provisions shall be eligible to claim any pension entitlement due in connection therewith within the same deadline. Civil servants and government officials who do not meet the eligibility conditions for such entitlement shall receive their salary for a duration to be set by Sovereign Ordinance. Article 7 Jews who have delivered outstanding service may be exempt from the prohibitions set out in this Ordinance; such exemption shall be by way of a Sovereign Ordinance, duly justified and issued after consultation with the Council of State.

Dissatisfaction from the Vichy Government and increasing diplomatic pressure

The Vichy Government's General Commissariat for Jewish Affairs was extremely dissatisfied with the wording of the Monegasque legislation, and in particular with its shortcomings in terms of restriction of activities when compared with the French law. This dissatisfaction was expressed in a letter from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Consul General of France in Monaco, Mr Jeannequin, on 27 April 1942.

On 4 May, Jeannequin asked the Minister of State "whether the Prince's Government intends to revise Monegasque legislation on Jews to bring it in line with French legislation". He received a negative response.

On 4 June, the regional director of the General Commissariat for Jewish Affairs concluded that the Monegasque law was "in no way fully compliant with the political and economic interests of France" and that, to the contrary, the Monegasque Government was opposed to the French measures". He also remarked that the "census list is extremely closely guarded".

On 10 June, Jeannequin reported to Pierre Laval, head of the Vichy Government and Minister of Foreign Affairs, that Minister of State Roblot was "extremely formal" about the Monegasque Government's position, in order not to "accentuate the position he had adopted on the Sovereign Ordinance of 28 February". He added that he would nevertheless pass on the request from the Vichy Government's General Commissariat for Jewish Affairs, Louis Darquier de Pellepoix, when he returned at the end of the month.

On 10 July, the regional director reported to the General Commissioner for Jewish Affairs on his discussion with Roblot, who had made it quite clear that Monaco "was a sovereign state that was perfectly entitled to adopt and apply any law of its choosing, in what it determined to be the public interest, and that, while he was not personally hostile to tougher legislation, he doubted whether the legislature as a whole would approve such measures; he also stressed the need to consider the wide range of interests at stake in the Principality in light of ongoing events, and that strict application of French law would undoubtedly lead to certain complications".

On 8 July, Consul General Jeannequin reported to Pierre Laval that "the provisions of the Ordinance of 3 July 1941 were the absolute maximum" that the Minister of State "had been able to obtain from the Prince and the Council of State". He also added that the situation was not as serious as the General Commissioner claimed, since the majority of the Jews resident in Monaco did not hold any of the proscribed positions. As such, were the measures imposed by Mr Darquier de Pellepoix's department to be implemented in the Principality, they would have a purely symbolic effect rather than any real impact. The measure governing "skilled professions, ministerial officers and legal practitioners", for example, would only affect one person – lawyer Jacques Lambert." Émile Roblot promised to act on limiting the number of Jewish artists employed in the Principality, but the Consul General of France remarked that it would require "great energy to do so, given that the Casino has taken on great numbers of Jewish artists expelled from French orchestras and troupes, and its managers would take a dim view of such a restriction on their workforce". Jeannequin concluded his report by requesting that Laval ask the General Commissioner- for Jewish Affairs to "trust him to obtain as much from the Prince's Government as legitimately possible on this matter".

Upon his return from an inspection of the unoccupied territories on 20 July, SS Hauptsturmführer (captain) Theo Dannecker reported that: "There are many Jews living in the

Principality of Monaco. The Monte Carlo Casino is frequented almost exclusively by Jews (around 85%). It is particularly striking that the majority of these Jews come from Germany."

The Monegasque Government also continued to allow Jews to enter and reside in Monaco, sometimes without the knowledge of Jeannequin, the Vichy Government's representative. He complained directly to the regional director of the General Commissariat for Jewish Affairs: "As you are aware, under both the Franco-Monegasque Treaties and local law, the representative of France must approve the installation of foreigners in Monaco and the issue of Monegasque ID cards. For French nationals, this involves the issue of a registration certificate, while for non-French nationals, this requires a visa in the individual's national passport. As I told you when you came to visit me, I make extensive use of the powers at my disposal to limit Jewish immigration. Yet I have just learned that the Reichenbachs, a French Jewish family, [...] have been granted residency in Monte Carlo without my authorisation. When I demanded an explanation, the Minister of State informed me that the Prince had notified the local Police force to issue a valid ID card directly to the Reichenbach family without going through the usual formal procedures."

The night-time round-up of 27 and 28 August 1942

Following the round-up in the occupied territory (the so-called "Vélodrome d'Hiver" round-up of 16 July 1942), a number of foreign Jews who had taken refuge in the Alpes-Maritimes department of France fled to Monaco to avoid arrest. The Vichy Government ordered a round-up of all "stateless" foreign Jews across all departments of the unoccupied territory on 26 August 1942.

