

VOLUME II

THE
HOLOCAUST
AND
GENOCIDE:
THE
BETRAYAL
OF
HUMANITY

*A Curriculum Guide
for Grades 9–12*

**New Jersey Commission
on Holocaust Education**

2003

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AND GENOCIDE:
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“MORDECAI ANIELEWICZ”

UNIT V:

RESISTANCE, INTERVENTION AND RESCUE

During the Holocaust, thousands of individuals risked their lives to protect, hide or rescue Jews from Nazi terror. In this unit, students will explore the various forms of resistance, intervention and rescue that occurred during the Holocaust.

After students define resistance, they will examine the major obstacles involved in resisting the Nazis and the various forms of Jewish and non-Jewish resistance that occurred during the Holocaust, including passive and active, armed and unarmed resistance. They will examine reasons why some exhibited ethical behavior while so many chose to be silent bystanders or to actively collaborate with the enemy. Some of the key questions that will frame the activities of this unit include: Why did some people rise above the angry crowd? Why did so many Danes, Bulgarians and Italians choose a different course from their counterparts in other countries to save Jews? Why did so many refuse to become involved? Explanations vary, but surely a national tradition of acceptance and/or tolerance set the stage in Denmark, Bulgaria and Italy for rescue. It was such a tradition in Denmark, exemplified by King Christian X's public support for Jews and denunciation of Nazi terror, that prepared the way for many Danes in October of 1943 to spirit more than 7,000 Jews to safety in neutral Sweden.

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There are other examples of rescue. Some 5,000 villagers living in the French area of Le Chambon Sur-Lignon hid an equal number of Jews from ubiquitous detection by the pro-Nazi Vichy government. Raoul Wallenberg, a Swedish official in Budapest, took extraordinary advantage of his position to issue passports to thousands of Hungarian Jews under siege. The German Oskar Schindler saved Polish Jews by employing them in a factory. Sempo Sugihara, a Japanese Consul in Kaunas (Kovno), Lithuania, issued 6,000 visas to Jews. Consul Aristides de Sousa Mendes, a Portuguese Catholic lawyer, issued some 10,000 visas to fugitive Jews in Bordeaux, France in defiance of his government. Facing reprisals for insubordination, both Sugihara and de Sousa Mendes consulted a higher authority in making their decisions –their consciences.

Defying the Nazis, however, was rare. One important example was the White Rose movement, a network of German university students led by Hans and Sophie Scholl, that publicly demonstrated against Nazi dictatorship and its aggressive, criminal policies.

For their part, Jews exhibited remarkable resistance to the relentless Nazi assault. Hannah Senesh took considerable risks to contact the Hungarian underground for help. She decided that it was more important to return to Hungary, her homeland, than to continue living in

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the relative security of Palestine. A record of her experience survives in the diary she kept at the time and in her poetry. Students will examine parts of both in their study.

Many Jews who were able to escape joined groups of partisans in the forests of Eastern Europe, such as the Bielski Brigade, and in the Soviet Union, to save Jews, find weapons and sabotage Nazi maneuvers.

In the ghettos, even as the Jews were being murdered in 1942-43, underground leaders organized revolts against all odds. Among the most noteworthy were Mordecai Anielewicz in Warsaw, and Abba Kovner in Vilna. Numerous other examples will be presented.

Jews forged passports and smuggled food. As slave laborers, they sewed German military uniform pockets shut or reversed the firing pins in guns. They organized impossible uprisings in the death camps, too, if only to defeat resignation and despair. Some examples include uprisings at Sobibor, Treblinka and Auschwitz-Birkenau. All acts of resistance, however, were not military. Religious practices, even the prosaic rituals of everyday existence, served to thwart Nazi genocide intentions. Simple activities, such as making menorahs, studying Torah, printing newspapers or listening to radio broadcasts acquired major spiritual purposes under extremely forbidding conditions.

These and countless other acts of Jewish and non-Jewish resistance must, however, be kept in perspective. Although hundreds of thousands of Jews and others the Nazis considered “undesirables” survived, millions perished. Nevertheless, those acts are instructive: even in the grip of deadly Nazi domination, it was possible to save a life and, in so doing, preserve the preeminent value of life over death itself. As the Talmud teaches, a person who destroys a life destroys a universe, but a person who saves a life saves a universe.

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The goal of this unit is to help students develop an understanding of the various forms of resistance, intervention and rescue that occurred during the Holocaust. Students will (1) define resistance; (2) examine the major obstacles to defying and resisting Nazi authority; (3) analyze various forms of spiritual and religious resistance; (4) identify and analyze the various forms of Jewish and non-Jewish unarmed resistance; (5) analyze Jewish armed resistance; (6) demonstrate insight into the reasons why non-Jewish rescuers risked their lives to save Jews; and (7) investigate countries that responded to the plight of the Holocaust victims and offered refuge. At the conclusion of this unit, students will be asked to (8) reassess their previous generalizations about human nature in light of their newly acquired knowledge of resistance, intervention and rescue.

UNIT V: RESISTANCE, INTERVENTION AND RESCUE

UNIT GOAL: Students will understand the various forms of resistance, intervention and rescue that occurred during the Holocaust.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
<p>1. Students will define resistance.</p>	<p>A. Develop a definition of resistance.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Consult one or more of the resources listed to the right and develop a written definition of the word resistance. Share your definition with a small group. Then develop a group definition of the term and share it with the class. After the class discusses the various definitions, come to agreement on a class definition of the term. 2. Examine the popular myth that emerged from the Holocaust: that Jews were led "like sheep to the slaughter" without resisting the Nazis. Read and discuss the questions at the conclusion of the article <i>To Die With Dignity</i>. Then, read the excerpt from Gerda Klein's <i>All But My Life</i>. What do these articles imply about resistance? 	<p><i>Note: the notation (READING #) in this column indicates that a copy of the article is included in this curriculum guide.</i></p> <p>A. Resources for Sections A and B:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1a. Gutman, Israel, ed-in-chief. <i>Encyclopedia of the Holocaust</i>. New York: Macmillan Library Reference USA, 1995. 1265. 1b. Eliach, Yaffa. <i>Hassidic Tales of the Holocaust</i>. New York: Avon Books, 1982. 1c. Zucker, Simon and Gertrude Hirschler, Ed./Trans. <i>The Unconquerable Spirit: Vignettes of Religious Spirit the Nazis Could Not Destroy</i>. New York: Zachor Institute and Mesorah Publications, 1980. 1d. Werner, Harold. <i>Fighting Back: A Memoir of Jewish Resistance in World War II</i>. Columbia University Press, 1992. 1e. Hogan, David J., ed-in-chief. "Jewish Resistance." <i>The Holocaust Chronicle: A History in Words and Pictures</i>. Lincolnwood, Ill., Publications International Ltd., 2000. 492-496. 1f. <i>Historical Atlas of the Holocaust</i>. CD-ROM. Washington,

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
<p>2. Students will examine the major obstacles to defying and resisting Nazi authority</p>	<p>B. After consulting one or more of the resources to the right (1a-1f and 2a-2b), distinguish the various types of resistance and prepare a chart or PowerPoint presentation depicting examples of each during the Holocaust, such as</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Passive: Spiritual; Religious • Active: Armed Resistance; the Underground <p>A. Read and draw conclusions about the major obstacles to defiance and resistance, such as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overall process of dehumanization • The superior armed power of the Nazis • The Nazi policy of "collective responsibility" • Family ties and responsibility • Nazi terror tactics in the camps • Absence of broad cooperation in the civilian population • The secrecy and deception surrounding deportations 	<p>D.C., U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. <i>Note: This reference may be used as a source of maps and background information on the topic "Resistance" as well as many other topics on the Holocaust.</i></p> <p>2a. Furman, Harry, ed. "To Die With Dignity," by Milton Meltzer. <i>The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience—An Anthology for Students</i>. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983. (READING # 1)</p> <p>2b. Klein, Gerda Weissman. <i>All But My Life</i> (Excerpt). New York: Hill & Wang, 1997. (READING # 2)</p> <p>A. Resources for Section A:</p> <p>1a. "Obstacles to Resistance." <i>Resistance During the Holocaust</i>. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. 5-7. (READING # 3)</p> <p>1b. Berenbaum, Michael, Yisrael Gutman, Raul Hilberg, et. al., eds. <i>Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp</i>. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998.</p> <p>1c. Hogan, David J., ed. <i>The Holocaust Chronicle: A History in Words and Pictures</i>. Lincolnwood, Ill., Publications International, Ltd., 2000. 492. <i>(Note: The Index of this resource may be consulted for</i></p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
<p>3. Students will analyze various forms of spiritual and religious resistance.</p>	<p>A. Analyze the various forms of documented spiritual resistance during the Holocaust as reflected in readings, poetry and literary works.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Within the ghetto or concentration camp context, discuss whether each of the following examples constitutes a form of spiritual or religious resistance: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saving a piece of bread for a friend who is sick • Praying on the Sabbath Day • Reading books • Organizing a school class in the ghetto • Performing plays or reading poetry • Reminiscing about family memories and traditions • Preparing for a bar mitzvah • Making plans for the future • Keeping a diary or a journal • Making dolls for children • Efforts to protect children from the horrors of reality 2. Read about the underground schools and classrooms that were established from grammar to graduate schools. Write a brief essay on the topic: <i>How Were the Underground Schools and Classrooms a Form of Spiritual Resistance?</i> 	<p><i>numerous references to resistance.)</i></p> <p>A. Resources for Section A:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1-2. Werstein, Irving. <i>The Uprising of the Warsaw Ghetto November 1940-May 19, 1943</i>. New York: W.W. Norton Publishing Co., 1968. 1-2. Krizkova, Marie Rut, Kurt Jiri Kotouc and Zdenek Ornest, eds. <i>We Are Just the Same/Vedem: The Secret Magazine by the Boys of Terezin</i>. Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publication Society, 1994. 1-2. <i>One Survivor Remembers</i>. 39 min./color. Videocassette. U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum and Home Box Office. Direct Cinema Limited. (Scene: Discussion of a bet about strawberries and cream.) 1-2. "Resistance." <i>Resistance During the Holocaust</i>. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. (READING # 3)

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>3. Read aloud one of the following poems: <i>Babi Yar</i>; <i>If We Must Die</i>; <i>The Little Smuggler</i>; and select poems by Hannah Senesh. Reflect upon and discuss the writers' feelings and how they relate to the subject of spiritual resistance.</p> <p>4. View the video, or read and discuss the meaning of the poem <i>The Butterfly</i>, by Pavel Friedman, using the following questions as a basis for discussion:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How does this poem compare with some of your favorite children's poems? • Can writing poetry be considered a form of resistance? <p>5. Select any three poems from the books listed in #5 in the resources column. Choose a survivor poet using the following as a guide to your analysis, interpretation and discussion:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the theme or aspect of the Holocaust that the poem describes? • What emotions does the poem evoke? • What phrases are emphasized? What words are repeated? • Research the poet's background and discuss whether this helps you understand his/her work. 	<p>3a. "Babi Yar," Yevgeny Yevtushenko; "If We Must Die," Claude Mc Kay; "The Little Smuggler," Henryka Lazawert, and "To Arms" in <i>The Holocaust Reader</i>. Lucy Dawidowicz, ed. New York: Behrman House, Inc., pp. 207-208 (READING #4)</p> <p>3b. Senesh, Hannah. <i>Hannah Senesh: Her Life and Diary</i>. New York: Schocken Books, 1973.</p> <p>4a. Volavkova, Hana, ed. <i>I Never Saw Another Butterfly: Children's Drawings and Poems from Theresienstadt Concentration Camp, 1942</i>. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1993.</p> <p>4b. <i>I Never Saw Another Butterfly</i>. Videocassette. Social Studies School Service (1-800-421-4246)</p> <p>5a. Berkowitz, Judith and Eve Edelman, eds., translators. <i>Young Voices from the Ghetto: A Collection of Children's and Young People's Poetry Written in the Ghettos of World War II</i>. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 1979.</p> <p>5b. Brodsky, Louis Daniel. <i>Eleventh Lost Tribe: Poems of the Holocaust</i>. St. Louis, MO: Time Being Books, 1991.</p> <p>5c. Brodsky, Louis Daniel. <i>Holocaust Poems of a Jew and a Gentile</i>. St. Louis, MO: Time Being Books, 1991.</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>6. Read the poems <i>Last Supper</i> and <i>Majdanek</i> from Gurdus' book <i>Painful Echoes</i> using the following questions as a guide for analysis, interpretation and discussion:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why do you believe poet Gurdus gave the poems these titles? • How do her accompanying sketches relate to the poems? • What did you learn about the Holocaust from these poems? 	<p>5d. Internet- <i>AICE: The Jewish Student Online Research Center- A Teacher's Guide to the Holocaust</i> (Florida Center). "Women in the Holocaust: Personal Poetry."</p> <p>5e. Korwin, Yala H., ed. <i>To Tell the Story: Poems of the Holocaust</i>. New York: Holocaust Library, 1987.</p> <p>5f. Langer, Lawrence L. <i>Art from the Ashes: A Holocaust Anthology</i>. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.</p> <p>5g. Schiff, Hilda, ed. <i>Holocaust Poetry</i>. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.</p> <p>6. Gurdus, Luba Krugman. <i>Painful Echoes: Poems of the Holocaust</i>. New York: Holocaust Library, 1981.</p>

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>B Examine examples of art and music during the Holocaust and determine to what extent these media were used as a form of resistance.</p> <p>1. Examine paintings and sketches by Holocaust survivors in books suggested in the resources column using the following as a guide to your analysis, interpretation and discussion:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Select a variety of scenes depicting the Holocaust. • What is the theme of each work? • How are the victims and perpetrators depicted? • Where is the scene taking place? • What are the differences between the foreground, middle ground and background? • What is the artist attempting to tell the viewer? • What caption would you give this work? • Why do you suppose the SS severely punished those artists who drew these works of art? • How is such art resistance? 	<p>B. Resources for Section B:</p> <p>1a. Blatter, Janet and Sybil Milton. <i>Art of the Holocaust</i>. New York: Rutledge Press, 1981.</p> <p>1b. Costanza, Mary S. <i>The Living Witness: Art of the Holocaust</i>. New York: Free Press, 1981.</p> <p>1c. Green, Gerald. <i>The Artists of Terezin</i>. New York: Hawthorn Press, 1978.</p> <p>1d. Toll, Nelly. <i>When Memory Speaks: The Holocaust in Art</i>. Westport, CN: Praeger, 1998.</p> <p>1e. Novitch, Miriam, ed. <i>Spiritual Resistance: Art from the Concentration Camps, 1940-1945</i>. New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1981.</p> <p>1f. Belfer, Itzhak. <i>The Holocaust: Paintings and Drawings by Itzhak Belfer</i>. Israel: Beit Lohamei Haghetaot, Ghetto Fighters' House. Hakibbutz Hameuchad Publishing House, 1995.</p> <p>1g. Shiber, Ella Liebermann-Shiber. <i>On the Edge of the Abyss</i>. Israel: Ghetto Fighters' House, Beit Lohamei Haghetaot, 1997</p> <p>1h. Use Internet search engine, Keyword "Holocaust Art."</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>2. <i>"The Terezin Music Anthology, a series of nine CDs, documents all of the surviving music created in Terezin concentration camp. This series is intended to serve not only as a memorial to those who lived, suffered and perished in Terezin, Auschwitz and other camps, but also to celebrate their inextinguishable human spirit by bringing their work to an international public and to its rightful place in the normal repertoire of the music of our time." ...David Bloch, producer of Hans Krasa: Terezin Music Anthology.</i></p> <p>Listen to segments of this music anthology, read the background information provided and complete the activities at the end of the reading.</p> <p>C. Examine excerpts from the diaries and memoirs of people whose lives provide examples of spiritual or religious resistance.</p> <p>1. Abraham Lewin describes 54 days in the Warsaw Ghetto beginning on July 22, 1942, the evening of the mass deportation to Treblinka. Read the excerpt using the following questions as a guide to your analysis and discussion:</p>	<p>1i. Consult Northwestern University web site: http://lastexpression.northwestern.edu/index2_leftside.htm</p> <p>2. <i>Hans Krasa: Terezin Music Anthology</i>. Volume III. CD. Koch International Classics, Port Washington, New York, 1996. (Also available through the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.) (READING #5)</p> <p>C. Resources for Section C:</p> <p>1. Langer, Lawrence L., ed. "Abraham Lewin." <i>Art from the Ashes: A Holocaust Anthology</i>. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. (READING #6a)</p>

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Analyze the impact of Lewin's use of words and length of sentences to describe events in the ghetto. • Why does he write, "Since yesterday, I have not shed a single tear"? • What effect do the statistics he includes have on the reader? • How does he describe the "action" on 16 August? • What effect does this form of writing have on the reader? <p>2. Avraham Tory writes his memoirs about life in the Kovno ghetto. Read the excerpt using the following questions as a guide to analysis and discussion:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Describe the Nazis' techniques for keeping the Jews under their control. • Analyze the effect of Tory's responses to the events he is reporting. • Why was there discussion about publishing the order? • What was the position of the members of the Jewish Council? Why did they seek the advice of Chief Rabbi Shapiro? • Explain the rabbi's decision about publishing the decree and the moral dilemma involved with this decision? • Comment on the effectiveness of a memoir in the study of history. <p>3. Read all or parts of <i>The Warsaw Ghetto: A Diary</i>, written by a Jewish girl, Mary Berg, whose mother was an American citizen. Identify and describe aspects of spiritual resistance that are written about in the diary.</p>	<p>2. Langer, Lawrence L., ed. "Avraham Tory." <i>Art from the Ashes: A Holocaust Anthology</i>. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. (READING #6b)</p> <p>3. Berg, Mary. <i>Warsaw Ghetto: A Diary</i>. S.L. Shneiderman, ed. New York: L.B. Fischer Publishing Corp., 1944.</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
<p>4. Students will identify and analyze the various forms of Jewish and non-Jewish unarmed resistance.</p>	<p>4. Read selections from Janusz Korczak's <i>Ghetto Diary</i>. (Korczak was a pediatrician and head of an orphanage of 200 children in Warsaw. He refused offers of personal rescue and accompanied his charges to their murders in Treblinka.) After reading the selections, write an obituary for Korczak.</p> <p>A. Using two or more of the following activities, analyze the various forms of Jewish and non-Jewish unarmed resistance.</p> <p>1. Read the articles <i>The White Rose: Munich, 1942-43</i> by Inge Scholl and <i>The White Rose</i> by Ellen Switzer. Use the following questions to guide a class discussion:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Which emotions would you have if you were a member? • Discuss your reactions/responses on the continuum from fear to determination. • Why did the Scholls join the Hitler Youth in 1933? • Which experiences caused them to leave the Hitler Youth? • What was "The White Rose?" Do you believe Hans and Sophie's involvement was worthwhile? Explain. • Have you ever been involved in resistance for a cause that you believed was morally right? What were the risks? What happened? How did it make you feel? 	<p>4. Korczak, Janusz. <i>Ghetto Diary</i>. New York: Holocaust Library, 1981.</p> <p>A. Resources for Section A:</p> <p>1a. Scholl, Inge. <i>The White Rose: Munich, 1942-43</i>. New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1983</p> <p>1b. Furman, Harry, ed. "The White Rose." By Ellen Switzer. <i>The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience—An Anthology for Students</i>. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983.</p> <p>(READING #7)</p> <p>1c. Hogan, David J., ed. "White Rose." <i>The Holocaust Chronicle: A History in Words and Pictures</i>. Lincolnwood, Ill., Publications International, Ltd., 2000. 429-430; 464.</p> <p>1d. <i>White Rose</i>. 120 min. Videocassette. German with English subtitles. Available from Social Studies School Service.</p>

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>2. Read excerpts from the diary of Adam Czerniakow. View a video of his life. How did he respond to fear compared with how the White Rose responded to fear?</p> <p>3. Read excerpts from Emmanuel Ringelblum's diary. Discuss what you learn about life in the Warsaw Ghetto. Write a short essay in defense of diary writing as good historical material.</p> <p>4. Read Yehuda Bauer's article. Prepare a set of statements/arguments to refute the claim that Jews were passive during the National Socialist period.</p>	<p>2a Hilberg, Raul, Stanislaw Staron, Josef Kermisz, eds. <i>The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow: Prelude to Doom</i>. Trans. Stanislaw Staron and the staff of Yad Vashem. Chicago: Elephant Paperbacks, Ivan R. Dee, Pub., 1999.</p> <p>2b. Hogan, David J., ed. "Adam Czerniakow's Diary." <i>The Holocaust Chronicle: A History in Words and Pictures</i>. Lincolnwood, Ill., Publications International, Ltd., 2000. 346.</p> <p>3. Ringelblum, Emmanuel. <i>Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto: The Journal of Emmanuel Ringelblum</i>. New York: Schocken Books, 1974.</p> <p>4a. Bauer, Yehuda. "Forms of Jewish Resistance During the Holocaust." in <i>Holocaust: Religious and Philosophical Implications</i>. John K Roth and Michael Berenbaum, eds. New York: Paragon House, 1989.</p> <p>4b. Meltzer, Milton. <i>Never to Forget: the Jews of the Holocaust</i>. New York: Harper and Row, 1976. 86-87.</p> <p>4c. Dawidowicz, Lucy S. <i>The War Against the Jews, 1933-1945</i>. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975.</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>5. <i>The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising</i> tells of the spirit of those who resisted evil. Read this story written by a member of the underground resistance movement, and answer the following questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explain the meaning of the title. • What did the uprising do for the spirit of the Jews in the ghetto? Why do you believe it did this? • Why didn't they get help from the outside? Why was the rest of the world silent? • Why is Anielewicz's letter included at the end? • What is the significance of the uprising? • Explain Vladka's position and its significance. • What does this reading reveal to you about the heroic person? <p>6. Listen to the song <i>Zognit Keinmol</i> while reading the English text. Brainstorm images that are conjured up by the music and text. Express the images that are most important to you in some artistic fashion: for example, painting, drawing or writing a poem.</p> <p>7. Discuss the moral issues involved in the use of children to smuggle food, medical supplies and information into the ghetto.</p> <p>8. Examine the role of courier women by engaging in one of the following activities, using references listed in 8a-d:</p>	<p>5. Meed, Vladka. "The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising," in <i>Images from the Holocaust: A Literature Anthology</i>, by Jean E. Brown, Elaine C. Stephens and Janet E. Rubin. Lincolnwood, Ill.: NTC, 1997. (READING #8)</p> <p>6. Belarsky, Sidor. "Zognit Keinmol" (Partisan Song). <i>Songs of the Holocaust</i>. (READING #15)</p> <p>7. Zieman, Joseph. <i>The Cigarette Sellers of the Three Crosses Square</i>. New York: Avon, 1977.</p> <p>8a. Laska, Vera. <i>Women in the Resistance and in the Holocaust: the Voice of the Eyewitnesses</i>. Connecticut: Greenwood Publications Group, 1983.</p>

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jigsaw the reading on courier women, then share and reflect on the role they played in unarmed resistance. Write a short reflection paper. • Draw a map of courier routes in and out of the ghetto with various points to show the difficulty and bravery reflected in the life and work of the couriers. • Make a museum poster announcing an exhibition on courier women. Determine how it should look and what it should include in order to represent the history and to attract people to the exhibition. <p>9. Brainstorm other types of resistance, such as organized, institutionalized, systematized, individual. Make a chart comparing the different types of resistance.</p> <p>10. Read and discuss the moral, ethical, psychological and physical challenges of hiding vs. accepting relocation in the ghetto.</p> <p>11. Read <i>Anna's Dilemma</i> using the questions at the end of the story to guide your analysis, interpretation and discussion.</p> <p>12. Create a list of items you would grab and put in a backpack or a suitcase if you had to leave your house in fifteen minutes due to an impending natural disaster.</p>	<p>8b. Meed, Vladka. <i>On Both Sides of the Wall</i>. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1993.</p> <p>8c. Swajger, Adina. <i>I Remember Nothing More</i>. New York: Pantheon, 1988.</p> <p>8d. Rossiter, Marget L. <i>Women in the Resistance</i> New York: Praeger, 1986.</p> <p>9. Kogon, Eugene. <i>The Theory and Practice of Hell: Structure and Survival in Camps</i>. New York: Farrar, Strauss & Co., 1949.</p> <p>10. <i>Weapons of the Spirit</i>. (Classroom Version). 35 mim. Color. Videocassette. Anti-Defamation League</p> <p>11. Furman, Harry, ed. "Anna's Dilemma". <i>The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience—An Anthology for Students</i>. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983. (READING #9)</p> <p>12. Student-created lists.</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What would you grab and why, especially if you did not have a lot of time to think about it? • What does your selection reveal about the things you value most in that situation? • How would you feel about having to leave many things behind? <p>13. Read the scenario from the video <i>Return to Shtetl</i>.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • List the physical and emotional risks in hiding, first from the perspective of the parent of the child being hidden and then from the perspective of the family or person being asked to hide the child. • Draw a conclusion about the physical and emotional implications of hiding children. <p>14. Read excerpts from Anne Frank's diary, or view segments of the videocassette, and list the difficulties she faced. Sketch her living space and sketch your own bedroom. List the distinct differences and reasons why they are so different.</p> <p>15. Look at drawings made by Nelly Toll. Discuss the strengths that were revealed in her daily efforts to survive.</p> <p>16. Read <i>Clara's Story</i> and determine how your life compares with hers at a similar age. What does her story say about the human potential for resistance?</p>	<p>13. <i>Return to Shtetl</i>. Videocassette. Social Studies School Service.</p> <p>14a. Frank, Anne. Otto Frank and Mirjam Pressler, eds. <i>The Diary of a Young Girl</i>. New York: Doubleday, 1995</p> <p>14b. <i>The Diary of Anne Frank</i>. 170 min. b/w. Perf. Anthony Perkins, Shelley Winters, et. al 2 VHS videocassettes. Social Studies School Service</p> <p>15. Toll, Nelly. <i>When Memory Speaks: The Holocaust in Art</i>. Westport, CN: Praeger, 1998.</p> <p>16. Isaac, Clara. <i>Clara's Story</i>. As told to Joan A Grossman. Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publications Society, 1984.</p>

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
<p>5. Students will analyze Jewish armed resistance during the Holocaust.</p>	<p>17. Examine how bogus identity cards or forged passports were printed and how fake travel permits, ration cards and military discharge papers were produced.</p> <p>A. Analyze the established armed underground organizations whose purpose was to wage physical resistance against the Nazis.</p> <p>1. Investigate several of the following organizations. Using a jigsaw approach in which groups of classmates focus on different organizations, develop a class chart on which you depict areas of operation, the tactics and strategies employed, the levels of risk they incurred and the results achieved.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • J.F.O. (Jewish Fighters Organization)—Zydowska Organizacja Bojow (ZOB). (Warsaw Jewish Organizations) • Armee Juive (Jewish Army in France) • Jewish Military Union—Zydowskk Zwiszek Wojskosz (ZZW) • United Partisan Organization—Fareynegte Partizaner Organizatsye (FPO)—Vilna 	<p>17a. Furman, Harry, ed. "Resistance in the Camps". <i>The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience—An Anthology for Students</i>. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983. (READING #10)</p> <p>17b. Salsitz, Norman and Amalie Petrnrker-Salsitz. <i>Against All Odds</i>. New York: Holocaust Library, 1990.</p> <p>A. Resources for Section A:</p> <p>1a. Bauer, Yehuda. <i>The History of the Holocaust</i>. New York: Franklin Watts, 1982. 246-270.</p> <p>1b. Wiesel, Elie. <i>The Gates of the Forest</i>. Trans. Francis Frenaye. New York: Schocken Books, Pantheon, dist., 1995.</p> <p>1c. Gutman, Israel. "Family Camps, " and "In the Forests" and "Partisans" (Vol. 2). <i>Encyclopedia of the Holocaust</i>. New York: Macmillan Library Reference USA, 1995.</p> <p>1d. Ainsztein, Reuben. <i>Jewish Resistance in Nazi-Occupied Eastern Europe with a Historical Survey of the Jew as Fighter and Soldier in the Diaspora</i>. New York: Harper and Row, 1974.</p> <p>1e. Eckman, Lester and Chaim Lazar. <i>The Jewish Resistance</i>. New York: Shengold Publishing Inc., 1977.</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anti-fascist organizations: Kovno Ghetto, January 1942–summer 1944. • Minsk Fighting Organization–December 1941. <p>B. Research and discuss Jewish leaders who refused to follow Nazi directives and were killed for their defiance.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dr. Joseph Parnes, the first chairman of the Judenrat (Jewish Council of Lvov). 2. Read <i>The Judenrat Government</i>, using the questions at the end of the reading to guide your analysis, interpretation and discussion. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1f. <i>Daring to Resist: Three Women Face the Holocaust</i>. 57 min., color. Narr. Jeaneane Garofalo. Videocassette. National Film Board of Canada. Martha Lubell Productions, Wynnewood, PA., 2000. 1g. Tec, Nechama. <i>Defiance: The Bielski Partisans</i>. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. 1h. Werner, Harold. <i>Fighting Back: A Memoir of Jewish Resistance in World War II</i>. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992. 1i. Samuels, Gertrude. <i>Mottete</i>. New York: Signet, 1976. 1j. Wygoda, Herman, Mark L. Wygoda, Eds.. <i>In the Shadow of the Swastika</i>. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998. <p>B. Resources for Section B:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Suhl, Yuri. <i>They Fought Back: The Story of the Jewish Resistance in Nazi Europe</i>. New York: Schocken, 1974. 2. Furman, Harry, ed. "The Judenrat Government." <i>The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience—An Anthology for Students</i>. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983. (READING #11)

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>3. Adam Czerniakow. Consult the personal memoirs kept by the head of the Warsaw Jewish Council until his suicide in June 1942.</p> <p>C. Research the major ghetto uprisings by engaging in a variety of the suggested activities listed for each:</p> <p>1. <i>Warsaw Ghetto Uprising: April 1943 – May 1943.</i></p> <p>a. Research the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, using the following as a guide to your analysis. Write and present your findings.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Describe what triggered the revolt • Explain in what ways desperation and dignity were reflected in the revolt? • Identify the major leaders and summarize their efforts. • Obtain photographs of the main leaders and write a one-line caption for each (See Gutman's <i>Encyclopedia of the Holocaust</i>). • Explain the makeup and role of the Jewish Fighters Organization. • Prepare an illustrated timeline of the Warsaw Ghetto from its inception to the end of the revolt in May of 1943. • Explain how a small number (about 600) of untrained young people held off the German forces for six weeks in the ghetto fighting. 	<p>3. Hilberg, Sharon, Kermisz, eds. <i>The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow</i>. New York: Stein and Day, 1979.</p> <p>C. Resources for Section C:</p> <p>1a. Furman, Harry, ed. "The Warsaw Ghetto." <i>The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience—An Anthology for Students</i>. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983. (READING # 12)</p> <p>1a. Hogan, David J., ed. "Warsaw Ghetto" <i>The Holocaust Chronicle: A History in Words and Pictures</i>. Lincolnwood, Ill., Publications International, Ltd., 2000. (See Index of this resource for numerous references to resistance and uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto.)</p> <p>1a. Barki, Meyer, ed. <i>The Ghetto Fighters</i>. New York: Tower, 1962.</p> <p>1a. Epstein, Eric and Philip Rosen. <i>Dictionary of the Holocaust: Biography, Geography and Terminology</i>. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1978.</p> <p>1a. Gutman, Israel, ed. <i>Encyclopedia of the Holocaust</i>, 4 Volumes. New York: Macmillain, 1990.</p> <p>1a. Gutman, Israel. <i>Resistance: The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising</i>. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1995.</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>b. Read John Hersey's <i>The Wall</i>, or Leon Uris' <i>Mila 18</i>. Prepare a book report that focuses upon the insights you derived from either book about the revolt. Discuss your major findings with the class.</p> <p>c. Read the poem by Czeslaw Milosz entitled "Campo Dei Fiori" in Schiff's <i>Holocaust Poetry</i>. Write an essay in which you explain his parallels between the people in Rome's square with the Polish onlookers outside the flaming ghetto.</p> <p>d. Prepare a PowerPoint presentation on the theme <i>What Was the Legacy of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising?</i></p>	<p>1b. Hersey, John. <i>The Wall</i>. New York: Knopf, 1987.</p> <p>1b. Uris, Leon. <i>Mila 18</i>. New York: Doubleday, 1961.</p> <p>1b. Heydecker, Joe E. <i>The Warsaw Ghetto: A Photographic Record, 1941-1944</i>. New York: St. Martin Press, 1991.</p> <p>1c. Milosz, Czeslaw, Milosz. "Campo Dei Fiori." In <i>Holocaust Poetry</i>, Hilda Schiff, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995. (READING #13)</p> <p>1d. Szwajger, Adina Blady. <i>I Remember Nothing More: The Warsaw Children's Hospital and Jewish Resistance</i>. New York: Pantheon, 1990.</p> <p>1d. Zukerman, Yitzchak. <i>A Surplus of Memory: Chronicle of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising</i>. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993.</p> <p>1d. Landau, Elaine. <i>Warsaw Ghetto Uprising</i>. New York: Macmillan, 1992.</p> <p>1d. Margolis, Peppy and Cecile Seiden. <i>Warsaw Ghetto Uprising; 50 th Anniversary</i>. Four lesson packet. Whippany, NJ: UJF-Metro West. (Call 1-973-884-4800 ext. 178 for copy)</p>

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>2. <i>The Vilna Ghetto and Partisans</i></p> <p>a. Read Yitzhak Arad's memoir <i>The Partisan: From the Valley of Death to Mount Zion</i>. Design a map or mural of his movements. Discuss with the class the three scenes you would prepare for a movie about him.</p> <p>b. Use the following questions as a guide to your analysis of the Vilna Ghetto. Write and present your findings.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Describe what triggered the revolt • Explain in what ways desperation and dignity were involved in the revolt. • Identify the major leaders and summarize their efforts. How successful were they? What were the major obstacles that confronted them? • Write an essay on the theme <i>What Is the Legacy of the Vilna Ghetto?</i> <p>c. Write a persuasive argument or a letter that might have been offered by a young person who was leaving his elderly parents behind in the ghetto to fight in the resistance.</p> <p>d. View the video <i>Partisans of Vilna</i>. Listen to the CD of the same title and read the liner notes that accompany the CD. Discuss the following questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why did Hersh Glick's pieces become fighting songs? • Why was there a special song for Itsik Vitnberg? 	<p>2a. Arad, Yitzhak. <i>The Partisan: From the Valley of Death to Mount Zion</i>. New York: Holocaust Library, 1979.</p> <p>2b-c. Steinberg, Lucian. <i>Jews Against Hitler</i>. London: Gordon Cremonasi, 1978.</p> <p>2b-c. Arad, Yitzhak. <i>Ghettos in Flames: The Struggle and Destruction of the Jews in Vilna in the Holocaust</i>. New York: Holocaust Library, 1982.</p> <p>2b-c. Cohen, Richard. <i>The Avengers: A Jewish War Story</i>. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000.</p> <p>2d. <i>Partisans of Vilna</i>. 130 min./ color and b/w. Videocassette. Dir. Josh Waletzki. Prod. Aviva Kempner. Zenger Video, 1987.</p> <p>2d. <i>Partisans of Vilna</i>. Flying Fish CD Audiocassette, 1989. Available from the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, D.C.</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What moral issues do former fighters in Vilna discuss? • How did their partisan activities affect their later lives? <p>3. <i>The Bialystok Resistance.</i></p> <p>Read segments of <i>The Underground Army</i> and summarize the challenges and successes of the fighters of the Bialystok Ghetto.</p> <p>4. <i>The Revolt in the Lachwa Ghetto</i></p> <p>Read <i>Revolt in Lachwa</i>, a true story about the Jews of the Lachwa Ghetto in Belorussia and their refusal to die passively. Discuss the following questions with the class:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why did the Nazis want “helpers from the native population”? • How do you feel about using force to combat violence? • Were there any alternatives for the people of Lachwa? • Do you think it was right to change the escape plans for the sake of the elders and children? <p>D. Research non-Jewish partisans who fought against the Nazis. Use two or more of the resources 1-6 listed in Section D to the right. Some suggested readings and activities are:</p> <p>1-6. Conduct research about and develop a brief report on the activities of Gypsy resistance. Read excerpts of the book by Yoors, a Flemish artist who lived</p>	<p>3. Grossman, Chaika. <i>The Underground Army: Fighters of the Bialystok Ghetto</i>. New York: Holocaust Library, 1987.</p> <p>4. Furman, Harry, ed. “Revolt in Lachwa,” by Aaron Schworin, Chaim Shkliar, et.al. <i>The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience—An Anthology for Students</i>. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983.</p> <p>(READING #14)</p> <p>D. Resources for Section D:</p> <p>1. Yoors, Jan. <i>Crossing: A Journal of Survival and Resistance in World War II</i>. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971.</p> <p>2. Suhl, Yuri. <i>They Fought Back: The Story of the Jewish Resistance in Nazi Europe</i>. New York: Schocken, 1975, pp. 7-50.</p>

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>in France, who tells of Gypsy resistance and the part he played.</p> <p>7. After reading <i>Fighting Back</i>, discuss how other partisans and conquered people who also hated the Nazis were not always cooperative with Harold Werner and his group even though they had a common enemy. Why do you believe this was so?</p> <p>8. After reading <i>The Jewish Resistance in France</i>, write your reactions to the formation of the Jewish Army, the Jewish Maquis, and detail some of their exploits. Using the map provided by the author, indicate areas of operation on a map of your own.</p>	<p>3. Kohn, Nahum and Howard Roiter. <i>A Voice from the Forest</i>. New York: Holocaust Library, 1980.</p> <p>4. Schulman, Faye. <i>A Partisan's Memoir: Woman of the Holocaust</i>. Toronto, Canada: Second Story Press, 1984.</p> <p>5. Kowalski, Isaac, ed. <i>Anthology on Armed Jewish Resistance</i>. Brooklyn, NY: Jewish Combatants Publishers House, 1986.</p> <p>6. Krakowski, Shmuel. <i>War of the Doomed: Jewish Armed Resistance in Poland, 1942-1944</i>. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1983.</p> <p>7. Werner, Harold. <i>Fighting Back: A Memoir of Jewish Resistance in World War II</i>. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.</p> <p>8. Latour, Amy. <i>The Jewish Resistance in France (1940-1944)</i>. New York: Holocaust Library, 1981.</p>

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	<p>E. Use eyewitness accounts as a means of better understanding the resistance movement through any of the following activities:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Invite Holocaust survivors who participated in the resistance movement to speak to the class. 2. Conduct an interview of survivors who participated in the resistance. <i>(Note to the teacher: See suggestions regarding the preparation for and conduct of interviews of survivors presented in this guide, Unit IV, Objective 11, Activity A.2., and the U.S. Holocaust Museum's Oral History Interview Guidelines in the Appendix.)</i> 3. View a video of survivor testimony. Summarize in writing the information you gain. <p>F. Read the lyrics of, or listen to, partisan songs, including <i>Song of the Partisans</i> and selections from <i>We Are Here</i>. Discuss what you believe was the purpose and value of songs for the resistance fighters.</p>	<p>E. Resources for Section E:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Contact local Jewish federations for assistance in contacting survivors who may be willing to speak to the class or to be interviewed. 2. U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. <i>Oral History Interview Guidelines</i>. Washington, D.C.: USHMM, Department of Oral History, 1998. (Excerpt included in Appendix H.) 3. <i>Survivors: Testimonies of the Holocaust</i>. CD-ROM. Survivors of the Holocaust Shoah Visual History Foundation. Prod. Stephen Spielberg. (Web site: www.vhf.org) <p>F. Resources for Section F:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1a. <i>Yes, We Sang: Songs of the Ghetto and Concentration Camps</i>. New York: Harper and Row, 1985. 1b. <i>We Are Here: Songs of Remembrance, Hope and Celebration in the Jewish Tradition</i>. CD. Rosalie Gerut and

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>G. Investigate the concentration camp uprisings by engaging in two or more of the suggested activities below. For each of the camps listed,</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • summarize the particular circumstances which enabled resisters to rebel; • identify major figures in the resistance and what happened to them; and • describe the results of the revolt. <p>1. Treblinka: 700 Jews were successful in blowing up the camp on August 2, 1943, with a small number surviving.</p>	<p>Friends. Tsuzamen Productions/Blue Hill Recordings. Milton, MA. 1993.</p> <p>1c. Furman, Harry, ed. "Song of the Partisans." <i>The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience—An Anthology for Students</i>. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983. (READING # 15)</p> <p>G. Resources for Section G:</p> <p>1a. Steiner, Jean Francois. <i>Treblinka</i>. New York: New American Library, 1967.</p> <p>1b. Furman, Harry, ed. "The Treblinka Revolt." <i>The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience—An Anthology for Students</i>. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983 (READING #16)</p> <p>1c. Donat, Alexander, ed. <i>The Death Camp Treblinka</i>. New York: Holocaust Library, 1979.</p> <p>1d. Elkins, Michael. <i>Forged in Fury</i>. New York: Ballantine, 1971.</p>

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	<p>2. Sobibor: Polish, Jews and non-Jews and Russian prisoners-of-war mounted an escape on October 14, 1943. Optional activities include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arrange to see the play <i>Dear Esther</i> by Richard Rashke, based upon the experiences of Sobibor survivor Esther Terner Raab from Vineland, NJ. • View the video and/or read the book <i>Escape from Sobibor</i>, then answer the questions in the activity <i>Twenty-Six Partners in Death</i>. How did elaborate planning enable the escape to take place? <p>3. The revolt at Auschwitz-Birkenau</p> <p>a. Read about Roza Robota's last days and death at Auschwitz in Suhl's book. Write a short play that reflects your understanding of this person's experience.</p> <p>b. Select and read one or more of references 3b-3e in the resources column to the right, using the following questions to guide your analysis, interpretation and discussion:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Which factors led to the decision to revolt? • What were the alternatives? 	<p>2a. <i>Dear Esther</i>. Richard Rashke. Washington, D.C.: Richard Rashke, 1411 F Street, NE, 1997. (202-399-6189)</p> <p>2b. Rashke, Richard. <i>Escape from Sobibor</i>. New York: Avon Books, 1987.</p> <p>2c. <i>Escape from Sobibor</i>. 120 mins., color. Videocassette. Perf. Ruger Hauer, Alan Arkin and Joanna Pacula. Available from Social Studies School Service.</p> <p>2d. "Twenty-Six Partners in Death." A classroom activity based upon the reading or viewing of <i>Escape from Sobibor</i>. Author anonymous. (READING #17)</p> <p>2e. Novitch, Miriam. <i>Sobibor: Martyrdom and Revolt</i>. New York: Holocaust Library, 1980.</p> <p>3a. Suhl, Yuri. <i>They Fought Back: The Story of the Jewish Resistance in Nazi Europe</i>. New York: Schocken, 1975.</p> <p>3b. Levi, Primo. <i>Survival at Auschwitz</i>. New York: Macmillan, 1987.</p> <p>3c. Vrba, Rudolph. <i>I Cannot Forgive</i>. New York: Grove Press, 1964.</p> <p>3d. Meltzer, Milton. "Revolt in the Death Camps." <i>Never to Forget: The Jews of the Holocaust</i>. New York: Harper Trophy, 1976, pp. 174-181.</p>

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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What were the probable consequences of each alternative? • What were the results? <p>H. Investigate moral issues and dilemmas involved with resistance.</p> <p>In a small group select one or two of the moral dilemma situations in the article <i>Life In Extremis: Moral Action and the Camps</i>. In each case, determine the following, first individually, then sharing with your group:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What was the moral dilemma? • What were the alternative choices available? • What were the probable consequences of each alternative? • What do you believe the person should do? • What is the most important reason for your opinion? • After sharing with the group, have the group select what it believes is the best reason for its decision. • Report your conclusions to the class and participate in a discussion of the issues involved. <p>I. Investigate the role of music in the camps by engaging in one of the following activities:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. View and discuss the film/video <i>Music of Auschwitz</i> based on the life of Fania Fenelon of the Birkenau Women's Orchestra. 	<p>3e. <i>Darkness Before Dawn: Days of Remembrance 1944-1994</i>. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1994.</p> <p>H. Resources for Section H:</p> <p>Furman, Harry, ed. "Life in Extremis: Moral Action and the Camps." <i>The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience—An Anthology for Students</i>. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983. (READING #18)</p> <p>I. Resources for Section I:</p> <p>1a. <i>Music of Auschwitz</i>. 16 min, color. Videocassette. Anti-Defamation League.</p>

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<p>6. Students will demonstrate insight into the reasons why non-Jewish rescuers risked their lives to save Jews.</p>	<p>(Fenelon was a Jewish cabaret singer in Paris at the time of the Nazi invasion.)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Read and discuss excerpts of the book <i>Playing for Time</i>, or the video by the same title, using this question as the basis for discussion: What does the fact that music was a part of the camp experience say about the human spirit? 3. View the video <i>Bach at Auschwitz</i>. Discuss how playing music can be resistance. <p>A. Investigate the reasons why non-Jewish rescuers risked their lives to save Jews during the Holocaust.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Brainstorm the motivations of the rescuers, using the following questions as a guide: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the characteristics of the rescuing personality? • What are the factors that motivated individuals to shelter Jews, usually at great personal risk? • Why do many rescuers deny that they were heroes and say they “only did the right thing”? 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1b. Laks, Szymon. <i>Music of Another World</i>. Trans. Chester A Kisiel. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2000. 2a. Fenelon, Fania. <i>Playing for Time</i>. New York: Atheneum, 1977. 2b. <i>Playing for Time</i>. 148 mins. Color. Perf. Vanessa Redgrave. Syzygy Productions, 1980. 1-2. Hogan, David J., ed. “Music for the Doomed” <i>The Holocaust Chronicle: A History in Words and Pictures</i>. Lincolnwood, Ill., Publications International, Ltd., 2000, p. 466. 3. <i>Bach at Auschwitz</i>. Videocassette. <p>A. Resources for Section A:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1a. Fogelman, Eva. <i>Psychological Origins of Rescue</i>. New York: Anti-Defamation League. 1b. Fogelman, Eva. <i>Conscience and Courage: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust</i>. New York: Doubleday, 1994. 1c. Oliner, Samuel P. with Pearl M. Oliner. <i>The Altruistic Personality: Rescuers of Jews in Nazi Europe</i>. New York: The Free Press, 1992. 1d. Tec, Nechama. <i>When Light Pierced the Darkness</i>. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>2. Identify, analyze and evaluate the role of the Righteous Among the Nations; the nature of the Righteous; the danger of providing assistance; and their commitment to the cause.</p> <p>B. Define heroic behavior by examining the character traits of those who risked their own lives to rescue others during the Holocaust and by reading one or more of the following readings. (Note: the teacher may choose to divide the readings among groups of students and have students share their reactions in a class discussion.)</p> <p>1. Rescuers feel that what they did was nothing special, even when they risked their lives to help others. Read <i>I Did What Everyone Should Have Done</i>, by Arie van Mansum, and use the following questions as a basis for analysis and/or discussion.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Where does the author state the Holocaust began? React to this, citing the text in your response. • How did he get involved in helping Jews? • What does he say were the best years of his life? Why? • Explain the meaning of the title. • Why didn't he tell his children? What does this tell you about him? 	<p>2a. <i>So Many Miracles</i>. 58 min. color. Videocassette. National Center for Jewish Film.</p> <p>2b. Grobman, Alex. <i>Those Who Dared: Rescuers and Rescued: A Teaching Guide for Secondary Schools</i>. Los Angeles: Martyrs Memorial and Museum of the Jewish Federation, 1995.</p> <p>B. Resources for Section B:</p> <p>1. Mansum, Arie. "I Did What Everyone Should Have Done." in <i>Images from the Holocaust: A Literature Anthology</i>, by Jean E. Brown, Elaine C. Stephens and Janet E. Rubin. Lincolnwood, Ill: NTC Publishing Group, 1997. (READING #19)</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop several generalizations about the heroic personality. <p>2. Read <i>Underground Networks for Child-Rescue</i>, by Anny Latour, using the following questions as a basis for analysis and discussion:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who is the “voice” of the story and what perspective does this give you? • Discuss the reason for saving children and the difficulties this presented to their parents. • Explain the reason for the inclusion of primary source documentation in the text. • Why does the writer feel Garel is a unique man? • What is Garel’s plan to save children? Why does he do it this way? • What does this reading reveal about the heroic person? <p>3. Read <i>Nobody Has a Right to Kill and Murder Because of Religion or Race</i> by Irene Opdyke, a Polish Catholic who could not stand by while Nazis hunted and killed Jews. Use the following questions as a basis for analysis and discussion:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What was expected of the Polish woman? • What was her mother like and what did she learn from her? • What gave her the courage to help Jews? • Why does she remember the eyes of the Jewish children? • Why does she feel close to the two Jewish people she befriended? 	<p>2. Latour, Anny. “Underground Networks for Child-Rescue,” in <i>Images from the Holocaust: A Literature Anthology</i>, by Jean E. Brown, Elaine C. Stephens and Janet E. Rubin. Lincolnwood, Ill.: NTC, 1997. (READING #20)</p> <p>3. Opdyke, Irene. “Nobody Has a Right to Kill and Murder Because of Religion or Race,” in <i>Images from the Holocaust: A Literature Anthology</i>, by Jean E. Brown, Elaine C. Stephens and Janet E. Rubin. Lincolnwood, Ill: NTC Publishing Group, 1997. (READING #21)</p>

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What does the priest say and what effect do his words have? • Why did Irene do what she did? What was the risk to her? • Who helped her after liberation? Where does she go? • What lesson can we learn from her? • Why didn't she speak of her experiences? • Why did she finally decide to speak out? • What does this reading reveal to you about the heroic person? <p>4. Read <i>Schindler's Legacy</i> by Elinor J. Brecher using the following questions as a basis for analysis and discussion:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Describe Schindler in the beginning of the writing and at the end. • What reasons are given for Schindler's saving Jews? • What does Schindler say about his actions? • How did he allow his Jewish workers to keep their humanity? • What does this reading reveal to you about the heroic person? • Read and/or discuss Keneally's <i>Schindler's List</i>. (Note: See alternative sources on Oskar Schindler in 4b-4d in right-hand column.) 	<p>4a. Brecher, Elinor J. "Schindler's Legacy," in <i>Images from the Holocaust: A Literature Anthology</i>, by Jean E. Brown, Elaine C. Stephens and Janet E. Rubin. Lincolnwood, Ill: NTC Publishing Group, 1997. (READING #22)</p> <p>4b. <i>Schindler's List</i>. 3 hrs., 17 min. bw/color Dir. Stephen Spielberg. Perf. Liam Neeson, et. al. Video-cassette. Universal City Studios, Inc. and Amblin Entertainment, Inc. 1993. Rated R. Available from Social Studies School Service.</p> <p>4c. Keneally, Thomas. <i>Schindler's List</i>. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982.</p> <p>4d. <i>Schindler's List Discussion Guide</i>. Los Angeles, CA: Simon Wiesenthal Center (1-312-553-9036)</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>5. Read <i>I Gambled on What Mattered Most</i> by Hannah Senesh using the following questions as a basis for analysis and discussion:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In March 1944, how does Hannah Senesh explain why she is involved in what she does? • React to her two poems. What do they tell the reader about Hannah? • What does this reading reveal to you about the heroic person? <p>6. Read about the activities of three parachutists: Hannah Senesh, Enzo Sereni and Haviva Reik.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discuss which facets of character were exhibited that prompted them to leave relative safety and parachute into Nazi occupied territory? • On a map of Europe, indicate take off and landing sites, area of operation and place of capture. 	<p>5a. Senesh, Hannah. "I Gambled on What Mattered Most," in <i>Images from the Holocaust: A Literature Anthology</i>, by Jean E. Brown, Elaine C. Stephens and Janet E. Rubin. Lincolnwood, Ill: NTC Publishing Group, 1997. (READING #23)</p> <p>5b. <i>Images from the Holocaust</i>. CD-ROM for Windows. NTC Publishing Group, Lincolnwood, Ill. 1997. (Note: This resource may be useful for numerous activities in objective #6.)</p> <p>6a. Eibeshitz, Jehoshua and Anna Eibeshitz, eds. <i>Women in the Holocaust</i>. New York: Remember, 1993.</p> <p>6b. Hrzer, Irvo. <i>The Italian Refuge</i>. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1981. (Enzo Sereni)</p> <p>6c. <i>Internet- Cybrary of the Holocaust</i>. "Women of Valor, Haviva Reik." www.cybraryoftheholocaust.com</p> <p>6d. Senesh, Hannah. <i>Hannah Senesh: Her Life and Diary</i>. New York: Schocken Books, 1972.</p> <p>6e. Shur, Maxine. <i>Hannah Szenes: A Song of Light</i>. Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society, 1998.</p>

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>C. View/read about and discuss one or more of the following films or print resources:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Discuss each person's story, lessons to be learned and the personality of the rescuer. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. <i>The Courage to Care</i> (Academy Award winning documentary) Select individuals from the video to research further in the book edited by Rittner and Myers. Report new information or perspectives to the class. b. <i>They Risked Their Lives</i> (About ordinary people who refused to succumb to Nazi tyranny.) c. <i>The Only Way</i> (Examines why the citizens of Denmark showed such extraordinary courage and banded together to prevent Nazis from arresting Jewish families) d. <i>The Assisi Underground</i> (Based on a true story, depicts the work done by the Catholic Church during World War II to help Italian Jews escape Nazi persecution.) e. <i>The Righteous Enemy</i> (About Italians who saved thousands of Jews, but do not consider themselves heroes.) 	<p>C. Resources for Section C:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1a. <i>The Courage to Care</i>. 28 min. color. Dir. Robert Gardner. Videocassette. Anti-Defamation League. 1a. Rittner, Carol and Sondra Myers, eds. <i>The Courage to Care: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust</i>. New York: New York University Press, 1986. 1b. <i>They Risked Their Lives</i>. 54 min. Videocassette. Social Studies School Service. <i>Weapons of the Spirit</i>. 38 min., Anti-Defamation League and Social Studies School Service. 1c. <i>The Only Way</i>. 86 min. color. Social Studies School Service. 1d. Zuccotti, Susan. <i>The Italians and the Holocaust: Persecution, Rescue and Survival</i>. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1988. 1d. <i>The Assisi Underground</i>. 115 min. color. Videocassette. Cannon, 1984. 1d. Ramati, Alexander. As told by Padre Rufino Niccacci. <i>The Assisi Underground: The Priests Who Rescued Jews</i>. New York: Stein and Day Publishers, 1985. 1e. <i>The Righteous Enemy</i>. 84 min. videocassette. (Available with discussion guide from American

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>2. Read or view accounts of those in hiding. Prepare either oral, written or book reports about:</p> <p>a. <i>The Diary of Anne Frank</i> (Book or video)</p> <p>b. <i>Their Brothers' Keepers: The Christian Heroes and Heroines Who Helped the Oppressed Escape the Nazi Terror.</i></p> <p>c. <i>Rescue: The Story of How Gentiles Saved Jews in the Holocaust.</i> (Chapter 7: "A Nation of Rescuers")</p> <p>d. <i>The Tulips are Red</i>, memoirs of a Jewish woman in the Dutch underground.</p> <p>e. <i>When Light Pierced the Darkness: Christian Rescue of Jews in Nazi-Occupied Poland.</i></p> <p>f. <i>Goodness Incarnate: The People of Le Chambon.</i></p>	<p>Jewish Committee and The Order, Sons of Italy America, and Social Studies School Service)</p> <p>2a. <i>The Diary of Anne Frank</i>. 170 min. b/w. Perf. Millie Perkins, Shelley Winters, et. al 2 VHS videocassettes. Social Studies School Service</p> <p>2a. Frank, Anne. Otto Frank and Mirjam Pressler, eds. <i>The Diary of a Young Girl</i>. New York: Doubleday, 1995.</p> <p>2b. Friedman, Philip. <i>Their Brothers' Keepers: The Christian Heroes and Heroines Who Helped the Oppressed Escape the Nazi Terror</i>. New York: Anti Defamation League, 1978.</p> <p>2c. Meltzer, Milton. <i>Rescue: The Story of How Gentiles Saved Jews in the Holocaust</i>. New York: Harper and Row, 1988.</p> <p>2c. <i>The Courage to Care</i>. 29 min. color and b/w. videocassette. Dir. Robert Gardner. Anti-Defamation League. Available from Social Studies School Service.</p> <p>2d. Rose, Leesha. <i>The Tulips are Red</i>. Jerusalem, Israel: Yad Vashem, 1992.</p> <p>2e. Tec, Nechama. <i>When Light Pierced the Darkness: Christian Rescue of Jews in Nazi Occupied Poland</i>. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.</p> <p>2f. Furman, Harry, ed. "Goodness Incarnate: The People of Le</p>

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>g. <i>The Pit and the Trap</i></p> <p>h. <i>Dry Tears</i></p> <p>i. Read the story of Miep Gies, the woman who helped hide Anne Frank and her family.</p> <p>j. <i>Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed</i> about the people of the Protestant village of Le Chambon in Southern France who, led by its clergy, saved thousands of Jews from death.</p> <p>3. Research Christians (Righteous of the Nations) who saved Jewish lives.</p> <p>a. Research the Avenue of the Just at the Yad Vashem memorial in Jerusalem, Israel. (Here, trees have been planted that each bear the name of a Christian who saved Jewish lives during the Hitler years. View and discuss the video, <i>Avenue of the Just</i>.</p>	<p>Chambon," by Terrence DePres. <i>The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience—An Anthology for Students</i>. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983.</p> <p>(READING #24)</p> <p>2g. Rochman, Leyb and Sheila Friedling, eds. <i>The Pit and the Trap</i>. New York: Holocaust Library, 1983.</p> <p>2h. Tec, Nechama. <i>Dry Tears: The Story of a Lost Childhood</i>. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.</p> <p>2i. Gies, Miep and Alison Leslie Gold. <i>Anne Frank Remembered: The Story of the Woman Who Helped Hide the Frank Family</i>. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987.</p> <p>2j. Hallie, Phillip. <i>Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed: The Story of the Village of Le Chambon and How Goodness Happened There</i>. New York: Harper and Row, 1979.</p> <p>3a. Paldiel, Mordecai. <i>Saving the Jews: Amazing Stories of Men and Women who Defied the "Final Solution."</i> Rockville, MD: Schreiber Publishing, 2000.</p> <p>3a. <i>Avenue of the Just</i>. 55 min. color and b/w. Videocassette. Anti-Defamation League.</p> <p>3a. <i>Jacoba</i>. 63 mins. Videocassette. Filmmaker Library.</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>b. <i>In My Hands: Memories of a Holocaust Rescuer.</i></p> <p>c. Research Sempo Sugihara, Japanese consul in Kovno, Lithuania, who issued entry visas to Japan to about 6,000 Jews at the beginning of World War II. (Also, see related activities and resources in Objective 7 below.)</p> <p>d. <i>A Debt to Honor.</i> (Italian Christians remember how they saved more than 30,000 Jews following the Nazi occupation of Northern Italy in 1943.)</p> <p>e. Discuss Stefania Podgorska, a Polish-Catholic teenager, who risked her own life and that of her 6 year-old sister to save 13 Jewish men, women and children for nearly 2 1/2 years.</p>	<p>3b. Opdyke, Irene Gut and Jennifer Armstrong. <i>In My Hands: Memories of a Holocaust Rescuer.</i> New York: Knopf, 1999.</p> <p>3c. Tracey, David. <i>Visas for Life: The Story of Sempo Sugihara.</i> Reader's Digest (READING #25)</p> <p>3c. Tokayer, Marvin and Mary Swartz. <i>The Fugu Plan: the Untold Story of the Japanese and the Jews During World War II.</i> London: Paddington Press Ltd., 1979.</p> <p>3c. "Introduction." <i>Bibliographies—Chiune Sugihara.</i> U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum Library. Web site: http://library.ushmm.org/sugihara/sugihara.htm</p> <p>3c. <i>Holocaust Hero: A Tree for Sugihara.</i> 30 min. color. Videocassette. Chip Taylor, 1998.</p> <p>3d. <i>A Debt to Honor.</i> 30 mins. Color and b/w. videocassette. Documentaries International, 1995.</p> <p>3e. Bloc, Guy and Malka Drucker. "Stefania Podgorska Burzminski." <i>Rescuers: Portraits of Moral Courage in the Holocaust.</i> New York: Holmes and Meier Publications, 1992. (READING #26 .)</p>

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>f. <i>For Friends – or Strangers.</i></p> <p>g. Research the underground organization of Polish Catholics, <i>Zegota</i>, which hid Jews from deportation.</p> <p>h. View the video <i>Diplomats for the Damned</i>, a History Channel production that traces the heroic efforts of four non-Jewish diplomats who helped save thousands of Jews during the Holocaust. Who were these people? What motivated them to take the actions and risks they did?</p> <p>4. View and discuss <i>Au Revoir Les Enfants</i>. (Could also be used with French classes. It documents the story of a Catholic schoolboy and his Jewish friend being sheltered by a courageous French priest.)</p> <p>5. View and discuss video <i>Conspiracy of Hearts</i>. (Italian nuns risked their lives to save Jewish children.)</p>	<p>3f. Meltzer, Milton. "For Friends –or Strangers." <i>Rescue: The Story of How Gentiles Saved Jews in the Holocaust</i>. New York: Harper and Row, 1988.</p> <p>3g. Hogan, David J., ed. "Rescuers." <i>The Holocaust Chronicle: A History in Words and Pictures</i>. Lincolnwood, Ill., Publications International, Ltd., 2000, p. 432.</p> <p>3g. <i>Zegota: A Time to Remember</i>. 52 min, color. Videocassette. Documentaries International Film and Video Foundation.</p> <p>3g. Gutman, Israel, ed-in-chief. <i>Encyclopedia of the Holocaust</i>. New York: Macmillan Library Reference USA, 1995.</p> <p>3h. <i>Diplomats for the Damned</i>. 60 min. color/ b/w. videocassette. The History Channel, 2000.</p> <p>4. <i>Au Revoir Les Enfants</i>. 103 mins., color. Videocassette. Dir. Louis Malle. Time Warner, Viewer's Edge, 1987.</p> <p>5. <i>Conspiracy of Hearts</i>. 90 mins., National Jewish Welfare Board.</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>6. Invite rescuers and survivors who were rescued to speak to the class on their experiences. Several key questions for the rescuers could include: <i>What motivated you to risk your own safety to save Jews? Why do you believe relatively few people were willing to do what you did?</i></p> <p>7. Research the actions of Raoul Wallenberg. View one or more of the videos and print sources listed to the right. Why was Wallenberg willing to risk his life to save thousands of Jews?</p>	<p>6. See Appendix G for a list of organizations that may be helpful in identifying possible speakers.</p> <p>7a. <i>Raoul Wallenberg: Buried Alive</i>. 58 mins., color. Videocassette. Direct Cinema Ltd.</p> <p>7b. <i>Raoul Wallenberg: Between the Lines</i>. 90 mins., color and b/w. videocassette. Dir. Karin Altman. Simon Wiesenthal Center. Los Angeles, CA., 1985.</p> <p>7c. Hogan, David J., ed. "Raoul Wallenberg" <i>The Holocaust Chronicle: A History in Words and Pictures</i>. Lincolnwood, Ill., Publications International, Ltd., 2000, see Index for numerous references to Wallenberg.</p> <p>7d. Anger, Per. "Wallenberg's Last Acts, His Unique Character." <i>With Wallenberg in Budapest: Memories of the War Years in Hungary</i>. Translated by David Mel Paul and Margareta Paul. Preface by Elie Wiesel. New York: Holocaust Library, 1981. (READING #27)</p> <p>7e. Lester, Elenore. <i>Wallenberg: The Man in the Iron Web</i>. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1982.</p>

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>8. View and discuss the docudrama <i>Joseph Schultz</i>, about a German soldier in Yugoslavia who refused to follow orders to participate in a firing squad to murder a group of villagers. In small groups, discuss the following questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What dilemma confronted Joseph Schultz? • What were his alternatives and the probable consequences of each? • Did he probably know the intended victims? • What thoughts do you believe crossed his mind as he made his decision? • What do you believe motivated him to refuse to participate? • What pressures were on him to conform? 	<p>7f. Werbell, Frederick E. and Thurston Clarke. <i>Lost Hero: The Mystery of Raoul Wallenberg</i>. New York: McGraw Hill, 1982.</p> <p>7g. Linnea, Sharon. <i>Raoul Wallenberg, The Man Who Stopped Death</i>. Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society, 1993.</p> <p>7h. Marton, Kati. <i>Wallenberg: Missing Hero: Rescuer of Budapest's Jews Imprisoned by Soviets</i>. New York: Arcade Publishing, 1995.</p> <p>7g. <i>Raoul Wallenberg: Letters and Dispatches 1924-1944</i>. Translated by Kjersti Board. Published in association with the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. New York: Arcade Publishing, 1995.</p> <p>8. <i>Joseph Schultz</i>. 13 min., color and b/w. videocassette. Anti-Defamation League.</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do you believe would have happened if all the soldiers refused to participate? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 9. View the film <i>Act of Faith</i>, the story of a Danish resistance against Hitler, and read the book, or excerpts from, <i>The Rescue of the Danish Jews: Moral Courage Under Stress</i>. 10. View the video <i>A Day in October</i> about a Danish Resistance fighter and the power of how ordinary people were able to resist the Nazis. 11. Read <i>Rescue: The Story of How Gentiles Saved Jews in the Holocaust</i> 12. Read <i>Rescue in Denmark</i>, which recounts the many acts of individual heroism and sacrifice that made it possible to save all but a handful of Denmark's 8,000 Jews from the Nazis. 13. Read and discuss in small groups <i>A Policeman's Dilemma</i>. Use the questions in this moral dilemma story to guide your discussion. Report and present the rationale for your group's findings to the class. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 9a. <i>Act of Faith</i>. 28 min., b/w. videocassette. Anti-Defamation League 9b. Yahil, Leni. <i>The Rescue of Danish Jewry: : Moral Courage Under Stress</i>. Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society, 1969. 10. <i>A Day in October</i>. 96 min., color. Videocassette. Social Studies School Service 11. Meltzer, Milton. <i>Rescue: The Story of How Gentiles Saved Jews in the Holocaust</i>. New York: Harper Collins Children's Book, 1991. 12. Flender, Harold. <i>Rescue in Denmark</i>. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963. 13. Furman, Harry, Ed. "A Policeman's Dilemma: What Would You Do?" <i>The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience An Anthology for Students</i>. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983. (READING #28)

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>14. Research <i>Dr. Aristides de Sousa Mendes</i> who was a Portuguese Consul General to Bordeaux, France from 1938-1940, who defied instructions from the fascist dictator of Portugal and issued visas for 30,000 refugees.</p> <p>D. Examine the impact of children who saved children during the Holocaust.</p> <p>1. View <i>Miracle at Moreaux</i>, the true story of Jewish children saved by children in a Catholic boarding school in France.</p> <p>E. Based upon your readings, analyses and discussion with your peers, define, explain and defend your view of the heroic person. Include in your essay examples, both from history and from your personal life, of people who fit your vision of the heroic person. (An alternative is to express your view by using any art form.)</p>	<p>14. Fogelman, Eva. "Network Rescuers." <i>Conscience and Courage: Rescuers of the Jews During the Holocaust</i>. New York: Doubleday, 1994. (READING #29)</p> <p>D. Resources for Section D:</p> <p>1. <i>Miracle at Moreaux</i>. 58 min, color. Social Studies School Service.</p> <p>E. Resources for Section E:</p> <p>1. Student developed essays.</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
<p>7. Students will investigate countries that responded to the plight of the Holocaust victims and offered refuge.</p>	<p>A. Analyze how and why Shanghai, China became a haven for 20,000 Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany. Discuss the questions related to each of the suggested readings:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Why did Shanghai, China become a haven for 20,000 Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany? What were the conditions like upon the refugees' arrival? What happened in the period from 1939-1941? How did the Jewish community set up schools, hospitals, stores, soup kitchens? How did the people use barter and trade to survive the war? 2. What was the Fugu Plan? How did it affect the Jews? 3. What happened to the Jewish community of Shanghai after the war? 4. What restrictions did the Japanese occupation forces place upon the Jews from 1943-1945? 	<p>A. Resources for Section A:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Kranzler, David. "Shanghai, A Human Kaleidoscope," and "Bread and Butter in Shanghai." <i>Japanese, Nazis and Jews: the Jewish Refugee Communities of Shanghai 1938-1945</i>. New York: Ktav, 1994. 39-43; 45-47; 57-59; 66-67; 281-284; 286; 290-291. (READING #30) 2. Tokayer, Marvin. <i>The Fugu Plan</i>. Introduction. London: Paddington Press, 1979. 67-71. (READING #31) 3. Ross, James R. <i>Escape to Shanghai: A Jewish Community in Shanghai</i>. Prologue. New York: The Free Press, 1994. 236-37; 239-242. (READING #32) 4. Tobias, Sigmund. "Life in the Ghetto," and "Air Raids." <i>Strange Haven: A Jewish Childhood in Wartime Shanghai</i>. Chicago, Ill: University of Illinois Press, 1999. 88, 91. (READING #33)

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
<p>8. Students will reassess their previous generalizations about human nature in light of their understanding of resistance, intervention and rescue.</p>	<p>B. Research the refuge plans by the Dominican Republic to settle 100,000 Jews. List the positive and negative aspects for a European Jewish family deciding to seek refuge in the Dominican Republic.</p> <p>C. Read about the experience of Bulgaria and Finland in rescuing Jews during World War II.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Locate these countries on a map. • Write a comparison of the two countries explaining why each rescued Jews. <p>A. Given your study of this unit, reassess your previous generalizations about the nature of human behavior.</p> <p>1. Reflect about what you learned in this unit and respond in writing to one of the following statements:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men [people] to do nothing.</i> —Edmund Burke • <i>If I am not for myself, who will be for me? And if I am for myself alone, who am I? And if not now, when?</i> —Hillel 	<p>B. Resources for Section B:</p> <p>Levin, Nora. "The Struggle to Leave Europe" <i>The Holocaust: The Destruction of European Jewry, 1933-1945</i>. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co, 1969. (READING #34)</p> <p>C. Resource for Section C:</p> <p>Yahil, Leni. <i>The Holocaust: The Fate of European Jewry</i>. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990. 576-587.</p> <p>A. Resources for Section A:</p> <p>1. Student-developed writings.</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>2. After reviewing your previous generalizations about human behavior, write a short reflective essay in which you describe your conclusions.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Did you find that your previous generalizations about human nature were affected by the new knowledge you acquired in this unit? <p>If you feel comfortable doing so, please share your latest generalization with a partner, small group or the class.</p>	<p>2. Student- developed essays.</p>

READINGS INCLUDED IN UNIT V

Reading#

Title/Reference

1. Meltzer, Milton. "To Die With Dignity." *The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience—An Anthology for Students*. Harry Furman, ed. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983.
2. Klein, Gerda Weissman. *All But My Life* (excerpt). New York: Hill & Wang, 1997.
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*There are stars whose radiance is visible on earth
though they have long been extinct.
There are people whose brilliance
continues to light the world
though they are no longer among the living.
These lights are particularly bright
when the night is dark.
They light the way for Mankind.*

HANNAH SENESH
From her Diary

TO DIE WITH DIGNITY

Milton Meltzer

One of the most dangerous popular myths to emerge from the Holocaust was the view that Jews were killed without resisting the Nazis. Such a charge implies that Jews were cowards who went "like sheep to the slaughter." In the minds of some people Jews were partly responsible for their own deaths; for, according to the myth, had they resisted violently, more Jews would have been saved.

First, let us look at other examples of oppression. Is a woman who has been raped a coward if she submitted to an attacker who held a knife at her throat? How do we react to the Christian martyrs who, without resistance, were slaughtered in the gladiator ring? Even if no victim of the Nazis had resisted, would we charge them with responsibility for their own murder? The issue of resistance by the oppressed is tinged with political overtones.

In this selection from *Never To Forget*, Milton Meltzer discusses the general issue of resistance, and compares Jewish and non-Jewish resistance. The author tries to explain that resistance was not easy for Jews or for citizens in the occupied countries. Are we to condemn the French for not rising to overthrow their oppressors? As Elie Wiesel has stated, "The question to be asked should not be why there was so little resistance, but how there was so much"?

Meltzer also indicates that open, armed conflict was not the only form of resistance. Young people today often think of resistance as the violent battle between two well-armed opponents. In reality, there are a many types of resistance, and open conflict is not always the wisest alternative.

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Three times a week little Sima smuggled Jews out of the Minsk ghetto, evading the SS guards, and led them to the forests of Staroje-Sielo, 50 kilometers away...

Sima was a twelve-year-old girl with blonde hair, blue eyes, and dimples that showed when she talked. Her parents perished in the first German pogrom. In the beginning Sima lived outside the ghetto and carried out important assignments for the underground party committee. Later when we began to lead Jews out of the ghetto, Smolar brought the little girl to the ghetto and she became our contact with the forest.

No assignment was too difficult for Sima. Before going out on a mission, she listened carefully to the given instruction; then she would repeat what she was told, trying hard not to miss a single word. Her small pistol was always in the special pocket sewn into her coat. Before starting out, she would always point to it and say, "Don't worry, the Fritzes will not take me alive."

On cold winter nights Sima would sneak out of the ghetto through an opening beneath the barbed wire fence. She returned to the ghetto through the cemetery. There were times when she did not succeed in getting into the ghetto at night. When this happened, she would spend the night, hungry and cold, in some bombed-out building, and remain there throughout the next day. At dusk, when the Jews returned from work, she would stealthily join their column, and together with them enter the ghetto. After the liquidation of the Minsk ghetto, Sima participated in the combat operations of the partisan detachment.

Sima had an indomitable will to live. She resisted the Nazis, and she survived. Later, when the Germans, now losing the war, were driven out in summer, 1944, Sima marched through Minsk in the front ranks of the partisans. Hers was one of the many forms of resistance to Hitler's persecution.

Wherever there was oppression, resistance of some kind emerged. The watchword of the Jewish resistance was: "Live and die with dignity!" And despite the greatest terror, hunger, and privation, Jews upheld that watchword. They did not want simply to vanish silently from the earth.

Acts of resistance were countered by the Nazis with a violence beyond belief. In 1941, a group of Dutch Jews dared to attack German police in Amsterdam. Hannah Arendt reports their punishment:

Four hundred thirty Jews were arrested in reprisal and they were literally tortured to death, first in Buchenwald and then in Mauthausen. For months they died a thousand deaths, and every single one of them would have envied his brethren in Auschwitz and even in Riga and Minsk. There exist many things considerably worse than death, and the SS saw to it that none of them was ever very far from their victims' minds and imagination.

Under such conditions, those who conducted an organized and armed resistance were a minority. That even such a minority existed was a miracle. The right question to ask, Elie Wiesel has said, is not: Why didn't all the Jews fight? but how did so many of them?

Another question to examine is: What was the degree of resistance among non-Jews? Hitler's armies swept over most of Europe with incredible speed. Everyone attributed it to the superior power of the German military forces. The vanquished nations, all of them, had trained and equipped armies. The Jews had nothing. The Nazis killed myriads of people in the parts of Russia they occupied, a territory whose population greatly outnumbered the German troops. How much resistance did Hitler encounter there? Millions of Russian captives were transported to German prisons and labor camps and treated so brutally that 5 million of them died. How many riots or acts of resistance took place among them? Yet no one accuses them of going like sheep to slaughter. No, the vast majority in the prisoner-of-war camps behaved much as did the civilians in the occupied countries. They were inert, passive; they did what they were ordered to do, hoping simply to survive. A minority chose to collaborate with the Nazis. Another minority chose to actively resist.

The purpose here is not to criticize or demean others, only to indicate how hard it is for anyone to resist a ruthless totalitarian power which commands modern weapons and employs elaborate means to crush opposition.

Even so, throughout occupied Europe, when the terrible truth about the Final Solution became clear to some Jews, they urged the others to resist physically. Realists accepted the fact that Hitler meant to annihilate every Jew in Europe, but the majority of Jews could not believe this would happen. Partly because the Germans shrouded their evil work in utter secrecy. Partly because the Germans used many forms of deception to confuse and mislead their victims. And perhaps most importantly, because the very idea of mechanical and systematic mass murder struck most people—everywhere in the world—as utterly inconceivable. It seemed infinitely different from the earlier examples of what came to be known as genocide. It went far beyond the reach of human imagination. As Dr. Louis de Jong, a Dutch historian of the Holocaust, once said, "Our mind, once having grasped the facts, immediately spewed them out as something utterly alien and unnaturally loathsome." A group of Jehovah's Witnesses, who were put in the death camp at Birkenau, by the side of the gas chambers and crematoriums, said later, "One day we would believe our own eyes; the next day we would simply refuse to do so." Another Hollander, Emile Franken, was one of a group in Birkenau which saw the crematorium chimneys smoking day in and day out. But the inmates, "the people themselves," he said, "pretended that the place was a brickyard or a soap factory. This mass delusion lasted for four weeks."

The gas chambers spelled death not only for oneself but for husband, wife, children, grandparents, relatives, friends. How many among the millions who died in them could face that awesome truth? Professor de Jong concludes:

We should be committing an immense historical error, were we to dismiss the many defense mechanisms employed by the victims—not constantly, mind you, but by way of intermittent distress signals—as mere symptoms of blindness or foolishness; rather did these defense mechanisms spring from deep and inherent qualities shared by all mankind: a love of life, a love of family, a fear of death, and an understandable inability to grasp the reality of the greatest crime in the history of mankind, a crime so monstrous...that even its perpetrators (the sadists and other perverts among them excepted) were unable to dwell on their activities for too long.

As some Jews became convinced that their people were doomed, the natural question to ask was: How then shall we die? One answer was to frustrate the enemy by not making it easy for him: Do

Unit V: READING #1

not commit suicide; stay alive as long as you can. The simple act of living on became a form of passive resistance. Many expressed that resistance by carrying on their traditional religious life praying, singing, studying the Talmud, observing the Holy Days—and their cultural activities in the ghettos. Others hid from the enemy as long as they could. Some bore children as if to say, No matter what you do, the generations will go on.

Other Jews, who began to understand that Nazi terror was a totally different order of life, chose more active ways of responding to it. They felt it was hopeless to rely on legal methods in such a morally criminal system. So people learned how to use bribery, smuggling, forgery, theft, spying, sabotage, violence. They saw these as weapons of defense against a power committed to their destruction. They

bribed the enemy; they smuggled food and people; they stole bread and guns; they forged papers—birth and baptismal certificates, residence cards, ration cards, work cards, registration forms, passports. They planted spies in the enemy's ranks; they sabotaged war production; they blew up trains and bridges and buildings; they shot and stabbed and poisoned Hitlerites.

The essential fact is that one can resist in a great many ways, by acting and yes, sometimes, by refusing to act. Armed fighting, for those physically able to undertake it, will usually do the most damage to the enemy. And, of course, there were armed battles. That aspect of Jewish resistance apart from the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising—is almost ignored in the earlier accounts of the Holocaust.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Who was Sima and how did she help resist the Nazis? Was this resistance worthwhile? Explain.
2. What is meant by the phrase “Live and die with dignity”?
3. What point does the author make about resistance in the occupied countries?
4. How do you react to Professor de Jong’s argument that people, even in the face of death, have difficulty facing reality?
5. Can you think of an example in your own life when you performed an act of resistance? What kind of resistance was it?
6. It has been argued that violent resistance is not common to people and thus it should not be surprising to learn that there was almost no violent resistance among the seven million foreign workers in Germany, the civilians in Lidice who were massacred, the British 2nd Battalion Norfolk Regiment at Paradis, the 129 Americans killed near St. Vith, and those prisoners of war killed by the “Bullet Decree” in Mauthausen. Jews have been asked why they supposedly did not “resist” when others may have resisted even less. What do you make of this?

ALL BUT MY LIFE

(EXCERPT)

Gerda Weissman Klein

A shrill whistle blew through the ghetto. It was time to leave. When we had made our way downstairs we saw the woman with the lovely complexion, Miss Pilzer, screaming and begging to be allowed to go with her mother. The dying old woman was thrown on a truck meant for the aged and ill. Here the SS man kicked her and she screamed. He kicked her again.

On the same truck were Mr. Kollander, the man with paralyzed legs, and the mother with her little girls. The Twins were smiling; unaware of what was happening, they were busy catching the raindrops. An epileptic woman was put on the truck; her dog jumped after her. The SS man kicked him away but the dog kept on trying to get in the truck. To our horror, the SS man pulled his gun and shot the dog. I looked toward Mama. I wanted to run to her. I wanted to be held by her—to be comforted. Now it was too late.

Leaving the invalids behind, we assembled in a field in a suburb of Bielitz called Larchenfeld. Here we were left in the rain to wait. After about four hours the SS men finally came in a shiny black car, their high boots polished to perfection. A table was set up and covered with a cloth—a tablecloth in the rain!—and at that table they checked the lists of the people present.

We had all assembled.

Why? Why did we walk like meek sheep to the slaughterhouse? Why did we not fight back? What had we to lose? Nothing but our lives. Why did we not run away and hide? We might have had a chance to survive. Why did we walk deliberately and obediently

into their clutches? I know why. Because we had faith in humanity. Because we did not really think that human beings were capable of committing such crimes.

It cleared up and then it rained again. I was tired and hungry, hot and cold, and still we stood at attention, losing track of time. Finally, certain trucks were loaded and driven off amid crying and screaming. Mama kept looking into my eyes. Her courage gave me strength. Those of us who remained were lined up in rows of four and ordered to march to the station. Instead of marching us across the meadow directly to the station, we were marched all around town. Oh God, I asked, I prayed, oh God, are they going to do to us what they did to Erika's mother? Will we dig our own grave? Oh God, no, no NO! Don't let it happen—don't! I'm afraid. I don't want to die. Don't hurt Mama. Don't—

I saw Bielitz, my dear childhood town. Here and there from behind a curtain a familiar face looked out. We kept on marching. People went marketing. Guards beat stragglers with rubber truncheons. Oh God, I prayed, don't let it happen!

Someone pushed a baby carriage. Workmen were repairing a street. On the butcher shop they were painting a new sign. We were marching. A dry goods store was decorating its show window. We had bought the flowered fabric for my dress there but it was not colorfast. Oh God, don't let it happen, don't, I prayed, don't! At the movie theater they were putting up a sign announcing a new feature—and we were marching...

RESISTANCE

OBSTACLES TO RESISTANCE

Many factors made resistance to the Nazis both difficult and dangerous, but not impossible. Acts of unarmed resistance were more typical prior to the first wave of mass deportations from the ghettos of Eastern Europe to the killing centers in 1942. These deportations exposed the Nazis' genocidal policy and exacerbated victims' feelings of hopelessness, thus provoking more frequent acts of armed resistance.

The form and timing of defiant acts, particularly inside ghettos and camps, were generally shaped by various and often formidable obstacles to resistance. These obstacles included:

1. **SUPERIOR, ARMED POWER OF THE NAZIS.**

The superior, armed power of the Nazis and their supporters posed a major obstacle to the resistance of mostly unarmed civilians, from the very beginning of the Nazis' ascent to power. This was particularly true of the German army during World War II. It is important to remember that at the outbreak of the war in September 1939, the nation of Poland was overrun in a few days and organized military resistance ended within one month. France, attacked on May 10, 1940, fell only six weeks later. If these two powerful nations with standing armies could not resist the onslaught of the Germans, what were the possibilities and chances of success for mostly unarmed civilians for whom access to weapons was severely limited?

2. **GERMAN TACTIC OF "COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY."**

This strategy held entire families and communities responsible for individual acts of resistance. One of the most notorious examples of "collective responsibility" involved the Bohemian mining village of Lidice (population 700). After Czech resistance fighters assassinated Nazi leader Reinhard Heydrich in 1942, the Nazis retaliated by "liquidating" Lidice. They shot all men and older boys, deported women and children to concentration camps, razed the village to the ground, and struck its name from the map.

3. **FAMILY TIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES.**

Owing to the German tactic of retaliation, any individual who considered escaping from a closed ghetto knew that such an action could mean death for members of their families who remained behind. In Dolhyhnov, near the old Lithuanian capital of Vilna, the entire ghetto population was killed after two young boys escaped and refused to return. Because of the danger of such swift and massive retaliation, many young Jewish men and women in the eastern European ghettos waited to resist until the total hopelessness of their situation became apparent.

Because family members depended upon each other for moral support as well as assistance in smuggling food to supplement the meager official rations, any decision to escape or resist, especially by young adults, was often viewed as abandonment by those left behind. Thus, many also waited to resist until after they had seen the rest of their families deported to killing centers or forced labor camps.

4. **TERROR IN CAMPS.**

Escape from Nazi camps posed similar risks for the prisoners left behind. In the winter of 1942, camp guards at the Treblinka killing center shot 26 Jews after four prisoners slipped through the barbed wire. On September 11, 1942, Meir Berliner, a Jewish prisoner at Treblinka, killed a high ranking Nazi officer, Max Bialas. In retaliation, guards executed more than 160 Jews. This atmosphere of total terror in the camps as well as the chronic starvation and physical deterioration of most prisoners severely inhibited both the will of the victims and the possibilities of resistance.

5. **ABSENCE OF COOPERATIVE CIVILIAN POPULATION.**

Jewish victims of Nazism faced an additional, specific obstacle to resistance. Even if individuals had the physical strength and the will to escape from behind the barbed wire and walls of ghettos and Nazi camps, finding a hiding place and food was often difficult. In Eastern Europe where the Jewish population was concentrated, Jews could seldom count on support from characteristically hostile or indifferent non-Jewish

civilians. There was also a disincentive to aid Jews: civilians who did help escapees did so under penalty of death.

6. **SECURITY AND DECEPTION OF DEPORTATIONS.**

Owing to the secrecy, deception, and the speed with which deportations and killings occurred, millions of victims deported to killing centers had no way of knowing where they were being forced to go. Rumors of death camps were widespread, but for the most part, people refused to believe them. Usually the Nazis or collaborating police forces ordered their victims to pack some of their belongings, thus reinforcing the belief among victims that they were being “resettled” in labor camps. Since many who tried to hide or escape before or during deportation roundups were summarily shot, many victims believed that the best strategy was to comply with the Nazis and their collaborators. When almost half a million Hungarian Jews were deported in the summer of 1944, many had not even heard of Auschwitz.

JEWISH RESISTANCE: A PROBLEM OF HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

Before outlining different forms of resistance, it is helpful to review the following interpretive biases that have shaped scholarly and historical assessments about Jewish resistance:

1. **JEWISH RESISTANCE—AN EMOTIONAL ISSUE.**

Jewish resistance during the Holocaust has been a particularly emotional and controversial issue for Holocaust survivors and for scholars. The myth that most Jews were not courageous in the face of death has compelled some writers to seek an explanation in a pattern of behavior they believe Jews learned over the course of centuries: that historically, in order to survive as a minority group in a Christian-dominated Europe, Jews had to refrain from resistance. The same myth of Jewish compliance leads other writers to document the many instances in which Jews did resist, including the compelling stories of the young men and women in the ghettos who chose to die fighting.

2. **JEWISH COMPLIANCE AND THE JUDENRAT LEADERS.**

Almost thirty years ago, the scholar Raul Hilberg wrote *The Destruction of the European Jews*, which remains one of the most important and influential studies of the Holocaust. Hilberg documented the Nazi policy of genocide, the role of German bureaucrats in implementing the policy, and the methods of mass killings. He also concluded that the Jewish leadership played a part in the destruction of the Jews by complying with Nazi directives instead of resisting. He gave examples of what he viewed as the compliant behavior of the Judenrat leaders (Nazi-appointed Jewish Council members in the ghettos) who were ordered to carry out Nazi directives in most of the eastern European ghettos.

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3. **A DIFFERENT SLANT ON THE JUDENRAT LEADERS.**

In her book *The War Against the Jews*, the scholar Lucy Dawidowicz disagreed with Hilberg’s interpretation of Jewish resistance and attributed his views partly to his overreliance on German documents. Dawidowicz and other writers have used Jewish memoirs and records to support a more sympathetic and nuanced interpretation of the role of the Jewish Councils, and they have tried to understand the particular circumstances that shaped the agonizing decisions of the Councils in different ghettos.

Dawidowicz points out that as administrators of the ghettos, the Jewish Councils tried to deliver a modicum of municipal services—sanitation, food, jobs, welfare, heat, water, and police. To provide these services, they taxed those who still had some resources and worked those who had none. In some instances, they evaded or circumvented Nazi orders, wherever possible. Many tried to outwit the enemy and alleviate the awful conditions of the ghetto.

In every ghetto, the moment that tested the character and courage of the Jewish Councils came when they were asked to provide lists of those to be deported. Some Jewish Council leaders, including those of Lodz, Vilna, and Lublin, complied with the orders. The Lodz leader, Mordecai Chaim Rumkowski, reasoned that compliance with an order to deport a portion of the ghetto population was the only way to save the Jews who remained. Other Jewish leaders refused to comply with deportation orders. This group included Dr. Joseph Parnas in Lvov who was shot after he refused to deliver several thousand Jews for deportation.

Adam Czerniakow, head of the Warsaw Jewish Council, committed suicide rather than taking the responsibility for handing Jews over to the Germans.

4. A BROADER DEFINITION OF RESISTANCE.

Writers have also shifted the grounds of the discussion of resistance by broadening the definition of the term. Hilberg seems to regard armed resistance as the only or nearly only legitimate form of resistance. In comparison, Dawidowicz and other scholars including Yehuda Bauer, use the term “resistance” to offer a wider range of acts, including armed revolt as well as smuggling food and medicine, and holding clandestine prayer meetings or school classes. In these writers’ view, such forms of unarmed resistance were the only possibilities for most Jews locked in ghettos with no way to obtain arms.

The discussion which follows assumes a broad definition of resistance. The first section forms—of unarmed resistance—explores Jewish resistance as well as resistance by other victims of Nazism including Gypsies and political opponents of the Nazi regime in Germany and in certain occupied countries. The second section on forms of armed resistance examines armed uprisings in the ghettos and killing centers of Eastern Europe. It also touches on some activities of partisan underground groups across Europe who used guerilla tactics to fight the German war effort. In some countries, the partisan groups included Jews; in others, Jews cooperated with existing partisan groups, while elsewhere, partisan groups were hostile to Jews.

Using the two broad categories of armed and unarmed resistance, this pamphlet has simplified the often confusing use of terms to describe different types of resistance. Some writers define armed resistance as “active” resistance and unarmed resistance as “passive” resistance, including acts of spiritual resistance. Other writers use “passive” resistance more narrowly to refer only to unarmed actions by members of resistance groups aiming to undermine the German war effort: smuggling weapons to resistance fighters, cutting rail and communication lines, and other forms of sabotage. In the discussion below these resistance acts as well as forms of spiritual resistance are all included under the heading of “unarmed resistance.” The terms “active” and “passive” resistance are not used.

FORMS OF UNARMED RESISTANCE

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1. DISTRIBUTION OF ANTI-NAZI LITERATURE BY UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATIONS.

Daily life in Nazi Germany and occupied Europe required political conformity. The ruthless nature of surveillance eliminated most possibilities for domestic opposition inside Germany after 1933. Violence and coercion against political opponents began in Germany immediately after Hitler assumed power. Driven underground, German socialists, communists, and trade unionists wrote, printed, and distributed anti-Nazi literature. They held clandestine political meetings and planned strategies to remove the Nazis from power. These groups were never able to generate wide-scale support among the German population or threaten the stability of the German government. Many leaders of both trade unions and left-wing political groups were arrested between the years 1933-36.

An especially compelling later “example of domestic opposition to the Nazis, the White Rose movement, was founded in June 1942 by Hans Scholl, a medical student at the University of Munich, his sister Sophie, and Christoph Probst. The three students were outraged by the acquiescence of educated German men and women to the Nazi treatment of Jews and Poles. Mailing leaflets that became known as the “White Rose Letters,” the group established a network of students in Hamburg, Freiburg, Berlin, and Vienna. “We will not be silent,” they wrote to their fellow students. “We are your bad conscience. The White Rose will not leave you in peace.” In February 1943, the Scholls distributed pamphlets in Munich urging students there to rebel. They were turned in by a university janitor. Hans and Sophie Scholl, Christoph Probst, and three other students were executed on February 22, 1943. Just before his death, Hans Scholl repeated the words of Goethe: “Hold out in defiance of all despotism.”

2. STRIKES AND DEMONSTRATIONS.

Demonstrations, protests, and strikes were all means of civil resistance. Political and economic strikes had long been a tool of the labor movement in Europe. Strikes impeded production and brought people together in a common act of defiance and at times acted as an incentive to undertake more drastic acts of resistance.

Source: “Obstacles to Resistance.” *Resistance During the Holocaust*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.

In Holland during the winter of 1940-41, students and professors led demonstrations opposing the dismissal of Jewish professors from Dutch universities. On February 17-18, 1941, in Amsterdam, a strike to protest deportations began in the shipyards and spread throughout the city. Trolleys and trains stopped running, civil servants walked off their jobs, and factories closed. The city came to a standstill. The following day the strike spread to other Dutch towns.

In Germany, nearly 200-300 Christian women in mixed marriages protested for nearly one week in February 1943 outside several Berlin assembly centers after their husbands had been rounded up. The authorities were unsuccessful in dispersing the growing crowd. Each day more and more women joined the demonstrations. The Gestapo finally released the men. However, most of these men were deported later that summer.

3. **SMUGGLING.**

In the ghettos established by the Nazis, food and supplies were stringently rationed. Rationing cards became compulsory, and the rations supplied for them did not meet people's minimal needs. Inhabitants, therefore, sought to combat hunger by smuggling illegal food supplies into the ghettos. In some ghettos, smuggling was organized by groups who worked in cooperation with the Jewish Councils and the Jewish ghetto police. Smuggling, whether organized or not, was a defiant act. Those caught were severely punished.

4. **SPIRITUAL RESISTANCE—EDUCATION.**

Education of any kind was forbidden in most of the eastern European ghettos. Nevertheless, it took place clandestinely in back rooms, kitchens, and basements. In Warsaw, nearly 40,000 students continued either religious or secular education. Hundreds of secret yeshivot (Jewish religious schools) were organized inside the ghettos throughout occupied Poland. Students also attended informal, secret classes called *komplety*, which flourished throughout Poland. In the *komplety*, Jewish children studied religious and secular subjects. Going to and from class, students hid their books under their coats or in their trousers. The danger of being caught was always present, but the secret learning continued. Jewish perseverance was so strong that the Germans finally issued a decree in Poland giving the Jewish Councils responsibility for providing elementary and vocational education. Secondary and higher education continued to be prohibited.

5. **SPIRITUAL RESISTANCE—PRAYER.**

The Nazis prohibited all public religious observances, so many Jews prayed in secret. Anyone caught praying was severely punished. In Warsaw alone, there were 600 Jewish prayer groups. Prayer and religious observances continued in almost all ghettos and camps. Prayer helped build morale, reaffirmed a cultural and religious identity, and supplied spiritual comfort. Since prayer was forbidden, anyone caught praying was severely punished. The diary of Chaim Kaplan from the Warsaw Ghetto noted that praying was a form of sabotage because it undermined the very essence of Nazi doctrine. Sabotage, of course, was punishable by execution.

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The importance of individual prayer is best illustrated by the accounts of those who continued celebrating Jewish holidays in the camps. Since Sabbath candles were not available, women in the camps blessed electric light bulbs, or made candles out of hollowed potato peelings filled with margarine. There is evidence of group prayer and even of lighting a makeshift Hanukkah menorah. During the winter of 1944, in Buchenwald, a young girl risked her life, stealing oil from the machine shop, and pulling threads from her blanket to make a small menorah. Lighting Hanukkah candles and making the traditional blessings were her way of escaping the physical and mental anguish that surrounded her. Had she been discovered, the covert celebration of Hanukkah might have cost the young girl her life.

6. **SPIRITUAL RESISTANCE—MAINTENANCE OF HISTORY.**

The preservation of documentary evidence about what was happening to and around them reflected a conscious effort among victims to undermine Nazi efforts to hide the truth about the Holocaust. Himmler had boasted that nothing would ever be known about the "Final Solution." But group documentation projects, the most famous of which was *Oneg Shabbat* in the Warsaw Ghetto, carried on research, and methodically collected and stored reports, diaries, and documents about Nazi activities and daily life in the ghetto. The basic philosophy of *Oneg Shabbat* was that knowledge and evidence constituted defiance. Similar efforts were undertaken to collect documents about life in other areas of former central Poland which formed the German-administered General Government.

7. SPIRITUAL RESISTANCE—ART AND OTHER CULTURAL ACTIVITIES.

Spiritual resistance also took the form of cultural activities undertaken in the ghettos and camps such as the creation of works of art, songs, theatrical productions, concerts, cabarets, dances, lectures, and even jokes. Young children in the Theresienstadt ghetto in Bohemia painted pictures and wrote poems that have survived and serve as memorials to their brief lives. Older children at Theresienstadt took an active part as actors in plays and as recruiters for poetry contests and recitations held in the evening. Underground libraries came into existence in numerous ghettos including the secret library at Czestochowa (Poland), which served more than 1,000 readers.