The Prefect of the Alpes-Maritimes department asked the Consul General of France in Monaco to extend these measures to include the Principality of Monaco. This request is evidenced in the record of a phone call by Victor Jeannequin at 5 pm on 26 August. The request was approved by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Jeannequin indicated that he had contacted the Minister of Public Works, Albert Bernard⁶, who was standing in as temporary Monegasque Minister of State while the incumbent was on holiday for one month from 15 August onwards. Bernard told Jeannequin "that he would immediately expel any Jews" "who had arrived in Monaco in the last 24 hours to escape the round-up in the Alpes-Maritimes department". As for those Jews who had "arrived in Monaco previously and [who] held an ID card or residence permit", he wanted to know "whether I had instructions and was acting in an official capacity. I told him that I did not need instructions to enforce the provisions of the Treaties (Article 21 of the Treaty of 1912 – Article 1 of the Sovereign Ordinance of 24 June 1934 resulting from the special agreement between France and Monaco). Mr Bernard then asked me to put my request to him officially in writing. I plan to do so, since I assume that you do not wish Monaco to act as a refuge within our territory. However, I think it is wise to seek your prior consent," he concluded.

The Consul wrote to Albert Bernard on the same day: "The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has just instructed me to ask the Prince's Government to take similar measures within its territory, and to hand over all foreign Jews covered by the new legislation to the Alpes-Maritime police." The decision was taken in the absence of the Sovereign Prince and the Minister of State, who were clearly not informed. According to the enclosed memo, the measures targeted "all Jews who had entered France since 1936 (or 1933 for unmarried individuals): Germans, Austrians, Czechs, Poles, Estonians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Dantzigians, Sarrs, Soviets and Russian refugees. The following groups are exempt from the measures: Jews over the age of 60 on 1 January 1942, those who could not be transported or were visibly pregnant, those who were the father or mother of a child under the age of two (one parent only), those who had a French spouse or child, or those who had been listed, injured or incarcerated in 1939-1940."

Minister Bernard replied to the Consul General of France on 27 August, stating that "I have issued all the necessary instructions on this matter to my Police forces. I have contacted the Prefect of the Alpes-Maritimes department and the Police Superintendent of the Nice region to discuss the practical arrangements." On 28 August, the Consul General of France wrote to Pierre Laval: "Some 66 Jews have been arrested. Only 10 of them were foreign Jewish resident in Monaco. The remaining 56 were foreign Jews who had fled the Alpes-Maritimes department to seek refuge in the Principality over the last 48 hours. The searches will continue over the coming days, as there are likely to be additional refugees who have escaped detection to date by hiding in private homes. I would like to inform the Ministry that,

⁶ Albert Bernard (1889-1973), seconded French Prefect, Minister of Public Works in Monaco from 1938 to 1944: René Bargeton, *Dictionnaire biographique des préfets (septembre 1870-mai 1982)*, Paris, National Archives, 1984, p. 82. Prince Louis II accepted Albert Bernard's resignation as Minister on 19 September 1944. He remained a member of the Monegasque Council of State until his death.

on this occasion, the Prince's Government responded to our request promptly and, as stipulated in the Treaty of 1918, aligned its policy with our interests. Minister Bernard may have been tempted to delay matters in the absence of the Prince and Mr Roblot, for whom he is standing in as temporary Ministry of State. However, Mr Bernard set about complying with our request with great zeal and loyalty once I had made clear the French Government's strong views about the preferential treatment of Jews in the Principality."

On the night of 27 and 28 August 1942, a total of 66 (or even 67) arrests were made, followed by 45 deportations from Nice. The detainees were all Jews who had fled to the Principality to seek refuge several days previously, with the exception of Gertrude Herget, who had been resident in Monaco with her husband since 1938, but whose residence permit had expired on 23 August 1942.

The Minister of Public Works, acting as temporary Minister of State, had unilaterally given the order to round up the Jews and hand the detainees over to the French police, going against the customary decision-making process in the Principality, which the Consul General of France had mentioned in a letter to Pierre Laval on 10 June 1942: "no matters of importance are handled in the absence" of the Minister of State.

One of the detainees deported following the round-up was Ignacy Honig, who had escaped from a camp in Upper Silesia. He delivered a testimony on the circumstances surrounding the arrests to the International Committee of the Red Cross: "I was in Nice at the time. We had heard rumours of a round-up a few days beforehand and everyone who was able had fled to Monaco. Because it was a Principality, we believed that there would be no round-ups in Monaco. [...] We were safe for a number of days and the Monaco Police assured us that nothing would happen to us in the city. People went about their daily business in the hotels, converging from the Nice region and city, finding refuge here. But the situation didn't last. A few days later, the Monaco Police conducted raids and rounded up Jews from every hotel at around 3 o'clock in the morning. They arrested everyone they could lay their hands on – men, women and children alike. Unfortunately, 99% of the people were arrested. We asked the Police chief why he had gone back on his word after promising us freedom. He simply replied that he was carrying out orders from Hitler. That same night, he handed us over to the French police, who transported us to the barracks in Nice."

On 28 August, the Beausoleil Chief Superintendent of the Police informed the Head of the Nice Regional General Intelligence Services that "there are differing views about these police operations in the Principality. Some people are deeply unhappy that the children will be separated from their parents, while a minority of others are more supportive of the measure although they think that rich and powerful Jews are certainly still able to evade these searches."