8. UNDERGROUND COURIERS.

In the Polish and Russian ghettos young couriers, usually members of political organizations, created an extensive communication network that connected the ghettos. Couriers carried forged papers, illegal documents, and underground newspapers. These couriers, mostly women, undertook enormous risks to bring news and information into and out of the various ghettos. Couriers also transported and smuggled arms, organized resistance, ran illegal presses, and arranged escapes. The couriers were the first to spread the news about the deportations and mass murders in the killing centers.

9. GYPSY RESISTANCE.

Forms of Gypsy resistance to the Nazis during the war were consistent with many Gypsies' nomadic lifestyle. The Flemish artist, Jan Yoors, who lived in France during the war with a Rom (Gypsy) family, recalled in his published journal how the Rom used their wagons to transport refugees as well as to smuggle small arms and explosives. The frequent movement of the Rom also allowed them to accrue ration cards under different names in a variety of places. These ration cards were important in supplying food to resistance fighters. When German authorities began tighter scrutiny of rations, Yoors and his Rom friends in France joined resistance fighters in raiding ration distribution posts. They also brought the partisans news heard on BBC radio broadcasts.

10. SABOTAGE.

Both in ghettos and camps, sabotage was widespread. There was a conscious effort by many Jews working as forced laborers to damage or undermine the Nazi war effort. Saboteurs stole documents, destroyed vital machinery, produced faulty munitions, slowed production on assembly lines, stole parts for the Black Market, and committed arson.

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FORMS OF ARMED RESISTANCE

1. GHETTO REBELLIONS IN EASTERN EUROPE.

Jews in many ghettos in Poland, Lithuania, Byelorussia, and the Ukraine took up arms in 1942 and 1943. It was difficult and dangerous to obtain weapons. Arms had to be purchased and then smuggled into the ghetto pistol by pistol, and rifle by rifle. The Allies offered no material assistance, and the underground armies in Poland provided only minimal assistance.

Rebellions in the ghetto generally began only after it became apparent that the ghetto was to be liquidated and its inhabitants killed. The usually youthful fighters were typically driven by the desire to uphold Jewish honor and to avenge Jewish death. In Bialystok (Poland), Zionist youth activist Mordecai Tenenbaum asked the Zionist youth at a meeting on February 19, 1943, what any one person's life could mean after the deaths of three and a half million Polish Jews.

The largest and most famous rebellion was the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. In January 1943, the Warsaw resistance organization (ZOB, *Zydowska Organizacja Bojowa*—Jewish Fighting Organization) fired upon Nazi troops during an attempted deportation of 6,000 Jews. Then, when the final liquidation of the Ghetto began on April 19, 1943, the ZOB resisted the Nazi roundups for deportation. Armed with pistols, Molotov cocktails, and hand grenades, some 750 Jewish fighters fought 2,000-3,000 German troops. Using a system of underground cellars, bunkers, and roof tops, ghetto fighters fought the battle hardened German troops for 28 days. By May 16, 1943, after fierce house-to-house fighting the Germans had recaptured and destroyed the ghetto.

Source: "Obstacles to Resistance." *Resistance During the Holocaust*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.

In the General Government of occupied central Poland, there were armed rebellions in Warsaw, Czestochowa, and Tarnow. Four attempted rebellions occurred at Kielce, Opatow, Pilica, and Tomaszow Lubelski. Armed partisans escaped from 17 ghettos into the surrounding forests. In Eastern Poland, Lithuania, and Byelorussia, at least 60 ghettos had armed rebellions, attempted revolts, or armed underground movements.

2. UPRISINGS IN THE KILLING CENTERS.

In almost every Nazi camp, prisoners organized to plan escapes or to prepare for liberation. The best-known uprisings occurred in the killing centers at Treblinka, Sobibor, and Birkenau.

In Treblinka, an underground organization planned an armed rebellion and mass escape. Inspired by the nearby Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, the Treblinka uprising was planned for August 2, 1943. The plan of the underground fighters was to steal arms from the arms warehouse, eliminate the Nazi and Ukrainian guards on duty, set the camp on fire, destroy the extermination area, and then help the remaining prisoners escape to the forest. Many were killed during the rebellion, but as many as 200 prisoners escaped and about half survived the German efforts to recapture them. The camp at Treblinka closed and was leveled shortly after the uprising.

In July 1943, an underground organization was formed at Sobibor. A Jewish Soviet prisoner of war led the uprising. The plan was to eliminate the Nazi guards, remove ammunition from the guard quarters, and attack Ukrainian guards in the tower during roll call. The insurgents would then break open the gate, and all prisoners would escape to the forest where they would join partisan groups. The revolt occurred on October 14, 1943. Eleven of the 12 Nazis in the camp that day were killed, including the camp commander. Some 300 prisoners escaped. About 200 escapees managed to avoid being recaptured, but hardly any survived to the war's end. Rumors that the escapees carried gold and silver made them easy prey to the local population, and few could survive the harsh Polish winter hiding in the forest.

At Birkenau, the revolt followed a similar pattern. By the fall of 1944, no large Jewish community remained in Europe. Soviet forces were advancing from the east, and the Allies from the west. On October 7, 1944, the *Sonderkammado*, the corps of prisoners assigned to cremate the corpses of murdered victims, blew up one of Birkenau's four crematoria. An elaborate underground network had smuggled dynamite from a nearby munitions factory to the *Sonderkommando*. Six hundred prisoners escaped after the explosion. Four young women accused of supplying the dynamite were hung in the presence of the remaining inmates. One of them, Roza Robota, shouted, "Be strong, have courage" as the trap door opened.

3. PARTISAN UNITS IN FORESTS OF EASTERN EUROPE.

An estimated 20,000 to 30,000 Jews fought in partisan groups which operated under the protection of the thick forests of Eastern Poland, Lithuania, the western Ukraine, and Byelorussia. There were about 30 Jewish partisan detachments and some 21 additional non-Jewish partisan groups in which Jews fought.

Non-Jewish partisan groups did not always welcome Jews because of both antisemitic and anti-communist attitudes. In such countries as Poland and Lithuania, where anti-Soviet feelings often ran as strong as anti-Nazi ones, Jews were frequently identified with communism. The underground Polish Army, *Armia Krajowa* (AK), usually refused to accept any Jews. Sometimes AK detachments even hunted down and murdered Jewish partisans. Soviet partisan units, formed by Communist Party activists and by Red Army soldiers trapped behind enemy lines, tended to be more receptive to Jewish fighters (like the young Jewish protagonist in the film *Europa, Europa*).

At the very beginning of the German occupation, the Poles organized a strong resistance movement with wide popular support. Polish resistance ran a regular underground government with courts and a rudimentary educational system. Through the aid of secret couriers, the resistance retained contact with the Polish government-in-exile in London. Headed by officers of the regular Polish army, the AK established partisan units in many parts of Poland in 1943.

On August 4, 1944, the AK launched an uprising in Warsaw against the German army. After bitter fighting that lasted 63 days, the Poles were defeated. It was a staggering loss. Nearly 200,000 Poles, mostly civilians,

lost their lives. On October 11, 1944, Hitler ordered that the city of Warsaw be completely razed. The part of the city not previously destroyed during the Jewish Ghetto Uprising in 1943 was reduced to rubble.

Partisans usually lived off the land but were often supplied with arms and munitions by air drop. They used hit and run tactics to disrupt enemy communications, attack groups of soldiers, and punish collaborators. Partisan attacks were so effective that by 1943 the Germans devoted front line troops to clearing partisan units from the forests.

Most of the partisan groups consisted of single, able-bodied men, armed for combat. But some Jewish fighters were unwilling to abandon those unfit for combat and established another kind of partisan unit: the family camp, where women, children, and old people lived with and were protected by the fighters. Some 10,000 Jews survived the war in such family units. These groups survived by raiding local communities for food and by providing support for partisan brigades.

One large family camp was set up by Tuvia Bielski in late 1941 after he and other family members escaped Nazi mobile killing units who were murdering thousands of Jews in western Byelorussia. Another family camp was formed under the leadership of Shalom Zorin, a Soviet prisoner of war who had escaped German captivity in Minsk. Zorin's so-called 106th Division fought and survived until liberation in 1944.

4. **PARTISAN ACTIVITIES IN WESTERN EUROPE.**

Across Western Europe, underground partisan units were formed to help regular Allied forces defeat the German forces. Many Jews in western Europe joined partisan groups as citizens fulfilling their patriotic duty to their country or as members of left-wing (socialist or communist) political groups fighting Nazism. Jews were very prominent in the partisan movement in Italy and France.

In some cases, Jews also organized small Jewish underground organizations. In France, the Jewish resistance movement formed several organizations. Their acts of armed resistance ranged from assassination to sabotage. The *Organization Juive de Combat* had nearly 2,000 members. They were responsible for 1,925 armed actions, including attacks on railway lines and the demolition of 32 Nazi factories. In Germany, the Herbert Baum Group sabotaged an armament factory in the Siemens Industrial complex and was also responsible for setting ablaze a propaganda exhibition in Berlin. In Belgium, a National Committee for the Defense of Jews was organized.

Members of resistance movements risked their lives in dangerous missions against the Germans. One of the most daring missions involved a Dutch Jew, Joseph Linnewiel, who posed as a Gestapo agent. Using false papers, Linnewiel was able to travel to France to free other resistance members from a prison near the Spanish border. Soon after, he joined a Jewish resistance group organized in southwestern France in late 1943.

In general, rescue or aid to Holocaust victims was not a priority of national resistance movements whose principal goal was to assist in the war against the Germans. Nonetheless, national resistance organizations and Jewish partisans sometimes cooperated with each other. On April 19, 1943, for instance, members of the National Committee for the Defense of Jews in cooperation with Christian railroad workers and the general underground in Belgium, attacked a train leaving the transit camp of Malines headed for Auschwitz. The plan was to free the people on the train and help them to escape. In the Slovak revolt of August 1944, members of Zionist youth movements joined Slovak partisan units and communists in the uprising. Several Jews played a prominent role in the leadership of the rebellion and as unit commanders. In both of the above cases, and in others, national and Jewish resistance organizations cooperated in resistance against the Germans.

BABI YAR

Yevgeny Yevtushenko

No monument stands over Babi Yar.
 A drop sheer as a crude gravestone.
 I am afraid.
 Today I am as old in years
 as all the Jewish people.
 Now I seem to be
 a Jew.
 Here I plod through ancient Egypt.
 Here I perish crucified, on the cross,
 and to this day I bear the scars of nails.
 I seem to be
 Dreyfus.
 The Philistine
 is both informer and judge.
 I am behind bars.
 Beset on every side.
 Hounded,
 spat on,
 slandered.
 Squealing, dainty ladies in flounced Brussels lace
 stick their parasols into my face.
 I seem to be then
 a young boy in Byelostok.
 Blood runs, spilling over the floors.

The bar-room rabble-rousers
 give off a stench of vodka and onion.
 A boot kicks me aside, helpless.
 In vain I plead with these pogrom bullies.
 While they jeer and shout,
 "Beat the Yids. Save Russia!"
 some grain-marketeer beats up my mother.
 Oh my Russian people!
 I know
 you
 are international to the core.
 But those with unclean hands
 have often made a jingle of your purest name.
 I know the goodness of my land.
 How vile these anti-Semites
 without a qualm
 they pompously called themselves
 "The Union of the Russian People!"
 I seem to be
 Anne Frank
 transparent

as a branch in April.
 And I love.
 And have no need of phrases.
 My need
 is that we gaze into each other.
 How little we can see or smell!
 We are denied the leaves
 we are denied the sky.
 Yet we can do so much-
 tenderly
 embrace each other in a dark room.
 They're coming here?
 Be not afraid. Those are the booming
 sounds of spring:
 spring is coming here.
 Come then to me.
 Quick, give me your lips.
 Are they smashing down the door?
 No, it's the ice breaking...
 The wild grasses rustle over Babi Yar.
 The trees look ominous,
 like judges.
 Here all things scream silently
 and baring my head,
 slowly I feel myself
 turning gray.
 And I myself
 am one massive, soundless scream
 above the thousand thousand buried here.
 I am
 each old man
 here shot dead.
 I am
 every child
 here shot dead.
 Nothing in me
 shall ever forget!
 The "Internationale," let it
 thunder
 when the last anti-Semite on earth
 is buried forever.
 In my blood there is no Jewish blood.
 In their callous rage, all anti-Semites
 must hate me now as a Jew.
 For that reason
 I am a true Russian!

IF WE MUST DIE

Claude McKay

If we must die—let it not be like hogs
Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot,
While round us bark the mad and hungry dogs,
Making their mock at our accursed lot.
If we must die—oh, let us nobly die,
So that our precious blood may not be shed
In vain; then even the monsters we defy
Shall be constrained to honor us though dead!
Oh Kinsmen! We must meet the common foe;
Though far outnumbered, let us show us brave,
And for their thousand blows deal one deathblow!
What though before us lie the open grave?
Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack,
Pressed to the wall, dying but fighting back!

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Source: "Babi Yar," Yevgeny Yevtushenko; "If We Must Die," Claude McKay; "The Little Smuggler," Henryka Lazawert, in *The Holocaust Reader*. Lucy Dawidowicz, ed. New York: Behrman House, Inc. 207-208.

THE LITTLE SMUGGLER

Henryka Lazawert

Over the wall, through holes, and past the
guard.

Through the wires, ruins, and fences,
plucky, hungry, and
determined

I sneak through, dart like a cat.
At noon, at night, at dawn,
In snowstorm, cold or heat,
A hundred times I risk my life
And put my head on the line.

Under my arm a gunny sack,
Tatters on my back,
On nimble young feet,
With endless fear in my heart.

But one must endure it all,
One must bear it all,
So that tomorrow morning
The fine folk can eat their fill.

Over the wall, through holes, bricks,
At night, at dawn, at noon,
I move silently like a shadow.
And if the hand of destiny
Should seize me in the game,
That's a common trick of life.
You, mother, do not wait up for me.
I will return no more to you,
My voice will not be heard from afar.
The dust of the street will bury
The lost fate of a child.

And only one request
Will stiffen on my lips;
Who, Mother mine, who
Will bring your bread tomorrow?

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QUESTIONS TO THINK ABOUT

1. List the sentences with the word "I". What is revealed about being a little smuggler?
2. List the sentences with the word "my". What is revealed about being a little smuggler?
3. What is his only request?

TO ARMS

The Proclamations of the Rebels in the Ghetto of Vilna

Three Jews, defend yourselves with arms!

The German and Lithuanian hangmen have approached the gates of the Ghetto. They have come to murder us! Soon they will be leading us in droves through the gates.

Thus hundreds were led away on Yom Kippur!

Thus were led away our brothers and sisters, our mothers and fathers, our children.

Thus tens of thousands were led to their death! But we shall not go!

We will not stretch out our necks to the slaughterer like sheep!

Jews, defend yourselves with arms!

Do not believe the lying promises of the murderers. Do not believe the words of traitors. Whoever leaves the Ghettos is sent to Ponar, (a Vilna suburb where Jews were murdered in tens of thousands.)

Ponar means Death!

Jews, we have nothing to lose; sooner or later we shall be killed. Who can believe that he will survive when the fiends are exterminating us with calculated efficiency. The hands of the executioner will ultimately reach everyone; escape and cowardice will save no one.

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Only armed resistance can possibly save our lives and our honor.

Brothers, it is better to die in the battle of the Ghetto than to be led away like sheep to Ponar! Lest you forget there is an organized Jewish fighting force which will rebel with arms.

Help the Rebellion!

Do not hide in hideaways and shelters. In the end you will be caught like rats in the traps of the murders.

Masses of Jews, get out into the streets! If you have no arms, raise your hammers! and those who have no hammer let them use iron bars, even sticks and stones!

For our fathers!

For our murdered children!

As payment for Ponar!

Kill the murderers!

In every street, in every yard, in every room, in the Ghetto and outside kill the mad dogs!

Jews, we have nothing to lose; we shall save our lives only when we kill the killers

Long live Liberty

Long live our armed resistance!

Death to the murderers!

Command of the United Partisan Organization,
Vilna Ghetto, September 1, 1943

STUDENTS WILL ANALYZE VARIOUS FORMS OF SPIRITUAL AND RELIGIOUS RESISTANCE

Hans Krasa: *Terezin Music Anthology* Volume III. CD. Koch International Classics, Port Washington, New York, 1996.

(available through the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum or the publisher listed above)

The Terezin Music Anthology, a projected series of nine CDs, is documenting all the surviving music created in Terezin concentration camp. Performing and recording this music is intended to serve not only as a memorial to those who lived, suffered, and perished in Terezin, Auschwitz, and other camps, but also **to celebrate their inextinguishable human spirit** by bringing their work to an international public and to its rightful place in the normal repertoire of the music of our time.

David Bloch, Producer

*Background information excerpted from the CD booklet
edited by Emilie Berendson and Irena Motkin*

Introduction

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The fortress town on Terezin..., sixty kilometers from Prague, was built by Austro-Hungarian Emperor Josef II in the 1780s in honor of his mother, Empress Maria Theresa. **The shape of the town's outer walls, surrounded by a deep moat, resemble a six-pointed star, an ironic fact in view of Terezin's later history...**In January 1942, at the Wannsee Conference,...the town [which] was conveniently located to serve as a transit camp, facilitating the transportation of mass numbers of Jews from the Czech lands and other European countries to the killing centers in the "East."

Spontaneously, and not without risk, a secret cultural life began to flourish in Terezin...when the racist Nuremberg laws, enacted by the Germans in 1935 in Germany, became effective in Czechoslovakia with annexation in 1939. These laws prevented public appearances by Jewish actors, singers and musicians, and the enforced eight o'clock curfew meant that audiences at theater, concerts and lectures would be free of Jews...Chamber music groups were numerous in Terezin's rich musical life, particularly string quartets.

While at first it was forbidden to bring instruments into the ghetto...Germans began to view this activity favorably, sensing that it could have propaganda value in serving to deflect rumors of the genocide actually taking place elsewhere...Insufficient food, which seriously weakened the Terezin inmates, was counterbalanced for many of them by a most varied and excellent musical fare...**The loss of precious physical calories was—for some, though not all—offset by the addition of cultural and spiritual ones.**

Hans Krasa

Hans Krasa was born in Prague on November 30, 1899. Krasa studied with Alexander Zemlinsky in Prague, and in 1921, even prior to the completion of his studies at the German Music Academy in that city, he began working as a vocal coach at the New German Opera. ...Krasa had some performances in the United States and France in the 1920s and several of his compositions were published in Vienna and Paris. After spending several years in Terezin, where he was active in its musical life, he left for Auschwitz on transport Er on October 16, 1944 ... and perished immediately in a gas chamber.

Hans Krasa: Terezin Music Anthology Vol. III

Although the CD is dedicated to the works Krasa wrote in Terezin, it begins with a song from the incidental music he wrote in 1935 to Adolf Hoffmeister's comedy, *Mladi Ve Hre* (Youth in the Game).

Krasa's final composition [Passacaglia and Fugue] in the ghetto (and in his life) was completed August 7, 1944....**The initial impression of the fugue is its frantic pace...One can hardly help thinking that for all his artful nostalgia, so caressingly offered earlier in the work, that here it is a kind of cold fear which prevails in this his last musical essay.**

While the work [**Brundibar**] **had nothing to do with the onset of the Second World War or the Holocaust, it acquired great symbolic meaning through its initial and subsequent presentations...**The finale of the opera was included in the Nazi propaganda film on the ghetto in 1944. It was not difficult for the children and their audiences to make an association between Brundibar, the nasty hurdy-gurdy man, and Hitler, and the performances, under the terrible conditions of their bondage, had an impact of such force that they are intensely remembered even today, more than fifty years after the event.

[there were] Several on-camera musical performances of the notorious propaganda film *Theresienstadt - Ein Dokumentarfilm aus dem jüdischen Siedlungsgebiet* [A documentary film from the Jewish settlement area] ... The third surviving performance is the entire finale of *Brundibar*. For two and one half minutes these children, hopeful to the end (which for most was shortly to be an Auschwitz gas chamber), recorded their victorious song for posterity.

...While their first song had a typical folk-like text ("Ducks and geese up high were flying on a windy day..."), the second, also concerned with flight, alluded to the real-life figure of a popular children's story, Captain Novak, a Czech pilot well-known as Ace in the 1930s and a hero in World War II.

... After the lullaby everyone sings a victory march asserting that if they stand united and work together, they can overcome the wicked Brundibar.

DISCUSSION

1. Explain why the shape of Terezin is referred to as "ironic." (Use the first highlighted excerpt.)
2. According to Bloch, the producer of the CD, why did Jews risk their safety to participate in cultural life? Discuss the second highlighted quote in the introduction.
3. Discuss how using Terezin's cultural achievement used for Nazi propaganda benefited the inmates.
4. After listening to the selection, "Passacaglia and Fugue," Krasa's last composition, discuss the "mood" of the piece. Use the third highlighted excerpt as a basis for discussion.
5. The lyrics of the opera *Brundibar* are printed in the CD booklet. While listening to the music, students read the lyrics that were written to accompany it. Discuss the mood of the music and how the lyrics became known as a symbol of the Holocaust.
6. What political statement did the opera "*Brundibar*" make?
7. According to Bloch, the producer of the CD, "Performing and recording this music is intended to serve not only as a memorial to those who lived, suffered, and perished in Terezin, Auschwitz, and other camps, but also **to celebrate their inextinguishable human spirit** by bringing their work to an international public and to its rightful place in the normal repertoire of the music of our time." Do you agree/disagree? Support your answer.

Source: *Hans Krasa: Terezin Music Anthology*. Volume III. CD. Koch International Classics, Port Washington, New York, 1996.

ABRAHAM LEWIN

Lawrence L. Langer

Abraham Lewin was born in Warsaw in 1893. He came from an Orthodox Hasidic family. His father was a rabbi; his grandfather, a *shokhet* responsible for the ritual slaughtering that made food kosher. He attended Hebrew school as a child, and then studied at a yeshiva, or rabbinical academy. Lewin's father died when the boy was in his teens, by the time he was twenty, he had abandoned traditional Hasidic dress.

Forced to support his mother and sisters, Lewin took a job as teacher of Hebrew, biblical studies, and Jewish studies at a private Jewish secondary school for girls. Among the staff members was Emanuel Ringelblum, who was to found the Oneg Shabbes archive, a secret record of the history of Warsaw Jewry under Nazi oppression, which included Abraham Lewin's diaries.

In 1928, Lewin married Luba Homer, a teacher at the school. Her roundup and deportation is described, with terrible desperation in "Diary of the Great Deportation," which is included here. In 1934, Lewin and his wife visited Palestine with their daughter, Ora, and considered emigrating, but Lewin's poor health forced them to return to Poland, where they remained until the German invasion in 1939 made further plans to leave impossible.

The Warsaw ghetto was established by the Germans in October 1940; the following month, they announced that it would be closed off from the rest of the city. Lewin probably began his diary entries a few months later though the surviving portions show an initial entry dated March 26, 1942. The Germans established a Judenrat, or Jewish Council, to govern the internal affairs of the Warsaw Jewish community. To head it they appointed Adam Czerniakow. Like Chaim Rumkowski in Lodz, Czerniakow worked tirelessly to improve conditions for his fellow Jews, but unlike Rumkowski he had fewer and fewer illusions about the impact of his negotiating powers. In July 1942, on the eve of the mass deportation to Treblinka, he committed suicide rather than preside over the presumable slaughter of the bulk of Warsaw's Jews.

Lewin's detailed description of this ordeal, which began on July 22 and ended fifty-four days, later is nothing short of harrowing. Approximately 265,000 of the ghetto's Jews were sent to their deaths in the

gas chambers cruelly at Treblinka. At the end of the period, about 50,000 Jews remained. As the days drift by and Lewin meticulously records the names of his friends and associates who have vanished forever, one gets the sense of a nightmarish atmosphere of terror and despair that was slowly paralyzing and consuming an entire people. When the "action" paused in mid-September 1942—it was to resume, on a smaller scale, the following January—Lewin wrote in his diary: "Jewish Warsaw now has the air of a cemetery."

Lewin was not to live to see it totally reduced to ashes. His last entry is dated January 16, 1943, a few days before the beginning of the second "action," and one assumes that he and his daughter were caught in this roundup and sent to their deaths. But Lewin had not been naive about the prospects for survival. On January 11, he wrote: "*(O)ver our heads hangs the perpetual threat of total annihilation. It seems they have decided to exterminate the whole of European Jewry.*"

As a member of Ringelblum's Oneg Shabbes enterprise (a code name for the underground archive that literally means "Joy of the Sabbath" and refers to the custom of celebrating the end of a Sabbath service with light refreshments), Lewin shared the responsibility for chronicling for future generations all features of ghetto life. His devotion to this task must have been all-consuming, since it continued despite the loss of his wife, a personal tragedy to which he returned repeatedly in his diary. Together with other volumes of the archive, Lewin's diary was buried in milk cans and metal chests, from which some parts were recovered in 1946 and 1950. They included Lewin's entries from March 1942 to January 1943.

Before his own capture and execution, Ringelblum wrote of Lewin's work: "The clean and compressed style of the diary, its accuracy and precision in relating facts, and its grave contents qualify it as an important literary document which must be published as soon as possible after the War." The first part of Lewin's diary is written in Yiddish. The second, about the great deportation, is in Hebrew: portions were translated into Yiddish in the early 1950s. Both sections only appeared in English, as *A Cup of Tears: A Diary of the Warsaw Ghetto*,

almost fifty years after the events they record.

Journals and Diaries

Wednesday, 12 August

Eclipse of the sun, universal blackness. My Luba was taken away during a blockade on 30 Gesia Street. There is still a glimmer of hope in front of me. Perhaps **she will** be saved. And if, God forbid, she is not? My journey to the Umschlagplatz—the appearance of the streets—fills me with dread. To my anguish there is no prospect of rescuing her. It looks like she was taken directly into the train. Her fate is to be a victim of the Nazi bestiality, along with hundreds of thousands of Jews. I have no words to describe my desolation. I ought to go after her, to die. But I have no strength to take such a step. Ora—her calamity. A child who was so tied to her mother, and how she loved her.

The 'action' goes on in the town at full throttle. All the streets are being emptied of their occupants. Total chaos. Each German factory will be closed off in its block and the people will be locked in their building. Terror and blackness. And over all this disaster hangs my own private anguish.

Thursday, 13 August

The 23rd day of the slaughter of the Jews of Warsaw. Today about 3,600 people were removed from Többens' buildings, mainly women and children. Today is Ora's fifteenth birthday. What a black day in her life and in my life. I have never experienced such a day as this. Since yesterday I have not shed a single tear. In my pain I lay in the attic and could not sleep. Ora was talking in her sleep: 'mamo, mamusiu, nie odchodz beze mnie!' ['Mother, Mama, don't leave me']! Today I cried a lot, when Gucia came to visit me. I am being thrown out of the flat at 2 Mylna Street: they have already taken most of my things. Those who have survived are thieving and looting insatiably. Our lives have been turned upside down, a total and utter destruction in every sense of the word.

I will never be consoled as long as I live. If she had died a natural death, I would not have been so stricken, so broken. But to fall into the hands of such butchers! Have they already murdered her? She went out in a light dress, without stockings, with my leather briefcase. How tragic it is! A life together of over 21 years (I became close to her beginning in 1920) has met with such a tragic end.

Friday, 14 August

The last night that I will spend in my war-time flat at 2 Mylna Street. The sight of the streets: the pavements are fenced off, you walk in the middle of the road. Certain streets, such as Nowolipie (on both sides of Karmelicka), Mylna and others are

completely closed off with fences and gates and you can't get in there. The impression is cages. The whole of Jewish Warsaw has been thrown out of the buildings. There is a full-scale relocation of all Jews who have not yet been rounded up and are still in the town. Whole streets that have been given over to the German firms; Muller, Többens, Schultz, Zimmerman, Brauer and others. We have been sold as slaves to a load of German manufacturers. The living of those in the workshops: hunger and hard labour. Their ration: a quarter kilo of bread a day and a bowl of soup.

The 'action' continues—today is the 23rd day. Yesterday they took away from Többens' workshops about 3,000–4,000 men and women, mostly women and children. This morning the Jewish community council posted a new announcement: all Jews who live in Biala, Elektoralna, Zielna, Orla, Solna, Leszno, odd numbers in Ogródowa, Chłodna Streets have to leave their flats by tomorrow, 15 August. Yesterday and today, a huge number of people killed—victims of the blockades. I am moving my things over to Nacia's at 14 Pawia Street.

Setting up of blockades on Nowolipie and Karmelicka Streets. Further victims—there are more deaths today, and very many driven out. There is talk of 15,000. I have heard that measures decreed in the expulsion orders are directed mainly against women and children. The police commandant of the second district is trying to save his wife and children. A new raid on the Jewish Self-help Organization at 25 Nowolipki Street. Dr. Bornsztajn and his wife taken away, Elhonen Cajtlin with his son and others. This was carried out by Jewish policemen without the Germans, that is, on their own initiative. Renja Szajnwasjis I have heard that Yitshak Katznelson's wife and one of his children have been seized. The second day that I am without Luba. I am now also without a place to live. I have nowhere to lay my head. The number rounded up has reached 190,000, just counting those expelled, excluding those who have been killed and those who have been sent to the *Dulag* at 109 Leszno Street.

Every crime in history, like the burning of Rome by Nero, pales into insignificance in comparison with this. Kirzhner has been taken away from work and deported. Together with him they took away a further 28 people. All were aged 35 and over. The same thing has happened, I have learnt, in another placowka: 29 people were taken away and deported.

Saturday, 15 August

Today is the 25th day of the bloody 'action' carried out by the butchers. I spent the night at 17 Dzielna Street. The rain of shooting started at half past nine in the evening. Deaths in the street. The whole night incessant movement in and out of the

Pawiak Gutkowski sends his only son, three and a half years old, to the cemetery to have him taken to Czerniakow. I have nowhere to rest my head at night. Gucia is being thrown out of her flat. Nacia and Frume are not allowed to enter. All the orphanages have been emptied. Korczak went at the head of his children. The pain because of the loss of L. is becoming more intense. My soul can find no peace, for not having gone after her when she was in danger, even though I could also have disappeared and Ora would have been left an orphan. The most terrible thing is that Landau and Sonszajn misled me by saying that Luba wasn't in the queue. Be that as it may, the anguish is terrible and it will never be dimmed.

Rumours about reports arriving from women who were deported from Biala-Podlaska and Bialystok.

Today by eight o'clock there was a blockade on Mila, Gesia, Zamenhof and other streets. 'Our spirit is weary of the killing.' How much longer? Yesterday a huge number of bodies were brought to the cemetery, victims of the blockade of Többens' workshops. Today they were also taking people from the 'shops'. It will soon be seven o'clock and the blockade on Gesia is still continuing, around our factory. The Jewish police have been looting, breaking open flats, emptying cupboards, smashing crockery and destroying property, just for the fun of it. More people were killed today in the course of blockades. People killed during the blockade. Mirka Priwes, her mother and brother have been deported. Yitshak Katznelson's wife and two of his children have been seized and deported.

The desolation and chaos is greatest on the streets from Chlodna to Leszno Streets, all the Jewish possessions have been abandoned and Polish thugs with the Germans will loot everything. The whole of Jewish Warsaw has been laid waste. That which remains is a shadow of what was, a shadow that tells of death and ruin.

Sunday, 16 August

Today is the 26th day of the 'action', which is continuing with all its atrocities and animal savagery, a slaughter the like of which human history has not seen. Even in the legend of Pharoah and his decree: every newborn boy will be thrown into the river.

People who have returned from the Umschlagplatz have told of women who were seized yesterday who were freed if they sacrificed their children. To our pain and sorrow many women saved themselves in this way—they were separated from their children, aged, three to 12 to 14, and if they had identity papers, they were freed. Any woman carrying a child or with a child next to her was not freed. The Germans' lust for Jewish blood knows no

bounds, it is a bottomless pit. Future will not believe it. But this is the unembellished truth, plain and simple. A bitter, horrifying truth.

The Jewish police have received an order that each one of them must bring five people to be transported. Since there are 2,000 police, they will have to find 10,000 victims. If they do not fulfil their quotas they are liable to the death-penalty. Some of them have already received confirmation that they presented the required number. Since every Jew has some kind of documentation—in the main valid ones—they tear up every document they are shown and round up the passers-by. It is now dangerous for every Jew to go out on to the street. No one goes out.

Rumours have reached me again that letters have allegedly arrived the deportees saying that they are working in the area of Siedlice and conditions are not bad. Lifschitz's son (my friend from elementary school) told me that his daughter herself had read one of these letters from an elderly couple.

As things are developing, a handful of Jews will be left, those of a designated age. Apart from this there will be no way for a Jew to survive: there will be nowhere to live and no bread. The position of the old is especially tragic: they have no way out. They can either give themselves up into the hands of the butchers, or take their lives themselves, or hide out and live in dark corners and cellars, which is also very difficult because of the general expulsions from the buildings and the upheaval of the residents. In those buildings that have been taken over by new occupants, no strangers are let in. It is easier for an animal to find a hiding place and a refuge in the forest than for a Jew to hide in the ghetto.

Now (four in the afternoon) I have heard that there are no Germans at all in the Umschlagplatz. There are only Jews there and they are carrying out the bloody and terrible operation. Today rumours are going round that an order has been issued that all wives and children of officials have to report at the Umschlagplatz. Josef Erlich and his family have been killed, so I have heard. According to certain reports, Czerniakow's place here with us—a la Rumkowski—will be inherited by Gancwajch, the man they had been hunting and trying to kill. He is outside the ghetto at the moment.

AVRAHAM TORY

Lawrence L. Langer

Avraham Tory was born Avraham Golub (*golub* means “dove” in Russian; tory is the Hebrew equivalent for “turtledove”) in Russian Lithuania in 1909. He graduated from the Hebrew high school in 1927 and began to study law at the University of Kovno. In 1930, he came to the United States where he continued to study law at the University of Pittsburgh. After his father’s unexpected death in 1931, he returned to Lithuania and the university.

Awarded his law degree in 1934, Tory eventually secured a job as assistant to one of the few Jewish law professors at the University of Lithuania. Because he was Jewish, Tory found it virtually impossible to obtain a license to practice law. During the 1930s, he was active in Zionist movements and was, in fact, attending an international Zionist conference in Geneva when the Germans invaded Poland on September 1, 1939. He decided to return to Lithuania, which by then had become a Soviet satellite.

Because of his Zionist activities, Tory was under surveillance by the Soviet secret police, so he left Kovno and went into hiding in Vilna. He was there when the Germans invaded Russia on June 22, 1941, but he soon returned to Kovno. Writing (and later dictating) in Yiddish, Tory made his first entry at midnight of that momentous invasion day. From then until he escaped from the ghetto in April 1944, he made regular entries detailing the fate of Kovno’s 35,000 Jews. As deputy secretary to the Jewish Council of Elders (formed by German order), Tory had access to most German decrees, which he preserved along with his own chronicle. He also encouraged artists and photographers to keep a visual record; some of their work remains and is included in the English-language edition of Tory’s diaries, *Surviving the Holocaust: The Kovno Ghetto Diary* (1990), from which the following selection, “Memoir,” is taken.

Tory buried his materials in five crates before he escaped from the ghetto, but when he returned to rescue them after the Russian liberation, he was able to retrieve only three crates from the ruins. He ignored the orders of the Soviet secret police to turn over all documents to them, and after an arduous and risky journey through several East European countries (during which he was forced to leave some

of his precious cargo in trustworthy Jewish hands for later delivery), he finally arrived in Palestine in October 1947 and retrieved as much as he could. Tory, who now lives in Israel, estimates that he has in his possession about two-thirds of the original diary with its accompanying documents.

Unlike the terse entries in Adam Czerniakow’s Warsaw ghetto diary, which attempt little portraiture of the Nazi administrators with whom the head of the Warsaw Jewish Council came into almost daily contact. Tory’s descriptions of encounters with various German officials give us a complex glimpse at how ruthless these murderers were, disguising their intentions by assuming a restrained and sometimes civil demeanor when their victims bargained for more food, more fuel, more space and more work. The leaders of the Jewish Council in Kovno showed none of the dogmatic arrogance displayed by Chaim Rumkowski in Lodz, but their efforts were in the end no more successful than his, not because their strategies were inept but because (unknown to them) their enemies were determined from the start to kill them all.

Among the most graphic narratives in Tory’s diary are the reports of German “actions,” when large numbers of Jews were rounded up and sent to the Ninth Fort outside Kovno for execution. One of the grimmest is his account of the burning of the Jewish hospital and orphanage on October 4, 1941; some of the patients and children were shot and buried in a pit in the courtyard, while others perished inside the buildings. But the most harrowing entry, which is included here, describes the day when most of Kovno’s Jews were assembled in the ghetto square and 10,000 were selected and sent to their deaths. Tory’s eyewitness account of this event, the notorious “great action,” remains one of our most vivid testaments to the mass murder of European Jewry.

Memoir**October 28, 1941**

On, Friday afternoon, October 24, 1941, a Gestapo car entered the Ghetto. It carried the Gestapo deputy chief, Captain Schmitz, and Master Sergeant Rauca. Their appearance filled all onlookers

with fear. The Council was worried and ordered the Jewish Ghetto Police to follow all their movements. Those movements were rather unusual. The two Ghetto rulers turned neither to the Council offices nor to the Jewish police, nor to the German labor office, nor even to the German commandant, as they used to in their visits to the Ghetto. Instead, they toured various places as if looking for something, tarried a while in Demokratu Square, looked it over, and left through the gate, leaving in their wake an ominously large question mark: what were they scheming to do?

The next day, Saturday afternoon, an urgent message was relayed from the Ghetto gate to the Council: Rauca, accompanied by a high-ranking Gestapo officer, was coming. As usual in such cases, all unauthorized persons were removed from the Council secretariat room and from the hallway, lest their presence invoke the wrath of the Nazi fiends.

The two Germans entered the offices of the Council. Rauca did not waste time. He opened with a major pronouncement: it is to increase the size of the Jewish labor force in view of its importance for the German war effort—an allusion to the indispensability of Jewish labor to the Germans. Furthermore, he continued, the Gestapo is aware that food rations allotted to the Ghetto inmates do not provide proper nourishment to heavy-labor workers and, therefore, he intends to increase rations for both the workers and their families so that they will be able to achieve greater output for the Reich. The remaining Ghetto inmates, those not included in the Jewish labor force, would have to make do with the existing rations. To forestall competition and envy between them and the Jewish labor force, they would be separated from them and transferred to the small Ghetto. In this fashion, those contributing to the war effort would obtain more spacious and comfortable living quarters. To carry out this operation a roll call would take place. The Council was to issue an order in which all the Ghetto inmates, without exception, and irrespective of sex and age, were called to report to Demokratu Square on October 23, at 6 A.M. on the dot. In the square they should line up by families and by the workplace of the family head. When leaving roll call they were to leave their apartments, closets, and drawers. Anybody found after 6 A.M. in his home would be shot on the spot.

The members of the Council were shaken and overcome by fear. This order boded very ill for the future of the Ghetto. But what did it mean? Dr. Elkes attempted to get Rauca refused to divulge some information about intention behind this roll call, but his efforts bore no fruit. Rauca to add another word to his communication and, accompanied by his associate left the Council office and the Ghetto.

The members of the Council remained in a state of shock. What lay in wait for the Ghetto? What was the true purpose of the roll call? Why did Rauca order the Council to publish the order, rather than publish itself? Was he planning to abuse the trust the Ghetto population had in the Jewish leadership? And if so, had the Council the right to comply with Rauca's order and publish it, thereby becoming an accomplice in an act which might spell disaster?

Some Council members proposed to disobey the Gestapo and not publish the order, even if this would mean putting the lives of the Council members at risk. Others feared that in the case of disobedience the arch-henchmen would not be contented with punishing the Council alone, but would vent their wrath also on the Ghetto inmates, and that thousands of Jews were liable to pay with their lives for the impudence of their leaders. After all, no one could fathom the intentions of Rauca and his men; why, then, stir the beasts of prey into anger? Was the Council entitled to take responsibility for the outcome of not publishing the order? On the other hand, was the Council entitled to take upon itself the heavy burden of moral responsibility and go ahead with publishing the order?

The Council discussions continued for many hours without reaching a conclusion. In the meantime, the publication of the order was postponed and an attempt was made to inquire about Rauca's plans, using the contacts of Caspi-Serebrovitz in the Gestapo. Zvi Levin, who was Caspi's fellow party member (they were both Revisionists), was asked to leave for the city, to call on him and ask him what he knew about Rauca's plans, and to ask Rauca to grant an audience to Dr. Elkes. Levin found Caspi packing his bags. The latter was stunned to learn about the order and exclaimed spontaneously: "Aha, now I understand why Rauca is sending me to Vilna for three days just at this time. He wants to keep me away from Kovno, especially now."

Complying with Levin's request, Caspi set out to inform Rauca that disquiet prevailed in the Ghetto and that the Council chairman wished to see him that very evening. Rauca responded favorably.

The Council members agreed that the meeting with Rauca should take place in the modest apartment of Dr. Elkes, in order to keep the meeting as secret as possible. At 6 P.M. Rauca arrived at Dr. Elkes's apartment. Yakov Goldberg, a member of the Council and head of the Council's labor office, was also present. Dr. Elkes began by saying that his responsibilities as leader of the community and as a human being obliged him to speak openly. He asked Rauca to understand his position and not to be angry with him. Then he revealed his and the Council members' fears that the decree spelled disaster for

the Ghetto, since if the German authorities' intention was only to alter the food distribution arrangements, the Council was prepared to carry out the appropriate decrees faithfully and was prepared to the letter. Therefore, he, went on to say, there is no need for roll call of the entire Ghetto population, including elderly people and babes in arms, since such a summons was likely to cause panic in the Ghetto. Moreover, the three roll calls which had taken place over the past three months had each ended in terrible "actions." Therefore, he, Dr. Elkes, pleaded with "Mr. Master Sergeant" to reveal the whole truth behind the roll call.

Rauca feigned amazement that any suspicion at all could have been harbored by the members of the Council. He repeated his promise that a purely administrative matter was involved and that no evil intentions lurked behind it. He added that at the beginning the Gestapo had, in fact, considered charging the Council with the distribution of the increased food rations for the Jewish labor force, but having given thought to the solidarity prevailing among the Jews had suspected that the food distribution would not be carried out and that the food delivered to the Council would be distributed among all Ghetto residents—both workers and nonworkers—in equal rations. The Gestapo could not allow this to happen under the difficult conditions of the continuing war. Accordingly, the Gestapo had no choice but to divide the Ghetto population into two groups. The roll call was a purely administrative measure and nothing more.

Dr. Elkes attempted to appeal to the "conscience" of the Gestapo officer, hinting casually that every war, including the present one, was bound to end sooner or later, and that if Rauca would answer his questions openly, without concealing anything, the Jews would know how to repay him. The Council itself would know how to appreciate Rauca's humane approach. Thus, Dr. Elkes daringly intimated a possible defeat of Germany in the war, in which case Rauca would be able to save his skin with the help of the Jews. Rauca, however, remained unmoved: there was no hidden plan and no ill intention behind the decree. Having said this he left.

After this conversation, Dr. Elkes and Goldberg left for the Council offices, where the other Council members were waiting for them impatiently. Dr. Elkes's report of his conversation did not dispel the uncertainty and the grave fears. No one was prepared to believe Rauca's assertions that a purely administrative matter was involved. The question remained: why should the elderly and the infants, men and women, including the sick and feeble, be dragged out of their homes at dawn for a roll call by

families and by workplace, if the purpose was simply the distribution of increased food rations to the workers? Even if the plan was just to transfer part of the Ghetto population to the small Ghetto—why was a total roll call needed? Was it not sufficient to announce that such-and-such residents must move into those living quarters within the small Ghetto which had been left empty after the liquidation of its residents and the burning of the hospital?

Even before Rauca ordered the Council to publish the decree, rumor, originating in various Jewish workplaces in the city where there was contact with Lithuanians had it that in the Ninth Fort large pits had been dug, by Russian prisoners-of-war. Those rumors were being repeated by various Lithuanians and, naturally, they reached the Council. When Rauca announced the roll-call decree, the rumors and the roll-call no longer seemed a coincidence.

As the rumors about digging of pits persisted, and the members of the Council failed to give any indication of their apprehension, an atmosphere of fear pervaded the Ghetto, growing heavier with each passing day. The very real apprehensions of the Council were compounded by the fear that any revelation of its suspicions and doubts might lead many Jews to acts of desperation—acts which were bound to bring disaster both on themselves and on many others in the Ghetto.

Since the members of the Council could not reach any decision, they resolved to seek the advice of Chief Rabbi Shapiro. At 11 P.M. Dr. Elkes, Garfunkel, Goldberg, and Levin set out for Rabbi Shapiro's house. The unexpected visit at such a late hour frightened the old and sick rabbi. He rose from his bed and, pale as a ghost, came out to his guests. He was trembling with emotion.

The members of the Council told Rabbi Shapiro about the two meetings with Rauca, and about the roll-call decree. They also told him about their fears and asked him to rule on the question of whether they, as public leaders responsible for the fate of the Jews in the Ghetto, were permitted or even duty bound to publish the decree.

The rabbi heaved a deep sigh. The question was complex and difficult: it called for weighty consideration. He asked them to come back to him at 6 A.M. the next day. Dr. Elkes and his colleagues replied by stressing the urgency of the matter, since the Council had been told that it must publish the decree before that time. Each further delay was liable to provoke the ire of the Gestapo. The rabbi promised that he would not close his eyes all night; that he would consult his learned books and give them an early reply.

When the Council members returned to the rabbi's house at 6 A.M. they found him poring over books which lay piled up on his desk. His face bore visible traces of the sleepless night and the great ordeal he had gone through to find scriptural support for the ruling on the terrible question facing the Council. He lifted his head—adorned by white beard—and said that he had not yet found the answer. He asked them to come back in three hours' time. But at 9 o'clock he was still engrossed in study and put off his answer for another two hours. At last, at 11 o'clock, he came up with the answer. In studying and interpreting the sources, he had found that there had been situations in Jewish history which resembled the dilemma the Council was facing now. In such cases, he said, when an evil edict had imperiled an entire Jewish community and, by a certain act, a part of the community could be saved, communal leaders, were bound to summon their courage, take the responsibility, and save as many lives as possible. According to this principle, it was incumbent on the Council to publish the decree. Other rabbis, and a number of public figures in the Ghetto, subsequently took issue with this ruling. They argued that it was forbidden for the Council to publish the decree, since by doing so it inadvertently became a collaborator with the oppressor in carrying out his design—a design which could bring disaster on the entire Ghetto. Those bereft of all hope added the argument that since the Ghetto was doomed to perdition anyway, the Council should have adopted the religious principle "yehareg v'al yaavor" (to refuse compliance even on the pain of death), and refrained from publishing the decree.

Immediately after their visit to the chief rabbi, members of the Council convened for a special meeting and decided to publish the decree. So it was that on October 27, 1941, announcements in Yiddish and in German were posted by the Council throughout the Ghetto. Their text was as follows:

The Council has been ordered by the authorities to publish the following official decree to the Ghetto inmates: All inmates of the Ghetto, without exception, including children and the sick, are to leave their homes on Tuesday, October 28, 1941, at 6 A.M., and to assemble in the square between the big blocks and the Demokratu Street, and to line up in accordance with police instructions. The Ghetto inmates are required to report by families, each family being headed by the worker who is the head of the family. It is forbidden to lock apartments, wardrobes, cupboards, desks, etc....After 6 A.M. nobody may remain in his apartment. Anyone found in the apartments after 6 A.M. will be shot on sight.

The wording was chosen by the Council so that everyone would understand that it concerned a Gestapo order; that the Council had no part in it.

The Ghetto was agog. Until the publication of this order everyone had carried his fears in his own heart. Now those fears and forebodings broke out. The rumors about the digging of pits in the Ninth Fort, which had haunted people like a nightmare, now acquired tangible meaning.

THE WHITE ROSE

Ellen Switzer

Hans and Sophie Scholl were proud, beautiful and idealistic in 1933. When Hitler came to power, Hans was fifteen, Sophie twelve. In describing their life and death, their sister, Inge, in her book *The White Rose* tells of their first reaction when it was announced in the newspapers and on the radio that Hitler had become chancellor.

"For the first time politics entered our lives," she wrote. "We had heard a great deal about our country, about comradeship, love of our fellow citizens and patriotism. We were very impressed...because we loved our country very much..."

"And everywhere, all the time, we heard that Hitler would help our country regain greatness, happiness, pride and prosperity. He would assure everyone of work and food. He would not rest until every single German was a more independent, happier and freer person. We found this a marvelous prospect, and, of course anything we could do to advance this goal we would do gladly.

"To all of this idealism was added another dimension that attracted us because it seemed almost mystical. We saw the compact, marching units of young people, flags flying, with their bands and their songs. It seemed overwhelming to us...this sudden sense of unity and comradeship. So to us it was only natural to join the Hitler Youth. Hans, Sophie...all the rest of us.

"We were devoted body and soul to the cause, and we couldn't understand why our father was neither proud nor happy about our decision. He tried to oppose what we wanted to do. Sometimes he said: Don't believe them...they are wolves and tyrants... they are misusing you and the German people." Occasionally he would compare Hitler to the Pied Piper of Hamelin, the rat-catcher who seduced the children into following him to their doom with the gay tunes of his flute. But our father's words might as well have been spoken into the winds, and his attempts to restrain us were shattered by our youthful enthusiasm."

However, the Scholls, unlike others, had open minds and strong consciences. Their enthusiasm lasted only a few months...Hans was a talented guitar player and folk singer. He had gathered songs from many countries, and he used to sing around the campfires. Soon he was informed that these foreign

songs were outlawed: only the songs in the official Hitler song book were acceptable. When he laughed at that seemingly irrational order, he was threatened with punishment. He stopped singing. A book of poems he loved also went on the forbidden list. It was written by a Jew. Another book was banned: the author was a pacifist. Both writers had been forced to flee Germany.

Once the youngest member of his Hitler Youth troop designed and made a flag that in the boy's opinion symbolized all that was great about their country. The troop leader said that the flag would have to be destroyed, only official symbols were allowed. When the youngster refused to give up his prized creation the troop leader first denounced him furiously, then grabbed the flag and ripped it up. Hans stepped out of his place in the troop and slapped the leader. The tearful face of the young boy whose creation had been dishonored was too much for him to bear. After that, Hans lost his own leadership position in the troop.

Other, more serious incidents came to the Scholls' attention. A favorite teacher disappeared mysteriously. The day before his disappearance, he had been ordered to stand in front of a group of Brownshirts, each of whom, slowly and deliberately, spat in his face. The Scholls asked the teacher's mother what her son had done to deserve such treatment. "Nothing," the desperate woman answered them. "He just wasn't a National Socialist (Nazi). That was his crime."

Rumors about concentration camps began to circulate in the small town of Forchtenberg, of which Herr Scholl, years before, had been mayor. Because the children suspected that he knew more than many others, and because they also felt that he would have the courage to tell them what he knew, they began to ask questions. "This is a kind of war..." he told them. "War during peace...a battle against our fellow citizens, against the helpless...and against the life and freedom of all our children. It is a terrible crime."

...At first, Hans and Sophie, and their brothers and sisters, withdrew quietly from their Hitler Youth activities. They spent more and more time within the family, which according to Inge Scholl became a "tight little island." Eventually, they found friends who were as disillusioned as they were, and who also

yearned to read the books that were forbidden, to sing the songs that were not approved, to think the thoughts that were not in the official publications. Often they got together to discuss their feelings and ideas. Everyone realized that this was dangerous. Some of their friends were arrested and jailed, usually because someone reported their independent activities. Certainly the local Nazi spies who operated in every village and in every city block must have been suspicious of the group of young people that kept to itself and did not participate in any of the political rallies and meetings that were being called constantly.

But everything went rather well for members of the immediate family at least. Hans wanted to go to medical school and was accepted at the University of Munich, one of the finest in Germany. Sophie first decided to become a kindergarten teacher and spent two years training for that profession. Then, with the start of World War II, everything changed. Hans and one of his brothers were called into the army, although Hans was eventually sent back to the university to continue his studies. Germany needed physicians. Sophie was called into the State Labor Service and then into the Auxiliary Military Service. But she, too, was released and followed her brother to the University of Munich, where she studied biology and philosophy. Hans saw, during his medical school rounds, wounded soldiers who told in whispers of the massacres of Poles, Russians and Jews. Among the physicians there were rumors that orders had gone out in some hospitals to kill the retarded, the mentally ill, and the handicapped Germans who were not "productive."

Again, the Scholls collected around them a small group of friends. Again, they began to discuss their ideas and feelings. As they became more and more appalled at what was happening around them, they formed a small resistance group called "The White Rose," composed of students and a few teachers to protest their government's actions. They began to publish leaflets, which they printed on an old mimeograph machine, "to strive for the renewal of the mortally wounded Germany spirit." Sophie transported the leaflets in an old suitcase, and they

were sometimes distributed in corridors at the University of Munich; sometimes they were scattered out of windows. Copies of the White Rose publications found their way to other universities. Each leaflet urged the finder to reprint the message and to pass it on.

Almost miraculously "The White Rose" continued to operate for about a year. However, on February 18, 1943, the inevitable happened. Sophie Scholl and her brother Hans were arrested at the university with a suitcase full of pamphlets. They were sentenced to death by a special, so-called people's court four days later... The sentences were carried out within hours of the verdict...

After their deaths, the Scholls became underground heroes to a great many university students who shared their ideas, but not their willingness to lose their lives.

In an interview a few months ago a high German government official, whose father had been a more cautious member of the German underground and who had thus escaped with his life, said: "When my father heard that the Scholls had been arrested, he mourned: 'If only they had asked me ... I would have told them to stop their wild and useless rebellion, which ultimately cost them their lives. I would have told them to save themselves for the new Germany that would need people like them desperately, after the war was over.' Now I'm not so sure. We, as Germans, in our overwhelming guilt, need bright, morally untarnished examples like Hans and Sophie Scholl. Their death was a terrible price to pay for the minimum of pride and honor we have left...but perhaps it was worth paying."

The terrible price the Scholls and their friends paid for scattering their mimeographed pamphlets out of a university window might not have been necessary, however, if adults in 1933 had been half as wise and as courageous as these young people. It might have been relatively safe (and probably effective) to protest the two-month jail sentence given to the editor of the Essen paper in 1933; it was impossible even to mourn publicly the death of the White Rose members in 1943.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why did the Scholls join the Hitler Youth in 1933? What experiences caused them to leave the Hitler Youth?
2. What was the "White Rose"? Do you believe Hans and Sophie's involvement was worthwhile? Explain.
3. Have you ever been involved in resistance for a cause that you believed was just? What were the risks? What happened? How did it make you feel?

DEFINITIONS

- pacifist:** a person who opposes war and violence as ways to solve human problems
Youth Aliya: organization which rescued Jewish children and brought them to Palestine

THE WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING

Vladka Meed

Vladka Meed is the author of *On Both Sides of the Wall: Memoirs from the Warsaw Ghetto*, from which the following excerpt is taken.

The Warsaw ghetto uprising is the most well-known of the ghetto revolts. Badly outnumbered and with limited resources, the Jewish resistance fighters valiantly and fiercely fought from April until June 1943, when the ghetto was burned and destroyed. Meed was a young member of the underground who, because of her Aryan appearance, was able to live and work for the resistance movement outside of the ghetto. In this excerpt, she describes the early days of the uprising. Following this excerpt is the last letter the commander of the Jewish fighters, Mordecai Anielewicz, sent to a comrade on the Aryan side of the wall that further demonstrates the spirit of those resisting evil.

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On the morning of April 19, 1943, the eve of Passover, sporadic gunfire erupted in the ghetto. It was not the usual gunfire one heard from the ghetto; this time the bursts were deafening. Powerful detonations made the earth tremble. The ghetto was surrounded by soldiers. Special S.S. detachments, in full battle array, stood opposite the ghetto wall. Machine-gun muzzles protruded from balconies, windows and roofs of the adjacent Aryan homes. German scouts reconnoitered through holes drilled through the bricks of the ghetto wall. The streets alongside were blocked off, patrolled by German police on motorcycles. The battle had begun. Although all of us had anticipated the uprising, the actual outbreak caught us by surprise. Spontaneously, a number of activists on the "Aryan side" gathered in the apartment of Samsonowicz, a member of the Central Committee. The group consisted of Bolek (Chaim Ellenbogen), Czesław (Benjamin Miedzyrecki), Stephen (S. Mermelstein), Celek (Yankel Celemenski) and myself. Our assignment was to obtain arms, to break through the German lines, and to cooperate with the Fighting Organization in the ghetto. Mikolai was to reach an accord with the Polish underground in the hope that they would help us implement our plans.

We waited for an answer from the Polish partisan leadership. Things in the ghetto were relatively quiet that morning, but by noon sporadic fire had resumed on both sides of the wall. The Germans had wheeled in artillery along Krasinski, Bonifraterska, and Muranowska Streets and it was keeping up a steady barrage. German planes, gleaming in the sun, swooped low and circled above the ghetto. Muranowska Street was ablaze, thick black

smoke billowing from its north side. Every few minutes, the ground shook from an explosion; with every artillery volley, windowpanes shattered and buildings crumbled into rubble.

I looked at Swientojerska Street. Machine guns had been trained at the remains of the brush factory. Evidently, the Germans were encountering strong resistance there; the air was filled with gunfire. I could see familiar buildings, now in ruins, floors collapsed, huge gaping holes, pillars of rising dust.

Suddenly, there was a deafening explosion, louder than anything yet heard. Tanks rolled along Nalewki Road toward the ghetto wall. Thousands of Poles had gathered in the streets near the wall to watch the struggle. They came from all over Warsaw; never before had the city witnessed so bitter a struggle in its very heart. The Poles found it almost impossible to believe that the Jews were confronting the Germans without outside support.

"They must have some of our officers over there," they insisted. "Our men must have organized the resistance." They were stirred, thrilled, exhilarated. They had never expected the miserable Jews to put up a fight. The steady stream of ambulances carrying dead and injured Germans to their field hospitals gave them satisfaction. "Look at all those casualties," they cried with delight as the ambulances rushed by, sirens screaming.

A broadside of fire from the ghetto sprayed the "Aryan" streets beyond the ghetto wall. The bystanders scattered and the Germans threw themselves flat on the ground. During a lull in the shooting, everyone dashed for cover. Afraid to get too close to the wall, the Germans posted Ukrainian guards there to counter the Jewish guns.

That evening Mikolai briefly summarized the situation for us. On the night of April 19th, he said, he had been awakened by a telephone call from Abrasha Blum in the ghetto.

'Active resistance has begun,' Abrasha told him. "All the groups of the Fighting Organization are participating in the struggle. It's all very well organized and disciplined. We are now engaged in a battle near the brush factory. For the time being there have been only a few casualties among our fighters. There are more casualties among the Germans."

That was all: no appeals for help, no wail of despair. Just a simple, terse communique from the battle-front.

A second telephone call came on the night of April 22. "Michal Klepfisz is dead. He fell in the fighting. We are short of ammunition. We need arms." The conversation had been interrupted by the telephone central office. It was the last phone call from Abrasha Blum.

What was there to add? Our dear Michal was no longer among us. I could not even bring myself to think about it.

On April 17, his own birthday, as well as the birthday of his two-year-old daughter, Michal had succeeded in obtaining a revolver. Celek and I had visited him in the morning and examined the weapon. Michal was ecstatic; he caressed the weapon and played with it like a child with a new toy

"If only I could keep it!" he sighed.

Because it was his birthday, we suggested that Michal give us the revolver, and we would try to smuggle it into the ghetto. Michal insisted that since he had bought the gun himself, he had the right to smuggle it in himself. "Who knows," he said, "perhaps I will teach them a little lesson with this little instrument." We pleaded with him, but to no avail. That very day he took the gun into the ghetto, and he remained there to fight, once the uprising had erupted, rather than return to the "Aryan side." We learned later that Michal had fought in the neighborhood of the brush factory, where he had set up the "munition plants." On the third day of the revolt, Zalman, Marek and Michal had gone out to scout the enemy positions. While crossing from one house to another, they were met by a fusillade of machine-gun fire. Zalman and Marek managed to escape. After the shooting stopped, they recovered Michal's bullet-riddled body.

Our thoughts were constantly with the fighters in the ghetto. All our plans seemed to have come to naught. The Polish underground kept dragging its feet, urging us to be patient, to hold on a little longer, another day. Restless and depressed, we idled about

the Polish streets, trying to establish contact with the ghetto.

Cut off from the ghetto, we were aliens on the "Aryan side," all alone. Aryan Warsaw watched the Jewish resistance with amazement and observed its toll of hated Germans with grim pleasure; but it scarcely lifted a finger to help.

The ghetto was isolated; we on the "Aryan side" were helpless. Extra guards had been posted around the ghetto, making it all but impenetrable.

On the sixth day, the gunfire subsided; the Germans withdrew their heavy artillery and mounted machine guns instead. Stuka dive bombers continued their deadly rain of incendiary bombs. The muffled detonations of bombs and grenades in the ghetto never stopped. Dense clouds of smoke streaked with red flames rose from all over the ghetto, spiralling upward, obscuring the buildings. The ghetto was on fire.

That day I succeeded in getting past a German outpost on the corner of Nalewki and Długa after I had persuaded the sentry that I was on my way to see my mother at Swientojerska 21, the house of the Dubiels. Perhaps, from the vantage point of their dwelling just outside the ghetto wall, they might have seen something or heard some news. The streets were filled with soldiers. The entire quarter from Nalewki to Swientojerska had been barred to civilians. Numerous German and Ukrainian guards patrolled the ghetto gates, through which a brisk traffic of military vehicles and ambulances passed. The cars of high-ranking S.S. officers stood parked alongside the wall.

I was stopped and interrogated several times by German sentries. Reaching the house of the Dubiels at last, I found it virtually in ruins, littered with debris and dust, windows shattered, walls riddled with bullets. The elderly Mrs. Dubiel was confused and frightened. Every once in a while her husband let some Germans into what remained of the building to search for Jews. Nellie and Vlodka moved about listlessly with silent, frightened faces, occasionally peeping out of a window at the burning ghetto.

During the German raids, old Dubiel had barely managed to conceal the children. The girls had to be rescued-but how? I tried to get near the window, but Mrs. Dubiel held me back; it was too risky. Her husband had almost been killed the day before. No Pole could show himself at a window. I peered through the window from behind a closet. Swientojerska and Wolowa Streets were deserted, glowing dim red from the fires raging in the distance, outlined by the billowing black clouds of smoke that hung over the ghetto. Two groups of German machine-gunners hunched behind a fence at the

intersection of the two streets. Germans and Ukrainians in full battle array were stationed every fifteen feet along the wall. At intervals, Germans armed with machine guns darted past on motorcycles, amid occasional bursts of gunfire.

"The shooting comes from our roof," Dubiel told me. "The Germans mounted a machine gun up there. This has been going on all night. Today it's been a little quieter than usual."

"Could I make contact with the ghetto through this house?" I asked.

"No, the area is crawling with Germans," he told me. "You could never slip past them. Stay here for the night, and you'll see for yourself."

Several squads of Germans were now moving among the houses on Wolowa Street, sprinkling some sort of liquid from cans onto the houses and then retreating.

"They're trying to set the houses on fire," old Dubiel said. "Yesterday they tried the same thing, but it didn't work." As he spoke, I could see Germans throw burning rags on the houses and then hastily withdraw. The building caught fire amid a rain of heavy gunfire. Grenades exploded nearby. The earth shook. The flames spread.

"Look over there," Dubiel pointed. On the balcony of the second floor of the burning house stood a woman, wringing her hands. She disappeared into the building and a moment later returned carrying a child and dragging a featherbed, which she flung to the sidewalk. Obviously, she meant to jump, or perhaps to drop the child, hoping that the featherbed would break the fall. Clutching the child, she started to climb over the railing. Amid a spray of bullets she slumped. The child dropped to the street. The woman's lifeless body remained draped over the railing.

The flames had enveloped the upper floor by now and explosions were occurring with increasing frequency and intensity. Figures appeared in windows, jumped, only to die by gunshot in mid-air or on the ground.

From the third floor, two men fired a few rounds, then retreated. I turned from the window in horror, unable to watch any more. The room was now filled with the acrid smoke and stench of the burning ghetto. No one spoke.

The gunfire continued sporadically throughout the night. There were no more screams now. The crackling of dry woodwork, the occasional collapse of weakened floors were the only sounds heard in the eerie stillness that had settled over Swientojerska and Wolowa while the blazing buildings turned night into day.

All night long I stood at the window in a state of

near-shock, the heat scorching my face, the smoke burning my eyes, and watched the flames consume the ghetto. Dawn came quiet and ghastly, revealing the burned-out shells of buildings, the charred, bloodstained bodies of the victims. Suddenly one of these bodies began to move, slowly, painfully, crawling on its belly until it disappeared into the smoking ruins. Others, too, began to show signs of life. But the enemy was also on the alert. There was a spatter of machine-gun fire—and all was lifeless again.

The sun rose higher over the ghetto. There was a knock on the door. I quickly moved away from the window; Dubiel moved to the door. Two German officers entered.

"Anyone except your family living here?"

"No, I do not harbor any Jews."

The Germans did not even bother to search the place; they went straight to the window and unslung cameras.

"It's a good site for pictures," one remarked, "if it weren't for those damned fires."

For a half-hour they continued their picture-taking, laughing and joking about those "Jewish clowns" and their comical contortions.

When they had gone, the old woman begged me to go, too. She was terrified, crossing herself and mumbling prayers. The little girls bade me a silent farewell. Dubiel escorted me through the courtyard, the steps, and the street, all swarming with Germans. Afraid even to look in the direction of the ghetto, I walked quickly away, without a backward glance. Somehow, the ghetto fought on. On the fifth day of the uprising the Coordinating Committee on the "Aryan side" issued an appeal in the name of the ghetto. The message was drafted and written at Zurawia 24. From there I brought the manuscript to a store which served as our "drop," and later brought back a package of printed appeals. Written in Polish and signed by the Fighting Organization, the appeal stressed the heroism of the fighters and the ferocity of the struggle. Every home was a fortress against the Germans. The insurgents sent their fervent salutations to all those fighting the Nazis.

"We will avenge the crimes of Dachau, Treblinka and Auschwitz," the appeal, proclaimed. "The struggle for your freedom and ours continues."

On my way back from Zoliborz with the package of printed pamphlets, I found Bonifraterska Street impassable because of the acrid smoke. Waves of intense heat rolled in from the ghetto; tongues of fire flicked hungrily across the wall at the Aryan homes. Polish firemen had mounted the roofs of the houses in an attempt to stave off the flames advancing from the ghetto. A German sentry stood by, halting

pedestrians and searching them thoroughly.

I turned quickly onto Konwiktorska Street where I came upon some 60 Jews—men, women and children—facing the wall, surrounded by guards with fixed bayonets. The unfortunates, including some very small children, looked gaunt and wild-eyed. Yet none of them cried. Their fate was sealed.

Three days later I happened to pass the same way. A crowd of Poles was impassively staring at a roof nearby.

"Some Jews broke out of the ghetto and hid in the loft of a Polish house," one of the spectators was telling a newcomer as I came within earshot. "But the Germans found them and attacked the place. The Jews returned fire and tried to escape over neighboring roofs. Soon afterwards a tank drove through, firing broadsides. Now you can see dead Jews lying along the roof."

The burning had now gone on for two nightmarish weeks. Some areas had been reduced to smoldering ruins. The gunfire had diminished, but it had not stopped. The Germans marched into the ghetto every morning and each evening at dusk they withdrew. They worked only in broad daylight. The Stukas still circled and swooped overhead, raining incendiaries on the ghetto without letup; the explosions could be heard throughout the city.

At night, however, things were quiet. Poison gas was released into the water mains and sewers to kill any Jews who might be hiding there. Gentile homes facing the ghetto along Leszno, Przejazd and Swientojerska were burned to the ground by the Germans. Among the houses that fell victim to the flames was the house of the Dubiels.

Nevertheless, the revolt continued unabated. Jewish resistance continued. The Germans had succeeded in penetrating only a few outer sections of the ghetto, and had contented themselves with setting the Jewish homes afire.

Before long the admiration and excitement of the Poles over the Jewish uprising was replaced by a gnawing apprehension. "What's next now?" the Poles wondered. "Will the Germans turn on us also?"

With their pitiful assortment of arms and explosive-filled bottles our comrades in the ghetto had dared to challenge the modern, sophisticated

weapons of the enemy. We on the "Aryan side" were bursting with admiration for them, but we were consumed also by a sense of guilt at being outside the ghetto, in relative safety, while they were fighting and dying. We should have been there with them, amid the roaring fires and the crashing walls.

We stared into the fiery sky over Warsaw. Why was there no response from the rest of the city? Where was the help our neighbors had promised? And the rest of the world—why was it so silent?

It is impossible to put into words what we have been through. One thing is clear, what happened exceeded our boldest dreams. The Germans ran twice from the ghetto. One of our companies held out for 40 minutes and another for more than 6 hours. The mine set in the "brushmakers" area exploded. Several of our companies attacked the dispersing Germans. Our losses in manpower are minimal. That is also an achievement. Y [Yechiel] fell. He fell a hero, at the machine-gun. I feel that great things are happening and what we dared do is of great, enormous importance.

Beginning today we shall shift over to the partisan tactic. Three battle companies will move out tonight, with two tasks: reconnaissance and obtaining arms. Do remember, short-range weapons are of no use to us. We use such weapons only rarely. What we need urgently: grenades, rifles, machine-guns and explosives.

It is impossible to describe the conditions under which the Jews of the ghetto are now living. Only a few will be able to hold out. The remainder will die sooner or later. Their fate is decided. In almost all the hiding places in which thousands are concealing themselves it is not possible to light a candle for lack of air.

With the aid of our transmitter we heard a marvelous report on our fighting by the "Shavit" radio station. The fact that we are remembered beyond the ghetto walls encourages us in our struggle. Peace go with you, my friend! Perhaps we may still meet again! The dream of my life has risen to become fact. Self-defense in the ghetto will have been a reality. Jewish armed resistance and revenge are facts. I have been a witness to the magnificent, heroic fighting of Jewish men of battle.

M. Anielewicz

ANNA'S DILEMMA

What Would You Do?

Not all Germans supported the Nazi program. Some actively opposed it. Others were silent in their opposition. Some were put to the test.

Anna is a German citizen who lives with her husband, Wilhelm, and their three small children in a comfortable home in Munich, Germany. Munich in 1938 is a center of Nazi activity in Germany. Anna's husband is a high-ranking civil service employee and a member of the Nazi party. Wilhelm's high-paying job was a reward for his loyalty to the party. Although Anna leads a comfortable life and is happily married, she disagrees with the Nazi philosophy and her husband's party activities. She especially deplores the anti-Jewish laws and decrees that Hitler's government has imposed.

During her childhood Anna's family developed deep friendships with a number of Jewish families in their town, and Anna learned to respect their cultural and religious differences. By 1938, the Nuremberg Laws are in effect and Kristallnacht ("Night of Broken Glass") has recently occurred. Jews in Germany have systematically been stripped of their political, economic, and social rights. Some Jews are attempting to leave the country to avoid what they consider to be eventual catastrophe.

One night, a friend of Anna's approaches her and explains that he is secretly hiding Jews in Munich until he can find transportation for them to leave Germany. This is risky business because it is considered a racial crime against the Volk, German people. Anna's friend asks her to help him by hiding two members of a Jewish family who are wanted by the Nazis. He explains that because of Wilhelm's position, nobody would suspect Anna. Also, Anna's property includes a rarely used guest house located in a wooded corner. Anna is offered about 500 dollars for her cooperation.

Anna is aware that, if caught, she and her family could face serious consequences. Also, she could jeopardize her husband's good job and her family's security. On the other hand, she realizes that what the Nazis are doing to the Jews, with widespread public support, is morally wrong. She has long believed that those who remain silent when human rights are being violated are also guilty. Anna's friend tells her that he will come back the next morning for her decision.

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QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What values come into conflict in this story?
2. What is Anna's responsibility to her husband? Children? The Jews? The government? The law? Humanity? Which is greatest? Explain.
3. Should Anna agree to hide Jews?
4. How frequently do you think this kind of situation occurred? Why?
5. Who should be held more responsible, a person with high ideals who, on practical grounds, accepts the Nazi policies toward the Jews, or the person with no ideals who believes in being practical all the time and accepts Nazi policies toward the Jews? Explain.
6. Evaluate the following statement: "All that is necessary for evil to win out over good is for good people to do nothing." How does this relate to Anna's dilemma?

Source: Furman, Harry and Ken Tubertini. "Anna's Dilemma: What Would You Do?" *The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience—An Anthology for Students*. Harry Furman, ed. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983.

RESISTANCE IN CAMPS

Resistance was anything that contradicted Nazi objectives. Anything that eased pain or saved life, was resistance. There was a price to be paid for any resistance: Open conflict ran the risk of death for oneself and also for others. All decisions had to be made within this context. Perhaps the most painful issue for judgment concerns not the methods of resistance by tortured prisoners as much as the response of the rest of the world to their plight. Remember the victims had to contend with:

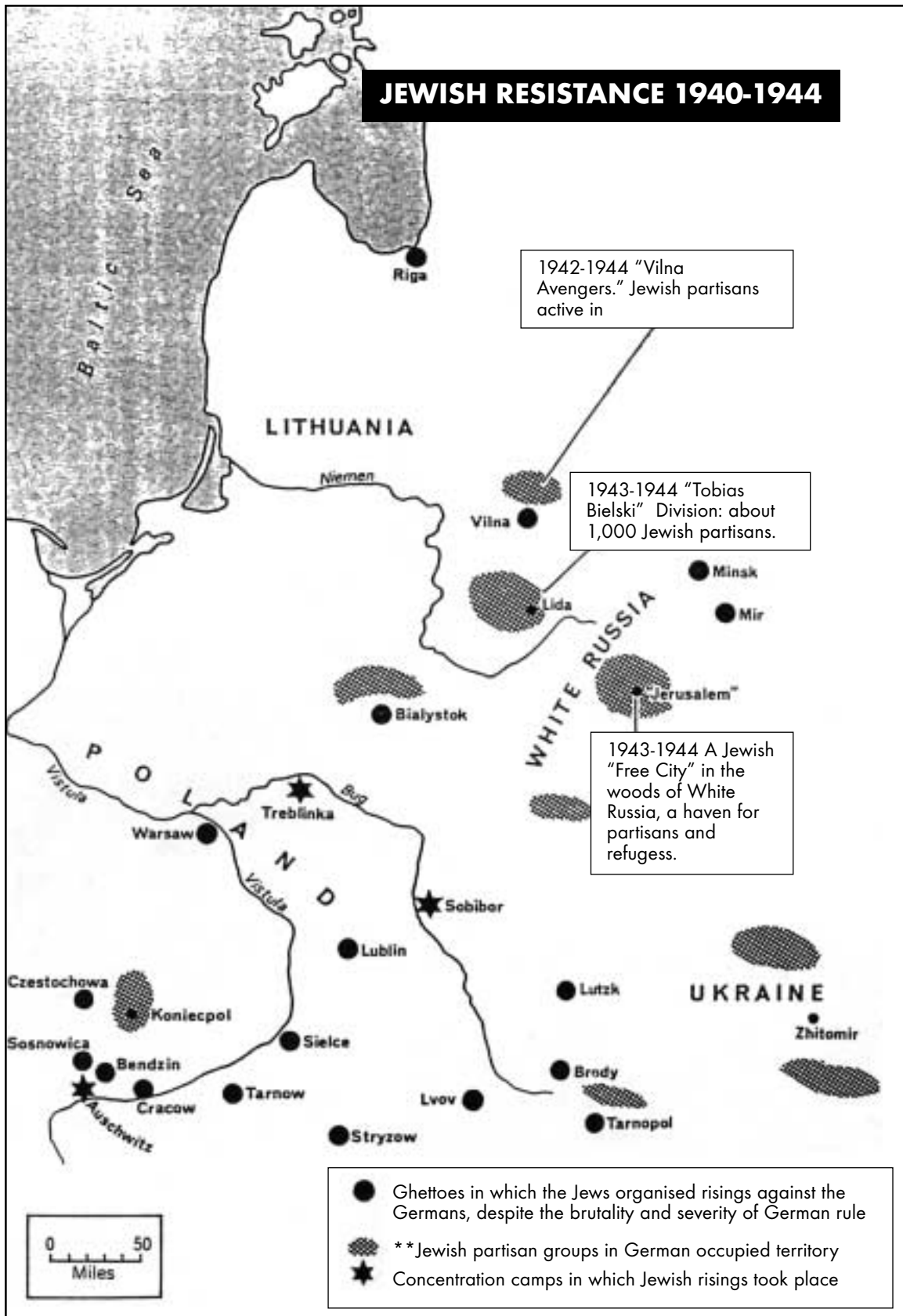
- (1) little access to weapons
- (2) no mobility
- (3) a process of physical and psychological torture designed to wear them down

And yet there was resistance; a great deal of it. There were two types: quiet, underground “guerrilla” resistance and the open, and often violent, armed conflict. There was a great deal of the first; and the second was to emerge in revolts in some of the major camps and ghettos and in the forests. All of these forms of camp resistance were designed to keep more people alive. It was assumed that those involved in resistance were to be especially protected. What occurred in the camps was not easy to comprehend—by seeming to go along with the process of death, inmates were able to save lives. Much of this is more fully discussed in Terrence Des Pres’, *The Survivor*.

1. There was massive smuggling from warehouses and supply rooms. Most labor in the camps was prison labor. Those working in key places could steal things like sardines, figs, fruit, salami, bacon, cake, bread to shirts, soap, and gloves—supplies intended for the Nazis. This was all done at great risk—but it was done. (“Canada” was a major detail for smuggling).
2. There was smuggling from the medical block. Medicines were stolen, names were jockeyed, symptoms were lied about, people were “submerged” in typhus wards.
3. Bank notes were stolen and used as toilet paper.
4. Letters were passed from one camp to another to maintain communication and contacts.
5. Members of the same family were reunited when possible.
6. Cooperatives were formed in the camp to pool resources.
7. Tools were made. For example, a needle could be made by using a smashed light bulb to form a hole in a fishbone.
8. People lied about their abilities. One tried to avoid “general work assignment” which ran the greatest risk of death.
9. An entire system of mimicry of SS methods was used to prevent SS aims. Prisoners protected others from certain death by identification with SS methods. Prisoner “A” would be left with Prisoner “B,” whom the SS was convinced would continue to beat and abuse Prisoner “A.” Instead, Prisoner “B” saved the other prisoner.
10. Crates of food were accidentally dropped and reported as “shipment damage,” and often smuggled out of the garbage to the prisoners.
11. Locksmiths, who had special authority to go anywhere in the camp, were useful in keeping contacts with various resistance groups.
12. Inmates took advantage of work assigned:
 - (a) In the Orderly Room, one could secretly retouch files, reassign barracks, rearrange ration distribution.
 - (b) In “Labor Records,” people were scratched off the list for death shipments.
 - (c) In “Camp Police,” discipline was camouflaged.
13. There was the quiet sabotage of slackened work, faulty planning, and poor performance. The issue of whether to be a good worker was a major one.
14. Through bribery of SS guards, children could be saved from the gas chambers.
15. Those who worked as messengers, typists, and file clerks kept tabs on death lists, transports, and SS policy shifts, and notified resistance leaders.
16. Particularly bad Kapos could mysteriously disappear. They were set upon at night, beaten, and thrown in the cesspool where they were found days later.
17. Sick people could be smuggled into “Canada” to hide among the clothing for needed rest.
18. Those who would fall in roll call (certain death) would be propped up on both sides by fellow inmates.
19. Weaker prisoners were reassigned or helped in heavy labor.
20. There were innumerable cases of one inmate giving food to another.

DEFINITION

Canada: building where inmates’ belongings were stored.



Source: Furman, Harry, ed. "Resistance in the Camps." *The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience—An Anthology for Students*. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983.

THE JUDENRAT GOVERNMENT

Bea Stadler

As early as 1939, the Reich Security Main Office, headed by SS Reinhard Heydrich, established regulations regarding the treatment of Jews in occupied areas of Poland. Using the excuse that Jews were active in looting, all Jews living in small rural areas were transferred to large cities in which ghettos were organized.

Ghettos were first created during the Middle Ages. Yet those first ghettos had begun as a strategy for survival since Jews needed to defend themselves. Later, the Church would make the voluntary ghetto a requirement for all Jews. But, even then, Jews could leave the ghetto during the day; no such freedom would exist in the new Nazi Ghettos.

Most Jewish communities were led by Jewish councils, called *Kehillot* in Hebrew (singular: *Kehilla*). Under the Nazis, the *Kehilla* became the *Judenrat*. The function of the *Judenrat* was to carry out the orders of the Nazi officials, e.g. transferring of Jews from the rural areas; providing food and housing in the ghettos; keeping accurate records of the number of Jews in the ghetto according to age, sex, and occupation; and eventually, selecting those Jews who were to be “resettled.” In Warsaw, *Judenrat* “decisions” were enforced by Nazi-appointed Jewish police led first by Josef Szerynski, a convert to Christianity and a vicious anti-Semite. Their actions were also supported by detachments of Ukrainians, Latvians, and Lithuanians.

The functions of the *Judenrat* presented many very difficult moral decisions. Jews argued among themselves about whether to accept ghettoization, the distribution of ration cards, and “resettlement.” The *Judenrat* seemed to give them some control over their destiny and yet in reality *it had no power to change the kinds of orders that it had to enforce*. Refusal to carry out Nazi orders resulted in severe punishment. The cruelty involved in forcing Jews to participate in the selection for their own “resettlement” was a conscious act on the part of the Nazis, designed to degrade Jewish officials by making them accomplices to the “Final Solution.” When faced with these difficult decisions, Jewish leaders reacted in different ways.

In the following reading, author Bea Stadler presents several cases in which *Judenrat* officials made incredibly difficult choices, choices that meant not only life or death for themselves but also affected their families and other Jews in the ghetto.

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We know the saying “Do not judge your neighbor until you have been in his shoes.” Probably as you watch a film, or view TV, you think about how you would feel and act if you were the hero or the victim. Would you be brave? Or would you really be a coward? Immediately, of course, you answer—you would be brave. But in the secret hiding place of your heart you are not so sure.

It is not often easy to be brave. Sometimes we are surprised by the criminal, and we don't think of being brave—just give him money and get it over with. Sometimes the crime begins as something very small, and every few days additional elements are added, until it becomes a very large and horrible crime.

These Jews [heads of the community, called the *Judenrat*] were placed in the position of choosing who would remain alive—at least for the moment. It is not easy to be appointed to a position of power and

leadership when that power is only for the death of your own people.

In Warsaw, Poland, Adam Czerniakow was appointed head of the Jewish Council. He had been born in Poland in 1880, into an educated, middle-class family. Although he received a degree in chemical engineering, he did not become successful as an engineer. He did become a successful teacher in a vocational school...

When the Germans appointed him to head the *Kehilla* or community, they ordered him to set up a council of 24 elders—the *Judenrat*. Most of the people he appointed tried to get out of serving, but Czerniakow pleaded with them, and finally they accepted positions on the council.

Czerniakow...was caught between the Germans' impossible demands and the struggle to ease the terrible restrictions on his people. He was blamed for

everything that went wrong in the Ghetto.

One day, for no apparent reason, Nazi soldiers broke into his office, beat him, kicked him, and threw him down the stairs, and then took him to jail. As he discovered more about the evil intentions of the Nazis, he began carrying poison with him.

Just before he died, he wrote: "Because employees of the Judenrat and their families are not being deported yet, I have asked that the craftsmen and garbage collectors also not be deported..."

On July 23, 1942, the Nazis came to him to sign the mass deportation order that would send the Jews of the ghetto to their death in the concentration camps. He refused to sign, choosing instead to commit suicide. He left a note for his colleagues which begged them not to think of him as a coward. "I am helpless, my heart breaks from pain and pity. I can no longer stand this..."

Ugo Foa, in the Rome Ghetto, kept reassuring the Jews of Rome that they were safe. The Nazis promised protection for the Jews of the ancient city, living in the shadow of the Pope. But the Pope was more concerned with the possibility that the Italians might become Communists than he was about the murder of the Jews. Though Foa was warned about the deportations and gas chambers, he kept telling himself and others that the Jews of the Holy City of Rome would be spared.

Important Jews in the community begged Foa to destroy the lists of the thousands of Jews who lived in Rome. He refused to do so. On a Sabbath day, October 16, 1943, the Nazis, aided by the lists that they had taken from Foa's office, rounded up the Jews of Rome and deported them.

Chaim Rumkowski of the Lodz Ghetto was different. It is believed that he sought the leadership of the ghetto, so that he would have power and be important. Through this power, he thought he could gain wealth, and people would look up to him. But

this was at the expense of other Jews in the Lodz Ghetto. He was a great organizer, though, and organized workshops, hospitals, and schools. Rumkowski had a sincere liking for little children which, however, did not stop him from leading them to the railroad station to certain death...

He became very dramatic wearing a long cloak and shining boots, carrying a cane, and always insisting that a gray horse draw his carriage. He permitted no opposition, and allowed no negative or critical writings. He was considered an evil and terrible dictator by those poor Jews of the ghetto. However his ghetto was the best organized and most productive of all the ghettos. Because of this the Lodz Ghetto was the last to be destroyed...When his usefulness to the Nazis was over, he was sent to the gas chamber along with the rest of the Jews of Lodz.

Another leader of a smaller Jewish community was shot because he refused to hand over children, sick, and aged people to the Nazis. "I am no master over human life," he told the Nazis, "I will not give you Jews." In another community, the Nazis demanded that both Jews and non-Jews fulfill a quota for a supposed act of sabotage against them. The non-Jews supplied the quota, but the Jewish leader refused, saying "you may take me away, but I am not going to deliver innocent people to their death." He was killed. Many leaders resigned and were killed by the Nazis because they refused to be tools in the hands of the killers.

One desperate leader said: "I must select people for deportation for gassing. If I refuse I'll be shot. This would be the simplest solution for me. But then what happens? The Nazis have said if I die, they will make the selections. That would mean the rabbis, scholars, poets would go in the oven first...I no longer enjoy being alive. If you know a better way than the one I have found, show it to me, and if you don't, tell me: shall I stay or shall I have myself shot?"

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QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why did the Nazis organize the Judenrat? What advantages did it have for them? Were there any advantages for the Jews? Explain.
2. Why did the Judenrat pose serious moral dilemmas for the Jewish leaders? What were some of these dilemmas? Why would Jews agree to serve on the Judenrat?
3. In February 1940, Adam Czerniakow was offered a certificate to go to Palestine. He refused to leave and was very angry at those leaders who decided to leave the ghetto. How do you react to this?
4. Evaluate each of the leaders' decisions discussed in the reading. Which do you consider to have displayed courage? Cowardice? Explain. Is courage necessary for effective leadership? Explain.
5. The Jewish Police were actually known as the "Order Service." What does this title tell you about their function?

DEFINITIONS

- Ghettos:** areas of large cities in which Jews were forced to live
- Deportation:** Nazi process of transporting Jews to the death camps

Source: Stadter, Bea. "The Judenrat Government." *The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience—An Anthology for Students*. Harry Furman, ed. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983.

THE WARSAW GHETTO

Bea Stadler

The largest of all the ghettos created by the Nazis was in Warsaw. Over 400,000 Jews were eventually confined to an area of just over one square mile. The ghetto was an environment of lingering death. Food was restricted to those with ration cards and was very limited. Many people starved to death. Sanitation facilities were poor, and typhoid became a major problem. It was almost impossible to maintain a normal program of cleanliness. Corpses lay in the street until they were picked up in lorries and buried in the Jewish cemetery outside the ghetto. Later the Nazis would argue that they were killing dirty people who carried infection with them; people became a “hygienic” problem in the mind of the Nazis. Yet, as Bea Stadler shows us, in the midst of such degradation and deprivation, the spirit of Jewish life continued. Faith in the future was maintained as illegally operated schools as well as theater, music, and the arts flourished.

That faith continued—until the very end.

In 1940 a Jewish ghetto was established in Warsaw and a brick wall built around it. The wall was to keep the Jews inside the ghetto and all others out. The wall enclosed approximately 840 acres...[which] is about one and a third miles square or 24 square blocks. Into this area, where about 160,000 people were originally, somewhere between 330,000 and 500,000 Jews were now forced to live.

Jews were forced to leave homes in other parts of the city and to move into the ghetto. They had no wagons to move furniture and clothing and so took only what they could carry on their backs or in hand-wagons or baby buggies. Often three and four families were forced to live together in one room.

The Germans did not provide enough food for even half the number of people in the ghetto. The bowl of soup that was eaten was sometimes boiled from straw. It was forbidden to bring food into the ghetto and though some small amounts were smuggled in, many Jews starved to death...

Because they were made to live in such crowded conditions, the terrible disease, typhoid, began to spread. There was little water and it was not fit for drinking. Sanitary conditions were very poor. Many Jews in the ghetto died from typhoid, and most were sickened through weakness.

Life was bitter. A few Jews exploited other Jews, a handful thought they would save their lives by working with the Germans, but most of the Jews behaved in a humane fashion, and many even heroically.

Emanuel Ringelblum, the historian, speaks in his diary of attempts to grow food for the ghetto. Zionist

youth organizations...tried to plant vegetables on tiny patches of land. Small gardens were planted on the places where houses had been burned down. Vegetables were grown on balconies and even rooftops.

In spite of all the filth and starvation, some of the leaders tried to raise the low spirits of the inhabitants of the ghetto. Although schools for children were forbidden, they existed underground on all levels. In back rooms, on long benches, near a table, schoolchildren sat and learned. In time of danger, the children learned to hide their books under their clothes. There were classes and lectures for adults. There were also lectures and classes for medical students; laboratories were established. Theater groups performed plays in Yiddish right up until the time the ghetto was destroyed. Artists, musicians, and writers in the ghetto were encouraged.

Chaim Kaplan writes, “The idea that all Jews are responsible for each other has stopped being merely a slogan. ‘Courtyard committees’ have been set up and are taking care of all the residents of the courtyard, even middle-class and wealthy ones. They established food kitchens and a permanent fund for soup kitchens...”

Kaplan even tells in his diary how Hanukkah was celebrated in 1940. Hanukkah parties were held in every courtyard. “We arranged a celebration in our courtyard for which we charged, and then gave the proceeds toward feeding the poor in our courtyard...”

Kaplan wrote, “there is even dancing, although

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the stomach is empty. It is almost a mitzvah to dance. The more one dances, the more it is a sign of his belief in the 'eternity of Israel.' Every dance is a protest against our oppressors."

Kaplan felt that the residents of the ghetto tried their best to assist fellow Jews in misfortune. There was a Self-Aid organization that raised half a million zlotys to support the needy....

The Nazi idea of having a little fun was to come into the ghetto to beat up old people, shoot children, and help themselves to anything they wanted. But a time came when Germans dared not come within the ghetto walls, except in large groups, armed with machine guns....

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What was life like for the majority of those living in the Warsaw ghetto?
2. Do you agree with Chaim Kaplan that "every dance is a protest against our oppressors"?
2. When Blacks were enslaved in the United States, did they react to their situation in a similar way? In a different way? Explain.

CAMPO DEI FIORI

Milosz Czeslaw

*In Rome, on Campo dei Fiori,
baskets of olives and lemons
cobblestones spattered with wine
and the wreckage of flowers.
Vendors cover the trestles
with rose-pink fish;
armfuls of dark grapes
heaped on peach-down.*

*On this same square
they burned Giordano Bruno.
Henchmen kindled the pyre
close-pressed by the mob.
Before the flames had died
the taverns were full again,
baskets of olives and lemons
again on the vendors' shoulders.*

*I thought of Campo dei Fiori
In Warsaw by the sky-carousel
one clear spring evening
to the strains of a carnival tune.
The bright melody drowned
the salvos from the ghetto wall
and couples were flying
High in the blue sky.*

*At times wind from the burning
would drift dark kites along
and riders on the carousel
caught petals in midair.
That same hot wind
blew open the skirts of the girls
and the crowds were laughing
on the beautiful Warsaw Sunday.*

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REVOLT IN LACHWA

*Aaron Schworin, Chaim Shkliar,
Abraham Feinberg, Chaim Michali*

This is a true story about the Jews of the Lachwa Ghetto in Byelorussia and their refusal to die passively. Even in the face of death, members of the ghetto remained concerned about the lives of the elderly and the very young. In that particular ghetto, the local Judenrat actively took part in the uprising. It is also an example, like the famous Warsaw Ghetto uprising in 1943, of violent resistance.

Lachwa had a community of 2,000 Jews. With the outbreak of World War II, on September 1, 1939, the Jewish population of Lachwa increased by 40 percent. Jewish refugees from the German occupied areas fled to Lachwa, which was already in the Soviet zone. The native Jews lived side by side with the new arrivals. In the summer of 1941, when the German-Soviet war broke out, only a small percentage of the population saved itself by fleeing deeper inland. The majority, however, remained and fell into the hands of the Germans.

The Germans occupied Lachwa on July 8, 1941, and the persecution of the Jews began at once. For this the Germans found devoted helpers among the native Byelorussians, who joined the police force, put on white armbands, and strutted arrogantly through the streets with rubber truncheons in their hands shouting, "Your time has come, Jews!"

On the eve of Passover, April 1942, the Jews were herded into a ghetto, which consisted of two small streets. It was terribly crowded. The ghetto was surrounded by a barbed wire fence and guarded by local police and patrols of the German Wehrmacht.

A large section of the native population viewed with satisfaction the misfortune of the Jews and looked forward to their annihilation so that they could satisfy their lust for looting. But there were also some elderly peasants who took in the Jewish possessions for safekeeping and later returned them to the surviving Jews.

The ghetto did not exist long. Together with other ghettos in nearby towns, the Lachwa Ghetto was to be liquidated in 1942. But in Lachwa it happened differently.

All the towns in the vicinity of Lachwa had already been made Judenrein. The Jews of Lachwa felt that their days, too, were numbered. The youth began to organize itself for resistance, but despite all efforts it was impossible to obtain weapons. Still the ghetto was determined not to allow itself to be driven

to the slaughter like sheep. At the head of the resistance group was Yitzchok Rochtchin. Preparations were made to meet the murderers with axes, hammers—with anything that could deliver a deathblow.

On August 2, 1942, the Germans ordered peasants to dig a pit at the outskirts of town, fifty meters long and four meters wide. On the night of August 3, the lookouts posted by the ghetto committee noticed an increase in the number of native police that surrounded the ghetto, on all sides. The news was quickly spread throughout the ghetto, and the people began to gather near the gate that led to the square.

Shooting was heard continuously from the direction of Nohorodek, a town six kilometers from Lachwa, where the Germans were liquidating the last survivors of the ghetto. In this tragic moment a heated discussion arose among the assembled Jews on how to resist the criminals. The proposal of the youth was that the entire mass attack the Germans at once, storm the gates and the barbed wire fence, and escape to the swamps of the Pripet. But the idea was abandoned because of the concern for the old, women, and children who would not have enough strength to flee from their pursuers. Family sentiment conquered logic. The nightmarish prospect of abandoning one's dearest relatives to the Nazis made one relinquish the luring possibility of one's own survival.

At eight in the morning, while the excited populace was still debating, five truckloads of SS men arrived. They were the same liquidation commandos that carried out the annihilation of tens of thousands of Jews in Polesia. They leisurely sat down to eat. They had not had a bite of food in six hours because they were busy liquidating the Jews of Nohorodek and Luniniece.

When several members of the ghetto committee, the Judenrat, approached the Germans and asked

why they had come here, they replied calmly that they came to liquidate the Jews of the Lachwa Ghetto, and added, "But we decided to let thirty of you live, including the members of the Committee and about three to four people of every useful trade...And now 'be so kind' and ask the gathering to go back home and wait there until we call for them..."

At this, Dov Lopatin, president of the ghetto committee, cried out, "You will not murder us piecemeal! Either we all live, or we all die!"

At this moment the SS men entered the ghetto and ordered everyone to line up. Instead, the Jews ran to their houses and set them on fire. Dov Lopatin was the first to apply the torch to the headquarters of the Judenrat. Soon all the others followed his example. Smoke and flames shot up in the air. A panic arose among the SS. They fired into the crowd. The first victims fell. They were Abraham Slutski and Israel Drepski.

Yitzchok Rochtchin attacked the SS chief with an ax. The SS officer fell to the ground, covered with blood. Having no way out Rochtchin jumped into the nearby river. He was struck down by a bullet. At the same time another SS man was felled at the gate by

Chaim Cheiffetz and the brothers Asher and Moshe-Leib Cheiffetz. Still another German fell at the hands of Moshe Klopnitzki.