In fact, the round-up was a failure in the Nice region. According to a memo issued by the French General Intelligence Services "concerning the popular perception of the round-up of Jews who entered France after 1 January 1936", "the round-up operation did not produce the expected results and, as a result of several indiscretions, only one fifth of the Jews appearing on the established lists were actually discovered, the remainder having left their homes and fled to Monte Carlo". A total of 610 foreign Jews, around 60 of whom were arrested in Monaco, were transported to Nice after the round-ups of 26 to 28 August. This represented 37% of the initial target number of Jews in the Alpes-Maritimes department and the Principality combined (1,800 people). Altogether, 664 Jews were eventually deported by convoy from Nice between 31 August and 11 November 1942, 45 of whom had been arrested in Monaco.

In a White Paper published after the Liberation and the Allied victory in 1945, Minister of State Roblot adopted an elliptical narrative in his recollection of this period: "When the Vichy Government and the German Authorities took measures in the occupied territory that struck cruelly the Jews and an entire section of the French population on the basis of their political beliefs, vast crowds of people would flock towards the Mediterranean coastline. Although this refuge within French territory offered something of a safe-haven, they remained vulnerable because the Gestapo was always prepared to extend its devastating operations into the unoccupied territory. [...] The Monegasque Government was criticised in Vichy for failing to "comply" with French policy. In short, the Principality was accused of failing to honour the Treaty of 1918! Some individuals, including a Monegasque citizen, claimed that the Prince's Government was a clique of Jews, Freemasons and their protectors. Admiral Darlan wrote to Monaco's Minister of State, informing him that he would no longer "tolerate" the Monegasque Government's policy of allowing individuals to enter the Principality to flee persecution under French law and that, if the situation continued, he would take action against the Principality. Prince Louis II informed Marshal Pétain that he would not accept criticism of his Government, clearly stating that Admiral Darlan had no right to decide what he would "tolerate" and "not tolerate" when it came to internal affairs in Monaco under the Sovereign Prince's approval, and that the Monegasque Government would continue to make decisions on a sovereign basis. In his reply, Marshal Pétain stated that the Prince had the sovereign right to decide on matters within his own territory, and that he should ignore the inappropriate intervention of the French Government."

In reality, this recollection referred exclusively to the law on Freemasons, which was "much more lenient" than the French law, as indicated in a letter from the Head of Marshal Pétain's Cabinet to the Minister of Foreign Affairs on 9 April 1942. In his letter, Henry du Moulin de Labarthète wrote: "I do not believe it would be wise to ask the Prince to implement tougher measures at this time".

New arrests under German occupation

On 8 November 1942, the British and American forces landed in North Africa. On 11 November, the Italians entered the Principality. This signalled the beginning of the military occupation. There were no anti-Semitic arrests in Monaco throughout this period, which lasted until September 1943.

Italy surrendered on 8 September 1943, and the Italian forces withdrew from Monaco on 9 September, to be replaced by German soldiers the very next day. This marked the start of a series of ongoing round-ups in Nice and the Alpes-Maritimes department. Many Jews certainly sought refuge in Monaco once again.

According to a memo from the Nice General Intelligence Services on 13 September, "around 60 Jews from Central Europe, both naturalised citizens and foreign residents, arrested in the region and in Monaco in particular on 10 and 11 September 1943, were forced onto the 3:10 pm express by German soldiers at Nice-Ville train station", on 11 September.

On 23 September 1943, the Reich Main Security Office estimated that there were 15,000 Jews in Monaco. This unrealistic estimate⁷ was contradicted on 25 September by Walter Hellenthal, Consul General of Germany in Monaco as authorised by Sovereign Ordinance no. 2770 of 23 November. He placed the estimated number of Jews at around one thousand and stated his belief that it was too early to "ask the local Government" to arrest them. Back in Berlin, Eichmann⁸ set about trying to verify the number of Jews. In a classified letter dated 26 October 1943, the Reich Minister of Foreign Affairs indicated that "on 21 September this year, the Minister of Foreign Affairs received a telephone call instructing him to ascertain the possibility of contacting the Monegasque Government in order to conduct a census of the 15,000 Jews who had sought refuge in Monaco. However, the Consulate General of Germany in Monte Carlo indicated that this figure of 15,000 was a vast over-estimate, and that there were no more than 1,000 Jews in Monaco, the majority of whom were long-term residents of the Principality. This figure was also confirmed by the Head of the Security Police Command and the SD⁹ in Nice having jurisdiction. Under these circumstances, any request made to the Monegasque Government would be premature, particularly in light of the agreement signed on 22 September this year between the Consulate General of Germany and the Head of the Command in Nice, as mentioned above, which states that Jews whom we consider undesirable for counter-espionage reasons should be recorded and arrested outside Monegasque territory, on a gradual basis. The matter was discussed on 30 September with SS-Obersturmbannführer Adolf Eichmann due to the staggering differences between the official estimates provided by the Reich Main Security Office and the figures produced by the Consulate General of Germany in Monte Carlo. He stated his intention to send a telegram immediately to the relevant SD unit to carry out checks, and gave his assurances that he would notify the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the outcome at the

⁷ The results of the 1938 census put the population of Monaco at 23,956.