Now the crowd was aroused and stormed the ghetto gate. Those who were able to run did, leaving behind a flaming ghetto. They were pursued and shot at. Many fell. The town was littered with corpses. People ran with their last ounce of strength to the forests near the river Pripet, hoping to find a haven there. Of the 2,000 Jews, about 600 managed to reach their destination. But the police and the Byelorussians of that region, who pursued them, murdered most of them brutally. The forester Polin with his own hands shot about 200 Jews.

The Germans succeeded in leading to the grave only a few, because young and old alike ran. They would rather die from a bullet while running than be led to the grave.

Several days later 120 Lachwa Jews gathered in the Chobot forest, about twenty kilometers from town, and joined the partisans, fighting side by side with them, and later with the Red Army, thus taking revenge for their beloved ones.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why did the Germans want "helpers" from the native population?
2. How do you feel about using force to combat violence? Explain.
3. Was there any other way for the people of Lachwa to respond?
4. Do you think it was right to change the escape plans for the sake of the elders and children? Explain.
5. Historian Yehuda Bauer reports that in late 1941, a resistance group led by Yaakov Segalchik and Leib Mintzel was formed in Dolhynov, a small Byelorussian town with 3,000 Jews. They were caught by Byelorussian police and Germans and were tortured. They then escaped from their prison cells into the ghetto. The next day, the local Judenrat leader was told by the Nazis that all of Dolhynov's Jews would be killed unless Segalchik and Mintzel gave themselves up. What should the two resisters have done? You should know that two days later, 1,540 Dolhynov Jews were slaughtered with the help of the local non-Jewish population.

DEFINITIONS

- Byelorussians:** inhabitants of former White Russia, an area bordering on Poland, Latvia, and Lithuania, which includes the Pripet Mar
- Judenrein:** territory where no Jews may

SONG OF THE PARTISANS

Hirsch Glick

Hirsh Glick, a Polish Jew in the Vilna Ghetto, wrote the “Song of the Partisans” in Yiddish in 1943 after the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. It spread to all concentration camps. By the war’s end, it was sung by Jews the world over.

○ never say that you have come to your journey’s end,
When days turn black, and clouds upon our world descend.
Believe the dark will lift, and freedom yet appear.
Our marching feet will tell the world that we are here.

The dawn will break, our world will yet emerge in light,
Our agony will pass and vanish as the night.
But if our hoped for rescue should arrive too late
These lines will tell the world the drama that was played.

No poet’s playful muse has turned my pen to write,
I wrote this song amidst the anguish of our plight.
We sang it as we watched the flames destroy our world,
Our song is a banner of defiance we unfurled.

O never say that you have come to your journey’s end,
When days turn black, and clouds upon our world descend.
Believe the dark will lift, and freedom yet appear.
Our marching feet will tell the world that we are here.

(Translated by Ben Zion Bokser)

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QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How do you respond to revenge as a motive for survival?
2. Inspirational songs written by oppressed people have been common in history. What does this tell us about the will of the oppressed? Can you think of other songs that have encouraged the oppressed to overcome their plight?

Source: Glick, Hirsh “Song of the Partisans.” *The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience—An Anthology for Students*. Harry Furman, ed. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983.

THE TREBLINKA REVOLT

Michael Elkins

As the “final solution” became the clear policy of the Nazis, prisoners in the death camps turned to more violent types of resistance. Despite the difficulty of planning a successful revolt, the *Sonderkommando* at Auschwitz blew up one of the crematoria. Hundreds of prisoners escaped from the death camp at Sobibor in a violent revolt. And, at Treblinka, prisoners led by Judah Klein and several others revolted in August 1943. Klein was a Warsaw wigmaker who had made sheytls (wigs) for Orthodox Jewish women. When Klein came to Treblinka, he wanted to commit suicide. But influenced by one dedicated man, Klein chose to become part of a plot intended to destroy the camp. That revolt is described graphically in this selection from *Forged in Fury* by Michael Elkins.

The Treblinka revolt required strong leadership, carefully collected weapons, and, most of all, patience in planning. This patience would extend even to allowing the uprising’s leader to die in the gas chambers rather than to revolt prematurely. The following reading indicates the difficulty of planning such a revolt as well as the immense odds against the prisoners. Students can judge for themselves the value of such revolts.

The plan for a mass escape from Treblinka began with one of the “permanent” inmates, Dr. Julian Chorazyski. Chorazyski was a surgeon, a former captain in the medical corps of the Polish army; a tough man, with that rare cartilaginous tenacity that is a quality of mind that has nothing to do with the muscles of the body. So that when Judah Klein met him—though five months in Treblinka had worn the doctor down to a shambling, big-boned skeleton in a sack of graying skin—the toughness was still there, limitless.

The meeting occurred three days after Judah’s arrival at the camp, and the circumstances—in any other time and place—might have been considered unusual. Judah was trying to kill himself...So he sat down in a corner of the barracks and sawed away at the veins in his wrist with a piece of rusty tin.

Chorazyski squatted down beside Judah and whispered to him: “You’re doing it wrong. I’m a doctor and I know, you’ll never get it done that way.”

Picture it! The two creatures crouched on the filthy floor, one trying with trembling fingers to let his life out through his veins and the other—a doctor—telling him gently how to go about it, until the one gives the piece of tin to the other and says—“Here, please, help me. Do it for me.”

“Me?” says Chorazyski. “Why should I help you? You don’t help anyone. What will you do for me?”

Judah looks up at him, and begins fumbling at the laces of his worn shoes. “I’ll give you my shoes; please, you can have my clothes.”

“I don’t want your clothes. I’ll tell you what I want, I want a German. You can give me a German.

Listen, I’ll explain it to you. You want to die, it’s a good idea. Go out and jump on a German, fasten your teeth in his throat and tear out his jugular vein, put out his eyes with your thumbs.

“With luck you’ll kill him for us and for those he’s killed. You want to die? Good, take one with you.”

For a moment, Judah stares, then he gets up and starts for the door, and he’s changed, now, now he belongs to Chorazyski. The doctor goes with him, an arm around the little man’s shoulders. And just inside the door, “Wait a minute. You want to kill a German? Why only one? Wait a little bit longer,” Chorazyski whispers, “and I’ll show you how to kill a lot of them. Only wait a little bit.”

The waiting took a year; but Judah Klein was no longer a man alone thinking only of himself and with only guilt and self-hate to keep him company. Now he had a friend, and others besides himself to hate, and with these—a man can wait...

For the year that it was planned and prepared, the Treblinka revolt depended on half a dozen men. There were Dr. Julian Chorazyski; Dr. Marius Leichert, like Chorazyski a former Polish army officer; Samuel Rajzman and Yosef Gross, who were machinists; a maintenance electrician named Eliyahu Grinsbach; and Judah Klein....

The difficulties were incredible. Though Treblinka was a small camp, so many thousands of Jews were being processed to death there that the Germans maintained a relatively large guard detachment. The German and Ukrainian personnel totaled seven hundred men and thirty Helferinnen,

the SS women's auxiliaries. There were twelve killer dogs. It was clear that the conspirators could hope for, but not really count on, support from whatever thousands of Jews might be en route from the freight cars to the gas chambers at the moment the revolt burst. But these transients were always in a state of such catatonic terror during their brief journey through the barbed-wire corridors from their arrival to their death that they were an unpredictable factor. So the only dependable allies were to be found among the seven hundred of the "steady" inmate population. That made a rough numerical equality between those who might join the revolt and those who would crush it. Seven hundred diseased and starving Jews penned behind double rows of barbed wire against seven hundred SS men trained as a military force, armed with pistols, rifles, machine guns, grenades. Assuming some Jews got past the guards and through the wire, there was the leveled and scorched earth that stretched in a perimeter four hundred yards deep all around the camp; they had this to cross with the machine guns in the guard towers at their backs before they reached the sheltering forest. And the forest—miles of swamp and underbrush, with no paths that they knew and no food they could get. And all of it in the rear echelon areas of the German army.

Under such circumstances, to hope for the success of the revolt would have been a manic fantasy...What they did hope for—and even this was wildly optimistic—was, as Chorazyski put it to Judah Klein, "to kill a lot" of Germans. From the nature of the preparations that they made, it seems clear that *killing* was the aim. They made little effort to collect civilian clothes, or to forge identity papers, though these were vital if they were to pass among the Polish population outside the camp. What they did in their year of preparation was to collect weapons and, slowly and with great caution, to sound out the people who might use them. The men who cleaned the camp saved every scrap of metal they found and passed it on. Dud bullets and ejected cartridge cases were stolen from the SS target range. The powder was taken from the defective bullets and packed with the cartridge cases and other scraps into hoarded tin cans, fused with bits of cloth. These, hopefully, became bombs. Knives were fashioned out of other metal garbage and surreptitiously honed to some kind of edge by scraping them for hours on bits of stone. In the hair factory, Judah Klein plaited short strangling nooses, and longer ropes tipped with stones. They made blackjacks by stuffing stones into small cloth sacks. All of these had to be hidden from the guards, buried under ground, hung into the fecal mess of the latrines. They agonized over the fear of informers, they sweated blood during the flash searches of the camp. Little by little, the hoard of

"weapons" grew, and they shut their eyes to the fact that it all amounted to nothing.

Then, in July 1943, Arbeitsfuhrer Carl Gustav Farfi—the labor boss of Treblinka—came down with a case of bleeding hemorrhoids and this ridiculous happenstance took on the aspect of a miracle.

Farfi was...an ignorant and superstitious man. An old-line Nazi, stuffed full with all the racial abracadabra of his kind, Farfi nonetheless clung to his medieval idea that the Jew—by virtue of his Jewishness—had certain special talents, and among these the gift of healing. So that when pain came in this particular fashion to this stupid butchering Untermensch he took his embarrassing troubles not to the SS doctors, but to the Jew—Dr. Julian Chorazyski.

Farfi made all the arrangements, and there he was—on the bright summer's day—stretched out on his stomach, his fat buttocks bare, on a table pulled close to the sunlit window, with his trousers draped over a chair and a key to the iron door of the arms arsenal in his pocket, and his eyes clamped shut against the terrifying sight of the scalpels and the hypodermic needles. It all went well. Chorazyski covered his patient's head and upper body with a sheet—important to keep things sterile, you know—slid the novacaine into Farfi's behind, and moved around with a great clattering of the frightening instruments while he slipped the keys from Farfi's trousers and tossed them to Yosef Gross who came wandering past the window at the properly planned moment. It was perhaps the longest hemorrhoid operation in history; long enough for Gross, the machinist, to go and file a duplicate key out of a scrap of brass and get the original back to Chorazyski before Farfi was permitted to raise his head and wipe the tears from his eyes.

So now they had a key; and weapons, real weapons, were within their reach. The miracle had happened, but there was a sting in it. The next day, there was a selection for the gas chambers and Dr. Julian Chorazyski was taken to his death. No one really knows whether Farfi arranged this, fearing the word would get around that he had gone to a Jewish doctor...

For a flashing instant, it seemed the revolt would be born...But Chorazyski put a restraining hand on Judah Klein's arm and shook his head at the others who moved to group about him. Clearly this unprepared, unarmed moment was not the time. So Chorazyski, who was a fighting man, went in this way and for this reason submissively to his death.

The leader was gone. They had paid for their miracle.

There were forty of them in the plot by then, and the loss of Chorazyski nearly broke them. He had

recruited each of them; he had been for them iron and rock and father and friend... These men in Treblinka were not normal. They were sick, starved, they stumbled when they walked, their minds quivered on the edge of madness. It was Judah Klein and Marius Leichert who found the strength to pull the group together again. Judah out of the hate that drove him, and Leichert because he had something of Chorazyski's iron in him...

They decided to stage the revolt when the Germans brought in the next transport of Jews to be executed, and they revised their plans to fit the fact that they now had a chance at getting weapons.... So it was decided that Leichert and four others would sneak into the arsenal just before the revolt was to start and be ready to hand guns and grenades to the Jews who would rush to the arsenal when the signal was given. Leichert's group would then remain in the concrete blockhouse and hold it against the off-duty SS men who would undoubtedly run there to arm themselves when the revolt broke out. This meant that as long as the Jews held the arsenal, the Germans would be compelled to concentrate substantial forces against them; it also meant that the five men would certainly be killed...

It was decided that Yosef Gross, who as a maintenance worker had more freedom of movement than most, would touch off the revolt. He would be given a couple of hand grenades and would get down to the railroad junction and throw them at the guards who massed there when a transport came in. He was to wait for the critical moment when the Jews were out of the freight cars and the guards were busy driving them to the gas chambers. The explosion of Gross's grenades would be the signal for the revolt. In the hair factory, Klein and his men would start to kill the guards and call on the other Jews working there to join them. Samuel Rajzman and his group would do the same at the rockcrushing plant. Others were to rush the perimeter fence and try to blow up the guard towers just beyond with homemade bombs; still others would try to tear down the fence in as many places as possible; the sonderkommandos would attack the SS men within the gas-chamber compound. Each of the groups was to mobilize as many of the Jews as would join them, as the revolt broke, for the specific task assigned to each group. The idea was to keep going, in an explosion of speed and violence, to do as much damage and, as much killing as possible, and to keep moving, those who could get out of the camp to head for the woods beyond; and beyond that, there was no plan...

August 2, 1943, and the seven hundred inmates of the Treblinka camp up, as always, in the first thin flicker of dawn and out of the barracks for the morning Appell:...And among the seven hundred,

there were forty men who stood like rock, desperately careful to catch no guard's eyes.

The hours dragged, and it was noon; it was one o'clock; it was two; it was three fifteen...Twenty feet from the tower, Yosef Gross kept his head down and tried to make himself invisible...as Kurt Franz passed by, the black dog panting at his side and slavering in the heat. SS Obersturmbannführer Kurt Franz, commandant of Treblinka, the Knight's Cross of Gold gleaming on the black uniform, the death's head like bleached bone on the black cap, the face beneath it blond, open, innocent as a medieval choirboy, reflecting nothing of the maniac who took young Jewish girls to his bed and strangled them at the moment of his orgasm and stuffed the naked bodies under his bed until morning, or, sometimes, until the festering corpses swelled and stank. Gross watched the commandant pass and swore to kill him before the day was out...

It was three thirty now, and looking down from the depot at Treblinka one could see the line of smoke advancing from the horizon...

Suddenly the rusting locomotive was there; behind it, the twenty boxcars, the wooden walls of each containing—crushing in on—two hundred parched, starving, and bewildered Jews, four thousand frightened Jews in twenty filthy freight cars. It began then, all at once: the harsh shouted guttural German commands the doors slamming open the Jews bulging out spilling out the hard hands throwing them on their way, the clubs beating them into the barbed-wire corridor the first hundred already driven past the compound and into the brick building that housed the gas chambers. And then, too soon, Yosef Gross forgot it all, forgot that he was to wait until the gas chambers were full and the corridors full and the guards strung the whole length of the six hundred yards between the depot and the gas chambers. Gross didn't wait, couldn't wait. He came whirling away from the pylon, tearing the grenades out of his shirt, the first one to blow apart the tower guard and send the machine gun hurtling down; the second grenade thrown at Kurt Franz, killing the six SS men near him and wounding Dr. Mitter, but missing Franz. And then Gross, screaming, flinging himself like a dog at Franz's throat, tearing at him like a dog; but a real dog was there, Franz's dog, and Gross was down and dead, the blood bubbling out of the hole where his face had been.

The Treblinka revolt had begun!

All over the camp, guards and inmates stood fixed in the one instant of paralysis at the crash of the first grenade. Then it began and by the time the second explosion came they were already in movement, the fighting gaining speed and space, spreading like a landslide...Judah Klein flung himself

backward from the bench of the loom, rolling like a cat, and up with the strangler's cord of hair taut between his hands and on to the back of the guard, tripped and down with two of the others trying to kill him and the noose hissing beneath his head, biting into his neck as Judah thrust his hands across and heaved upward, the snap of bone clean and sharp, Judah up and away, pausing to rip the guard's pistol from his holster, that instant saving him as another guard came in the doorway, his machine pistol swung in a stuttering arc that killed four men before Judah had the gun and cut him down. . . . Elsewhere in the hair factory, other guards died, blinded by hair blankets flung over their heads and beaten to death, strangled by the hair nooses, thrown through the second-floor windows to the ground below and kicked to death when the men came rushing out into the yard...Marius Leichert tore out of the clinic courtyard, leaving a guard behind him screaming, his hands fluttering at his face where Leichert's terrible rake had clawed out his eyes and ripped off the flesh; Leichert and his men away, racing for the arsenal, to be thrown off their feet as the wall of the guard's barracks was blown apart when the two Jews who cleaned there hurled their grenades in among the sleeping SS men. Leichert came up, clutching his broken shoulder, and, was off again, the others behind him, in a stumbling run; a frantic second with the key rattling in the lock of the iron door and they were in the arsenal, ripping the guns from the racks as Samuel Rajzman and his men, those that were left of them, the first away, came tearing in shouting for guns, screaming for guns... Eighty Jews were down and dead already in the packed mass of the gas-chamber compound and the men of the sonderkommandos had killed seven guards and were tearing themselves to bits on the cruel barbs of the fences, trying to get out of the sight of the SS man on the roof of the building who was up there with a submachine gun knocking them over as though they were wooden ducks at a target range...In the fenced corridor from the railroad siding to the gas chambers, at the railroad depot itself, the four thousand Jews who had just arrived were a seething, screaming, hysterical mob of men and women and children, trampling each other underfoot, some of them fighting to get back into the freight cars, clawing for shelter under the train, trying to get away from the searching leaden hail that tore their lives out, that smashed through body

and brain and bone...The main gate was down already, blown by the grenades of the three men who had this job, and two hundred of the Treblinka Jews had rushed the broken gate, most of them to pile up in a heaving clump of dead and dying, trapped in the cross fire of two machine guns the skilled and disciplined SS men had rushed to the gate in the first moments of the revolt...All along the fence, men had died tearing at the barbed wire and other men were after them, dying there, and only some of them out, through the few—the terribly few—gaps, out and away and racing across the stubbled fields for the sheltering woods beyond; Judah Klein among them, and Samuel Rajzman, and 180 others. But not Leichert, not the men with him, not any of those who had rushed to the arsenal—a few of them to get the guns they hadn't known about, the gun that was hidden always in a corner room of the nearby administration building, that commanded the front of the arsenal, and under gunfire from the tower that covered the back of the arsenal, and under the rifle grenades of a squad of SS men sheltered in a storehouse across the way who killed them calmly, skillfully, with trained precision...

It was three forty-six in the afternoon, and it was over. The Treblinka revolt had lasted eleven minutes and it was over. Of the SS men, 117 were dead and wounded; 1100 Jews were dead, the rest of the thousands lying face down in the seeping marsh of dirt and blood within the barbed-wire corridor and the railroad depot, lying still, the' lifted head, the slightest movement bringing a volley from the tense and hating guards who ringed them about. And 180 Jews, only a few of them armed, into the woods like animals, to be hunted down like animals by the Treblinka guards and a task force of a thousand SS men and soldiers of the regular German army sent in by Heinrich Himmler himself.

For four days, the Germans prowled the forest, tracing the Jews with packs of hunting dogs, spotting them with helicopters, burning them out of the underbrush with flamethrowers, killing them on the spot, wherever they were found. Of the 180 Jews in the forest, only 18 survived, to find their way in time-maddened and starved and hardly human-to a group of Jewish partisans, survivors of the Warsaw ghetto revolt.

And among these few, Judah Klein the wigmaker, on his way to Malachi Wald—and vengeance...

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QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What is almost comical about the attempted suicide of Judah Klein?
2. How were the prisoners able to make and collect weapons for the revolt?
3. How many prisoners survived the Treblinka revolt? How would you react to those that would call the Treblinka revolt an act of suicide?

Source: Elkins, Michael "The Treblinka Report." *The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience—An Anthology for Students*. Harry Furman, ed. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983.

LIFE IN EXTREMIS; MORAL ACTION AND THE CAMPS

*You may feel uncomfortable responding to each of these situations;
they all actually happened.*

In each of the following situations, indicate with either a *Yes* or *No* how you would answer the question.

- | Yes | No | |
|-------|-------|--|
| _____ | _____ | 1. A chance for escape from Auschwitz appears for one inmate. But he must accept leaving his younger son who is simply too weak to travel. The father and son have shielded each other during their camp experience. Knowing this, should the father attempt the escape? |
| _____ | _____ | 2. A young man breaks down when told of the death of his family. He decides that in the morning he will commit suicide by attacking an SS officer. Because of the Nazi practice of mass reprisal, his act will cost the lives of all 400 men in the barracks. If the young man cannot be convinced to change his mind, should he be killed by the underground to protect the interest of the larger group? |
| _____ | _____ | 3. An inmate desperately needs certain medicines to survive. Medicines can be obtained by giving in to the sexual desires of a particular SS officer who has access to medicines. Should a friend of the man try to obtain the medicines if this is the only way he can get them? |
| _____ | _____ | 4. An inmate in the barracks is caught stealing bread during the night from a fellow katzetnik. Should the inmate be beaten severely as a lesson to all that certain behavior cannot be tolerated? |
| _____ | _____ | 5. An inmate in the barracks has been found to be an informer for the SS. He acts the role of a cooperative katzetnik, but several inmates know he is a spy for the Germans. Should the informer be killed? |
| _____ | _____ | 6. A number of inmates have been placed on the death list for the coming week. These individuals are essential to maintaining the underground. Several katzetniks have the power to replace their numbers on the death list with others who are already very sick. Should this switch be made? |
| _____ | _____ | 7. In many camps, women who gave birth were automatically sent with their newborn children to the ovens. A decision can be made to save the mothers by making the newborn infants "stillborn." Should the decision to kill the children to save the mothers be made? |

I DID WHAT EVERYONE SHOULD HAVE DONE

Arie van Mansum

(as told to Gay Block and Malka Drucker)

A Dutch Christian, Arie van Mansum quit his job to work full-time for the resistance during World War II. Even after he was captured, imprisoned, and eventually released, he continued to help Jews. Arie van Mansum, as do many other rescuers, believes that what he did was nothing special. His story is reprinted from *Rescuers: Portraits of Moral Courage in the Holocaust*, which was edited by Gay Block and Malka Drucker.

Arie van Mansum's narrative describes how he repeatedly risked his life to resist evil.

Well, the Holocaust didn't start with the Germans picking up Jews and sending them to concentration camps and putting them in gas chambers. The Holocaust started in the hearts of the people. As soon as you go and say, "That Jew!" or whatever, that's where it starts, you know. That was the beginning. As soon as you put one race higher than another one, you get that.

I was born in 1920 in Utrecht, but we moved to Maastricht in the south of Holland when I was six years old. I was the second child, one sister was older and one brother and sister were younger. We were simple people with not much education. My father was a laborer with the Dutch railroad, and I was very close to my mother, who stayed home with the children.

We were members of the Reform Church of the Netherlands, which is more strict than the Dutch Reformed. When we moved to Maastricht, we were in the minority because the city was 90 percent Catholic. There were about seventy or eighty Jewish families but we didn't know them. We had no contact because we were a laborer's family and the Jews were businesspeople; we went to Protestant school and they went to public school. In 1939, I was active in the young people's group of our church, and we went to a meeting at City Hall to discuss what to do about refugees coming in from Germany. I was the representative from the church, to try to decide how to help them. You couldn't tell the difference between Jews in Holland and others, anyway. But we had no chance to make any decisions before the war broke out.

In 1940, I was working as a traveling salesman

for a wholesale wallpaper company. A man from my church who was an accountant for some Jewish people asked me to become the representative for distributing the underground newspaper, *Free Netherlands*. I agreed, and every month I took 500 to 1,000 newspapers and distributed them on my trips. I came in contact with a man in the Socialist movement, Van Assen, who told me a Jewish family needed help, and asked if I would accompany them to the hiding place he had found for them. I did it. Then, after I had done more of this, he approached me to find a hiding place for a Jewish family. I contacted Mrs. Fralich and found a place for her and her daughter in Haarlem. But her son, Fritz looked too Jewish, so I took him home myself. He was my age and my parents liked him. He had to stay in the house all the time, since he looked so Jewish but it was through him that I came into contact with more families who needed help. Then I needed to get food stamps for all these people. I figured out a way to forge the food-stamp cards, and every week I went from one food-stamp office to another to get them because I needed so many. Soon I was getting 150 ration cards, and I finally met a man in the food-stamp office who was willing to get them all for me. When I needed 250 cards to deal with he got scared, so then a man who was the head of the police department in Haarlem did it for me.

One day some students in Amsterdam contacted me. The Germans were putting all the Jewish children together in the nursery, and the overflow in a converted theater across the street. Each day when the Germans took them out for a walk, the students would kidnap some of them and take them to hiding

places in other parts of Holland. I began finding places for them, mostly in the south of Holland because there people had come from Poland and were darker skinned, so it was easier for a Jewish child to live among them. One day I was told of a Jewish boy in the hospital who would be shipped to Westerbork if we didn't get him out. I had a friend who was a nurse and she rescued him. I placed him with a Catholic family where he stayed till the end of the war.

Another time I needed to find a place for a baby fast because the family had already been summoned to Westerbork. My mother said she would take this eleven-day-old baby, and my girl friend and I went to pick her up. People thought we were a married couple with a newborn child. My mother really loved that baby. Later I placed another baby someplace else. I could go on telling these stories. Every day a new problem came up that I had to figure out a way to solve.

I quit my job and did this resistance work full-time. Every month I visited the people I had placed to take them food stamps and mail with news from their families. Many were very depressed, and I had the opportunity to lift them up a little and they appreciated that.

I was still living at home with my parents, and my sister, Margarete, helped me as well. When I was arrested in October 1943, she took over all the work I had been doing. I ended up in Haarlem in prison, for six months of solitary confinement. Then I was sent to Amersfoort concentration camp until September 1944. I was mistreated during interrogation, and was scared to death like anyone else. According to me, the Germans were stupid. When they arrested me, I had some addresses on me of families in hiding, but they never checked them out. I was taking care of about a hundred people, but they never found them. Only one family I had placed, the Vesleys, was found and arrested, and the son was killed. A three-year-old boy. But this wasn't because of the list.

I was released from prison in Utrecht, which was in an area already liberated by the Allies. I couldn't go home because Maastricht was still occupied, so I stayed in Utrecht with an aunt and began underground work again. I was delivering *Free Netherlands* when I was again arrested in February 1945, and sent back to the concentration camp. I stayed there until the end of the war. All this time my sister did the work with the food stamps and the families in hiding that I had been doing. She died last year of a stroke at sixty-five, in Holland.

The baby stayed with my mother until June 1945, when the parents picked her up. It was hard on

my mother; she was very attached. But the parents said, "We don't have family anymore. Can we adopt you as grandparents?" So we all remained like family until they emigrated to Israel.

I'll tell you, the best years of my life were when I could help Jews in the wartime. That was one of the best time periods of my life because it gave such satisfaction. I mean, the moment that I came back from prison in May 1945, I walked through the streets of Maastricht, and I saw Jews walking there, Jews I helped in the wartime, I started to cry. That was the satisfaction, you know. You saw those people walking through the street! And then it was a double satisfaction when I saw them in Israel, in their own country. It was fabulous!

Fritz lives in Belgium now. He is the secretary of the Jewish community. I moved to Canada because I was very disappointed in Holland. Many people who did no resistance work took the most prominent positions after the war. I'll give you an example. I had a friend I worked with, he was a Socialist, a teacher in the public high school. And one day he approached me. He said, "There's a Jewish family, the Spitz family, and the chances are that they're gonna pick them up, either today or tomorrow. We need a place for them quick! Please help."

So I found a temporary place for the family, a family with four children. They were a poor family, he had a used furniture store. So that night we went over to get the people from their house and when we were sitting and they were packing, all of a sudden two Dutch policemen came in and told them that a Gestapo van would come in an hour or so to pick them up. And they asked us what we were doing there. We said, "Well, we were just buying some furniture." And he said, "You'll have to discuss that with the trustees because you'll have to leave now." So we walked outside and waited, walked up and down in front of the house for over an hour. One policeman came out to call the Germans because it was taking so long for the van to come to pick up these people. I asked that policeman, "Please, stay away for half an hour—give us a chance." He said, "I'm sorry, sir, I'm just doing my duty." This family was picked up and never returned. But this same man, after the war, got a promotion in the regular police force. That made me so furious. And besides, this policeman was assigned to the police force responsible for punishing NSBers. We registered a complaint when we saw him but nothing was done. They said he was just doing his duty and those people were all picked up, the six people, and none of them came back. That makes you furious!

But I still say there was nothing special about what I did. I did what everyone should have done.

Those people who did nothing on either side were scared and only looked after themselves. But I had feelings during wartime, and after the wartime even more, that I could have done more. I remember one day when I was walking through a rail station and a train came in loaded with Jewish people in those, you know, those livestock wagons. I stood there, you know, and I could do nothing, you know.

All of my Jewish friends are in Israel now, and we're like one big family. They called a few days ago to ask when I will come again. I went to Israel for the first time in 1981, with a tourist group, and when they met me at the hotel, they were mad. They said, "You shouldn't go with a tour; you should have stayed with us." I had received my medal from Yad Vashem in 1970; my sister was one of the first to be honored. When I went to Yad Vashem to look for my tree, it wasn't there. They said, "No, we have been waiting for you to come to plant it yourself." So I said, "Okay, give me a shovel." But they said, "No, it's a celebration and a ceremony." So my friends said, "You come next year and we'll pay for the trip, and you'll stay with us." But I said, "I'll pay for it." So we went back the next year. I think people don't

understand what goes on in Israel. Maybe the Palestinians have a better PR department than the Israelis.

My children never knew what I did until recently. They asked, "Dad, why didn't you tell us?" But first, I'm afraid people will think I'm bragging, and I'd hate that. It's nothing to brag about. My sister went to Israel four times, and I keep in close contact, but otherwise I don't want to brag. Now, lately, some people in the Jewish community convinced me to share my story for the next generation. So I talked to kids, to churches, to memorial gatherings of Jews. And my children think it's enormous. My six-year-old grandson called and said, "Hey, Grandpa, I heard you were in jail!" So my daughter has started to tell them.

I guess I have helping in my blood. After the war a large group of people came from Indonesia, and my sister and I helped them. And here in Canada I work for a rescue mission. But, you know, not everyone had the opportunity to help during the war. I wouldn't say I had courage. If you'd have asked me before if I could have done it, I'd have said, "Oh, no, not me!" But if the moment's there and there's somebody in need, you go help, that's all.

UNDERGROUND NETWORKS FOR CHILD-RESCUE

Anny Latour

As a historian, Anny Latour is recognized for her meticulous research. Her account of the resistance in France is based on conducting numerous interviews and compiling eyewitness accounts and documents. She then framed the information within the context of her own experiences. During World War II, she was a member of the French underground. Her resistance activities included helping to smuggle children out of Nazi-occupied territories, transporting arms to the partisans, and forging identity cards and documents. The following excerpt is from *The Jewish Resistance in France (1940-1944)*.

Jewish rescue networks in France had their origin in Jewish social services and other groups already in existence. After the Nazi occupation, these organizations went underground and were responsible for saving tens of thousands of lives.

682 **P**rovidence occasionally picks certain people who must leave their accustomed paths, to take up entirely new duties. George Garel was one of these men, and even if he had long since returned to his original profession, his name will remain forever tied to the work he—undaunted and courageous—accomplished underground, to make possible the saving of thousands of Jewish children.

I, personally, do not believe in chance. Even if George Garel says it was purely by accident that he became involved in the affair of the “children of Vénissieux,” it was, in reality, no chance occurrence that he was totally committed, or that this particular business became the starting point for activity evolving onto a much grander scale; really, it was here that began what we now refer to as “the Garel circuit.”

Lyon, the end of August, 1942. George Garel, an engineer in charge of a large electrical engineering department, has his meals in a boarding house; at his table sit Nina Gourfinkel, Raymond Winter (later to be shot by the Germans), all three already involved in clandestine activities.

It was here that Garel first learned of the 1,200 foreign-born Jews arrested on the flight of August 26, and imprisoned in the Fort of Venissieux, transformed into a camp; the Jews’ only crime was having come to France after 1936; by an agreement between Laval and the Germans, they would all be deported.

A screening commission—of which Abbé Glasberg, “king-pin of the *Amitiés Chrétiennes*” is a member—has headquarters in the camp. Charles

Ledermann, an attorney, as representative of the O.S.E., has the job of overseeing the fate of children who may, for the moment, remain free, being under sixteen years of age. He and Garel know each other, Ledermann having belonged to a resistance network in which Garel also worked.

Under these dual auspices, then, Garel is authorized to enter the camps. He is assigned the almost impossible task of determining, during one night, who may leave, and who must remain. Straining to control his emotion, Garel speaks of this frightful flight:

A power failure had plunged the camp into total darkness, to last for several hours. During the night, we went from group to group, among people insane with fear. Imagine the scene when we had to tell parents: “You must trust your children with us.” But some understood, and gave their children willingly; we attached small tags around necks and wrists, so the children could retain at least a portion of their identities, their names and birth dates.

I was of course aware that the fates of many of the adults would soon be sealed. But we could not say outright: “You, you are condemned to death; at least allow your children to survive.” We thought saying as little as possible of what was in store for those who would be leaving, would do the most to persuade the parents. With the electrical blackout, however, there were still

certain shacks with children in them, which we could not find...Our task was made the more difficult by constant interruptions: people would tug at our arms, saying: "Come here, I must talk with you—" And all this amidst shouting and weeping. I recall one man who, on the verge of hysteria, threw himself on me bodily: "Now you must listen to me! I fought in the International Brigade—if the Germans find out, I'm lost! You must get me out,

Seeing that time was growing short, we became more authoritarian, telling parents: "We have come for your children—give them to us!" Many complied, but the new attitude didn't work all the time, and, almost coming to blows, we took many despite parents' physical resistance. When mothers held tight to their children, we had to try prying them loose in as civilized a way as possible...

By daybreak the group consisted of eight hundred children.

Among their number were two sisters, one of whom was 16 years, 2 months old—just over the age limit—and the other, 18 years old. They were the same height, and for the first time the idea came to me of falsifying papers. I made twins of them. But they had a brother, 22 or 23, and I remember one of the girls kept following me, everywhere, and in a voice soft, but tireless, repeated: "I beg of you, save my brother..." This went on, twenty, thirty times—the same words. At first I gently replied I could not—that it might compromise the whole rescue operation. But after her constant pleading, in the darkness, amidst cries and shouts, I grew brusquer, saying that no, it was impossible. By morning the two young girls were veritable statues of despair; they simply had refused to admit I was unable to save their brother.

The entire camp echoed with cries and groans. The police administrator of Lyon, who was present, asked Abbé Glasberg: "Why are they shouting like that?" The Abbe replied: "If someone were taking your children, wouldn't you cry out?" After a pause, the policeman responded, "Yes, I guess so."

"In the morning," Garel continues, "the eight hundred children were put aboard buses. By a dreadful coincidence we passed close by other buses holding the parents about to be deported. Though after that long night many of the children were dozing, the parents were awake; that poignant scene,

of the parents pressing against the windows for one last look at their children, I'll never forget."

The children, then, were temporarily out of danger. But how might we thwart attempts by Lyon's police prefect Angeli, who, acting under order of Vichy, could wish to "recapture" them?

Abbé Glasberg alerts Mgr. Gerlier, who declares himself the children's protector.

Father Braun, who was present at that unforgettable meeting, says:

If I remember correctly, it was the 2nd of September. Mgr. Gerlier was at his desk, Abbe Glasberg, Father Chaillet, Abbe Lagarde, Jean-Marie Soutou and myself there, too. Mgr. Gerlier told us: "All of you will have to disappear; the prefect can't do anything to me, but he could try to pressure you, to learn the children's whereabouts." Suddenly the telephone rang. It was Angeli himself, calling to tell Mgr. Gerlier: "At 6:00 tonight a train is arriving from the camp at Milles, with Jews to be handed to the Germans. We're adding a car for all the children you took out of Vénissieux—I want them brought to the station." Mgr. Gerlier replied:

"Monsieur le préfet, the families of those children made me their guardian; you would not force a father to hand over his children to the police ..." The telephone conversation was long, and I must say we all became rather agitated. What especially upset me was Mgr. Gerlier's always covering the mouthpiece to make jokes—it seemed not quite the right time. We finally heard Mgr. Gerlier say:

"Well, monsieur le préfet, come up to the archdiocese if you like! But you won't get the children." And he hung up. He turned to us, saying: "You all must leave, and I don't want to see you again: the prefect is on his way to ask me for the children—I certainly don't want to know where they are! Do your best! Good bye!"

Mgr. Gerlier's vacillating politics led George Garcel to remark: "In this instance, he comes off very well. Perhaps he realized that if he let himself be manipulated this time, it would be an eternal stain on his reputation."

In any case, the "children of Vénissieux" were dispersed into different Christian homes and, fortunately, saved. Some were taken in by the Amitiés Chrétiennes, many others remaining for a while under the aegis of the O.S.E.

Yes, the children were saved; but they were

never again to see their parents. Dr. Weill comments:

We knew Laval had ordered the deportation of children, and, as we had “stolen” them, prefect Angeli became furious. He had his secretary telephone and threaten me personally with arrest if the children were not found within 24 hours.

As for Reverend Father Chaillet—another of those responsible for the refusal to hand over the children—he was placed under house arrest in Privas. Dr. Weill paid him a visit, and recalls: “I barely escaped arrest myself, while I was away, the Gestapo had come to my house.”

For Garel—shaken by the events at Vénissieux—to undertake secret rescue work, his moral spirit and determination required the support of Dr. Weill’s diplomatic efforts. He was convinced the Germans intended exterminating the Jews, and thus assigned the child rescue effort top priority. The first step in the rescue operation became separating children from the Jewish milieu and integrating them full, into non-Jewish surroundings.

Dr. Weill explains that none of the official leaders of Jewish relief organizations could undertake such clandestine activity, because they would be spotted too quickly, the work would have to be assumed by unknown newcomers, such as Garel. Having seen Garel in action in the camp of Venissieux, Dr. Weill had faith in his abilities. Garel accepted the responsibilities entrusted him, and was to continue his work through the entire war. But he does mention an “appealing” position offered him by the regular Resistance: being in charge of arms for the southern zone. As he could not work at both clandestine activities, though he declined this offer, to devote himself to the Jewish children-work that might seem less glamorous but equally fraught with risk.

Garel’s organizing the O.S.E.’s secret work consisted of several steps. First, an effective “cover” had to be found. Mgr. Salièges, the first prelate to make official protest against the deportations, seemed the right man to second Garel’s efforts.

Garel uses Charles Ledermann’s acquaintance with Mgr. Salièges as a starting point.—It had been Ledermann, in fact, who kept the archbishop informed about the deportations; thus had been initiated the famous letter of protest.

Garel, then, with an introduction from Ledermann, goes to the archdiocese to meet Mgr. Salièges for the first time. “I cannot,” remarks Garel, “say we became close friends, because that would be an inadequate definition of the relationship we

developed; but certainly there was an element of friendship though, for my part, there was much respect, and for his, I think the feelings were more paternal. From our first meeting, I had the feeling of being in the presence of a unique man. I can and must say it: he had the makings of a saint. It was all the more striking, because, except for his eyes—which were radiant and from which intelligence seemed to shine—he was physically very broken down, and expressed himself, both orally and in writing, with only the utmost difficulty.”

Garel outlined his project. To save the greatest number of children, there could be no thought of establishing a new philanthropic organization—which would only draw attention—but instead, work would have to be carried out under cover of existing charities; it was here that Garel thought Mgr. Salièges could help.

The archbishop listens to Garel without interrupting, and replies that the plan is consistent with Christian concepts, and that he will cooperate.

“Thus,” Garel points out, “his willingness was immediate—he didn’t ask, for even two or three days to think about it. Subsequently, when I went to visit him—often with no opportunity of announcing myself ahead of time—he always received me, always found some time. From all this contact with the man, I gleaned something indefinable, but very precious and exhilarating. He asked me to keep him informed about my work, and added that his blessing would be with me always.”

Garel stresses: “On this subject, let me tell you that, unbeliever that I am, all the same, this blessing carried importance.

At their very first meeting, Mgr. Salièges introduced Garel to his coadjutor, Mgr. de Courrèges. Garel says: “If the archbishop had first struck me as a saint, the bishop seemed one of those Medieval or Renaissance princes of the Militant Church where cassocks were donned over coats of mail. Energetic face, precise speech—he was the apotheosis of the leader who knows how to take command.” Contact was direct, understanding—immediate.

Such were the beginnings of the “Garel circuit.” Mgr. de Courrèges introduced Garel to a philanthropic organization of the diocese called *Sainte-Germaine*. Headed by Mlle. Thèbes, the charity attended to needy children, family placements youth clubs, and after-school activities for Catholic children; it was agreed Garel would place the Jewish children here, with “Aryan” identities. Some of the Vénissieux group were included.

That was the first victory. The rescue operation had finally gotten off the ground.

NOBODY HAS A RIGHT TO KILL AND MURDER BECAUSE OF RELIGION OR RACE

Irene Opdyke

(as edited by Carol Rittner and Sandra Myer)

Irene Opdyke was born in Poland in 1920. Raised as Catholic, she hid Jews during German occupation of Poland. She now lives in southern California and is an interior decorator. Her story appeared originally in *The Courage to Care: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, which was edited by Carol Rittner and Sandra Myer. She was honored by Yad Vashem for her humanitarian work and appeared in the film *The Courage to Care*, based on the book of the same name, in which she tells of her wartime experiences. Opdyke also has co-authored a book entitled *Into the Flames: The Life Story of a Righteous Gentile*.

In this selection, Opdyke, who was a young Polish Catholic during the war, describes why she could not stand idly by while the Nazis hunted and killed Jews.

In my house a Polish girl, a woman, wasn't expected to be involved with politics. We were prepared to be married, to be good wives and good mothers, so I really wasn't affected by political issues or anti-Semitism. Besides, I did not have that in my home.

My mother was just the most wonderful woman, a saint. She was a woman with very little education. When she was only a little girl, her father was killed and she was left to raise her brother and sister. She probably taught me more than anything else to keep my heart, my hands, my ears open for anybody needy. These were her ABCs and she taught them to us. We always had people coming—they were poor, sick—and my mother always knew how to help and what to do to help.

I have often tried to discover in myself what gave me the courage to help Jews during the war. I am sure that it was due to my parents, who always played and prayed together with us children. Although we had a sheltered life, my parents raised me to respect the Ten Commandments and to be at peace with God and people.

I was a 19-year-old student when the war started in 1939. I was happy and proud to have been born in Poland, a free country after 143 years. Maybe that also was the reason I did what I did later: I was Polish, I was proud, I wanted the best. I wanted my parents and my country to be proud of me. That's

why I wanted to be a nurse. I was trying to be another Florence Nightingale. I had big ideas: I wanted to go to other countries, I wanted to help. But my dream never got finished because the Germans, without declaring war, invaded Poland. Immediately, I was cut off, separated from my family.

The hospital where I was working and studying started to fill up with wounded and dying people. We tried to help, to save lives, but the Germans were pushing like lightning. In a couple of days, they were almost at the door. The Polish military had to evacuate. Since I could not go home—the Germans were already there—I joined the Polish Army. For days we were on the run. The Germans were pursuing us with unbelievable speed, creating destruction and death everywhere. And in three weeks, with us almost at the Russian border, the war was over. The Polish Army was defeated. I was far from home, and I did not know what to do and where to go. With the remnants of the Polish Army some other nurses and I escaped to a big Ukrainian forest, close to the Russian border. That was the beginning of the Polish underground.

Just before Christmas, a small group of soldiers, a nurse, and I went to the villages and tried to exchange coffee, tobacco, and sugar for something to eat. They left me on guard. I saw them spread around to go to the houses. I heard noise. Before I had a chance to know where it was coming from or what it

was, I saw a truck and Russian soldiers jumping off. I ran like a scared little rabbit for the forest. That was the only thing I knew to do, but it was too late. They knocked me down, I was beaten and raped. They left me lying there. When I was found by other Russian soldiers, I was taken to a hospital. And when I came to, I felt two warm arms around my shoulders, and a hand was petting my hair. I thought for a minute that it was a dream, that my mother was there. I looked up and saw a woman doctor speaking a language that I did not understand, but her emotion, her embrace, maybe saved my sanity. She was a Russian doctor who was the head of that hospital.

When I started to feel better, she assigned me to work in the hospital. In 1940 the Russians were fighting the Germans, and she was sent to the front. For me, it was awful because I was assigned to work in a hospital that had infectious diseases—typhus, meningitis—but little medicine, only a little sulphur. But the Lord had other plans for me, so I survived.

In 1941 there was an exchange of Polish population between the Russians and the Germans. I wanted to go back to Poland, which was occupied by the Germans, because I was hoping to find my family. On the way home to Kozlowa Gora, which is three kilometers from the Russian border, I stopped in Radom. I went to church one Sunday. After the mass and other services, the church was surrounded by the Germans, who picked up all the young men and women to send them to Germany to work. Young German men were needed to fight, so the Nazis needed slaves to do their work. But before I was sent with the others, a group of officers came in, and one man, in the uniform of a major, started pointing at random and saying, “this one, this one, this one.” I was picked also and by God’s miracle, I was not sent to Germany. Instead, I was sent to work in an ammunition factory.

I wanted to work because I was hungry, and I didn’t have my parents and family there to care for me. One day, maybe because I had developed anemia, I fainted right in front of the whole plant. When I came to, a German, an older man in his late sixties, was standing before me. He asked me what had happened, and I answered him in German. He was very impressed. I told him, “Please forgive me. I want to work, but I am not well.” So he said, “OK, you report to another part of the plant and I will give you another job.” I was inexperienced and not well educated, but I knew then that the Lord had put me in the right place at the right moment to make that German major notice me. My new job was serving breakfast, lunch, and dinner to the German officers and secretaries, and to the head of the local Gestapo. I started to feel better because the food was good and

it was clean. But it was while I was working there that for the first time I realized what was happening to the Jewish people, because behind the hotel there was a ghetto, and I could see for myself

It was unbelievable to me that any human being could be so mean to others. I saw the people in the ghetto: families, older parents, little children, pregnant women, the crippled, the sick. The Nazis put them all in the ghetto for later disposal. One day, I saw a death march. They pushed the people like cattle through the middle of the town. And the Gestapo was kicking and pushing those who walked too slowly or that were not in line. I saw an old man who looked to me like a rabbi, with a white beard, white hair. He was carrying a Torah. Next to him I saw a beautiful woman in her last months of pregnancy. And next to her I saw another young woman with a little girl holding her skirt with all her might. There were old women, men hobbling on crutches—a long, long procession. Most of all, I remember the children—all sizes, all ages. The little ones screaming, crying, “Mama, Mama,” and the bigger ones—they were even too scared to cry. One thing I remember: the eyes—big, scary; looking, searching, as if asking, “What did I do? What did I do?”

We were standing, watching that inhuman march, but what could we do? We were a few women and men standing. There were dozens of Gestapo with guns. Later, I went with someone whose husband was a Jew and saw a nightmare that I will never forget: bodies plowed into a shallow grave. The earth was heaving with the breath of those who were buried alive. It was then that I prayed and promised that I would do whatever I could.

The whole plant was moved to Tarnopol and I was moved with them. I was transferred from factory work and was assigned to serve breakfast, lunch, and dinner for the German officers and secretaries, and also sometimes for the local head of the Gestapo, because I knew German.

I also took care of 12 Jewish people who washed clothes for the Germans. Once they had been people of means. They had been nurses, businessmen, businesswomen, a medical student, a lawyer. Now they had to do that dirty work or die. We became good friends, I didn’t have a family. They were persecuted. It was a human bond. That’s how I felt. I did not think of them as different because they were Jews. To me, we were all in trouble and we had a common enemy

We created a grapevine information center. I became the eyes and the ears for the Jewish people. And these 12 would use their footwork to spread the news to other Jews when there would be unexpected

raids on ghettos and so on. We saved many lives because people were warned. Some of them could escape, if they had a place to hide, and some escaped to the forest. There was a place, Janowka, about eight kilometers from Tarnopol.

In Janowka, about three hundred Jewish people escaped. Some of them were from our plant, and some were from other German plants. And all because those 12 Jews were carrying information to the ghetto. (It spread around, you know, to the people.)

There was a priest in Janowka. He knew about the Jews' escape—many of the Polish people knew about it. Can you imagine living underground as the Jews were forced to do when the winter came? Many people brought food and other things—not right to the forest, but to the edge—from the village. The priest could not say directly “help the Jews,” but he would say in church, “Not one of you should take the blood of your brother.”