⁸ Adolf Eichmann (1906-1962). A Nazi SS-Obersturmbannführer (lieutenant colonel) who was responsible for the logistical aspects of the Final Solution from 1942 onwards. His show-piece trial in Jerusalem in 1961 played an important role in the awakening of the Jewish remembrance of the Second World War.

⁹SD = Sicherheitsdienst (Security Service)

earliest opportunity. Given that this declaration was never received, he was asked to provide information about the current situation."

On 2 December 1943, Hellenthal confirmed that there were between 300 and 1,000 Jews in Monaco: "it is difficult to obtain precise figures, because people are not categorised by race here. If I had even the slightest concern that these Jews posed a threat to the security of the German army, I could ask the Government to expel them from the Principality and the German police to arrest them. I do not believe that the local Government could meet the German Government's request for all Jews." On 21 December, the Consul General of Germany reported that the Minister of State had informed him that there were 237 "Jews residing in Monaco on a long-term basis with the consent of the Government. There are likely to be other Jewish refugees hiding in the city. Efforts will be made to expel them once the new bill restricting the residence of foreign nationals comes into force." This restrictive bill was passed by the National Council on 14 December 1943 and came into effect on 21 December¹⁰.

At the same time, the Vice Consul of France, Olivier Delau, wrote to Pierre Laval on two separate occasions (23 October 1943 and 10 January 1944) to inform him that "no measures have been taken against Jews and foreign nationals, including those who are citizens of countries opposed to the Axis powers". He also noted that "the German authorities respect the fantasy of Monegasque independence and neutrality. This attitude even covers the protection of all residents of the Principality, with no action taken against either Jews or British and American nationals within Monaco." On 26 January 1944, however, he indicated that "the German authorities arrested five people on the night of 21-22 January and transported them to Nice for interrogation; all but one of the detainees were released within 48 hours. This operation was conducted by a German examining judge, assisted by several plain-clothes German police inspectors. The Prince's Government was notified by the German authorities and indicated that while it could not oppose these arrests, it would not provide assistance from its own police services. However, a commissioner and inspectors from the Monegasque Police had to accompany the German police in order to witness the arrests and write up a police report, since the Monegasque Government could not have allowed any harm to come to the individuals or their property, and no search was conducted."

On 4 February 1944, the German Minister of Foreign Affairs continued to express concern about "whether the bill restricting the residence of foreign nationals had been passed and, if not, what measures could be taken against undesirable elements, and against Jews in particular".

In a memo dated 9 February 1944, the Head of the Nice Regional General Intelligence Services indicated that "on the night of 7-8 February the German Police, armed with lists and assisted by the Monegasque Police, arrested several people in Monte Carlo, the majority of them foreigners". On 10 February, the Consul General of Germany in Monaco wrote to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Berlin, stating that "the SD Command responsible for Nice, with the consent of the Monegasque Police, has recently taken steps to arrest several Jews hiding in the Principality of Monaco, most of whom appear on the German authorities' lists".

On 18 February, a poster signed by the Minister of State was displayed, stating that the occupying authority wanted to "reduce the population of the Principality by 5,000 people" by 15 March.

¹⁰*Journal de Monaco*, 86^ea., no. 4497, 23 December 1943, p. 1-2.

On 17 February, the legal department of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs considered whether Monaco's restrictive law on the residence of foreign nationals – which it considered a law "against the Jews, enforced by the German authorities in Monaco" – was sufficient; on 1 March, it questioned whether it would "provide a definitive solution to the Jewish question in Monaco". On 7 March, the Department for Jewish Matters within the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs wrote to the Consul General of Germany in Monaco: "The question is whether the announced measures have already been implemented, and whether these have delivered a satisfactory outcome, or whether the local SD Command believes that we need to go further". Hellenthal replied on 23 March: "As a result of joint action by the Nice SD Command and the Monegasque Police, the SD has arrested and deported around 50 Jews in recent months. Following the entry into force of the bill restricting the residence of foreign nationals, and as part of deportation measures across the Mediterranean coastal region, an additional 40 Jews were expelled from the Principality and subsequently arrested by the SD in neighbouring regions of France. Fearing implementation of these tougher measures, around one hundred Jews decided to seek refuge in the Alpes-Maritimes department before it was too late. The SD's local representative estimates that there are at most around 100-150 Jews living in the Principality – a figure that is consistent with my personal observations. As such, there is no longer a genuine "Jewish question" in Monaco. The SD's representative has also informed me, in strict confidence, that the SD needed to retain a small Jewish population in Monaco to perform certain specific tasks." On 13 April, the SD in Berlin wrote to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to complain about the small number of Jews arrested in Monaco – a fact that it blamed on the Embassy's delay in informing it that the bill restricting the residence of foreign nationals in Monaco had been passed: "only 60 Jews have been arrested out of a total population of 1,600". In its reply, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs explained the reasons for this delay, but also stated that the SD should have been able to carry out these arrests by virtue of the link between the SD in France and its representative in Monaco.