When the time came for the total liquidation of the ghetto, those 12 people in my factory did not have a place to go. They asked me for help. What could I do? I, at that time, lived in a tiny little room by the diner. I didn't have a home to take them to,

There was only one thing left for me to do. I did not have any resources; I didn't have my parents. I prayed. And as I prayed that night, I threw a tantrum at my Maker: “I do not believe in you! You are a figment of my imagination! How can you allow such a thing to happen?” The next day I was on my knees, saying, “Forgive me. I don't know what I'm talking about. Your will be done.”

The next morning, like a miracle, the major asked me to be his housekeeper. He said, “I have a villa. I need a housekeeper. Would you do it?” The decision was made for me. Like a young child, without thinking or preparing anything, I told the 12 Jewish people I knew that I would leave open the window in the villa where the coal chute led to the cellar. One by one, they went there.

The major was an old man. He was sick. I cooked his special dinners for him. He liked me. I was with him for about three years. He wanted to take a man to be there with me also, but I told him I didn't want it. So I pleaded with him. “Please,” I said, “I was held by the Russians, I was beaten and raped by Russian soldiers before I was even kissed by a boy.” He said, “OK. Fine. We will try it with you alone for a while. Let's wait and see how it goes.”

During the next couple of weeks there were posters on every street corner saying, “This is a Jew-free town, and if any one should help an escaped Jew, the sentence is death.” About three months after that, in September, I was in town, and all of a sudden the

Gestapo were pushing the people from the town to the marketplace, where there were Polish families being hung with Jewish families that they had helped. We were forced to watch them die, as a warning of what would happen if we befriended a Jew.

When I came home, I locked the door as I always did, but I usually left the key turned in the lock so that if the major would come unexpectedly, he could not open the door. But I was so shaken up that I locked the door, and I pulled out the key. I came in to the kitchen, and there were Ida, Franka, Clara, Miriam—the women came out because that's what they usually did, to help me. I was white like snow, so they asked me what had happened. I said, “I don't feel good.” I could not tell them. What could they do? We were talking when the door suddenly opened and the major was standing in front of us. I still can see his chin shaking, his eyes glaring with disbelief. We were all frozen like statues. He turned around in silence and walked to his office.

I had to go face him; there was not any other way. He yelled at me. He said, “Irene, how could you do it? I trusted you. I give you such a nice home, protection—why?” I said, “I know only one thing. They're my friends. I had to do it. I did not have a home to take them to, I don't have a family. Forgive me, but I would do it again. Nobody has a right to kill and murder because of religion or race.”

He said, “You know what can happen to you?” I said, “Yes, I know, I just witnessed what can happen.” By that time I was crying, I could hardly talk.

Finally he said to me, “Look, I cannot do that to you. I cannot just let you die.” And when he said that, believe me, I knelt down, and kissed his hand, not for me, but for those people, not only for the ones in the villa, but for the people in the forest who depended on me. They remained, and they had hope that they could survive.

Then the major had to leave the villa, as the Germans were retreating, but I could not leave the people in the villa because in time of war you never know what's going to happen. It could last another day, a month, two months. One of the women was pregnant. A little Jewish boy was born two months after freedom came.

Just before the war was over we decided that I would take those Jewish people to the forest. I also was helping the partisans in the forest the whole time, in whatever way I could. Three days after I took the Jews to the forest, the Red Army freed us. My Jewish friends were free to make a new life, even though they were broken in spirit and body. I have often wondered how anyone could continue to live without a family, with their children killed, having

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lost everything.

When the Russian army rescued us I went with the partisans, and I remained with them until Russia took all of Poland. I was on my way to see my family when I was arrested by the Russians because of my association with the Partisans. This time, my Jewish friends helped me, and wrote my story to the historical committee in Krakow. Then I was sent to a displaced persons camp in Germany. Finally, in 1949, just before Christmas, I came to the United States, and now I live in California.

People sometimes ask me what the lesson is from all this. I think it is that we have to teach that we belong all together. That no matter what a person's color, race, religion, or language, we are created by one God, no matter what you call Him. And I think that if there would be less hate, if people would try to understand each other more, there would not be the wars.

I myself realize that when I came to the United States, I put a "Do Not Disturb" sign on my mind. I did not want to talk about the war. I wanted to have a normal life. I wanted to marry. I wanted to have a child. I wanted to create a new family to replace the one that I had lost.

I had tried to forget, to put this experience out of my mind. But in 1975, there was a neo-Nazi organization that started spreading a lie that the Holocaust never happened. That it was only propaganda. Well, that put me on fire. Why? Because I was there. I lived through it, and I realized that it is my duty to tell the truth about what the Nazis and their collaborators did to the Jews, to tell so that those people that died will not have died in vain; to tell so that a new generation will learn the truth. I know I don't speak correctly, that I have an accent. But believe me, I want the new generation to know so that we will not go through another Holocaust.

SCHINDLER'S LEGACY

Elinor J. Brecher

Elinor J. Brecher has been a journalist with the *Miami Herald*. She is the author of *Schindler's Legacy: True Stories of the List Survivors*, from which the following excerpt is taken.

Oskar Schindler was a businessman and Nazi party member who helped to save his Jewish workers from the SS. In this excerpt, Brecher provides a sketch of Schindler as a complex man whose motives in helping Jews to survive are even to this day not clearly understood.

Adolf Hitler came to power on January 30, 1933. He soon began restricting the rights of Germany's Jews. From the first official government act of persecution on April 1 of that year—the boycott of Jewish businesses—through the 1935 “race shame” laws prohibiting sex and/ or marriage between Jews and Gentiles, the Nazis relentlessly regulated every facet of Jewish life. By 1935, 75,000 Jews had fled. After Kristallnacht—the “Night of Broken Glass”—on November 9, 1938, any Jew who didn't leave Germany was confined to a concentration camp. Thousands more crossed over to Poland, which would boast Europe's largest Jewish population on the eve of World War II: 3,300,000. By war's end, only 10 percent remained alive.

The Nazis invaded Poland on September 1, 1939. They took Krakow on the sixth, then home to 60,000 Jews, 26 percent of the city's population. By year's end, Jews lost the right to attend school, keep bank accounts, own businesses, or walk on the sidewalks. They were tagged by a yellow Star of David. By the following April, evacuation orders would pare Krakow's Jewish community to 35,000.

All this transformed Poland into the land of economic opportunity for German entrepreneurs. They swarmed the cities, snapping up forfeited Jewish firms as their Treuhänders, or trustees. One of them was a young salesman named Oskar Schindler, born April 28, 1908, in the Sudetenland. He applied for Nazi Party membership on February 10, 1939. By then, he was an agent of the German Abwehr, the intelligence. In fact, he had been jailed in 1938 as a spy by the Czechs (he was released when Germany annexed the Sudetenland). Oskar Schindler provided Polish Army uniforms to the German provocateurs who attacked a German border radio station the night before the invasion.

Schindler took over an idled enamelware plant at 4 Lipowa Street in Krakow, capital of the

occupation government. A Jew named Abraham Bankier had owned the plant. Schindler renamed it Deutsche Emailwaren Fabrik, and began turning out pots, pans, and mess kits for the German military. He had come to seek his fortune, and with Jewish slave labor, he made one.

By the end of 1942, Schindler employed 370 Jewish workers, all from the Krakow ghetto. He paid their wages directly to the Nazi general government. Word quickly spread that his factory, outside the ghetto, in the Zablocie district, was a safe haven. With copious bribes, Schindler kept the SS at bay, so nobody was beaten on the job. He winked at the flurry of illegal “business” between the factory's Jewish and Polish workers. He lied for people so they could bring in friends and relatives. Most of his “skilled” workers had no skills at all. Eventually one thousand Jews would gain sanctuary at the DEF (called Emalia by its workers).

Hans Frank, the Nazi governor of the Krakow district, established the Krakow ghetto in March 1941; there were 320 residential buildings for 15,000 Jews (the rest had been driven off into the suburbs). Transports and massacres decimated the ghetto population over the next two years. Between June and October 1942, 11,000 ghetto dwellers were sent to the Belzec death camp. Then, on March 13, 1943, *Untersturmführer* Amon Goeth liquidated the ghetto. Those who lived through it became inmates at the Krakow-Plaszow labor camp—later a concentration camp—on the outskirts of the city, under Goeth's bloodthirsty command.

For a few months, Schindler's workers lived in the camp barracks and marched every day to the factory at 4 Lipowa Street. At the end of their shifts, they would return to Amon Goeth's hell, and the very real possibility of ending up dead on Chujowa Gorka, the camp's notorious execution hill...

Daily life at Plaszow proved unbearable for some

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people: They lost the will to live and so they died. Conditions were so bad that only internal fortitude kept people going. "You knew when people stopped washing themselves, stopped pushing themselves in the line, they were giving up," says Cleveland survivor Jack Mintz. "They didn't answer or ask questions. They became like zombies. If they got torn shoes, they didn't try to find something else to put on."

Schindler's Emalia subcamp extracted his workers from that hell, but in August of 1944 he was ordered to reduce his workforce by about seven hundred. In September, the Emalia subcamp shut down and its remaining workers were sent to Plaszow. In October, Schindler moved his operation to a new plant at Brinnlitz, Czechoslovakia, near his hometown. A second list was drawn up, providing the nucleus of the one in circulation today. The October list consisted of three hundred original Emalia workers and seven hundred replacements for those shipped out in August.

Before Schindler's workers got to Brinnlitz, they made intermediate stops: the women at Auschwitz, the men at a transit camp called Gross-Rosen. Memories vary, but most survivors think the men stayed about a week at Gross-Rosen. It was nightmarish, even by Plaszow standards. Chaskel Schlesinger of Chicago remembers the humiliating body searches when they arrived: "You had to open your mouth and spread the fingers and bend over and lift up your feet because you could have [something taped] on the bottom."

The men were run through delousing showers, and then, soaking wet and naked, they were made to stand outside in frigid temperatures. Brooklynite Moses Goldberg remembers a German officer on a white horse approaching the group and yelling to the guards, "Those are *Schindlerjuden!* Put them in a barracks and give them nightshirts, otherwise our hospital will be full of them tomorrow."

Schindler's three hundred women left Plaszow two days after his men and spent about three weeks at Auschwitz. It's clear that he knew they would have to stop there, and that a few of the women knew it, too. However, neither he nor they realized they would languish there so long. He had to bribe their way out. In one of the most dramatic scenes in the film *Schindler's List*, the women—stripped and shaved—are shoved into a locked, windowless room. Shower heads stud the ceiling. The Auschwitz gas chambers are no longer a secret. Suddenly, the lights go out, as someone throws a heavy switch. The women are hysterical. Then water blasts from the jets. The women survivors confirm that it actually happened.

"There were old prisoners who were quite

rough," remembers Betty Schagrin, a Florida survivor. "They were saying, 'You go in through the big doors and you go out through the chimney. In the shower, they waited ten minutes to panic people. We started to go crazy'"

As awful as they looked, the women were a welcome sight to the worried men at Brinnlitz, where the copy of Schindler's list currently circulating was drawn up on April 18, 1945. In a clunky, manual typeface, it logs the names of 297 women and 800 men, each page headed: "K.L. Gross-Rosen—A.L. Brunnlitz/ Liste der mannli. Haftling [or weibl. Haftling, for the women] 18.4.45." *Haftling* is German for prisoner. K.L. stands for *Konzentrationslager*.

The only difference between the *Frauen* (women) and the *Manner* (men), is that the women are listed alphabetically. Otherwise, both read from left to right: list number, prisoner number, name, date of birth, job classification.

The April 18 list is a jumble of inaccuracies: phony birth dates—some off by decades—and altered identities. Some mistakes are intentional; others resulted from confusion or disinformation, or simple typos. There are German spellings, Polish spellings, and Hebrew transliterations into both languages.

By April 18, Janka Feigenbaum and a Mrs. Hofstartter had died of natural causes. About ten young boys and their fathers had been taken to Auschwitz soon after arriving at Brinnlitz in the fall, so they weren't listed. Canadian journalist Herbert Steinhouse, who interviewed Schindler at length in 1949, estimates that about eighty names were added from the "frozen transport: men from Golezow, an Auschwitz subcamp, who had been locked in two sidetracked freight cars without food or water for ten days in subzero temperatures. Abraham Bankier, the enamelware plant's original owner, appears twice, and some people who unquestionably were at Brinnlitz don't appear at all. According to Steinhouse, Schindler also gathered in Jewish fugitives who escaped transports leaving Auschwitz, including Belgians, Dutch, and Hungarians.

All in all, the composition of the list is as much of a puzzle as Oskar Schindler's motives, a topic of endless debate among the *Schindlerjuden*. Was he an angel masquerading as an opportunist? An opportunist masquerading as an angel? Did he intend to save eleven hundred Jews, or was their survival simply one result of his self-serving game plan? Did he build the Emalia subcamp to protect Jews or to keep Amon Goeth from interfering in his lucrative black marketeering?

"I think he was a gambler and loved to outwit

the SS," says Rena Finder of Massachusetts. "In the beginning, it was a game. It was fun at first. He joined the [Nazi party] to make money. But he had no stomach for the killing. He enjoyed the wheeling and dealing and doing outrageous things—living on the edge. But then he realized if he didn't save us, nobody would."

Did he have a sudden change of heart, or undergo a gradual metamorphosis? It's hard to say. Henry Rosner of Queens, New York, claims that there was a definitive moment: "Two girls ran away to Krakow. Goeth sent two Jewish policemen and said, 'If you don't find them, ten OD men will be hanged.' They found those girls. All women (were ordered) to *Appell* for hanging. Schindler came and saw Goeth shoot them two seconds before they died hanging. Schindler vomited in front of everybody. He would never be working for the Germans again, he said to me."

In 1964, a decade before Schindler's demise from alcoholic complications, a German television news crew caught up with him on the streets of Frankfurt and asked him the question directly. He replied, "The persecution of the Jews under the General Government of Poland meant that we could see the horror emerging gradually in many ways." In 1939 the Jews were forced to wear the Star of David and people were herded and shut up into ghettos.

"Then in the years 1941 and 1942, there was plenty of public evidence of pure sadism. With people behaving like pigs, I felt the Jews were being destroyed. I had to help them."

The bottom line for most is this: "If I hadn't been with Schindler, I'd be dead." And that's all that matters. (It's thought that nearly four hundred *Schindlerjuden* are still alive; about half live in Israel.)

Clearly, Oskar Schindler was a sybarite, a sexually voracious, thrill-seeking dandy. He wore so much cologne that you could smell him before you saw him. Apparently he considered his sexual magnetism negotiable capital in situations where gemstones or vodka might have had a less dramatic impact. One of the Schindler women told me that a group complained to Herr Direktor about the abuses of a female camp guard at Brinnlitz. He said he would take care of things. Later, he remarked to the women that someone should have warned him about how bad the guard smelled. He seemed to have had an infinite capacity for alcohol. When he came to New York in 1957, he stayed with Mancini and Henry Rosner in Queens. Mancini remembers how "every single night, we got him a bottle of cognac, and in the morning, I found an empty bottle. But he was never drunk."

One of the survivors told Steinhouse, "It's the

personality more than anything else that saved us." Another, who hailed from Schindler's hometown, said, "As a Zwittau citizen, I never would have considered him capable of all these wonderful deeds. Before the war, you know, everybody here called him *Gauner* [swindler]."

He permitted the Jews to observe holidays (secretly) and, at Brinnlitz, to bury their dead traditionally. He got them extra food and rudimentary medical care. He accepted the frozen transport when no one else would, and, with his wife, Emilie, lavished personal attention and resources on the half-dead survivors.

According to Steinhouse, the Schindlers "never spent a single night" in their comfortable "villa" at Brinnlitz, sleeping instead in a small room at the factory, because Oskar understood how deeply the Jews feared late-night visits by the SS.

It's hard to say what was in that sort of thing for him, except the creation of goodwill, which in itself was a valuable commodity. Were his humane actions really planned to ensure that the grateful Jews would protect him after the Germans lost and support him for the rest of his life? Some people think so.

Sol Urbach of New Jersey has one theory: "Oskar Schindler, on April eighteenth recognized that everything was over, so he told somebody in Brinnlitz, 'Make me a list of all the people who are here.' That's when Oskar Schindler hatched his plan of escape. There is no question in my mind that that was going through his mind. He needed this list of who survived in his camp because he was going to go to Germany and take this list into some agency."

It's commonly believed that Schindler had far less to do with compiling the list than Marcel Goldberg, the greedy Jewish policeman. (In the film, Goldberg takes Oskar's gold watch and cigarette case as a payoff to place Jewish workers at Emalia.) Most people who saw the movie will recall the scene in which Oskar and his faithful accountant, Itzhak Stern (played by Ben Kingsley), laboriously construct the list from their hearts and minds. In reality, it was Marcel Goldberg who controlled the list, not Stern or even Schindler. According to many survivors, Goldberg demanded payment directly from those who wanted to get on the list.

What's definite is that seven hundred Emalia workers were sent to death camps. Some survived; others didn't. There's no small amount of bitterness among the former group and among the surviving relatives of the latter. After the war, some confronted Schindler, demanding to know why they had been left behind. He said he couldn't stand over Goldberg's shoulder keeping track all the time.

When Oskar left Brinnlitz, he was accompanied

by Emilie, a mistress, and eight Jewish inmates assigned to safeguard him. The group left the factory on May 8, 1945, in Oskar's Mercedes. A truck pulling two trailers followed. The interior of the Benz—the seats and door panels—had been stuffed with valuables. The Schindlers also carried a letter, signed by some of his workers, explaining his role in saving their lives.

The entourage headed southwest, first getting stuck in a Wehrmacht convoy, then halted by Czech partisans. They stopped over for the night in a town called Havlickuv Brod. They spent the night at the town jail—not as prisoners, but for the accommodations—then awoke to find their vehicles stripped, inside and out. They proceeded by train, then on foot.

In the spring of 1945, Kurt Klein, an intelligence officer in the U.S. Army—a German-born Jew—encountered Oskar's traveling party near the Czech village of Eleanorenhain, on its way from Brinnlitz to the Swiss border. Klein got permits for the group to remain in the American Zone of Occupation until it could find transportation for the rest of the trip.

"Nobody knew who he was at the time," Klein has said. "They were all dressed in prison uniforms and presented themselves as refugees from a German labor camp. They didn't let on that Schindler, their Nazi labor camp director, was in their midst, probably because they were afraid I would arrest him as a POW. They were correct, because my assignment was to interrogate and segregate Germans caught fleeing from Russian and Czech guns." Klein (now retired in Arizona) enlisted the aid of other Jewish American servicemen to ensure the group's safe passage to the Swiss headquarters.

When Steinhouse met Oskar, he found that the forty-year-old Schindler was "a man of convincing honesty and outstanding charm. Tall and erect, with broad shoulders and a powerful trunk, he usually has a cheerful smile on his strong face. His frank, gray-blue eyes smile too, except when they tighten in distress as he talks of the past. Then his whole jaw juts out belligerently and his great fists are clutched and pounded in slow anger. When he laughs, it is a boyish and hearty laugh, one that all his listeners enjoy to the full."

According to Steinhouse, Schindler helped American investigators gather evidence against Nazi war criminals by "presenting the occupying power with the most detailed documentation on all his old drinking companions, on the vicious owners of the other slave factories...on all the rotten group he had

wined and flattered while inwardly loathing, in order to save the lives of helpless people."

But in 1949, Oskar Schindler was "a lost soul." Everyday life became more difficult and unsettled. A Sudeten German, he had no future in Czechoslovakia and at the time could no longer stand the Germany he had once loved. For a time, he tried living in Regensburg. Later he moved to Munich, depending heavily on care parcels sent to him from America by some of the *Schindlerjuden*, but too proud to plead for more help.

"Polish Jewish welfare organizations traced him, discovered him in want, and tried to bring some assistance even in the midst of their own bitter postwar troubles."

A New York woman and Plaszow survivor who had relatives on the list recalls that in the summer of 1945, Schindler told her that he'd been warned to stay out of Poland, "because he'd meet the same fate as had Dr. Gross and Kerner, the OD men (Jews killed for their war crimes). He'd meet it at the hands of those who got knocked off the list."

The Jewish Joint Distribution Committee gave Oskar money and set up the Schindlers in Argentina on a nutria ranch, where they tried raising the minklike animals. He failed. Survivors bought him an apartment in Buenos Aires, but he left Emilie in 1957 and went back to Germany. He tried running a cement plant but failed at that, too. He just couldn't seem to adjust to the banality of life in peacetime.

He visited Israel in 1962. The *Schindlerjuden* there received him like a potentate. From then on, he never lacked for support from his "children." Before he died in 1974, he asked that the *Schindlerjuden* take his remains to Israel and bury him there. He lies in the Catholic cemetery on Mount Zion.

Whatever he was between 1939 and 1945, he has come to represent so much more than a mere flesh-and-blood mortal. He has become, in legend, what most people want to believe they themselves would become in situations of moral extremis. "Each one of us at any time, faced with the particular circumstances, has the power to stand on the side of right," a California survivor named Leon Leyson told me. "Ninety-nine percent of the time, we simply don't. This is an ordinary man, not a special hero with super powers, and yet he did it."

He also has allowed hundreds of men and women to answer at least part of the imponderable question: *Why did I survive and six million perish?* Answer: *Because of Oskar Schindler.*

I GAMBLED ON WHAT MATTERED MOST

Hannah Senesh

Hannah Senesh was born into a family of privilege in Budapest in 1921. Her father was a well-respected playwright who died when Hannah was a young child. She inherited his talent with words and began writing poetry at an early age. She grew up with few connections to her Jewish heritage until, as a result of the ever-increasing Nazi influence, she experienced discrimination at school. She then developed an interest in Judaism and began to study her heritage. Senesh became a Zionist and immigrated to Palestine after she graduated from high school. She learned Hebrew quickly and worked on a kibbutz. Senesh volunteered to serve with the British military and parachuted into Nazi occupied Yugoslavia on a secret mission. Crossing into Hungary with the resistance, she was captured and held in jail in Budapest. Senesh was executed at age twenty-three shortly before the liberation. Her story is told in *Hannah Senesh: Her Life and Diary*, from which the following material is taken.

The following material includes some of Senesh's poetry and letters to her beloved brother, George.

Cairo
January, 1944

My Darling George,

We arrived safely after an approximately ten-hour ride by car. The drive was pleasant since I came with a group of good-natured people. We sang and talked, so time passed more quickly. I drove a part of the way, though of course not all the way because there were three drivers besides myself. I had plenty of time to think, and thus naturally thought about you. Again and again I thanked Providence that we could at least meet, even though only for such a very short time.

You can imagine how interested I am in your first impressions of the Land, and of the kibbutz. You don't have to hurry too much in forming opinions; try to know the country first—which will not be an easy achievement. (I'm not thinking of knowing it geographically, but its way of life and its society.)

At the moment it is difficult for me to write because everything is considered a 'military secret' and I'm afraid the censor will delete something. In short, I am well, there are a lot of soldiers (boys and girls) here from Eretz among whom I can find a good many to be friendly with. During the day I'm busy, at night we go to the cinema, or I stay home and read. Fortunately I am not in the barracks but in the city, so I can take advantage of my free time.

George, please write about everything. You know how much it all interests me. Did you send Mother a telegram? I will try to write more in the immediate future, and will send a picture as well.

A million hugs.

Cairo
February 27, 1944

My Darling George,

The only fortunate thing is that there are so many soldiers here from Ma'agan, and that one by one they take trips home so I can send you a letter, and along with this one a little gift. I would like to send you every nice thing I see, to make up for the many years I could send nothing. But I don't know what you need, and of course I am not exactly wealthy so my gifts are not very impressive. I am also sending you my fountain pen as I have been given a new one.

Unit V: READING #23

I received your first letter with the greatest possible joy. It took about a week for it to arrive which is not terribly long. But send one back with Yona and that way I'll get it even more quickly.

Not long ago I talked to someone who has just returned from Turkey and asked for news of Mother's arrival. He said everything possible has been done, but that so far there has been no sign that Mother has even thought of Aliyah. Of course one does not know anything to the contrary either. I hope my letter, which Mother probably received, has convinced her of all the advantages of coming as quickly as possible. That it's impossible at the moment to come through Bulgaria is a great obstacle, but there is some hope that there will be a new way soon.

As for me, there is a good chance we will soon be leaving here, and in that case I will be writing shorter letters. But in any event I'll make every attempt to keep you informed of my well-being. I'm preparing several letters for Mother which you'll have to send her later. She must not know, under any circumstances that I've enlisted.

I hope you're guarding those addresses I gave you in connection with matters to do with you and Mother. You can use them safely at any time should you have need of them. I hug you. With everlasting love.

Cairo
February, 1944

Dear George,

Today I went on an excursion again. This time to the royal graves of Luxor. They are interesting, monumental creations. But as a matter of fact I don't have the patience for such things now. As far as I can see, we're moving on next week, and I am tensely awaiting the new assignment.

Should Mother arrive during my absence you will have to explain the situation. I know, darling, this is a difficult task for you, and I don't know if Mother will understand what I've done. I can't find words to express my pain at the thought that once again I am going to cause the darling so much worry, and that we can't be together. All my hopes are that you two will soon be united.

Unending love.

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The following letter was written to the secretary of the kibbutz, who arranged her mission.

Cairo
March, 1944

Dear Braginsky,

Before my departure, I would like to send you a few words. This is not goodbye; we already said goodbye in Eretz. But I feel the need of saying a few words to you, my close good friend.

I know that uncertain situations can arise. To be exact, difficult situations which can affect our fate. I know in that event you will ask yourself certain questions—and I want to answer them beforehand. Not on behalf of others, only on behalf of myself, even though everyone feels as I do.

I leave happily and of my own free will, with full knowledge of the difficulties ahead. I consider my mission a privilege, and at the same time a duty. Everywhere, and under all conditions, the thought that all of you are behind us will help.

I have something to ask of you which it is perhaps unnecessary to ask, but I must. We have grown used to the fact that a lot of comrades affairs since we all live our successes and difficulties together. But you must be aware that in fulfilling the curiosity of those who are interested in knowing our fate we might well have to pay a very high price. You know how much all information or disclosure of fact can mean. I don't want to multiply these words.

Before my departure I must express my appreciation for your help, for all I've received from you, and for the friendliness you always extended to me.

We will talk about everything else upon my return. Until then, warmest regards from Hagar.

April 2, 1944

Dear George,

As I thought I would, I left my former place. I am well and like my work, which is all I can tell you now. I know this laconic communication doesn't say much, but you, darling, can write to me about everything. How are you fitting into the new life? It should be easier for you to judge things now that you have had time to become acquainted with the good and the bad. I think the people are quite decent there, which helps considerably to create a feeling of being at home.

I don't envy you the approaching summer. One doesn't exactly freeze in the Emek Hayarden. But Kinneret is close by and that's not exactly bad! Any news from Mother?

My darling, a thousand hugs.

May 10, 1944

Dear George,

Though air-mail traffic is not too good, I've received three letters from you, and I am so happy I've finally had news of you. It makes me feel well to know everything is in order, and that you're content. I, too, am well, but it hurts that we are so far from each other. I've enjoyed some fine and interesting experiences, but we'll have to wait until I can tell you all about them.

Darling, I am as concerned about Mother as you, and it's terrible that I can't do anything for her. Without knowing any of the details I can envisage the horrible situation. You can imagine how much I think of both of you, and more than ever before of Mother.

Forgive this brief letter, but by now you must be used to these succinct messages. Some day I will make up for all the omissions.
Thousand kisses.

May 20, 1944

George Darling,

Again a short letter so you'll know everything is all right with me, and that's all. I have a suspicion all my friends and acquaintances are annoyed because I don't write. Perhaps they are even angry with me. Please try to explain the situation, and if you can't perhaps they'll forgive me later.

I don't write to Mother at all, so your letters will have to take the place of mine. In fact I even give you permission to forge my signature with the hope that you won't one day take advantage of this to 'extort large sums'.

It is unnecessary to tell you how much I would like to see you, talk to you, or at least be able to write in more detail. I hope you know all this anyway. Your letters arrive with great delay, but sooner or later they do get here and I am always so happy when I have news from you.

A thousand kisses, and warmest regards to our friends.

The following letter was written the day before she crossed the Hungarian border.

June 6, 1944

Darling George,

Once again I'm taking advantage of an opportunity to write, even though I have nothing to write about. The most important thing: most heartfelt wishes for your birthday. You see, I was so hopeful that this time we could celebrate it together, but I was mistaken. However, let us hope we can next time.

I would be very pleased, George dear, if you would write a few lines to M. at our kibbutz. It has been a long time since I wrote but I think a great deal about all of them. I am well. I have reason not to write to them at this particular time.

Any news of Mother? I beg you, please write about everything. Your letters reach me sooner or later, and I am always so happy to read them.

My darling, I wish you the very best of everything. A thousand kisses.

This letter was written to her comrades in Caesarea an hour before she flew from Italy to Yugoslavia.

March 13, 1944

Dearest Comrades:

On sea, land, in the air, in war and in peace, we are all advancing towards the same goal. Each of us will stand at his post. There is no difference between my task and that of another. I will be thinking of all of you a great deal. That's what gives me strength.

Warmest comradely greetings.

This letter was written the day she parachuted into Yugoslavia and was received by her mother very much later, it was forwarded by an unknown route.

March 13, 1944

Mother Darling,

In a few days I'll be so close to you—and yet so far. Forgive me, and try to understand. With a million hugs.

Blessed Is The Match

Blessed is the match consumed
in kindling flame.
Blessed is the flame that burns
in the secret fastness of the heart.
Blessed is the heart with strength to stop
its beating for honour's sake.
Blessed is the match consumed
in kindling flame.

One—Two—Three

One—two—three...
eight feet long,
Two strides across, the rest is dark...
Life hangs over me like a question mark.
One—two—three...
maybe another week,
Or next month may still find me here,
But death, I feel, is very near.
I could have been
twenty-three next July;
I gambled on what mattered most,
The dice were cast. I lost.

GOODNESS INCARNATE: THE PEOPLE LE CHAMBON

Terrence De Pres

We live in an age of declining faith in human nature. Daily newspaper accounts deepen this lack of faith. A shallow evaluation of the Holocaust has only reinforced this despair. Indeed, the indifference and lack of concern by many people to Nazi actions has been emphasized. It is important to understand that this lack of caring tells only part of the Holocaust story.

Motivated by the desire to go beyond the “depraved” view of people, Philip Hallie’s *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed* is the inspiring story of a French Protestant village that decided, as a community, to shelter Jews from the Nazis. The following excerpt from an article by Terrence Des Pres, author of *The Survivor: An Anatomy of Life in the Death Camp*, shows that groups of people dedicated to a moral principle are capable of caring for the oppressed.

Ours is an age of aftermath and we live by an infernal logic. We are maimed in spirit by the brutality and suffering we witness, or we close off care and don’t give a damn....In his account of how he came to write *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*, Philip Hallie....expresses our common predicament this way:

The pattern of the strong crushing the weak kept repeating itself and repeating itself, so that when I was not bitterly angry, I was bored at the repetition of the patterns of persecution. When I was not desiring to be cruel with the cruel, I was a monster—like, perhaps, many others around me—who could look upon torture and death without a shudder, and who therefore looked upon life without a belief in its preciousness.

...By chance, while looking through documents about the Holocaust, Professor Hallie came across a brief article about “a little village in the mountains of southern France.” He began reading with the scholar’s expected “objectivity,” but the utter simplicity of what he read disarmed him:

I saw the two clumsy khaki-colored buses of the Vichy French police pull into the village square. I saw the police captain facing the pastor of the village and warning him that if he did not give up the

names of the Jews they had been sheltering in the village he and his fellow pastor, as well as the families who had been caring for the Jews, would be arrested. I saw the pastor refuse to give up those people who had been strangers in his village, even at the risk of his own destruction.

Then I saw the only Jew the police could find, sitting in the otherwise empty bus. I saw a thirteen-year-old boy, the son of the pastor, pass a piece of his precious chocolate through the window to the prisoner, while twenty gendarmes who were guarding the lone prisoner watched. And then I saw the villagers passing their little gifts through the window until there were gifts all around him—most of them food in those hungry days during the German occupation of France.

...What kind of community would run such immediate risk?...During the entire period of the Nazi occupation, first under the nervous eye of Vichy, then directly under Gestapo surveillance, the people of Le Chambon—about 700 villagers and 2,000 peasants from outlying farms—had used themselves to welcome, hide, and keep from harm more than 2,500 refugees, most of them Jews. Under the leadership of their Protestant pastor, and with

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financial aid from the American Quakers, the members of this community voted to make of their homes a "city of refuge." They would open their doors to anyone in need, and would organize their small resources for the express purpose of saving as many Jewish children as possible. They would also work with the Cimade, an underground organization run entirely by women, to smuggle Jews across the border into Switzerland.

...everything was done quietly, as if nothing were happening...rescue operations were a day-to-day business, crucial decisions were made at the level of the family by ordinary people in their kitchens. Nor was this the saga of a great leader merely, for although André Trocmé was the spiritual center of the village and a very forceful man, his power rested with the villagers, who permitted him to carry forward plans for their city of refuge. He was committed to nonviolent resistance; the villagers endorsed his view—...If Jews are to be turned in, then no Jews will be turned in. Once these conditions are understood, the thing that makes the story of this village supremely beautiful is simply that it happened... If awareness of history has pushed us to the point of losing faith in ourselves, the case may also be...that "redemption lies in remembering."...To know that goodness exists, like the myth of the seven just men on whose existence the existence of the human world depends, is more than knowing merely. In times as brazenly brutal as ours, it is among our deepest needs...

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Professor Hallie...has reminded us...that goodness, like other constituents of human character, does not simply exist, it happens, stage by stage, decision by decision, and the best way to understand it—and thereby be blessed and inspired to faith and emulation—is to behold it in action...

And so there is André Trocmé, the Huguenot pastor urging his people to be mindful of the crisis upon them, a man of mystical fervor, aggressively loving, almost explosive in his rush to save lives. And there is Magda Trocmé, as commanding as her husband...a woman who could never manage to think of herself and her friends as "heroic," but only as human beings doing what, at that time, in that place, needed to be done. André conceived the idea of hiding refugee children in the village, and it was he who went to get help from the Quaker office in Marseilles. But Magda best sums up the spirit of the village itself: "I do not hunt around to find people to help. But I never close my door..." And it was she who said, when the first Jew abruptly appeared at the door timidly hoping for help, "Naturally, come in, and come in."

Around these central figures a small knot of

active organizers gathered, those who ran the schools, those who turned *pensions* and boardinghouses into the "funded houses" that received financial support from outside the village and in which large numbers of Jewish children survived the war...Then came the villagers themselves, each with a home into which one or more refugees came, sometimes to stay, sometimes to wait until accommodations could be arranged elsewhere. And surrounding the village, there were the isolated farms where many Jews found safety and work. Connections were maintained with partisan fighters in the area. Someone...supplied blank copies of the indispensable identification cards that each refugee needed in order to pass as a villager or at least as not a Jew. And a fast voice...would call on the phone to say that a raid was coming, that the Germans were on their way for one of their "sweeps." Goodness would seem to be contagious, for throughout the whole of this operation, even after Le Chambon became known as a "nest of Jews" and the villagers lived in fear of their lives, not one person turned informer.

Individuals got arrested, got killed, but in the main the rescue mission of Le Chambon was successful...These people did not simply wake up one day in the middle of the war and decide to start saving Jews. They began at the beginning. When the Germans occupied France the villagers would not salute the Vichy flag. When loyal citizens were commanded to ring the bells of their churches to celebrate official events, no bells rang in Le Chambon. And at a time when to preach an ethic of non-violence was forbidden by law and by the Protestant Church itself, Trocmé and his fellow pastor regularly broke this law...

The village was in small but active revolt long before the first Jew arrived, and when that frightened woman knocked on the Trocmés door when the point of no return came—they were ready to carry out in practice what they had already been doing in spirit.

One of Professor Hallie's most pursued observations has to do with the impact of the Huguenot experience upon the village during the war. We tend to remember the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 1572 and forget that for most of their four centuries' residence in France the people of Huguenot faith were harassed, discriminated against, and persecuted constantly, often to the point of extreme bloodshed. To them, the "law of the land" had never been worth respecting, and when the Vichy regime started laying down new laws, this was only one more case of law-as-abuse to which this people, this tradition, would respond as of old—with "the resistance of exile." ...The example of the

Huguenot tradition in Le Chambon leads Professor Hallie to his most valuable insight. He believes...that ethical norms tend to arise from, and be clarified by, the experience of victims. Human beings under protracted pressure are best situated to see and feel...what hurts life and damages the spirit. And out of this negative moment a positive morality is born...We need only consider that although the ethic of Classical Greece, based on the celebration of strength and magnanimity, is extremely appealing, it could not save its own culture and has not entered the heart of Western morality half so much...as the combined ethic of the Jews and the early Christians—both of whom were victims...The villagers of Le

Chambon knew that to be on the side of the victim is to be on the side of life, which is what morality in practice comes down to...With their Huguenot tradition to guide them, the men and women of Le Chambon were ready in advance to put their beliefs into action. Goodness happens when human beings know ahead of time that one day they will be called upon to act. Our humanity remains tragically tied to the inhumanity we oppose and endure...

Goodness. When was the last time anyone used that word in earnest, without irony, as anything more than a doubtful cliché?...We can—with the example of Le Chambon to remind us—begin again to believe that decency is possible.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What do you think of Madga Trocmé when she said, "I do not hunt around to find people to help, but I never close my door"? How do you react to women so actively involved in the Resistance?
2. We live in a world in which we have been taught to be cautious, to be skeptical even of persons asking for our help. For example, how do you think you might react to a frantic man who pounds on your door in the early evening asking to use the telephone?
3. In what ways did the people of Le Chambon resist the Nazis? When did they start?
4. Why do you think they resisted? Was there anything in their background that made them more apt to disobey orders? Explain.
5. Do you agree with the author that the experience of suffering helps to develop ethical values? How do you react to the author's belief that the development of principles must precede acts of goodness?
6. Does the story of Le Chambon make you feel any better about people? Explain.

DEFINITIONS

Cimade:

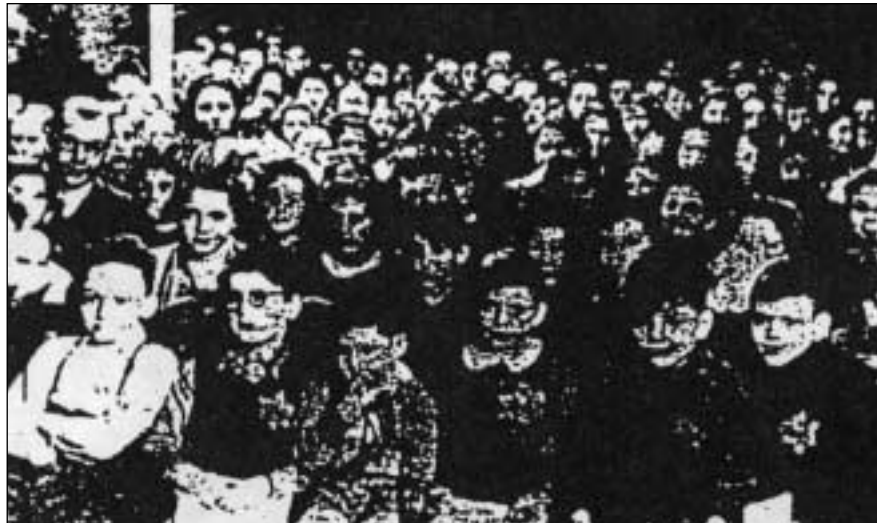
French underground organization made up of women who helped smuggle Jews into Switze

Huguenots:

French Protestants

Saint Bartholomew's Day:

date in 1572 when thousands of Huguenots were slaughtered by French Catholics for their religious belief.



The Japanese diplomat could either obey orders—or follow his conscience

VISAS FOR LIFE

David Tracey

SEMPO SUGIHARA awoke to shouts outside the Japanese consulate in Kaunas, Lithuania. Through a window, the 40-year-old diplomat stared in disbelief at hundreds of men, women and children.

Many of the men were bearded and wore long black caftans and round fur hats. Some of the people held babies or supported grandparents. Most carried all they owned in cloth-wrapped bundles.

"They're Jewish refugees," a house-boy informed Sugihara. "They want you to save their lives."

It was July 27, 1940. The previous September, Germany had invaded Poland, and horrifying reports of German crimes against Jews were spreading. But what could that have to do with a minor Japanese diplomat in Lithuania? Sugihara asked for a meeting, and Zorach Warhaftig, a lawyer in his mid-30s, explained the plight of his people.

Entire families were being slaughtered by the Nazis, Warhaftig told Sugihara. The refugees had managed to reach Russian-dominated Lithuania, but it was only a matter of time before war came here as well.

Only one escape route remained—overland through the Soviet Union. But the Russians would never let them pass without proof that the Jews would be admitted to another country after crossing the Soviet Union. Other consulates in Lithuania were either unsympathetic or closed.

Thousands of visas would be needed. "I want to help you," Sugihara said, "but I will have to ask Tokyo."

Warhaftig worried. Few countries in 1940 were willing to help homeless Jews, and Japan was about to be formally allied with Germany.

Standing in the crowd that day was Yeshoshua Nishri, 20. He listened as Warhaftig gave them a report. *This is our only hope*, he thought. *Time is running out.*

Sugihara cabled the foreign ministry in Tokyo, explaining the plight of the Jews. "I am requesting permission to issue transit visas immediately," he wrote.

Two days later the response arrived. With dismay, Sugihara read: "You are not to issue transit visas to those people who do not have a designated destination."

That night Sugihara paced the floor until dawn. "I must do something," he told his wife, Yukiko, who had stayed up with him.

"Yes," Yukiko said. "We have to." She thought sadly of the "No Jews Allowed" sign at the public park. *How could people turn their hearts over to blind hate?* she wondered. The look of desperation in the eyes of the refugees—especially those with small children—had moved the young mother of three sons. Sugihara cabled Tokyo again, explaining that the refugees would need 20 days to cross the Soviet Union. Following the boat trip from the Russian port of Vladivostok, they would have 30 days in Japan. Surely in 50 days, he argued, a final destination could be found.

The answer was still no.

Sugihara sent a third cable to Tokyo explaining that with a Nazi advance imminent, the Jews had nowhere else to turn. Again, his request was denied. The choice for Sempo Sugihara was clear: he would have to obey either his government or his conscience.

SEMPO SUGIHARA always went his own way. He graduated from high school with top marks, and his father insisted that he become a doctor. But Sempo's dream was to study literature and live abroad. On the morning of the entrance exam for premedical students, young Sugihara left home with his father's admonition to do his best. But when the exams were handed out, he wrote his name on the top and then set his pencil down. When the test was over, he turned in a blank sheet.

Sugihara entered Tokyo's prestigious Waseda University to study English. He paid for his own education with part-time work as a long-shoreman, tutor and rickshaw-puller.

One day he saw an intriguing item in the want ads. The foreign ministry was seeking young people who wished to study abroad as a start to a diplomatic career. It seemed perfect for the young dreamer. One of only a handful to pass the demanding test, Sugihara was sent to university in Harbin, China. There he studied Russian. He also converted to Christianity.

After graduating with honors, he took a job with the Japanese-controlled government in Manchuria, in

northeastern China. He rose to become vice minister of the foreign-affairs department. One time when the Soviet government offered to sell a railway to the Japanese, Sugihara researched the deal. After discovering that the Soviet price was double what the railway was worth, he got the price cut in half.

Such initiative soon put Sugihara one step away from becoming the minister of foreign affairs in Manchuria. But he became dismayed at the cruel way his countrymen were treating the local people. Sugihara resigned as vice minister in protest and returned to Japan in 1934.

Since he was now the top Russian-speaker in the Japanese government, foreign ministry hoped to post him to the Moscow embassy. But the Soviets remembered the railway deal and refused to allow Sugihara in. Tokyo sent him instead to Lithuania to open a one-man consulate in 1939. There he could report on Soviet activities and German war plans.

Six months later, war erupted and the Soviet Union annexed Lithuania. All the consulates were to be closed. And the crowd of Jews outside Sugihara's gate was growing by the hour.

SUGIHARA AND HIS WIFE discussed what might happen if he disobeyed orders. "It could mean the end of my career," he said. But in the end, Sugihara knew which path he would follow.

"I may have to disobey the government," he told Yukiko. "But if I don't, I would be disobeying God."

Outside the consulate, Sugihara announced to the crowd, "I will issue a transit visa to everyone who wants one."

There was shocked silence, then an explosion of joy. Many wept in prayer. A long, disorderly line formed as people jostled for position.

Since the Japanese visas were for transit only, the holder would still need to declare a final destination. Curacao, a Dutch possession in the Caribbean, was suggested. Warhaftig had obtained a written statement saying no visa was required to enter the colony.

Sugihara began issuing visas that morning of August 1. At first he asked all applicants the standard questions: Did they have travel tickets to take them beyond Japan? Did they have enough money for the trip? But when it became obvious that many of the refugees had fled with few possessions, Sugihara omitted these questions.

Igo Feldblum, 12, and his family had escaped from Krakow, Poland. When it was their turn to enter Sugihara's office, one of the consul's assistants whispered a phrase to each member of Igo's family. *Banzai Nippon* (Long live Japan). With these words, Sugihara could confirm that the refugees "spoke Japanese."

Each visa took about a quarter of an hour.

Sugihara skipped lunch to write as many as possible. Even so, when he finally stopped that first night, the crowds had not diminished.

He worked day and night, and when the official forms ran out, he wrote more by hand. As the days went by, Sugihara began to weaken. His eyes became bloodshot from lack of sleep. "I wonder if I should stop now," he wearily told his wife one night.

"Let's save as many as we can," Yukiko softly answered.

By the third week of August, Sugihara had received cables ordering him to stop. Large numbers of Polish refugees were arriving in the Japanese ports of Yokohama and Kobe, creating chaos. Sugihara ignored the orders.

By the end of August, the Soviets were demanding that the consulate be shut down. Tokyo instructed Sugihara to move to Berlin. Yet hundreds of Jews were still arriving. The pleading faces in the crowd were too much to bear. "We will be staying for one night at a hotel here," Sugihara announced. "I will issue as many visas as I can before we leave."

A crowd followed the family to the hotel, where Sugihara continued to write. The next morning, an even larger group followed Sugihara and his family to the train station. On the train, he continued to scribble frantically, but he couldn't produce enough visas for everyone. He began signing his name on blank sheets of paper, hoping that the rest might be filled in. He was still passing papers through the window as the train pulled away.

"Sempo Sugihara," a man shouted down the tracks, "we will never forget you!"

CLUTCHING their precious visas, the refugees made their way east across Siberia. By the time they found themselves safely aboard a ship bound for Japan, many Jews were convinced that Sugihara's hastily penned and stamped piece of paper had somehow been blessed.

Moshe Cohen, a 17-year-old seminary student, certainly thought so. As his group started to board the ship for Kobe, Cohen watched a Russian official shove a rabbi toward two Japanese officials checking visas. When the rabbi opened his passport, the wind blew away his visa, carrying it out in a fluttering arc over the water.

"We all watched, transfixed," says Cohen. "Around it flew until it landed back on the ramp, right at the rabbi's feet. He handed it to the Japanese officials, who waved him through."

In Japan, the Jews were treated without discrimination. When their transit visas expired, they were allowed to go to Shanghai to wait out the war. Curacao, it turned out, was closed to them. After the war some settled in Japan. Most of the others traveled to the United States, South America or Palestine, the

future state of Israel.

SUGIHARA estimated that he wrote 3500 transit visas. Other sources say at least 6000.

During the war, Sugihara headed consulates in Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Germany. Since the visas were never mentioned by his government, he thought his actions had been forgotten.

In 1945 Sugihara was running the Japanese consulate in Bucharest, Romania, when he and his family were arrested by Soviet troops and taken to a prison camp. After 21 months, the family was returned to Japan.

Back in Tokyo, Sugihara was hoping to be offered in ambassadorship. Instead, the vice foreign minister asked for his resignation. The customary letter of recommendation was denied. Sugihara realized that they had remembered what he had done in Lithuania.

To support his family, the career diplomat first tried selling light bulbs door-to-door. Eventually he moved to Moscow to manage a branch of a trading firm, leaving his family behind for long periods of time.

THE JEWS whose lives he saved never forgot Sugihara. Many tried to find him; their inquiries to the foreign ministry in Tokyo were fruitless.

One day in 1967, Sugihara's son Hiroki received a message that an official at the Israeli embassy in Tokyo wanted to see him, it was Yehoshua Nishri, who had the family tracked through the Japanese foreign ministry alumni list.