On 1 May, Hellenthal[sic], the Consul General of Germany, expressed his displeasure at the arrest of Mieczysław Oxner¹¹, Deputy Laboratory Director at the Oceanographic Museum of Monaco – an arrest conducted the previous night at the initiative of the Paris SD without "the cooperation of the Monegasque Police as agreed with the Government". According to the Monegasque Police report, Oxner had warned the Minister of State by telephone. The Minister of State had then ordered the Police Commissioner to "go to the premises and inform the German police representatives that this was an official accredited by the Prince's Government and that the Monegasque authorities would not be able to cooperate with the operation in any way".

On 14 July, Hellenthal informed Berlin that "there are currently around 40 or 50 Jews in the Principality of Monaco (on the basis of appearance and surnames). There are also likely to be a few Jews in hiding. I am unable to provide you with an accurate figure. However, there cannot be many of these individuals due to current food rationing measures – the bread ration of just 132 g per day is insufficient to feed hidden Jews. There is therefore no longer a Jewish problem in Monaco. The situation was different a year ago, when there were still around 1,000 Jews living here. The figure dropped at first with the withdrawal of the Italians, because many Jews fled before the German occupying forces arrived. The second wave of Jews fled the Principality after the initial arrests by the Nice SD, heading to Spain, Switzerland and the French mountains. Some of them were arrested and transported to

¹¹ Jacqueline Carpine-Lancre, "Un rapport inédit de Mieczysław Oxner. Voyage d'études en Allemagne et en Scandinavie (1912)", *Organon*, vol. 34, 2005, p. 119-180; "Mieczysław Oxner d'après la correspondance échangée avec Jules Richard, directeur du Musée océanographique de Monaco", *Annales. Centre scientifique de l'Académie polonaise des sciences à Paris*, vol. 9, 2006, p. 242-252.

Drancy. If some of the Jews who remain in Monaco required deportation, these individuals could be arrested at any time under the procedures approved with the local Government, i.e. with the cooperation of the Monegasque Police. However, in your dealings with the Monegasque Police authorities, you should be careful not to mention Jewishness as the reason for the arrest. I draw your attention to the fact that several Jews living in Monaco are, in fact, SD informants. You may contact the SD's local representative, Count Von Kageneck, for information on this matter. We also know that a certain Jew by the name of Biermann buys rough diamonds from his Jewish colleagues on behalf of a German office in Paris"¹².

In his recounting of this period, Minister of State Roblot recalled that "the situation worsened significantly once the German forces had occupied the whole of France. For those suffering persecution, the Principality was seen as a liberal and hospitable refuge – an impression that was reinforced by the existence of special agreements between the Prince's Government and the Consul General of Germany in Monaco. These agreements [...] recognised the Principality's right to protect foreign nationals, including British and American citizens, resident in Monaco, and French nationals residing in Monaco, including Jews. To benefit from this protection, the individuals concerned required a valid ID card issued by the Monegasque Police, under the authority of the Prince's Government. In return, the Prince's Government agreed not to allow individuals residing in France who were wanted by the German authorities to seek refuge in the Principality. Despite this restriction, however, many thousands of French nationals – mostly Jews – found asylum in Monaco. The Monegasque Police, either at the order of the Prince's Government or at its own initiative, issued these people with Monegasque ID cards, often back-dating them or accepting false identities." The former Minister of State admitted that "the situation was much more difficult once the Gestapo was involved. Exasperated at its inability to arrest Jews and political asylum seekers, it threatened to rip up the agreements with the Consul General of Germany and to arrest the members of the Prince's Government. However, the Government members refused to be intimidated, and, ignoring these criticisms and reasserting their position that the individuals concerned had taken up residence in Monaco before the war, they left things to continue until the Liberation although they knew what was happening. They focused their efforts on advising people to act with greater care and discretion and on restricting the number of new arrivals entering the Principality. This policy was designed to protect the interests of those individuals already living in Monaco, who were rightly worried about a potential escalation of the situation and wanted to avoid attracting the attention of the Gestapo (which was already being fed information by informants on its payroll). It is clear that the members of the Monegasque Government often found themselves in a tragic position. At the time, nobody sought to criticise them for their relations with the Consul General of Germany, since this relationship produced agreements that protected many French nationals. In fact, they were widely encouraged to seek closer ties to avoid a worsening of the situation."

Dr Jean Drouhard recalled that "the Gestapo started to take an increasingly hard line – at first carefully then without restraint. It gradually began targeting Jews who had lived in the Principality for many years and those who had sought refuge in Monaco, where they had been welcomed and where the Vichy Government's legislation against the Jews could not theoretically be applied".

Of the 31 people arrested in Monaco by the Gestapo in 1944, only nine were residents of the Principality: Kurt-Michel and Rose Brock, Hilda and Otto Drucker, François, Renée and Sylvain Gompers, Mieczyslaw Oxner and Alexandre Ponisovsky.

¹² Mendel Szkolnikoff is another example.

List of Jewish people in Monaco arrested and deported during the Second World War

The names were decided to be presented in **three separate lists**, since the term "Jewish people in Monaco" covers several separate categories of people. The first list includes Jewish people arrested in Monaco at the order of the Vichy Government on 27 and 28 August 1942. The second list contains the names of Jewish people arrested in Monaco by the German police during the occupation in 1944. This third and final list relates to Jewish people resident in Monaco and arrested outside the Principality.