"I've been looking for your father for years," Nishri told Hiroki. "I could never forget the man who saved my life."

Hiroki said that his father was working in Moscow. "Tell him that Israel wants to honor him for what he did," Nishri said.

Hiroki received a typical answer from his father: he was busy with his job and had no time for official thanks. But three months later, Nishri convinced Sugihara to come to Israel.

In Tel Aviv, Sugihara was greeted as a hero. Parties were held in his honor by the people he had saved, some of whom had gone on to play important roles in Israel's young history. Among them was Zorach Warhaftig who had helped write Israel's declaration of independence and was now minister of religious affairs.

"I've always wondered," Warhaftig said, "why you did it."

Sugihara replied, "I saw people in distress, and I was able to help them, so why shouldn't I?"

In 1984 Israel's Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority awarded Sugihara the title of "Righteous Among the Nations." Sugihara 85, was

too frail to attend the ceremony, so his wife accepted the award. A park was named after him, and in 1992, Israel awarded Sugihara a commemorative citizenship.

Sugihara has been honored in the United States too. Recently the Mirer Yeshiva, a religious school, celebrated its 50th anniversary in New York City. The school's entire faculty and student body—some 300 rabbis, students and family members—fled Mir, Poland, and were saved by Sugihara. The anniversary was celebrated with the establishment of the Sempo Sugihara Educational Fund to benefit young Jewish scholars.

Igo Feldblum is now a physician living in Haifa, Israel. "A brave man does things which are difficult to do," he reflects. "A hero does things which seem impossible to do. He acted even though he knew he would gain nothing from it."

Sugihara died in Japan in relative obscurity in 1986. Only when a large number of Orthodox Jews showed up at his home for the funeral service did his neighbors even realize they'd been living next door to a hero.

In 1991, the Japanese government issued a belated apology to his family for firing him. His wife and sons still hear from thankful Jews who received one of Sugihara's visas. It is estimated that if the children and grandchildren of the people he saved are counted, there are tens of thousands around the world who owe their lives to the courageous diplomat.

Warhaftig, who has 25 grandchildren, looks back on the experience and says, "Sempo Sugihara was an emissary of God."

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Sempo Sugihara (inset) with facsimiles of the visas he issued in 1940.

Source: Tracey, David. "Visas for Life: The Story of Sempo Sugihara." *Reader's Digest*.

STEFANIA PODGORSKA BURZMINSKI

Gay Block and Malka Drucker

Stefania Burzminski's face is unlined and her trim figure is enhanced by an erect carriage. A stationary bike takes up a corner of the living room of her spacious apartment in Brookline, Massachusetts, the downstairs of which also serves as her husband's office. Joe Burzminski is a dentist, one of three brothers among the thirteen Jews saved by Stefania. He doesn't participate in the interview because we hadn't been aware of his existence, and he phones repeatedly, asking Stefania to come back down to help in the office. But when we meet him on leaving, he is warm and friendly.

Over a year later, Gay returns to photograph the two of them together, and this time Stefania is warmer and slightly less angry. When Gay asks to see and copy additional wartime photographs, more of the story unfolds, including the root of her bitterness.

Do you think it's nice for me to go back and talk about the war? It was a terrible time, and I have to relive it every time I talk about it.

I was born in 1923, in a small village in Poland. I was the third youngest of nine children. I don't know my exact birth date because we all celebrated our birthdays on Easter. My father was forty and my mother was seventeen when they got married. Father taught us, when we fought with other children, "Fighting will bring nothing good. If you're friends and help each other, that will bring something good." But sometimes the mother of the Jewish children would say to them, "Don't play with the *goyim*."

Once I heard my father say to a man with *payes* (earlock curls), "Why do you wear the yarmulke and the long black coat? That is not religion. That's because you used to live in a hot climate where you needed head protection. It announces to everyone that you're a Jew." The man answered, "My friends would give me trouble if I didn't do it. I don't like it either." I know that these are some of the things which caused pogroms, but I never saw a pogrom myself.

I moved to Przemysl when I was fourteen. It was a larger town and my sister was working there, so I thought I could get work, too. I worked in a bakery for one year and lived with my sister, and then I got a job working for a Jewish woman in a small shop. She was Mrs. Diamant, my husband's mother. I lived in her house, went to the market for her, and did the cleaning and cooking. She had four sons; one was a doctor, one went to dentistry school—that was my husband, Joe—and the other two went to gymnasium. After the Nazis came to Przemysl, the four sons went



Joe Burzminski's brother, Henek, with his wife, Donuta, and their child, after the war.

to live in Lvov because they thought it would be safer there since it was near Russia, and they asked me to take care of their parents. When things got worse the four sons returned. Then it was the time the Germans ordered the Jews to wear the David star, and then the Jews were put into the ghetto.

This confused me. Before the war everyone shopped and talked together and everything was fine. But then there was the segregation and the mark of the Jewish star, and that was confusing for me. One day I saw a Jewish boy on the street, about nine years old, and another boy came up to him and

said, "You are a Jew!" and he hit him. A man, just an ordinary worker, saw it and said, "Why would you do that? He's a boy just like you. Look at his hands, his face. There's no difference. We have enemies now from another country who say there's a difference, but there isn't." So the boy who hit the Jewish boy looked sad and said, "Oh, all right, I'm sorry."

I listened to him and I came home and I looked at my hands and I said, "No, there is no difference." So, you see, I listened and I learned.

Joe's family had to go to the ghetto. I visited them and they gave me things to exchange for food. After the ghetto was closed I sneaked in through a hole in the fence. It seems like this should have frightened me, but it didn't.

One day I was in the ghetto and I went out through the hole. I looked and I didn't see anybody so I slipped through the hole and then I saw two Gestapo, each with his rifle pointing to my head. Then they moved their rifles and I looked at their faces and like two mummies, they didn't say a word. They hung their rifles on their shoulders and they left. I don't know what happened. Maybe something was in my eyes. What happened? Maybe some invisible man, some force repelled them. I don't know.

Then I decided to get into the ghetto a different way. I made friends with a Polish policeman. I told him to disappear for ten minutes while I go in the ghetto. He said, "Don't be longer than ten minutes." But sometimes I was fifteen minutes and he'd say, "Okay, five kisses." I'd say, "No, three kisses." We all talked together and laughed. This was also not so nice for them to have to stay there and guard. They had Jewish friends, too, and I saw them give bread. I even said once, "I saw you give bread, so if you tell the Gestapo on me, I'll tell on you."

Many things started to happen. My mother and one brother were taken to Germany to work, and that left my six-year-old sister alone. She went to neighbors, but she wanted to come live with me. She begged and begged me until I had to say "yes." It was getting worse in Przemysl, too. There were signs all over the city which said, "Whoever helps Jews will be punished by death."

The ghetto got smaller and smaller. The parents were taken along with two of the brothers. One of them, my present husband, Joe, jumped from the train. He hid in the forest for a time, then he went to the house of someone who was too afraid to keep him, so then he took a chance and came to my apartment. Poor Joe, he was filthy and his clothes were rags. I gave him my nightgown to wear. Joe cried all night, and my sister laughed at him in my nightgown. I explained to my sister who Joe was, that

he was a Jew, that Germans wanted to kill him, and that we had to help him.

Whenever my friends came to visit, I hid him under the bed. Joe's brother, Henek, worked on a farm close to the city. I went there to tell him that Joe was safe with me. That night his brother's fiancée, Danuta, showed up at my place. She didn't look Jewish so she could be open, but it was still a dangerous thing to do.

After a few days, Henek was sent back to the ghetto. I am still angry with him for what he did next: he sent some stranger, just a street man, with a note telling Danuta to come back to him in the ghetto. This was so dangerous because we didn't know who this man was and it was just an open note. He could be going straight to the Gestapo. So Danuta and Joe said they wouldn't risk my life like that, that they would go back into the ghetto. I went with them, and as soon as I saw his brother I really told him what a miserable coward he had been. He could have come himself, at night, but he was too afraid. So he risked all our lives.

Joe came every two or three days to bring me things to sell for food, and to pick up the food I had for him. Then Joe said to me, "Maybe you'll take a bigger apartment and you'll hide me and a few more Jews." I didn't like the idea, but I decided I would do it anyway.

I thought, "How can I find an apartment?" I don't know where to look." So I started walking all around the town, and I went to one area where the Jews used to live, and it was ghostly. Windows and doors had been taken away and used for firewood. Even the floors were gone. We could have taken a place with no floor, but we had to have windows and doors. I didn't know where to go. Just then—you will laugh, maybe not even believe me—but a voice said to me, "Go farther and you will see two women with brooms. Ask them where you can find an apartment. Go." The voice was strong, a woman's voice. So I went to the next block and I saw the two women with brooms. They looked nice, so I asked them if they knew of an apartment. They said, "Yes, go to this place and you will see an empty cottage." They told me the janitor's name, and when I went there, there was a cottage with two rooms and a kitchen and an attic. It was a good apartment. It didn't have electricity, and the bathroom was an outhouse, but it was okay. I just bought a big can with a cover, and they did their business and I emptied it at night. In three days the apartment was ready. My sister and I worked so hard to clean it up, and then Joe moved in.

Then everyone was crying for help. One woman threatened to denounce us if I didn't take her in. She heard about me from Joe's brother in the ghetto. Her



Front row: Stefania's sister, Helena, Stefania, and Judy Shylenger, 1947. Judy's father is behind her, next to his wife. Joe Burzminski is on left.

children came to me and cried, "I don't want to die." I didn't know what to do. I saw dead here, dead there. "So all right," I said. "Stay with me. We'll try here." Then John Dorlich, the mailman, came to ask me to hide him. He used to take things to and from the ghetto for me, so he knew where I lived. When he came to ask for help, could I refuse? Then came Mr. Shylenger and his daughter, Judy. Then Manek Hirsch and his wife, Sally. One day I went into the ghetto and I told Henek and Danuta that they must come with me. But Henek said, "Why should I go live in a bunker? Here I have my own apartment and fresh air whenever I want." I told him I had heard that the ghetto would soon be finished. During the war my ears were very long and my eyes were very wide. But still Henek refused. I went back home and Joe begged me, "Stefushka"—most of them called me Stefushka—"please, you must find some way to make him come." I went back into the ghetto and somehow I convinced him. Only two weeks later the ghetto was empty.

Soon I had thirteen Jews with me, and we lived there for two winters. It was a hard life, always dangerous. I couldn't bring any of my friends to my house. Once a boy became very attached to me and he would come over for one or two hours at a time. I had to figure out some way to make him mad at me or to scare him so he would stop coming. I liked him very much. He was good and handsome, and if I hadn't had my thirteen ... So I went to the studio of a photographer friend of mine, and I asked her to give me a picture of a German in his uniform. She found one of a very handsome one, and I took it home and put it on my wall. The next time my friend

came over to my apartment he saw the picture and asked, "what is that?" I said, "That is my new boy friend. I am dating him and I will stay with him." He couldn't believe it. He said his heart was broken. I wanted to cry, really, because I loved him. But I had to help my thirteen. I had to save them. I wanted to tell him. But my mind told me not to tell him. He just said, "You and an SS man?" He couldn't believe it. And then he finally left.

One day a German hospital was set up in a building across the street from me. The Germans started to take over all the apartments in the area. They came to my apartment and said I must be out in two hours. I thought, *Where can all thirteen of us go in only two hours?* My thirteen people told me to run away and they would stay and fight the Germans. They say they would not die without a fight. My neighbors told me to run away, but I wouldn't. They all said I was crazy. I started to pray. A woman's voice spoke to me again; it was as clear as your voice. She says, "No one will take this apartment from you. Just send the people up to the attic and tell them to be quiet. Then open all the windows and doors," the voice told me. "and start to clean and be quiet and sing and have your sister sing, too." Of course, they all thought we all would die. I did what the voice told me. The SS man came back and said, "It's good you didn't prepare to move because we only need one room, so you can stay in the other room." And do you know what? They stayed there for seven months with thirteen Jews over their heads!

I think this proves that if you have to do something, you will do it. But if you say, maybe yes,

maybe no, then you might not. Some people are old at seventeen, and some are young at seventy. I never regretted what I did. Some people are ugly and miserable, but that's human character.

After the war the Jews still stayed in my apartment for a few days more until they could find a place to live. One day I was fixing lunch because they all came home to eat, but Joe didn't come at two o'clock when he was supposed to. By three o'clock I was worried about him because some people still weren't so nice to Jews, so I went to the market to look for him. I didn't find him but I saw Manek Hirsch and Janek Dorlich, and I asked if they had seen Joe. They said, "No, but don't worry, he's all right." I turned to go and when I was about five yards from them I heard them laughing. I turned to see what was funny and Manek was saying, "Now that the war is over, Joe doesn't need his *goyka* anymore."

At that minute I felt so bad, my heart felt like it was being squeezed. It wasn't that I was in love with Joe and wanted to marry him. I absolutely did not, but it hurt me that they said that about me after they lived in my house for two years. After I walked away, I heard someone say that a Jew had been killed. Violent things were still happening. I was afraid it was Joe.

I went home and at six o'clock Joe finally came home. He was so happy. He had found an apartment for us with water and electricity, and all the things we didn't have before, and he had found furniture, and then when he looked at his watch he couldn't believe how late it was.

About six months later, Joe and I were walking in the park and we saw Manek. He said to me, "Stefushka, are you angry with me? I know you must be." I said, "No, I am not angry. We all make mistakes." He said, "But I said an ugly thing about you that I should not have said. After all, you saved my life. Without you I would not even be alive right now." Then he put his head on my shoulder, and Joe took a picture.

It wasn't long after the war that Joe asked me to marry him. I said, "Go marry a Jewish girl. I'm Catholic and I don't want to marry a Jew." He said, "You fought for my life, now I want to fight for your life."

I fought it, because I had plenty of boy friends, and I hadn't been able to go out with any of them during the war. But Joe asked me and asked me and, well, he agreed to change religions. He became Catholic.

We stayed in Poland until we went to live in Israel for two years in 1958. I didn't like Israel at all, so we came to the United States. We have one

daughter and one son, and they live in California.

I wrote my memoirs. I wrote how I struggled to bring food, and everything I did. But publishers refuse. They say they have enough Holocaust books. I said that it is not Holocaust. This is not killing. That was killing but this is saving. You have to show people a good example. Who will teach people humanity if they see only killing and nothing else?

I talked with a rabbi and he said he will give my name to other synagogues. I told him I don't need him to hang my name saying I was good. My story should go to schools to teach youngsters because when there's chaos in a country, it's very easy to be a bad boy or bad girl. But to be good is very difficult. To think separately and not like other people tell you to think, but everyone doesn't think like I do.

I'm sure my book will be published. It took me seven years to write it, and then more years to have it corrected. I had to sit with a person from Boston University and pay her seventeen dollars an hour because my spelling and grammar is so bad that she couldn't know what I wrote. And when I came to the part where the SS man came to live in my apartment, I thought, I can't finish it. I went and I lay on the floor and I prayed like I prayed that other time, and this time a man's voice, deep and strong, said to me, "This is no time to pray. You must get up and go finish your writing." And he picked me up and I felt like a feather as I sat down in my chair.

A Christian person helped me to go back to Poland for a visit. A Christian helped me. But where are the Jews? I didn't help Christians. But sometimes I think the Jews are sleeping. I have a medal from Yad Vashem, but I have no tree planted there because I have no money to go to Israel. I think Israel should pay for me to go there to plant the tree.

I work hard all day now, helping Joe in his dentist's practice. Every time I have to do an interview like this, it brings back all the memories and I can't sleep for some nights.



Stefania with Sally Hirsch.

WITH RAOUL WALLENBERG IN BUDAPEST

WALLENBERG'S LAST ACTS, HIS UNIQUE CHARACTER

Per Anger

Wallenberg's words, the last time we saw each other, were typical of him and of the seriousness with which he took his assignment. "I'd never be able to go back to Stockholm without knowing inside myself I'd done all a man could do to save as many Jews as possible." And he did all that a man could, to the very last. He was tireless in his efforts to save Jews from deportation. Many are the stories of how he could pop up on the most unexpected occasions and succeed in preventing the removal of Jews with protective passports, or stop the Arrow Crossmen from forcing their way into the Swedish houses. He swamped the Arrow Cross authorities with written petitions for relief for his charges. It was often he who was the prime mover in the neutral legations' protests, through joint memoranda, to the Arrow Cross regime, against the inhuman treatment of the Jews.

Even if the mass deportations to Auschwitz by rail had stopped, the Germans made sporadic attempts to ship groups of Jews off by train.

Wallenberg always had people on watch who could warn him in time to get to the station before the train's departure. On one occasion, he arrived with several long lists of the holders of protective passports and demanded in an authoritative tone to check whether any such persons had by mistake been taken aboard. The Germans were taken by surprise and, right under their noses, Wallenberg pulled out a large number of Jews. Many of them had no passport at all, only various papers in the Hungarian language—drivers licenses, vaccination records or tax receipts—that the Germans did not understand. The bluff succeeded.

Another time, when I was there, the Germans tried to stop us with guns. But we stood our ground, showed our Swedish diplomatic passports, and were able to leave with our charges.

One day when Wallenberg was elsewhere, I rushed out to a station from which a trainload of Jews was about to depart. There was no time to

debate with the Germans. I explained that a terrible mistake had been made, since apparently they were about to deport Jews who had Swedish protective passports. Should they not be released immediately, I would make sure that Veesenmayer was informed. The reaction to this proved to be the same as on the tenth of October, when we were sending home the group of Swedish women and children. The German train commander did not dare to risk being reported to the dreaded Veesenmayer. I went into the cars to call the roll, but found only two Jews with protective passports. However, with the help of the Hungarian police officer there, Batizfalvy (who secretly cooperated with Raoul Wallenberg and me), I succeeded, despite the SS commandant's orders, in freeing 150 Jews from the station even though 148 had no protective passports.

Wallenberg sometimes arranged for special expeditions in which Jews who looked Aryan, dressed in Arrow Cross uniforms, raided camps and prisons and on several occasions succeeded in freeing a large number of Jews on the pretext that they were being taken away to deportation.

How many persons did Wallenberg save? To that question, a clear-cut answer can hardly be given.

I witnessed his stopping the deportation of a total of several thousand Jews at train stations, from the Swedish houses, and during the death march to the Austrian border.

It was through these acts that the rumor was spread of his almost superhuman ability, in seemingly hopeless situations, to snatch victims from the Nazi executioners. He became hated but feared by the Arrow Crossmen. He became the Budapest Jews' hope of rescue from the final liquidation.

Yet it was not through the kind of personal intervention just described that he made his greatest contribution. It was as a negotiator that he achieved his greatest results. He was the driving force behind the agreements entered into with the Arrow Cross regime concerning their respecting not only the

Unit V: READING #27

5,000 Swedish protective passports but also corresponding documents of the other neutral legations.

Wallenberg was always conscious of the fact that saving as many persons as possible was what mattered. "You know yourself," he remarked on one occasion, "how we're besieged every day by people who plead for a job at the legation, for asylum or for a protective passport for themselves and their relations. When they can't come themselves, they send their Aryan friends to ask help for them. All of them want to meet me personally. I've got to be firm. Time doesn't allow me to devote myself to single cases when it's a question of life or death for Budapest's entire Jewish population."

Wallenberg held to this line rigorously.

To accomplish his ends, he applied every means. He bribed Arrow Cross officials. Sometimes he threatened execution. Other times he promised pardon after the arrival of the Russians. He used Foreign Minister Kemeny's wife (who was of Jewish descent and greatly admired him) to influence her husband to approve the protective passports and so on.

As I mentioned earlier, after the war had ended, it was established that 50,000 Jews who lived in the foreign houses, the international ghetto, had survived. They were generally equipped with protective passports or similar documents issued by the neutral legations and the International Red Cross. Of these, Wallenberg had protected nearly half, around 20 to 25,000.

But Wallenberg's contribution extended even further. Besides his efforts for the international ghetto, toward the end he also worked to protect the

inhabitants of Budapest's general or so-called sealed ghetto, where around 70,000 had been forced together. He could sometimes arrange for food deliveries to the starving, and he managed on several occasions to forestall the Arrow Crossmen's rampages in the ghetto.

But the Arrow Crossmen had, in their fanatical hatred of the Jews, decided to commit mass murder in the ghetto at the last minute. When Wallenberg got wind of this, he demanded that the German commander, General Schmidhuber, prevent the killing. Otherwise, Wallenberg would make sure that Schmidhuber would swing on the gallows when the Russians came.

Schmidhuber was shaken by Wallenberg's words and stopped the planned operation against the ghetto.

Thus Wallenberg contributed to saving still another 70,000 lives.

Jeno Levai, in his book, *Raoul Wallenberg—Hero of Budapest*, praises Wallenberg's efforts for the Jews in the sealed ghetto. He adds: "It is of the utmost importance that the Nazis and the Arrow Crossmen were not able to ravage unhindered — they were compelled to see that every step they took was being watched and followed by the young Swedish diplomat. From Wallenberg they could keep no secrets. The Arrow Crossmen could not trick him. They could not operate freely, they were held responsible for the lives of the persecuted and the condemned. Wallenberg was the 'world's observing eye,' the one who continually called the criminals to account.

"That is the great importance of Wallenberg's struggle in Budapest."

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Protective passport issued by the Swedish Legation.



Raoul Wallenberg

Source: Anger, Per. "Wallenberg's Last Acts, His Unique Character." *With Wallenberg in Budapest: Memories of the War Years in Hungary*. Translated by David Mel Paul and Margareta Paul. Preface by Elie Wiesel. New York: Holocaust Library, 1981.

A POLICEMAN'S DILEMMA

What Would You Do?

Jews fared differently in each of the occupied countries. In Poland, the Baltic countries, Germany and Austria, 90% were killed. In Finland and Denmark almost all were saved. In Italy 20% of the Jews were killed and in the Netherlands, 75% were killed. What factors made the difference?

Christian Vander Tozel is a member of the police force in occupied Amsterdam. Christian is a Catholic who attends church regularly. The occupying Nazis make it clear to the Dutch that they intend to be harsh toward Jews and toward all "radicals" who would harbor them or help them in any way. The Nazis intend to elicit the active support of the Dutch police in rounding up the Jews. At the same time, the Catholic Church in Holland, the most outspoken Catholic Church in Europe, denounces the

deportations from the pulpit and forbids Catholic policemen from participating in hunts for Jews.

Christian, as a policeman, knows the Germans will expect him to participate in rounding up the Jews. He has been a good family man for twenty-five years and deeply loves his wife. One evening, Christian's squad leader comes to notify Christian that his squad has been ordered to conduct a raid on a house suspected of harboring Jews.

What should Christian do?

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What alternatives are available to Christian? What are the probable consequences of each alternative?
2. What is Christian's responsibility to his wife? His squad? The Church? Himself? The Jews? The law?
3. What would happen if all Dutch policemen acted in the way you suggested for Christian?
4. Is there any cause in which a person should be willing to risk his or her own safety, security, or even life itself? Explain.

NETWORK RESCUERS

Eva Fogelman

Perhaps nowhere was the dilemma diplomats faced more clear and the punishment so harsh as in the case of Aristides de Sousa Mendes, the wealthy, Catholic Portuguese consul general stationed in Bordeaux, France. Over a five-week period in the early summer of 1940, the fifty-five-year-old Mendes, helped by his wife and two oldest sons, signed entry visas for 30,000 refugees. He did so against the direct orders of his government that under no circumstances were Jews to be issued visas. But Mendes chanced to meet Chaim Kruger, the Orthodox chief rabbi of Brussels, who was fleeing across France with his wife and five children. Kruger told Mendes of the persecution awaiting Jews if the Germans took control. Mendes, without waiting for permission from the home office, not only issued visas for Kruger and his family but thereafter dedicated himself to saving as many Jews as he could. As he explained to his family: "I have to save these people, as many as I can. If I am disobeying orders, I'd rather be with God against men than with men against God."

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Mendes and his sons wrote and stamped visas daily from eight in the morning until two or three o'clock the next morning. When the official forms ran out, they used writing paper. When writing paper ran out, they used scraps of paper that bore the consular seal. Applicants walked for days to see the consul. They slept on chairs, stairs, and the floor and skipped meals rather than risk losing their place in line. One French political refugee arrived with four potato sacks filled with gold. He promised half to Mendes if he would give him a visa. Mendes refused his offer, but issued him a visa nonetheless.

With the fall of France, Lisbon recalled Mendes. Two officials were sent to escort him and his family back to Portugal. On their way out of France, in the city of Bayonne, Mendes saw a crowd of refugees outside the Portuguese consulate. Mendes stopped the car and demanded to know why the vice-consul was not issuing visas to those outside. The vice-consul replied that he was simply carrying out Lisbon's orders. "I have not been removed," Mendes shot back angrily. "I am still your superior."

Countermanding the vice-consul's decision, Mendes wrote visas for the scores of Jews standing outside. Further on, at the French border town of Hendaye, Mendes issued still more visas to another group of refugees and then escorted them across the border to Spain.

Back in Lisbon, the Foreign Ministry punished Mendes for his insubordination. After thirty years of service, he was dismissed from the diplomatic corps and his pension rights were canceled. His colleagues shunned him and his friends avoided him. He retired to his chateau in Cabanas de Virato, a small mountain town 350 kilometers north of Lisbon. Those he saved would seek him out there and would applaud him when he emerged from his home. Nonetheless, his general public disgrace shamed him so much that he no longer could practice law. Cut off from a livelihood and friends, his energies became focused on seeing his reputation restored. He wrote every member of Portugal's parliament, arguing that what he had done was in keeping with the Portuguese constitution, and was a reflection of the benevolence of the Portuguese people. He received no reply. No one would cross Portugal's dictator, Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, whose political stance during the war was that of neutrality and appeasement. To support his family, Mendes sold one possession after another, and finally the chateau itself. In 1954, he died penniless, but entreated his children to clear his name.

Eventually Mendes's name was cleared. The first formal acknowledgment of his valor came in 1966 when Yad Vasherm issued a commemorative medal in his name. After years of petitioning Portuguese ministers, Mendes's family succeeded in carrying out his last wish. In May 1987, President Mario Soares bestowed Portugal's Order of Freedom posthumously on Aristides de Sousa Mendes. In March 1988, Portugal's national assembly voted to restore Mendes's position in the Foreign Ministry, and to distribute his back pay among his family. As the vote was taken, all the deputies rose to their feet in Mendes's honor. His rescuer self had been validated at last.

SHANGHAI, A HUMAN KALEIDOSCOPE

...[Shanghai was] a place where two civilizations met and neither prevailed. To the foreigners, it was out of bounds, beyond the knowledge or supervision of their own culture, where each man was a law unto himself, or where he easily adjusted to the prevailing mores with no qualms of conscience. Morality was irrelevant or meaningless in Shanghai, an atmosphere which was apparent to even the casual visitor.

(Murphy. Shanghai)

What kind of place was Shanghai, which so suddenly beckoned to thousands of refugees from Hitler's persecution? Although hardly a household word in the average Jewish family of Germany or Austria, Shanghai was no primitive village in some distant place. It was, in fact, the world's seventh largest port, and contained a sizeable cosmopolitan population, which resided in two foreign concessions under Western control.

The city that was to become the haven for the Jewish refugees, however, was much more than a busy commercial and financial center. The titles of a few books describing life there make it quite evident that Shanghai was a *Paradise of Adventurers*, a *City for Sale*, the *Key to Modern China and Hostage to Politics*. As the very name implies, kidnapping was commonplace and crime was rampant, especially since the tangled legal web of "extrality" made justice difficult to implement. At one and the same time, Shanghai's foreign concessions were the centers for Christian missionizing and a "den of iniquity", with the highest ratio of brothels in the world. It was a place where everything could be and was bought or sold. Where fortunes were made quickly and dissipated even faster. Its western facade belied its essentially Chinese character, which yet was somehow different from the rest of China.

Shanghai was the battlefield for ideas and ideologies where Confucianism, modern secularism, communism, Chinese nationalism (infected with anti-Western and later anti-Japanese fervor), fought for the minds of the Chinese and eventually the hegemony of all of China.

She was, in the words of one modern historian:

...a place where two civilizations met and neither prevailed. To the foreigners, it was out of bounds, beyond the knowledge or supervision of their own culture, where each man was a law unto himself, or where he easily adjusted to the prevailing mores with no qualms of conscience. Morality was irrelevant or meaningless in Shanghai, an atmosphere which was apparent to even the casual visitor...For the Chinese, Shanghai was equally off limits. Those who had chosen this new kind of life, like the merchants, were by that choice cut off from traditional China and from the sanctions which it imposed.

...on top of this was the continually fluctuating population. Few people, Chinese or foreign, came to the city with the hope of remaining there long; most of them aimed to make a fortune in a few years and then leave. Many of them did remain, but so did the frenzied atmosphere. The international, intercultural nature of the city added to its excitement. Foreign hotels found it necessary to advertise their ability to speak with patrons in English, French, German, and Russian as a minimum...

[In other words] Shanghai was an exciting and colorful place which travel folders could not exaggerate.

Surprisingly enough, this heterogeneous international city included not one, but two distinct Jewish communities, which were there to welcome their coreligionists. The older one consisted of a small Sephardi (Baghadi) community, which had arrived close to a century before, and which included some of the most illustrious names of Shanghai's commercial and social roster. The second, a much larger and more recent group, was composed of Ashkenazi Jews who hailed primarily from Russia, and who were never to match the commercial success of the Sephardim.

Superimposed upon this diversity were the Japanese, who, through a significant civilian and military presence, especially since the Sino-Japanese hostilities in 1937, were the real power in Shanghai. Not forgetting the basically Chinese character of the city, this account will provide some idea of the human kaleidoscope that was Shanghai in 1938, that eventful year which saw the arrival of the German-Jewish refugees.

The Foreign Concessions

The Foreign Concessions of Shanghai had been a haven for Chinese refugees long before 1938, when the last wave of Jews, the victims of Hitler's oppression, began to arrive. Its ambiguous political status had made it an international enclave. There was no passport control, especially after the 1937 Sino-Japanese hostilities. In fact any traveler after clearing customs could simply debark and be on his way. The foreign merchant was therefore unencumbered by the complications of Chinese mercantile law—regulated at every point by semi-official Chinese merchants—which gave him an enormous economic advantage.

Historically, this came about as a result of the Treaty of Nanking (August 1842) at the conclusion of the Second Opium War, which opened up five ports in China to Western trade. These included the then, very minor port of Shanghai. The conditions of the treaty imposed upon the defeated Chinese included the granting of extraterritorial rights to Britain, rights which were soon to be extended to other Western powers. These "rights" placed the citizens of all the powers which had most-favored-nation agreements with China under the jurisdiction of their own national laws, wherever they went in China, and the law was administered to foreigners by their own consular courts. From this period on there were really two Shanghais, the Chinese and the foreign. The first, or Greater Shanghai, which by the 1930's would encompass the major portion of the population—about two million Chinese—was completely under Chinese jurisdiction. The other

half, known as the Foreign Concessions, consisted of two independent sectors, the International Settlement and the French Settlement or Concession. The non-Chinese population of the foreign sectors did not exceed 60,000 during the 1930's, as compared to 1,500,00 Chinese but the administration of each sector lay solely in the hands of the Municipal Council of the International Settlement, and the Consul General of the French Concession.

Thus, according to the 1936 census, the non-Chinese population of Shanghai consisted of 20,000 Japanese, 15,000 Russian, 9,000 British, 5,000 Germans and Austrians (non-Jewish), 4,000 Americans and 2,500 French. Though only a small percentage of the total population, the foreigners, especially the British and Americans, represented the upper stratum in wealth and social position. Immediately below them on the socio-economic scale were the Swiss, Scandinavians, Portuguese, and the strong, German-speaking colonies, all of whom had large investments in Shanghai. The French, despite their control of their own concession, were never numerically important either in their own territory or in Greater Shanghai, while the lowest on the scale were the White Russians, who, on the whole, had been unable to establish themselves economically.

The Chinese had used the comparative safety as well as the economic opportunities of the foreign settlements, to escape from upheavals in their homeland from various causes, economic and political, provincial, national, or international. The Taiping Rebellion (1850-65), the Franco-Chinese disturbances (1884-1886), the beginning of the Sino-Japanese hostilities in 1931-1932, and their resumption in 1937, sent hundreds of thousands fleeing into the foreign concessions. The result was the enormous growth of Shanghai's population, which had reached from three to four million by 1937...

The Sephardi-Jewish Community

All through the nineteenth century there were mass migrations of Jews from eastern and central Europe to such countries as England, France and the United States. At the same time, a small but very significant group of Jews from Baghdad were moving in a thin but steady stream to the Far East. These Baghdadi Jews are usually called Sephardim, and between 1820 and World War I they migrated to India, China, the Malayan Peninsula and Japan. Both migrations, east and west, were to contribute enormously to the economic development of their host areas.

The Rothschilds have come to represent, to Jew and Gentile alike, the successful western Jew, whose

family cohesiveness was the source of his fortune. The family tradition of close loyalty combined with native ingenuity to create a powerful economic dynasty. The Sephardi-Jewish community included other families from Mesopotamia and Arabic-speaking countries, but the Sassoons were the pioneers. They were to remain the single most influential Jewish family in the Far East until the establishment of the Chinese Communist regime in 1949. This event would deprive them of their Chinese sources of wealth and leave them only a limited sphere in India and Southeast Asia, where things had changed at the conclusion of World War II.

David Sassoon, the patriarch of the dynasty, was the scion of a well-known family of Baghdadi merchants and communal leaders. Under the Turkish Pashas, especially during the latter half of the eighteenth-century, conditions changed and even grew unfavorable for the Jews in general and for Sheikh Sason ben Saleh, the Nasi, (the titular head of the Jewish community), in particular. It was then that his son David left Baghdad for the freer atmosphere of India, and by 1832 had settled in Bombay. He became deeply involved in trading and banking operations under the protection of the British Crown. For various reasons, the expansion of the Indian and Chinese markets had coincided with the breaking up of the monopoly previously held by the East India Company. Trade and banking were very lucrative for Sassoon and he branched out during the latter part of the nineteenth century, by placing his sons in other economically developing communities of the ever widening markets of China and India. The advantages of Shanghai as an open city, with all that that implied, did not escape the sharp eye of many an incoming merchant, British and other, including that of David Sassoon. Trade in opium, tea and silk made wealthy tycoons of many petty merchants in the course of the nineteenth century. An enormous trade developed in Shanghai, which by the 1930's had become one of the largest ports in the world.

Elias David Sassoon, the second son of the founder of the family, soon established Hongkong and Shanghai as his business domain. He had arrived in China in 1844. By 1850, Shanghai had become his headquarters, though he traveled constantly between Hongkong, Canton and Bombay. He was probably the first Jew to reach Shanghai, but the first permanent settlers were more likely the three assistants to David Sassoon and Sons, Company, Ltd. Within five years the company was established along the entire China coast, and had branches in Japan when that country opened to western trade in 1858.

The Sassoons were a close-knit clan, and their policy was to admit only the immediate family to the

inner council of the business. They did however encourage many of their coreligionists from Baghdad to join their staff, and after training them in Bombay sent them to their various branches in the Far East. This policy provided them with extremely loyal and trustworthy employees. It also meant that they always had a sufficient number of Jews for the daily Minyan (the quorum for prayer). In this the Sassoons can again be compared with the Rothschilds. Especially during the nineteenth century, their business, as well as their personal lives, were influenced by strict adherence to the traditional practices of their faith: observance of the Sabbath and all Jewish Festivals, giving tithes, etc. For instance, it should be noted that every member of the Sassoon family was taught to slaughter chickens ritually, to enable them to eat Kosher even where there was no Jewish community. Even the business checks and notes had the name of the firm in Hebrew. As Shanghai and its business opportunities grew, there was an influx of coreligionists, from Baghdad, as well as from more recently established colonies such as Bombay, Calcutta, Singapore and Hongkong, and from as far away as Egypt and Greece. The Sephardi Community in Shanghai reached a peak of approximately 700 souls...

The Russian-Jewish Community

The Sephardi community was well established in Shanghai when a second, and eventually far larger wave of Jewish emigres began to arrive. They were mostly Russian Jews, and their Community came to be known as the Shanghai Ashkenazi Jewish Communal Association (or SAJCA) to distinguish it from the Sephardi Community, previously referred to as the Shanghai Jewish Communal Association.

The Ashkenazim, like the Sephardim before them, came to the Far East partly to escape oppression, but even more in search of greater economic opportunity. By World War II, their numbers in Shanghai had increased to about 4,000. The immigration of the Sephardim had taken the form of a consistent, small but steady annual increase. In contrast, the Russian Jews flooded into the Far East in successively greater waves, in response to cataclysmic events in Eurasian history. These waves covered four periods:

1895-1904
1905-1917
1932-1934
1937-1939

At first, events carried the exiles only as far as Manchuria, and they settled primarily in Harbin, which, by the 1920's had grown from a provincial little town to a bustling Russian city with a

population of 300,000. The Chinese Eastern Railroad, which had been built in 1895, greatly facilitated travel east and provided economic opportunities. The Jews found a more tolerant atmosphere in Manchuria than in Russia; the Russian authorities, in fact, were anxious to encourage the settlement and development of Manchuria. Even during the earliest wave of emigration (before 1905), however, many Jews found their way farther south to Tientsin and Shanghai.

These early Russian-Jewish settlers were not especially welcomed by the well-established, "respectable" Sephardi community. They included many ex-soldiers, escapees from Siberian exile, political exiles, and adventurers. Many of them became involved in such shady enterprises as dope peddling, white slavery, and the opening of bars in disreputable parts of the city. The already wide social and cultural gulf between the two Jewish communities increased and became more impassable. It would take many years and shared vicissitudes before any bridging of this chasm would be possible; and the early developed stereotype of the Ashkenazi Jews as *Schnorrers* would linger on, long after the Russian-Jewish community came to belong to the "respectable" middle and lower-middle class.

The years 1909 to 1917 saw the gathering of the storm of the Russian Revolution, until its great outburst in the October Revolution of 1917. A mighty wave of emigration, in all directions, followed, and included 200,000 White Russians, as well as Russian Jews. Once again, the majority of those who went east remained in Manchuria, but more and more reached Shanghai. By 1924, the Russian-Jewish population of that city had reached between 800 and 1,000.

The rate of increase slowed down until the 1931-32 period, when Japan occupied Manchuria. This occupation resulted in an economic squeeze on all foreign interests, and an unofficial reign of terror, in which kidnapping by White Russian thugs was among the weapons used against rich foreigners, including some Jews. Harbin's Jewish population fell from about 10,000 in 1929, to approximately 2,500 ten years later. Many emigres went to Shanghai, but others settled in the South Manchurian cities of Mukden and Dairen. Another large group ended up in Chinese cities like Tientsin and Tsingtao, where the economic frontier was still open. As noted, Shanghai's Russian-Jewish population increased to over 4,000 in the late 1930's. There it remained relatively constant until after the period of the War in the Pacific.

Despite the loss of three-quarters of its Jewish population, Harbin retained its position as the leading Russian-Jewish community in the Far East until 1941. With the arrival of the Polish and

German refugees, a thriving Jewish religious and cultural life developed in Shanghai, and Harbin lost its preeminence. The reason for Harbin's long dominance arose from its very dynamic secular and religious leadership under Dr. Abraham Kaufman and Rabbi Aaron Moshe Kiseleff, respectively. For example, the three annual Conferences of Russian-Jewish Communities in the Far East held from 1937 through 1939, in which the Japanese authorities actively participated and gave some kind of national recognition to the stateless Russian Jews, were organized and led by Dr. Kaufman. And the trappings of a healthy Jewish life, including two synagogues and a good Hebrew Day School, functioned under the spiritual guidance of Rabbi Kiseleff...

Background

The presence of the Japanese had made itself felt in modern China not long after Japan's opening to the West by Commodore Perry of the US Navy in 1854. It was the result of a closely related, two-pronged Japanese policy; first, to join as quickly as possible, as an equal partner, with the powerful European imperialist nations who were gradually, but firmly, dividing up the sprawling, weakened Chinese Empire into their respective spheres of influence and control; and second, to build up its own military and industrial might in order to ward off a similar fate—complete dismemberment by the Western nations.

Spurred by Japan's rising sense of nationalism it did not take long for the realization of this policy. Japan was small, densely populated and poor in natural resources and the huge potential market for manufactured goods in China, and the wealth of the raw materials that Japan so needed in spacious, sparsely settled Manchuria were irresistible. Manchuria was also a perfect buffer zone against their feared Russian neighbor. These were among the reasons for Japan's expansion to the Chinese mainland and such ambitions were advanced by the first Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905).

Second Sino-Japanese War

Disorders in Manchuria in 1931 gave them the excuse to strengthen the garrison they kept there to protect Japanese property, and hostilities soon broke out with the Chinese. These hostilities in faraway Manchuria found a battleground also in Shanghai, long a stronghold of rising Chinese nationalism, as well as of Communism. In Shanghai, the Japanese forces met unexpectedly stiff resistance from the Chinese Army.

Five years later, in a continuation of the Sino-Japanese struggle for domination of the Chinese mainland, Shanghai, including its International Settlement, again became the scene of Chinese

resistance. This ended, only with the defeat of the Japanese by the Allies in 1945, because, after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the Sino-Japanese War merged with World War II, and China declared war on the so-called Axis Powers (Germany, Italy and Japan).

During both the 1932 and the 1937 fighting, Chapei and the northern sector of the Settlement, especially Hongkew, were the scenes of the heaviest fighting, which, combined with the “scorched earth” policy of the retreating Chinese forces, destroyed much of the former heavily Chinese-populated and industrialized sector of Shanghai.

Over one million Chinese refugees crossed the

Soochow Creek Bridge into the Settlement fleeing from the battle zones. This almost doubled its population. The Japanese authorities now took full control of Greater Shanghai (the all-Chinese city), the devastated Hongkew sector of the Settlement under the direct command of the Japanese Naval Landing Party. It was no longer considered part of the International Settlement.

These conditions, as will be seen, were to have profound significance for the refugees from Nazi Germany, who fled to Shanghai one year after the Sino-Japanese hostilities of 1937.

BREAD AND BUTTER IN SHANGHAI

Economic Conditions Until Pearl Harbor

... By the time they [the refugees] arrived, Shanghai's economy had reached a stage of chronic crisis, fluctuating between depressions and booms, of varying degrees of intensity.

(Barnett. *Shanghai: Hostage to Politics*)

Few among the flood of refugees arriving in Shanghai had any real illusions about what was to greet them there. Most had come more from despair than hope. Nonetheless, there were probably few who did not hope against hope that somehow, somewhere, they might be able to be integrated into the economy of their new home. We shall examine the reasons why relatively few of these hopes could be fulfilled, or at most fulfilled on a very low level.

Conditions on Arrival

A proper perspective of the economic conditions prior to Pearl Harbor can only be achieved by taking into consideration the numerous negative, as well as the relatively few positive factors that influenced and shaped the integration of the newcomers into Shanghai's economy. Only then is it possible to realize the tremendous odds faced and overcome by a large segment of the over 17,000 Jewish refugees, in quest of a livelihood.

The most serious obstacle confronting the new arrivals in this search was the fact that by 1938 Shanghai's economic frontier was closed. This city, which, as we know, had been able to absorb consecutive waves of refugees in the past, had no longer any potential for economic expansion, or a flourishing trade or industry to make use of their skill and initiative to any appreciable degree. In fact, by the time they arrived, Shanghai's economy had reached a stage of chronic crisis, fluctuating between depressions and booms, of varying degrees of intensity.

Qualifications of the Refugees

Moreover, both their previous socio-economic middle-class, mercantile background, and their age level (the average being over forty) made integration into Shanghai's economy a difficult task. The majority consisted of white-collar workers, skilled artisans, professionals, businessmen, as well as

artists, all of whom found no market at all for their skills. Though we have no statistics for the economic or vocational background of the entire refugee body, we do possess several reports from the CFA, the HIAS and the JDC that cover accurately more than half the number of refugees. From these reports a fair picture can be projected for the entire refugee body, since the only major change came with the arrival in 1941 of the approximately 1,000 East European refugees with their very different economic background. Moreover, since neither the children, nor a large number of the women who had no vocational background, are included in these reports, the 6 to 7,000 listed represent a good three-fourths of the refugees,

A "List of Professions," compiled by the Disbursement and Housing Committee of the CFA on December 31, 1939, based on a registration of 7,052 refugees, reveals the following pattern. It divides the vocations of the refugees into eleven categories, with a total of 6,309 listed. These include the following:

1. **Artisans** (45 categories, total 905). including bakers, butchers, furriers, plumbers, stonecutters, quilt-makers, distillers, etc.

2. **Professionals** (11 categories, total 367). Including architects, lawyers, physicians, chemists, journalists, and teachers. The latter are divided into eight sub-specialists such as teachers of gym [sic], language, dance, etc.

3. **Medical and Dental Assistants** (8 categories, total 118). Including baby nurses, dental and lab assistants, etc.

4. **Sundry (Misc.)** [sic] (13 categories, total 889). Including chauffeurs, farmers, several types of hotel employees, photographers, undertakers, window dressers, etc.

5. **Artists** (6 major categories, total 267). Including actors, actresses, artists, draftsmen, fashion designers, musicians (including 15 conductors), painters [sic] and piano tuners.

6. *Dressing, tailor, dry cleaning and ironing* (15 categories, total 924). Including cleaners (dry), cutters, dressmakers (321 women), tailors (105 men).

7. *Barber, beauty parlor and cosmetics* [sic] (3 categories, total 93). Including barbers, cosmetics and hairdressers.

8. *Manufacturers* (17 categories, total 89). Including the manufacturers of buttons, cigars, chemical articles (13), perfume, and underwear (19).

9. *Engineers and mechanics* [sic] (4 categories, total 195). Including engineers with diplomas (35), electricians, mechanics, etc.

10. *Clerks and executives* (12 major categories, total 1,328). The largest category with the least number of potential jobs in Shanghai, including accountants, bookkeepers, secretaries, clerks (over 600), bank employees (115), executives, interpreters, etc.

11. *Agents, dealers, and experts* [sic] (44 categories, total 1,124). Including advertising, bookdealers (12), coal, coffee, grain (61), eggs, fruit and foodstuff (100), furniture, hardware, leather (56), radio, tobacco, etc.

This list, though incomplete, indicates the variety of skills and experience possessed by the refugees, who could easily have found a niche for themselves in an open economy. The trouble was, as Fritz Friedlander already pointed out, that the refugees came out of political necessity rather than economic usefulness. A good example of this is the large proportion of white-collar workers (over 1,300 clerks and executives) that came into a market already flooded with competent Western-trained Chinese, and crowded every office or place of business in search of a job. Similarly, the over 200 physicians that came to Shanghai following the German Crystal Night created a "medical proletariat", and caused hardship among that usually affluent element in society.

The age of most of the refugees also hampered their new business ventures. A 1946 report by the JDC substantiates this notion as it indicates that at the time of their emigration from Germany and Austria, more than 55 percent of the refugees were over forty. This meant that the majority had been settled in their vocations at home for perhaps ten to fifteen years, making it difficult for them to change suddenly to a new field...

On the other hand, those refugees who did possess the proper experience, and even the knowledge of local conditions, had to overcome other obstacles. For example, in addition to the money required to establish a business, there was the added burden of having to pay the key money, i.e., the

money demanded for the lease of a shop or business as well as for an apartment.

Since a majority of the refugees had to live in Hongkew, because of the cheaper food and lodging, their mobility and means of establishing the "proper" business connections in the Concession or Settlement was severely limited.

Competition with the Western-educated Chinese and the White Russians for many of the white-collar jobs was not only very keen, but also generated friction between the newcomers and many local residents. Some of the refugees attempted to secure jobs by working temporarily without pay in the hope of filling a possible opening, or worse, someone else's job. This merely exacerbated matters, and was loudly condemned in the local English press as we have seen.

Those who were aware of positions available in other parts of occupied China, especially Manchuria or North China, were unable to get permission from the Japanese authorities, who in most cases declined to admit refugees with a "J" stamped on their passport. Those possessing Polish, Hungarian or Czech passports, however, stood a much better chance, though refugees bearing German passports for foreigners (i.e., those born in Poland), called the *Deutsche Fremdenpasse*, fell into the same category as those with passports stamped with a "J"...

Expert European tailoring, whether designing original clothes or repairing used ones, was appreciated by the Japanese customers. They patronized such refugee shops or individual seamstresses, even to the point of coming into the ghetto, after 1943, to obtain superior workmanship.