When compiling these lists, the following criteria were applied:

- Place of arrest: the France/Monaco border (an arrest made close to the border, such as in Beausoleil, is by definition considered an arrest outside Monaco).
- Monegasque residential status: a person holding a Monegasque residence permit issued by the Police Department (in administrative terms, this permit represents permanent residence in Monaco).
- Political situation under which the arrest was made: the date of the arrest (in 1942, the arrests were conducted by the Monegasque Police Department at the order of the Vichy Government, whereas in 1944 the arrests were made by the German Police during German occupation of the Principality).

The three lists compiled by the Expert Group are reproduced below:

Jewish people arrested in Monaco at the order of the Vichy Government on 27 and 28 August 1942

FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	MAIDEN NAME	DATE OF BIRTH	PLACE OF BIRTH	DEPORTATION CONVOY NUMBER	SURVIVED DEPORTATION
Mojzesz	ABEND		14/05/1915	Nowy Targ (Poland)	27	
Erwin	BERG		21/11/1898	Mor.Ostrava (Czechoslovakia)	27	
Anna	FALLMAN	ARONSFRAU	23/04/1889	Bochnia (Poland)	29	
Israël	FALLMAN		03/12/1882	Łącko (Poland)	29	
Elsa	FEINGOLD	SCHAEFER	22/11/1889	Bielitz (Austria)	29	
Erich Otto	FEINGOLD		24/10/1918	Lemberg (Austria)	29	
Eisig	FREMD		31/01/1907	Lwow (Poland)	29	
Gerszan	FRYDMAN		22/04/1903	Warsaw (Poland)	26	
Joseph	GLEICH		15/03/1910	Nowe Miasto (Poland)	27	
Mendel	GORDON		29/02/1895	Widnkle (Lithuania)	29	
Eliezer	GRAJOWER		04/09/1914	Podgow (Poland)	29	
Juda-Melloch	GRAJOWER		14/02/1918	St Gravenhaye (Netherlands)	29	
Feygla	GRUNWALD	WEKSELMAN	05/05/1894	Bedzin (Poland)	27	
Zygmunt	GRUNWALD		04/11/1920	Berlin (Germany)	27	
Naftali	HAMEL		01/05/1893	Rymanow (Poland)	29	
Charlotte	HAMEL	PRESSEL	01/01/1899	Antwerp (Belgium)	29	
Moïse	HANDEL		03/03/1905	Sniatyn (Poland)	29	
Mayer	HANFLING		20/04/1905	Rymanow (Poland)	27	
Gertrude	HERGET	LOEWENSTEIN	07/09/1911	Falknov (Czechoslovakia)	27	
Ignacy	HONIG		23/07/1904	Lwow (Poland)	29	YES
Mendel	KATZ		15/03/1909	Uniskowa (Poland)	27	YES
Ella	KIPNIS-SUCHISTON	NEULING	08/05/1893	Antwerp (Belgium)	29	
Joseph	KIPNIS-SUCHISTON		30/06/1895	Warsaw (Poland)	29	
Pinkus	KOHN		26/10/1904	Zborov (Czechoslovakia)	32	YES
Irena	KRYCZEWSKA		07/03/1919	Charkow (Poland)	29	
Szymon	LIPSCHUTZ		05/05/1919	Krakow (Poland)	27	YES
Benjamin	LOWENTHAL		13/07/1892	Przemysl (Poland)	27	
Regina	LUFT	EPSTEIN	03/01/1912	Lwow (Poland)	27	
Jack	NARCISENFELD		15/09/1896	Zmigrod (Czechoslovakia)	29	
Annie	OFFEN	KAHN	13/03/1915	Kettenberch (Germany)	29	
Inge	OFFEN		01/01/1937	Wiesbaden (Germany)	29	
Naftule	PFEIFFER		01/07/1906	Przemysl (Poland)	29	
Chaim	SALOMON		18/05/1906	Vodnikov (Slovenia)	29	YES
Joseph	SASVARI		20/07/1896	Vienna (Austria)	29	
Jacob	SCHIFF		05/02/1909	Przemysl (Poland)	29	
Bajla	SCHMIDT	LIWER	12/08/1897	Bedzin (Poland)	29	
Monek	SCHMIDT		14/03/1893	Lodz (Poland)	29	
MoszekHersz	SERCARZ		28/01/1912	Pulawy (Poland)	27	
Salomon	SPRUCH		17/07/1905	Brody (Poland)	29	
Brita	WAGNER	NUSSBAUM	13/12/1893	Dukla (Poland)	33	
Jacob	WAGNER		19/08/1921	Cologne (Germany)	32	
Moïse	WAGNER		04/11/1892	Lancut (Poland)	33	
Bernard	WELICZKER		27/09/1880	Kolomea (Poland)	29	
Otilie	WELICZKER		22/09/1913	Kolomea (Poland)	29	
Sofie	WELICZKER	BUCZACZER	01/05/1886	Brody (Poland)	29	

Jewish people arrested in Monaco by the German police during the occupation in 1944

FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	MAIDEN NAME	DATE OF BIRTH	PLACE OF BIRTH	DEPORTATION CONVOY NUMBER	SURVIVED DEPORTATION
Armand	AFTALION		17/04/1886	Varna (Bulgaria)	72	
Colette	AFTALION		23/05/1923	Paris 18 (France)	74	YES
Yvonne	AFTALION	WEILL	30/08/1891	Paris 17 (France)	72	
Blanche	ANGEL	BIRMANN	08/05/1880	Paris 10 (France)	69	
Isidore-Isaac	ANGEL		18/02/1881	Istanbul (Turkey)	69	
Richard	BERNSTEIN		21/08/1885	Cassel (France)	71	
Kurt-Michel	BROCK		04/07/1903	Berlin (Germany)	69	
Rose	BROCK	TARTAKOWSKY	17/10/1907	Menton (France)	69	
Adolphe	BUNIAK		15/07/1891	Warsaw (Poland)	69	
Rachel	BUNIAK	SCHWARTZ	05/11/1894	Tecuci (Romania)	69	
Emilie	DROUCKER	SEGAL	04/07/1876	Botosani (Romania)	69	
Hilda	DRUCKER	FISCHER	20/06/1886	Galati (Romania)	33	
Otto	DRUCKER		10/04/1878	Itgkany (Austria)	69	
Emile	FISCH		15/03/1885	Lwow (Poland)	71	
François	GOMPERS		06/05/1924	Buenos Aires (Argentina)	70	
Renée	GOMPERS		18/12/1898	Buenos Aires (Argentina)	70	
Sylvain	GOMPERS		25/02/1892	Antwerp (Belgium)	70	
Yantov	JERUSALMI		13/04/1909	Adrianople (Turkey)	69	
Adolf	KLAPHOLZ		02/12/1904	Krakow (Poland)	72	
Mieczyslaw	OXNER		31/12/1879	Ruda Guzowska (Poland)	76	
Alexandre	PONISOVSKY		21/12/1901	Moscow (Russia)	69	
Ernst	PRISNER		10/08/1901	Vienna (Austria)	70	
Moritz	SCHNEIDER		12/08/1900	Bielitz (Austria)	70	YES
Daniel	SEGAL		03/03/1894	Botosani (Romania)	70	
Juda	STERN		10/01/1900	Dukler (Poland)	70	
Marthe	STEIN	FRANKEL	12/12/1898	Mistelbach (Austria)	69	
Anna	TUGENDHAT	LOEW	02/09/1894	Vienna (Austria)	77	
Ernst Georges	ULLMANN		24/12/1896	Vienna (Austria)	74	
Wally	ULLMANN		11/12/1892	Vienna (Austria)	74	
Simon	WACHTEL		26/12/1900	Tarnow (Poland)	70	
Carol	ZELLENKA		04/04/1894	Charlottenburg (Germany)	69	

Jewish people resident in Monaco and arrested outside the Principality

FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	MAIDEN NAME	DATE OF BIRTH	PLACE OF BIRTH	DEPORTATION CONVOY NUMBER	SURVIVED DEPORTATION
Louis	BLOCH		03/06/1876	Asnières (France)	68	
Robert-Félix	BLUM		03/05/1888	Belfort (France)	62	
Georges	FRANKEL		16/03/1890	Paris 10 (France)	77	
Naphtali	GESSELEFF		13/12/1877	Poltava (Russia)	69	
Bronislawa	HEIMAN- JARECKA	KOJALOWICZ	19/07/1892	Kowno (Poland)	61	
Jules	HERSKOVETS		01/07/1898	Antwerp (Belgium)	73	
Jacques	KAHN		15/11/1895	Bordeaux (France)	73	
Otto	LOPATER		30/01/1912	Nancy (France)	63	
Caroline	OPLATKOVA	SELTEN	17/05/1902	Berlin (Germany)	70	YES
Marc-Edmond	PERTEN POLNIAC		03/02/1889	Vienna (Austria)	64	
Peter	PICK		13/06/1919	Vienna (Austria)	76	YES
Albert	SAMDAM		14/10/1866	Brussels (Belgium)	71	
Alice	SAMDAM	GOUGENHEIM	26/03/1870	Brussels (Belgium)	71	
James	SINGER		24/01/1877	Breslau (Germany)	72	
Efime	SPOLIANSKY		25/10/1885	Odessa (Ukraine)	74	
Eugénie	SPOLIANSKY		01/01/1893	Odessa (Ukraine)	74	

In total, 77 Jews were arrested in Monaco then deported (45 in 1942 and 31 in 1944).

A further 16 Jews resident in Monaco were arrested outside the Principality then deported.

Sources

Handwritten sources

France:

- Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs:
 - Diplomatic Archives Centre in Nantes:

Consulate-General of France in Monaco: 439PO/1
Dossiers 25 (Official records of political correspondence) and 31 (Second World War).
 - Diplomatic Archives Centre in La Courneuve:

Second World War. Vichy:
Z 208. Personal correspondence between Consul General of France Victor Jeannequin and the Ministry during his mission in Monaco (February 1941-November 1942).
Z 208-5. Status of Jews and Freemasons (July 1941-October 1942).
- Alpes-Maritimes Departmental Archives:

166 W 4, 166 W 6, 166 W 16, 616 W 243.
- Archives of the Centre of Contemporary Jewish Documentation (police search records in Drancy) – Shoah Memorial, Paris:

Victim search engine:
http://bdi.memorialdelashoah.org/internet/jsp/core/MmsGlobalSearch.jsp?PEG_A_HREF_2044656506_0_0_goToVictimSearch=goToVictimSearch

Germany:

Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

Inland II G (The Jewish question in Monaco, 1943-1944)

Monaco:

- Archives of the Palace of Monaco (APM):

D³ 3¹ – Personal dossier of Minister of State Émile Roblot
D^{3bis} 1¹ and 1² –Correspondence records of the cabinet of H.S.H the Sovereign Prince, 1932-1941 and 1942-1949
D^{3/4} 1 – Crown Council (1940-1944)
D⁴ 13 and 14 – Council of State (1939-1946)
D⁵ 26 to 29 – Council of Government (1941-1944)
D^{5/1} 1 – Ministerial Decrees (1940-1945)

D⁹ 34bis – Reports of the Police Commissioner (1922-1948)

D^{9/1} 1 – Correspondence of the Minister of the Interior (1922-1952)

A 802 – Consulate General of Monaco in Germany (1943-1944)

A 941 – Consulate General of Germany in Monaco (1943-1944)

A 942 – Jewish question

A 950 – "The principality of Monaco during the Second World War", memoirs created from dossiers left by Émile Roblot, submitted on 15 February 1991 by Mrs Audoly-Roblot, the former Minister of State's daughter (114 p.).

A 951 – Catholicism certificate signed by Jesuit priest Arici, rector of the Chapelle du Sacré-Cœur, 30 September 1942, for Elyane Marcelle Nehama, of Jewish origin.

- Police Department (DSP):

Individual dossiers, ref: 110.000

- Central Records Office (SCADA):

DI-009-001 * Second World War. Events:

- Foreigner situations.

- Arrests.

- Demonstrations - incidents - miscellaneous.

DI-009-002 * Events 1939-1945:

- Arrests made by the enemy authorities.

DI-009-003 * Miscellaneous events:

- Undesirable foreigners who should not be allowed to remain in the Principality.

- Police reports (1940-1943).

DI-009-004 * Miscellaneous event:

- List of people expelled from Monaco with an individual notice issued to the Government.

DI-009-005 * Miscellaneous memos (1941-1942)

DI-009-006 * Events 1939-1945:

- Miscellaneous cases with the German and Italian occupying authorities.

Switzerland:

Archives of the International Committee of the Red Cross, Geneva:

G 59/8-348-03: testimony of Ignacy Honig.

Printed sources

Jean BOULIER, *J'étais un prêtre rouge*, Paris, Éd. de l'Athantor, 1977, 254 p.

Jean DROUHARD, "1938-1945 : Monaco et la grande tourmente", *Annales monégasques*, no. 7, 1983, p. 55-119.

Armand LUNEL, *Les chemins de mon judaïsme et divers inédits*, foreword by Georges JESSULA, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1993, 195 p.

Bibliography

Pierre ABRAMOVICI, *Un rocher bien occupé. Monaco pendant la guerre 1939-1945*, Paris, Ed. du Seuil, 2001, 365 p.

Pierre ABRAMOVICI, *Szkolnikoff, le plus grand trafiquant de l'occupation*, Paris, Ed. nouveau monde, 2014, 352 p.

Thomas FOUILLERON, *Histoire de Monaco*, Monaco, DENJS, 2010, 360 p.

Serge KLARSFELD, *Les transferts de juifs de la région de Nice vers le camp de Drancy en vue de leur déportation 31 août 1942 – 30 juillet 1944*, Paris, Ed. FFDJF, 1993, 136 p.

Serge KLARSFELD, *La Shoah en France*, t. 2 et 3, *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs de France (septembre 1942-août 1944)*, Paris, Fayard, 2001, 999 and 1028 p.

Serge KLARSFELD, *Mémorial de la déportation des Juifs de France*, new edition, updated, with alphabetical list of names, Paris, Ed. FFDJF, 2012, 812 p.

Jean KLEINMANN, "Les politiques antisémites dans les Alpes-Maritimes de 1938 à 1944", *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, no. 74, 2007, p. 305-319.

Jean-Louis PANICACCI, "Les juifs et la question juive dans les Alpes-Maritimes de 1939 à 1945", *Recherches régionales. Côte d'Azur et contrées limitrophes*, no. 4, 1983, p.239-331.

Jean-Louis PANICACCI, *Les Alpes-Maritimes dans la Guerre 1939-1945*, De Borée, 2013, p.119-122.

Denis TOREL, "La question juive en Principauté de Monaco durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale", *Le monde juif. Revue du Centre de documentation juive contemporaine*, no. 116, October 1984, p. 175-192.

Denis TOREL, Fernand Detaille, *Monaco sous les barbelés*, Paris, Ed. FFDJF, 1996, 159 p.