Efforts on the part of such craftsmen to unite, in order to overcome competition, resulted in the founding of the Guild of Craftsmen, organized primarily to secure jobs for its members. It strove to successfully promote the idea that the European craftsmen were worth the higher price that they demanded. The founders of a branch of the ORT Vocational School in Shanghai also recognized the potential for skilled craftsmen, even in competitive Shanghai. Occasionally Chinese businessmen took some of these European refugees into their businesses.

Among the most common stores, albeit not always too successful, were the many food-provision shops started by the newcomers. These consisted chiefly of coffeehouses, cafes, restaurants, bars, or hors d'oeuvres stores. A popular refugee enterprise was the coffeeshop, the first of these having opened in December 1938, in the French Concession. Some of these coffeeshops or cafes were frequented not only by refugees, but became popular meeting places

Unit V: READING #30

for individuals of many nationalities, including some from the old German gentile colony.

Almost every avenue of business was explored by the refugees in their quest for a livelihood, whether they possessed the requisite skills or not. Quite a few tried their hand at door-to-door peddling of all sorts of articles, particularly to the local Jewish population, who naturally favored their coreligionists. This often brought them into direct competition with the Chinese or Japanese small businessmen, who resented what they considered unfair competition.

Others tried their hand at what can best be

described as “miniature export,” since it was possible to produce profitably, even on a very small scale, items in demand overseas, especially in the United States.” The very high rate of exchange of Shanghai dollars against US dollars was conducive to such overseas trade. One contemporary noted the busy traffic of refugees to the Post Office to send their parcels overseas. As noted, the War in Europe, in this respect, proved beneficial to the refugees, since it created a demand for items overseas, formerly procured from Europe. In addition, it provided a larger market in Shanghai itself for items formerly produced in Europe...

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

Shanghai, A Human Kaleidoscope

1. What kind of a place was Shanghai? Why did it become a haven for Jews?
2. Why was Shanghai a battlefield for ideas and ideologies?
3. What interests did the Japanese have in Shanghai, or China as a whole?
4. How did the Treaty of Nanking (August 1842) affect the Jews?
5. How did the Sephardi Jewish community fare in Shanghai? What were their contributions?
6. Who were the Sassoons?
7. How did the Russian community do in comparison to the Sephardi community of Jews?
8. What role did Harbin play until 1941?
9. What kind of cultural community did the Jews have in Shanghai?

Bread and Butter

1. How did the Jews survive in the ghetto? What professions did they engage in?
2. What were the conditions upon arrival?
3. Do you believe the refugees came because of political necessity or economics? Explain.
4. Why was the age factor a problem for jobs?
5. What happened to the Jews from 1939-1941?
6. What happened when a ghetto was established? (See Reading #33, “Strange Haven.”)

Source: Kranzler, David. “Shanghai, A Human Kaleidoscope,” and “Bread and Butter in Shanghai.” *Japanese, Nazis and Jews: the Jewish Refugee Communities of Shanghai 1938-1945*. New York: Ktav, 1994. 39-43; 45-47; 57-59; 66-67; 281-284; 286; 290-291.

THE FUGU PLAN

(EXCERPT)

Marvin Tokayer

INTRODUCTION

Between 1934 and 1940 a secret policy was devised in the highest councils of the Japanese government. It could have saved a million Jews from Hitler's Holocaust and even halted the war between Japan and the United States before it began. This was the *fugu plan* – Toyko's means of enrolling the talents and skills of European Jewry, plus the capital, influence and sympathy of American Jewry, in the building of Japan's twentieth-century empire, the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

In the 1930's the Jewish people seemed – to the devisers of the *fugu plan* – to have exactly what Japan lacked. Her empire – growing rapidly by conquest – needed the capital and financial skills exhibited, for example, by the Rothschilds, Bernard Baruch and Jacob Schiff, and there was a particular shortage of experienced industrialists and technicians who would be willing to settle in the wilderness of Manchukuo (Manchuria) Japan's newly acquired north China "colony" – to develop the area into a secure buffer zone against the menace of the Soviet Union. Finally, Japan sought to improve her image in the world and reverse the drift of Western, especially American, foreign policy which had begun to go against her. That task, she believed, was one for which the Jews were best suited, since, it was said, they controlled so much of the United States press, broadcast media and film industry.

In return for Jewish assistance with her problems, Japan was prepared to offer exactly what the Jews needed most: a safe haven from the increasingly brutal anti-Semitism welling up against them in Europe. Japan had neither a tradition of anti-Semitism, nor any interest in it, and in *Shinto* Japan, Christian antipathy toward Jews had no meaning whatsoever. To the devisers of the *fugu plan*, a Japanese-Jewish involvement seemed an arrangement made in heaven.

On earth, it was another matter. From the outset the creators of the *fugu plan* had undermined their own scheme with two very mistaken beliefs. The first was a gross misunderstanding of the nature of the Jewish people as a whole. (It could scarcely have been otherwise. For years, the primary source of Japanese "knowledge" about world Jewry was that notoriously anti-Semitic piece of fiction

masquerading as fact, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*). Their second misconception concerned the importance of Jews, as economic factors and policy shapers in the Western world. With these two basic mistakes built into the foundation of their plan, the Japanese could not help but build askew. In spite of vast amounts of research, Japanese officials were never able to comprehend certain crucial features of the Jewish situation. The most important of these was that the American Jewish community considered its ties to its political family, America, at least as strong as its ties to its religious family in Europe. Not understanding this, the executors of the *fugu plan* did not understand, for example, that when they made their proposal to Rabbi Stephen Wise in the winter of 1939, they were confronting not only the principal leader of American Jewry but a Jew whose loyalty to and love for the United States was almost Biblical in its intensity. Had they recognized this and approached him accordingly, the outcome of the Wise meeting, and of the *fugu plan* itself, might have been very different...

...By mid-spring 1939, the Jewish "experts" (Japanese) in Shanghai felt they had done all they could to prepare for the serving of the *fugu*. A settlement scheme had been approved, in theory, by the five most powerful men in Japan—...that would provide a non-belligerent, strictly humanitarian framework for large-scale Jewish investment in the empire; ...that would convince Jewish opinion-makers in the New York press, the radio networks and movie studios, and hence the world, that Japan was a fine generous and humane nation. But, so far, it was no more than an idea. What was lacking was a positive action. It had been policy throughout that the Japanese did not initiate favors toward the Jews. If only a Jew would initiate an actual settlement scheme...

...The Japanese did not have long to wait. In March 1939, apparently on his own initiative, a Jew obliged. Lew Zikman, a wealthy Manchurian concerned about the plight of European Jews, broached an idea to Inuzuka and his two cohorts. Would it be possible, Zikman asked, to settle two hundred leatherworkers, with their families, over six hundred people in all, on the outskirts of a town in Manchukuo? Zikman himself would put up some of

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the money necessary: an additional two hundred thousand dollars he would try to procure from the Americans, probably through the American Jewish Congress.

To the “Jewish experts” this was an answered prayer but it was limited. “Three thousand is a better figure,” Inuzuka said. Zikman demurred; he thought it wiser to begin with a small number of settlers. But soon it no longer mattered what Zikman thought. The Jew had initiated the suggestions; from then on it was a Japanese affair.

The more frequent Shanghai meetings took on a new excitement as Inuzuka, Yasue and Consul General Ishiguro, began to pull the threads together. By June, there was a formal report: “Concrete Measures to be Employed to Turn Friendly to Japan the Public Opinion Far East Diplomatic Policy Close Circle of President of USA by Manipulating Influential Jews in China.” Within days this document was approved by the top Japanese brass of central China and Manchukuo and Inuzuka himself carried it to Tokyo. On July 7, it appeared as a confidential joint research report, somewhat more euphoniously titled, “The Study and Analysis of Introducing Jewish Capital.”

The ninety-page document was not devoted entirely to the settlement scheme. It also covered measures for the attraction of capital investments by wealthy Shanghai Sephardim, not only for their intrinsic value but so that Jewish financiers in the West would be persuaded to follow suit. Additionally, several pages of the confidential report were devoted to plans for swaying American public opinion. Jewish journalists were invited to Japan to write glowing articles about the country. Hollywood movie producers ... would be asked to make movies in Shanghai about how nice the Japanese were to the refugees there. [Editor’s note: Japanese beliefs in the common stereotypes of Jews is obvious here.]

An official delegation from Japan would be sent to the leading rabbis in the United States to explain how much Judaism and the Shinto religion had in common and to invite the American rabbis to Japan for the purpose of introducing Judaism to the Japanese people. But the heart of the report was the plan for creating a Jewish refugee settlement. In the words of the report, “a truly peaceful land so that the Jews may be comfortably settled to engage in business at ease for ever.” In Yasue’s words, this would be an “Israel in Asia.”

The plan was at once detailed and flexible. Several sites were suggested as alternatives – areas in Manchukuo favored by Yasue, areas near Shanghai promoted by Inuzuka and Ishiguro. A variety of population levels were proposed, from eighteen

thousand up to nine hundred thousand. Each projected population level was followed by a string of figures, determined “according to the standard planning of modern cities, “to be the number of square meters needed per person, how much of the land would be used in common, how much reserved for private use and so on. Considered were all the necessities of daily life for up to almost a million refugees: elementary and high schools, synagogues, hospitals, sewer lines, industrial areas, parklands...

...All these things were put in the form of suggestions, recommendations. One aspect of the settlement plan, however, had been firmly decided: Jews would be allowed total religious, cultural and educational autonomy but otherwise, in all other matters, the settlement was to be ruled entirely by the Japanese. Colonel Yasue – throughout the development of the *fugu plan*, the most idealistic of the three and apparently the one most interested in the good of the refugees themselves – had argued long and hard for a truly autonomous area where, except for matters concerning external relations and defense, the Jews would be left on their own. But Yasue was overruled. “We have no objection,” the commander of the Middle China Expeditionary Army wrote in his preliminary memo of approval, “to permitting residence of Jewish people under the appointed location and time if the Jewish plutocrats accept the construction of New-Town under our demands and conditions. However (the settlement’s) aim is ... to help the development of Japan and China. Therefore, details shall be studied sufficiently. And it is not good to permit an autonomous system for Jewish people.” In the report, such recommendations became policy: “As for the administration of the Jewish sections, which is to be made to appear autonomous, steps will be taken to place our authorities in a position to supervise and guide it behind the scenes.”

“The Study and Analysis of Introducing Jewish Capital” was a proposal; it was not a blueprint laid out in detail down to the last roofing nail. To give reality to their plan, the “experts” suggested some figures. But they purposely left matters open. They themselves were only suggesting the tune. Paying the piper was to be left to the Jews themselves – not to the refugees, naturally, but to all those “members of the Jew race” who, the Japanese continued to believe, controlled so much of the world’s capital. The Japanese did, however, suggest a possible round-figure price for the settlement of thirty thousand people even in the most remote wilderness. In fact, the Japanese thought that the settlement itself would absorb only about twelve million yen. The remaining one hundred and eighty-eight million yen (ninety-

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four million dollars) it was suggested, could be in the form of credit extended to Japan to purchase various items from the United States.

Even in 1939, with the world still coming out of a universal economic depression, the Japanese did not consider one hundred million dollars outlandish, especially since it was simply an opening figure. Where else were the increasingly despised Jews of Europe to go? What other country was offering a refuge at any price at all? The Japanese believed they were making a reasonable offer. They believed they could expect a positive response from world Jewry. It stunned the Japanese planners, therefore, when, at just about the same time that they forwarded their "Study and Analysis," the very Jews that they already controlled, in Shanghai, began protesting about continued Jewish immigration to their areas. At the least, it became clear that very little of the resettlement capital would come from the foreign community there. With the Sephardim and Ashkenazim well represented, a delegation actually pleaded with Captain Inuzuka to *stop* so many Jewish refugees from coming into the city. As the nominal authority in most of Shanghai, the foreigners asked, could the Japanese not persuade their allies Germany, and Italy, to prevent Jews embarking from Europe for Shanghai in the first place? And, failing success with Germany and Italy, couldn't Japan herself restrict the refugees' entrance into Shanghai?

Inuzuka and his cohorts were confounded – and suspicious. "This is a trap," they muttered among themselves. "These sneaky Jews are trying to

manipulate us, trying to trick us into providing the fuel for more anti-Japanese editorials in the *New York Times*." Inuzuka held long discussions with Sir Victor Sassoon, Boris Topas, leader of the Ashkenazic community, and other prominent Shanghai Jews, trying to reconcile this strange request with the vaunted "Jewish brotherhood" that had been a key consideration in the development of the *fugu plan*. Through it all, the Jewish leaders held to their request. True, they felt a certain amount of responsibility for their European cousins, but things were not simple. By July 1939, there were more Jewish refugees in the city than there were Britons, Frenchmen and Americans combined. The city's economic base had been torn apart already by the Sino-Japanese War. They attempted to explain to Inuzuka and the others that Shanghai simply could not support any more people who could not support themselves. There had been anti-Semitic pogroms before in history. There was never any sense to them, never any but the most trumped-up reasons for the violence they wreaked on the Jewish communities, but this particular problem had *not*, thank God, broken out in Shanghai. So why should the Jews of Shanghai have to suffer so greatly the effects of it? Over the past months, the Shanghai community had willingly accepted the burden of thousands of charity cases laid on its shoulders. Enough was enough! "We have too many already! Let the rest go someplace else. Let someone else pay for them!" (In fairness, it should be mentioned that in 1939, Hitler's plans for annihilating all of European Jewry had not yet been learned of by the rest of the world.)

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What was the Fugu Plan? How was it supposed to benefit Japan?
2. How did the Fugu Plan affect the Jews? What does it reveal about the "experts" attitude toward Jews?
3. Who was Lew Zikman and what was his role?
4. Who wanted to gain the capital of the wealthy Sephardic Jews? Why?
5. Did the Jews know about the Fugu Plan? What were some of their concerns?

ESCAPE TO SHANGHAI: A JEWISH COMMUNITY IN CHINA

James R. Ross

The Redeemer

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These, our people, still have dignity, faith and hope, as well as a good sense of humor. And the youth is through and through sterling quality which, I must say, speaks well for their upbringing and for those who brought them up, considering conditions under which it was done.

I have no patience with people in countries of immigration who are always ready to find fault with the newcomers. Some of these critics, I am sure, would have been unable to survive the degradation, the humiliation and the plain physical sufferings of those they are so ready to condemn. I think that these, our people, will still, after all these deprivations and degradations, be able to make a good, new start somewhere else where economic and social conditions are more favourable to the integration and adjustment of newcomers and that every ounce of energy, and every penny spent on behalf of keeping them alive and helping them to get to other places, will certainly not be spent in vain.

The United States—the nation that had liberated them from the Japanese, with its noble history as the *goldene medine*, the land of opportunity for the homeless and distressed—was the first choice of destination for more than 5,300 refugees. At the beginning of January 1946, the U.S. consulate in Shanghai began accepting applications for quota numbers. But the process was slow. It took three to four weeks for the consulate to investigate an applicant and another three or four weeks to issue a quota number. With its small and inexperienced staff, the consulate could handle only four or five quota immigration cases a day. By the end of January 1947, a year after the consulate began its work, only 868 refugees had left Shanghai for the United States.

Nearly half of those who emigrated to the United

States in the first year were rabbis, students, and family members connected with the Mir Yeshiva. They and their representatives in the United States put enormous pressure on the State Department, UNRRA, and other agencies, demanding that they reach the United States before the September 1946 High Holidays. They monopolized the consulate, which was forced to focus on their cases and delay action on others.

The fate of the Shanghai refugees who wished to come to the United States was tied into a larger issue. President Truman and Congress were locked in a four-year-long battle over immigration, centered on the one million refugees, about twenty percent of them Jews, in postwar displaced persons' camps in Europe. The fight kindled the worst of American isolationism and anti-Semitism. It left the refugees—including thousands in Shanghai—stranded for years.

In December 1945, Truman had issued a directive that maintained the existing limits on immigration, but shifted the restrictive quotas to provide preferential treatment for displaced persons, particularly orphans. It also granted social service agencies, such as the JDC, the authority to sponsor refugees. The directive would have allowed for more than 150,000 immigrants a year to enter the country. But the process was slow, as the refugees in Shanghai discovered. Security screening, medical examinations, and dozens of bureaucratic procedures, as well as the shortage of ship transportation, limited emigration.

By the middle of 1947, however, the U.S. consulate in Shanghai was processing about 250 visa cases a month. Hundreds of refugees were sailing to the United States on the *SS General Meiggs* and other President Line ships. Jewish refugees had begun to benefit from Truman's humanitarian gesture—they made up two-thirds of the 41,379 refugees admitted under his 1945 directive. By the time Jordan left Shanghai in April 1948, more than 5,000 Shanghai refugees had been admitted to the United States.

But the slow immigration process had convinced American Jews that it was necessary to fund a campaign for congressional legislation. Their humanitarian efforts, however, produced a result

much different from what they had hoped for. The act that emerged from the Republican-controlled Congress, led by anticommunist and anti-Semitic reactionaries, blatantly discriminated against Jewish refugees, giving preference to farmers, refugees from the Baltic states, and, incredibly, to ethnic Germans, some of them Nazi collaborators. Truman reluctantly signed the bill in June 1948, saying it “discriminates in callous fashion against displaced persons of the Jewish faith.” The new law drastically reduced opportunities for Jews remaining in displaced person camps—and in Shanghai. Most found that their emigration to the United States was blocked by the restrictive legislation.

Australia, with its two large Jewish communities and proximity to China, offered another opportunity for the Shanghai refugees. Australia’s minister of immigration in August 1945 had proposed a program to accept Holocaust survivors who had relatives in the country. It was the first choice for about 2,500 refugees and nearly 800 of them had left for Australia by the end of January 1947, almost as many as the number approved for emigration to the United States.

But the migration to Australia did not go smoothly. A group of 299 refugees from Shanghai was stranded for up to six months in two unfurnished ballrooms in Hong Kong’s Peninsula Hotel awaiting transport to Australia. The government feared that a large influx of refugees would take away apartments needed for returning servicemen and refused to send empty troopships for them. Jordan intervened and chartered dozens of ships and planes.

Another three hundred Jewish refugees traveled to Australia on the *Hwa Lien*, a forty-year-old ferry boat that was dirty, had no facilities for feeding large numbers of people, and was barely seaworthy. It was caught in a cyclone before it safely reached Sydney. The JDC paid about \$165 for each passenger.

The arrival of the refugees in Australia set off hostile reactions in the press and Parliament, similar to those in the U.S. Congress. Right-wing leaders accused the refugees of illegally importing large sums of money and gold bars; monopolizing transportation and housing needed by former servicemen; and threatening the nation’s security as communist spies. The immigration minister responded by limiting to twenty-five percent the number of Jewish refugees permitted to travel on any one ship. That prevented the JDC from chartering boats for the refugees.

Early in 1947, the Australian government sent an unofficial representative, Alec Masel, to Shanghai. His assignment was to prepare a list of young and skilled refugees, and he met with Jordan and representatives of other organizations, including the ORT. Many refugees saw him as a kind of Messiah, although Masel emphasized he could not issue

permits. He drew up a list recommending 1,865 people, most of the European refugees, for immigration to Australia. That summer, Jordan visited Australia to help clear the way.

But in the meantime, the Australian consul general in Shanghai had forwarded a secret report to the government about the danger of accepting Shanghai refugees. They had been influenced by the immorality of the city, he reported, and reduced “to the lowest levels of depravity and despair.” He claimed that many of them, particularly the Russians, had collaborated with the Japanese. A migration officer sent to Shanghai filed a report referring to the refugees as “human flotsam and jetsam,” criminals, and communists. He recommended complete cessation of immigration. Despite Jordan’s pleas, Australia was nearly closed off to the Shanghai refugees. Only three hundred were granted permits in 1947-1948.

Another possible destination was Palestine. It was the first choice for about 1,100 people, less than ten percent of the European refugees in Shanghai. There were a number of Zionists among the German and Austrian Jews, but few who wished to join the fight for Israeli statehood. Most of those who went to Palestine were Russian Jews.

The International Refugee Organization, the successor to UNRRA, had made it nearly impossible for Jewish refugees to travel to Palestine legally. The IRO was controlled by British officials, who used it to implement British policy. Even after the state of Israel was established on May 14, 1948, the IRO refused to assist Jewish refugees who wished to go there. But as the United States, Australia, and other countries closed their doors—and as the political and economic situation in Shanghai deteriorated—Israel became the only choice for more and more refugees.

In the spring of 1948, Jordan prepared to leave Shanghai. He had spent two and a half years working to improve living conditions and assist the emigration of the Jewish refugees. Only 6,100 refugees remained, and Jordan expected at least 1,000 of them to leave by the end of the year. But the opportunities for the remaining refugees, many of them elderly or ill, were increasingly limited.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What happened to the Jewish community from 1946-1950?
2. Where could the Jews go? Could they come to the United States? What was the problem with the Truman Administration and immigration?
3. To what countries did most of the Jews go? Was Palestine (Israel) an option at the time?
4. What was the role of UNRRA?

STRANGE HAVEN

A JEWISH CHILDHOOD IN WARTIME SHANGHAI

Sigmund Tobias

In the wake of Kristallnacht, November 9, 1938, Sigmund Tobias and his parents made plans to flee a Germany that was becoming increasingly dangerous for them. Like many other European Jews, they faced the impossibility of obtaining visas to enter any other country in Europe or almost anywhere else in the world.

One city offered shelter without requiring a visa: the notorious pleasure capital, Shanghai. Seventeen thousand Jewish refugees flocked to Hongkew, a section of Shanghai ruled by the Japanese. Beginning in December 1938 these refugees created an active community that continued to exist through the end of the war and was dissolved by the early 1950s.

In this exotic sanctuary, Sigmund Tobias grew from a six-year-old child to an adolescent. Strongly attracted by the discipline and rigor of Talmudic study, Tobias entered the Mirrer Yeshiva, a rabbinical seminary transplanted from the Polish city of Mir. The money and food the 1,200 refugees of the yeshiva received from the American Jewish community made them a privileged elite within the Shanghai Jewish community. (from jacket of the book)

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LIFE IN THE GHETTO

Even though the thermometer rarely dropped below freezing in Shanghai, it felt frigid during the winter of 1943. Everyone said it was a much colder winter than usual, but some people blamed our discomfort on the humidity while others insisted that the weight we had lost due to our meager diets had changed our views of the cold. The winds from the north whipped through our clothing and seeped through our ill-fitting windows and the walls of our house, which had no central heating. As one of our neighbors had warned, with little insulation in the walls or ceiling we had no protection from the icy winds. We tried to keep warm by wearing our heaviest clothing during the day. At night we ducked into the down-filled bedcovers that my parents had brought from Europe...

...As the war continued flour also became scarce and was often rotten. We sometimes found worms in the flour, and when my mother bought a sieve to sift it she discovered clumps of unrecognizable junk; we never dared to guess what these clumps were. Baking with the flour did not remove all of the crawling bugs because we occasionally found ugly worms in the loaves of bread bought from the bakery.

The tastiest things we ate that winter were baked sweet potatoes. Peddlers sold the potatoes on some of the main streets in the ghetto right from their ovens. The ovens were made of abandoned steel drums lined with hardened mud and a hole for ventilation had been cut into the bottom of the drum to bring air to the charcoal fire. Layers of hot potatoes rested on a grate on the upper half of the drum above the charcoal fire. When they were steaming hot and the insides had turned liquid and looked like a thick yellowish syrup they were delicious. The refugees learned from the Chinese to check the potatoes carefully in order not to burn their mouths. The potatoes were not expensive, and after eating one its warmth seemed to spread all over my body. We soon began to bake sweet potatoes in our own charcoal stoves...

...Because we couldn't afford new clothing our garments soon became threadbare. I had grown quite a bit since coming to Shanghai, as had the other children in the ghetto, and could not fit into most of the clothes we had brought from Berlin. We children soon became accustomed to wearing our parents' clothes that had been shortened and altered for us. Many of the skilled Chinese and refugee tailors in the

Source: Tobias, Sigmund. "Life in the Ghetto," and "Air Raids." *Strange Haven: A Jewish Childhood in Wartime Shanghai*. Chicago, Ill: University of Illinois Press, 1999. 75, 78, 80, 86, 88, 91.

ghetto managed to make some of this used clothing look almost as good as new. Mr. Atterman, our downstairs neighbor, fixed one of these suits for me for the Passover holiday. He opened all the seams in a suit my father could no longer use, discarded the frayed parts, and then turned what used to be the inside of the garment to the outside before sewing it up again to fit me. He gave us the leftover scraps of clothing, telling my parents to save them for repairs in case I tore something. I tried on the unfinished garment a couple of times while Mr. Atterman was working on it, and after all the alterations were finished the suit looked as if it was brand new. Only another tailor could have guessed just how it had been made. Such major alterations were rarely undertaken because they were expensive and wasted the old garment. People in the ghetto grumbled that only yeshiva members could afford clothes made out of new fabrics, which they showed off to one another on holidays...

AIR RAIDS

...The ruins of buildings shattered in the battle of Shanghai in 1937 could still be seen everywhere and made us realize that it would be difficult to survive any combat in the city. For the first time since the outbreak of the war, news of Allied advances in Asia frightened and worried us.

By 1945 the refugees in the ghetto felt worn out by the war. Many people suffered from illnesses but the doctors and the refugee hospital had little medication to treat patients. We all had frequent bouts of diarrhea after arriving in Shanghai and it got much worse as the war continued. Most of the refugees had picked up intestinal worms, probably from the poor food we were eating. Sometimes the worms could actually be seen in the stool. Since few people in the ghetto had toilets with running water, the diarrhea was especially sickening because we could see the worms wriggling in the smelly toilet buckets...

...Our fears of an invasion increased after July 17, 1945. We could usually see American planes on raiding missions as tiny dots high up in the sky and sometimes heard distant explosions of bombs. We guessed that the Americans were bombing the outskirts of Shanghai, where the Japanese may have stationed troops or where they stored fuel and ammunition. We had little fear during the air raids because we assumed that the Americans, knowing that Jewish refugees were there, would not bomb the ghetto, which had nothing of military value anyway. When the air raid sirens sounded, and even during actual bombardments, clusters of refugees gathered in various viewing spots secretly cheering the

American planes on after picking them out with field glasses. All of that changed after July 17. The ghetto was bombed on that day and thirty-one refugees were killed.

It was an enormous shock to all of us to have such a heavy bombardment of the ghetto when the end of the war seemed close at hand. We had noticed that a building on Seward Road, occupied by the Japanese army, had large rooftop antennas. A few Japanese soldiers frequently wandered in and out of that area, but no one paid much attention to it. That building seemed to have been the major target of the air raid and was completely demolished, and most of the destruction in the ghetto fanned out from that area. We guessed afterward that the building must have housed a Japanese military radio station...

...There was a great deal of jubilation at the Allied victory, but an uneasy silence quickly settled over Shanghai. News suddenly stopped flowing in, and the Japanese occupying forces mysteriously disappeared. Rumors circulated that they had withdrawn to compounds at the edge of the city, but it was difficult to be certain about exactly what was going on. For a few days it seemed as if no one was in charge of the city. The police became invisible and it was not clear that any other city departments were operating. Although some refugees crossed the ghetto borders for the first time in three years to wander all over the city, others felt it was too dangerous to leave.

Rumors soon spread through the ghetto that a large American army plane had landed at the airport and that a small tank had rolled out of the massive aircraft. We soon learned that the vehicle was called a Jeep. Shortly thereafter several Jeeps could be seen being driven around the city by a small force of US Army personnel who had landed in Shanghai. They were followed in a few days by larger groups of Chinese soldiers. Now everyone was sure that the war had finally ended...1

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QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Siggie is a teenager during the war. What are his impressions?
2. How does he describe life in the ghetto? What are the health conditions like?
3. How is the clothing problem handled? What does he consider a delicacy?
4. What were the problems caused by the coming of the invasion?
5. How do the air raids affect the ghetto?
6. Why would the refugees have mixed feelings as they were bombed by the Americans?

THE HOLOCAUST: THE DESTRUCTION OF EUROPEAN JEWRY, 1933-1945

Nora Levin

The Struggle to Leave Europe

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After the outbreak of war, token gestures in behalf of refugees continued. In an address delivered on October 17, 1939, to the members of the Intergovernmental Committee on Political Refugees, President Roosevelt urged his audience to study the problem of resettling several million people rendered homeless by the war. The President's remarks, while arousing hope among the uprooted, created a stir in diplomatic circles. The British and French governments expressed concern over the implications of preparing for large-scale refugee work. They contended that one of the objectives of their war against Germany was to eliminate doctrines of racial and religious bigotry, and that victory for the Allies would eliminate the need for any large emigration program. The Committee agreed that there should be no open admission of such a problem and then proceeded to discuss the immediate problem of refugees from Greater Germany.

The most important colonization plan was the Dominican Republic project for the settlement of 100,000 Jews. The Agro-Joint Board, an affiliate of the JDC, subscribed \$200,000 immediately. A 26,000-acre tract was chosen for the first settlement, with the initial colony to consist of 500 people. Fifty Jews had already arrived in the spring of 1940 but by June, Italy's entry into the war drastically cut the means of transport from Europe. All Italian major ports of embarkation were closed. At this time, it was estimated that 175,000 Jews from Germany, 120,000 from Austria, and 20,000 from Czechoslovakia were temporarily in other parts of Europe. About 40,000 were in France. After France declared war on Germany, these refugees were under double jeopardy. They were not only homeless; they were enemy aliens.

Many thousands could not meet the immigration requirements of the United States or Latin America, but chose to wander without legal status rather than remain in German-held territory. During 1939, there were many ships, not only in the Atlantic, but also in the Mediterranean, the Danube and Black Sea, unable to land their passengers. Most of them sought to reach Palestine from such scattered places as Salina, Romania, Kladova in Yugoslavia, the Greek islands, and Beirut, Syria. Some attempted to make the trip to Palestine overland through the Balkans. Several others sailed around Africa and reached Palestine after forty-five days.

War-torn and turbulent, Shanghai was the only place on earth where Jews could flee without restriction or even the requirement of a visa. Only four thousand Jews, however, made their way to this refuge in 1939. The war imprisoned Europe's Jews but almost 1,600 from central Europe left the Continent a full year after the war broke out. They were part of a large convoy of 4,000 refugees that left Bratislava, Slovakia, on September 4, 1940. Most of them perished on the seas, but almost 1,600 survived as "illegal" immigrants on the island of Mauritius under British custody.

The original convoy consisted of four Danube steamers. This large transport had been arranged by Bertold Storfer, a Viennese Jew with the consent of, and probably the cooperation of, German authorities. Among the passengers were about 300 belonging to various Zionist youth groups from Czechoslovakia who had been detained in Bratislava for almost a year; Storfer finally extricated them. Another group of several hundred from Vienna were interned in an abandoned munitions factory on the outskirts of Bratislava called "Patronka" where they were

guarded by the Slovak Hlinka Guard. A third group of about 500 Danzig Jews had been organized by the Kultusgemeinde of the city and joined the convoy in Bratislava. These three groups sailed on the *Helios*. The Schoenbrunn sailed with about 600 passengers from Vienna; many of them had been imprisoned in concentration camps and were released on the understanding that they would leave the Reich at once. These two ships reached Mauritius; the passengers on the *Pacific* and the *Milos* were transferred to the ill-fated *Patria*.

The refugees had been provided with visas for Peru and Paraguay, but it was perfectly clear to everyone that they were bound for Palestine. The Germans undoubtedly permitted this convoy to leave a whole year after the outbreak of the war, counting on the influx of "illegal immigrants" to incite Arab anti-British riots. Moreover, the Germans were, at the time, repatriating *Volksdeutsche* from Bessarabia and transporting them to the Reich on the Danube steamers. The exorbitant fares paid by the Jews covered the passage of the German repatriates.

GENOCIDE



“JOB”

UNIT VI:

GENOCIDE

Some believe that genocide has become the ultimate human rights problem of the modern world. The term *genocide* was first used by Raphael Lemkin in 1944 during World War II, in which more civilians had died than soldiers. Lemkin, a professor of law in Poland who escaped the Nazis, used the term to describe a "...coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves." (Lemkin, 1944, p. 79). On December 9, 1948, the United Nations adopted the Genocide Convention, which defined genocide as follows:

...genocide means any of the following acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group as such: (a) killing members of the group; (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; and (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

While the limitation of Lemkin's definition is its broad nature, that of the United Nations has been criticized as being both broad and narrow (Totten, Parsons, Charny, 1997, p. xxiv). Because neither of these definitions has satisfied many who have sought to apply them to very serious acts against groups of people, we are now confronted with scores of definitions of *genocide*, a phenomenon that can be puzzling to young people who are seeking their own set of criteria to help them evaluate the numerous violations of human rights around the world today.

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One purpose of this unit is to challenge students to think deeply about the various definitions and interpretations of the term *genocide* and to either adopt, adapt or create a definition that reflects their own values and worldview. The role of the teacher is to assure that students are provided with a broad array of credible definitions of *genocide*. Students can then be guided in their applications of whatever thoughtful definition(s) they choose to a range of historic and contemporary events or occurrences that constitute violations against specific groups of people.

Some may argue that it is the role of the teacher to provide an acceptable definition of genocide for students to use in their analyses of world events. It is the position of the New Jersey Commission on Holocaust Education that the process involved in examining the various definitions and making judgments about which ones make sense to students will lead to more profound learning and understanding. Armed with a definition of *genocide* to which they are committed, students should be more highly motivated and better prepared to conduct their study with a greater sense of purpose. Some, no doubt, will discover that their definitions do not meet the tests of application satisfactorily, leading to further refinements of those definitions. This, too, is a part of the learning process.

GENOCIDE

As students are confronted with numerous examples of events that may meet their definitions of *genocide*, they will be asked to examine the root causes of such events. They will encounter acts motivated by self-preservation or by hatred on the part of state authorities and in various historical periods. These acts often precipitated mass destruction in the belief of racial, political, ideological or geographic superiority. The list of such events is tragically long, and includes acts against Armenians, Native Americans, Irish, Ukrainians, Cambodians, Indonesians, East Timorese, Bangladeshi, Barundis, Rwandans, Hereros, Ache Indians, recent events in Bosnia and Kosovo, and others. The Holocaust has been the central topic of previous units in this curriculum. While it is not the focus of this unit, teachers are encouraged to have students reflect upon the Holocaust and apply their definitions to that event as well.

Students will also analyze the work of non-governmental agencies, a permanent international criminal court and the establishment of an early warning system, all of which are attempts to prevent genocide from occurring. They will be asked to study ways in which they and their schools may become part of an early warning system effort and/or to celebrate events that promote respect for human dignity and the right of every person to live without fear of condemnation, prejudice, bigotry, discrimination, isolation, and physical harm because of the group to which they belong.

In sum, the broad goal of this unit is for students to understand the nature of genocide and the causes, manifestations and efforts at its prevention. Students will (1) develop and articulate a definition of genocide; (2) explain the political difficulties involved in labeling an occurrence as genocide; (3) analyze the root causes of events other than the Holocaust that have been identified as genocides; (4) analyze the work of non-governmental agencies and the creation of a permanent international criminal court in relation to the establishment of an early warning system for the prevention of genocide. Finally, (5) students will be asked to revisit the most recent generalization they have written regarding their views of human nature. If their newly acquired knowledge of genocide has caused them to further refine their thinking about human nature, they will have an opportunity to revise their formal, and still tentative, generalizations.

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(Revised: 2002)

UNIT VI: GENOCIDE

UNIT GOAL: Students will understand the nature of genocide and the causes, manifestations and efforts at prevention.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
<p>1. Students will develop and articulate a definition of genocide.</p>	<p>A. Select one or more of the following activities and develop a definition of genocide that you believe will assist you in identifying events that are genocidal.</p> <p>1. Individually or in a cooperative learning group, read one or more of the sources listed to the right from 1a – 2c and do the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Make a list of the various definitions of genocide that you discover. • Identify the similarities and differences in these definitions. • Discuss why there are differing definitions of genocide. • Develop an agreed-upon definition that your group will use in its study of genocide in this unit. • Discuss the limitations that your agreed-upon definition may have on your study of genocide. 	<p><i>Note: the notation (READING #) in this column indicates that a copy of the article is included in this curriculum guide.</i></p> <p>A. Resources for Section A:</p> <p>1a. Totten, Samuel and Milton Kleg. "Genocide." <i>Human Rights</i>. Hillside, NJ: Enslow Publish, Inc., 1989, 91-94. (READING #1)</p> <p>1b. Totten, Samuel. "The Scourge of Genocide: Issues Facing Humanity Today and Tomorrow." <i>Social Education</i>. National Council for the Social Studies. March 1999. 116-121. (READING #2)</p> <p>1c. Totten, Samuel and William S. Parsons. "Introduction." Eds. Samuel Totten, William Parsons and Israel W. Charny. <i>Century of Genocide: Eyewitness Accounts and Critical Reviews</i>. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1997.</p> <p>1d. Bauer, Yehuda, "The Holocaust—Summing Up—The Holocaust and Genocide: Is There a Difference?" <i>A History of the Holocaust</i>. New York: Franklin Watts, 1982. (READING #3)</p>

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>2. Examine and discuss whether the term genocide is interpreted to mean the same universally, or does it have different connotations for some nations?</p> <p>Examine the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accomplice to genocide • Genocide as a result of ecological destruction and abuse • Political interest in the definition of genocide • Towards a generic definition of genocide • Genocide in the course of colonization and consolidation of power • Genocide in the course of aggressive (“unjust”) war • War crimes against humanity • Cultural genocide 	<p>1e. Chalk, Frank and Kurt Jonassohn. “Genocide: An Historical Overview.” Eds. William Parsons and Samuel Totten. “Teaching About Genocide: Special Section.” <i>Social Education</i>. National Council for the Social Studies, February 1991. 92-95. (READING #4)</p> <p>1f. “Definitions of Genocide” (READING #5)</p> <p>1g. Chalk, Frank and Kurt Jonassohn. “The Definition of Genocide in the Criminal Code of the United States.” <i>The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analyses and Case Studies</i>, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990. 51-53. (READING #6)</p> <p>2a. Charny, Israel W. “Toward a Generic Definition of Genocide”. Ed. George Andreopoulos. <i>Genocide: Conceptual and Historical Dimensions</i>. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994. 64-94. (READING #7) Note: This is an exceptionally challenging and comprehensive article that is appropriate for teacher use and for students with advanced reading skills.)</p> <p>2b. Porter, Jack Nusan. “Genocide is a New Word for an Old Crime.” Ed. Giosetti Buniela. <i>Prejudice</i>. New York: Anchor Books, 1993. 143-155. -</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Degrees of criminal responsibilities • On the ills of "Definitionalism" <p>3. After reviewing several of the recommended sources, participate in a panel discussion in response to the following proposition: <i>Scapegoating of a race or ethnic group, if taken to extremes, can result in genocide.</i> In developing your view, you may wish to consider the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are some preconditions to genocide? • Examine the type of society that commits genocide. <p>4. <i>Note: Activity 4 is an adaptation of a self-contained unit developed by Dr. William R. Fernekes, Social Studies Supervisor at Hunterdon Central Regional High School in Flemington, NJ. The unit, Defining Genocide: A Model Unit, was published in <i>Social Education</i> (February 1991) the journal of the National Council for the Social Studies. It is being used here with the permission of the author and publisher.</i></p>	<p>2c. <i>Model Curriculum: for Human Rights and Genocide.</i> Bureau of Publications, California State Dept. of Ed., P.O. Box 271, Sacramento, CA, 95801-0271. (For teacher use)</p> <p>2d. Consult United Nations Web site for U.N. definition of genocide. www.un.org</p> <p>3a. Chalk, Frank and Kurt Jonassohn. "The Definition of Genocide." <i>The History and Sociology of Genocide—Analyses and Case Studies.</i> New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990. 27-33; 51-53. (READING #8)</p> <p>3b. Kuper, Leo - <i>Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century.</i> New York: Penguin Books, 1981 or Yale University Press, 1981. 120-122; 136-13.</p> <p>4a. Fernekes, William R. "Defining Genocide: A Model Unit." (Excerpts) Eds. William Parsons and Samuel Totten. <i>Social Education.</i> National Council for the Social Studies. February 1991. 130-131:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Labeling Potential Genocidal Acts." (This handout is informed by the work of Helen Fein, "Scenarios of Genocide: Models of Genocide and Critical Responses." Israel Charny, ed. <i>Toward the Understanding and Prevention of Genocide: Proceedings of the</i>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>Day One</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> In a class discussion, develop a class list of perceptions of the term <i>genocide</i>, and list any groups that students believe have suffered from genocide based upon their current knowledge of the term. Without collaboration with peers, students should categorize the groups based upon common characteristics that they believe exist among the listed items. Share your categories with classmates by working for 10 minutes in small groups to develop justifications for their categorizations. Group representatives should then read their justifications to the class. (Examples of student categories have included religious, ethnic and national groups.) Students should define the characteristics of their groups and justify the inclusion of specific groups in the categories. Discuss the difficulty of making distinctions between specific descriptive categories for certain groups. Consult a copy of the UN Genocide Convention (See Reading # 12) to determine how UN representatives encountered the same difficulty in defining groups during the UN genocide convention debates from 1946-1948. 	<p><i>International Conference on the Holocaust and Genocide.</i> Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984. 3-31.) (READING #9)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> “Genocide Definitions: Similarities and Differences.” (This handout is informed by the work of Frank Chalk. “Definitions of Genocide and Their Implications for Prediction and Prevention.” <i>Holocaust and Genocide Studies: An International Journal</i>, 1989. 149-1603. (READING #10) “Alternative Expert Definitions of Genocide.” (READING #11) <p>4b. United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. <i>Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.</i> Geneva, Switzerland: Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, December 1948. (READING #12) NOTE: This document may also be accessed from the United Nations Website: http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/p_genoci.htm</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • After reading the UN Genocide Convention, review and complete the handout, “Labeling Potential Genocidal Acts,” before the next lesson. <p>Days Two and Three</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review your homework responses with your classmates. Note the degree to which there is agreement or disagreement. Note that there is legitimate disagreement among experts and others about what constitutes genocide. • Determine whether your labels conform to the UN Genocide Convention definition, or to some other criteria. <p>Day 3</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review the findings from the previous day’s discussion. • Read the “Alternative Expert Definitions of Genocide.” <p>Day Four</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participate in a class discussion focused on the results of homework from Day 3. • Conduct a class discussion focused on the following questions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What criteria did you use to select one of the definitions as superior? ▪ How do your criteria relate to the five questions shown in part one? ▪ Are other criteria possible for defining genocide? 	

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ How does your chosen definition help to distinguish genocide from other forms of violence and killing? ▪ Can non-governmental genocide exist? ▪ What examples might qualify as genocide that do not involve state power? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For homework, (a) review the text of the UN Genocide Convention, specifically Articles IV through IX, that focus on punishment for the crime of genocide; and (b) write a response to the following: What areas of Articles IV through IX of the UN Genocide Convention would you recommend changing should the UN Genocide Convention be replaced by the definition of either Charny, Horowitz, or both? Rewrite any or all of the articles after substituting one of the two definitions you prefer. Explain why your changes improve the definition. If you do not favor Charny or Horowitz, modify the existing UN Definition in Articles I through III and then proceed to alter Articles IV through IX. <p>Day Five</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Share the changes in the UN Genocide Convention text for Articles IV through IX with classmates in a discussion and identify at least three different versions. 	

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The use of a particular definition of genocide implies that other results or changes are likely in a document as controversial as the UN Genocide Convention. Those students who advocate Charny's or Horowitz's definitions should present their views as to why changes are necessary. If you advocate for either, join the appropriate group. The focus should be on enforcement and prevention concerns, both of which have been significant weaknesses of the UN Convention since its inception in 1948. • Concluding Assignment: Write an essay on the problem of genocide in the period 1948 through the present, focusing on specific cases that have inspired controversy about the definition of genocide itself. Examples might include the Cambodian genocide between 1975 and 1979, the killing of civilians by the Argentine government between 1976 and 1983, or the use of chemical weapons against Kurds by the Iraqi government during the 1980's or more recent examples in the 1990's and early in the 21st century. <p>In developing your essay, include the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • application of one of the three definitions used in the unit; • investigation of characteristics of the case to determine whether it qualifies as genocide; and 	

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
<p>2. Students will explain the political difficulties involved in labeling an occurrence genocide.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • recommendations for action by appropriate national and international organizations concerning the perpetrators of the genocide, should their acts fall within the scope of the definition being utilized. <p>5. As a review, summarize the events that led up to the Holocaust using the following questions as a guide. Share your summary with the class.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How did the Nazis define the Jews? • Was the Holocaust premeditated? • Define the term <i>Final Solution</i>. • Examine the architects of the <i>Final Solution</i> and the methods used to accomplish it. • Which of the definitions of genocide best applies to the Holocaust? <p>A. After engaging in two or more of the following activities, summarize the controversy surrounding the determination of genocide.</p> <p>1a. In a group or individually create a set of criteria for the determination of genocide.</p> <p>Professor Yehuda Bauer of Hebrew University offers the following for consideration:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Long established hatred • Political dictatorship • Impersonal bureaucracy 	<p>5a. Students may refer to instructional materials and resources in Unit IV of this guide and the various definitions of genocide found in the previous activities in Unit VI.</p> <p>5b. Fein, Helen. "Twentieth Century Path to Genocide." <i>Accounting for Genocide: Victims and Survivors of the Holocaust</i>. New York: The Free Press, 1979. 18-16, 28-30. (READING #13) (Note: This article is appropriate for teacher use and advanced students at the high school level)</p> <p>A. Resources for Section A:</p> <p>1a. Bauer, Yehuda, <i>A History of the Holocaust</i>, Chapter 13. New York: Franklin Watts, 1982. 330 – 332.</p> <p>1a. Hovannisian, Richard G., "Determinants of Genocide: Armenians and Jews as Case Studies." <i>The Armenian Genocide in Perspective</i>. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1987. 85-97.</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High level of technology • War (covering mechanism) <p>1b. Read and discuss events in Auschwitz 1942-1945 and events at My Lai during the Vietnam War in 1968. Both were war crimes, but one was termed genocidal and the other was considered a wartime atrocity.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Define <i>atrocity</i>. • Discuss which factors distinguish an event as a genocide. <p>1c. Examine the case study of Rwanda. After reading excerpts 1, 13 and 14 from the Gourevitch book, discuss the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • United States inaction in labeling the conflict in Rwanda a genocide. • What factors led to the decision not to call this a genocide? <p>1d. Examine the case study of Kosovo. After consulting a variety of the resources listed to the right, determine whether the events in Kosovo constituted a genocide. Apply the definitions of genocide you studied earlier to support your arguments.</p>	<p>1b. Nyiszli, Miklos. <i>Auschwitz: A Doctor's Eyewitness Account</i>. New York: Arcase Publishing, 1993. (READING #14)</p> <p>1b. Maclear, Michael. <i>The Ten Thousand Day War</i>. New York: Avon Books, 1981. (READING #15) [Article refers to My Lai massacre during the Vietnam War.]</p> <p>1b. "War Crimes." <i>American Justice Series</i>. 50min., color/black and white. Videocassette. The History Channel, 1994.</p> <p>1c. Gourevitch, Philip. <i>We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed With Our Families</i>. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1996.</p> <p>1c. "The Rwanda Crisis." <i>Frontline Special Reports</i>. Online. From <i>The Rwanda Crisis</i> by Gerard Prunier. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995. Available at http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/rwanda/reports/prunierexcerpt.html.</p> <p>1d. "The Triumph of Evil." <i>Frontline</i>. Videocassette. 1999. Consult Frontline Web Site: www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/evil/</p>

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>1e. The following series of activities is adapted from the <i>New York Times on the Web's Learning Network</i> as cited in 1d-e in the resources column.</p> <p>Use the <i>New York Times</i> and other sources listed in the right-hand column to examine recent events in Kosovo that are considered by many to have constituted a genocide, and complete one or more of the following activities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Investigate Serbian history and tradition through individual or group research projects. Then examine how the bond of traditions became the binding force of nationalism for which the Serbian forces fought at the expense of the lives and livelihoods of ethnic Albanians • Research other groups of people who, bonded together by a common history or traditions, became violent against others unlike them in the name of nationalism. Maintain a scrapbook of articles about the group researched, and evaluate the impact that the group's actions has on their country and on the world. • Read <i>A Novel About the Balkans</i>, by Slavenka Drakulic, and prepare a book report that summarizes the author's views of the issues in the Balkans. 	<p>1d-e. "Kosovo: A Bitter Struggle in a Land of Strife." <i>The New York Times on the Web's Learning Network</i>, 12 Feb. 1999. (Special news package.) This vast resource, useful to students and teachers, may be accessed at the following web site: http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/featured_articles/990212friday.html</p> <p>1d-e.Perlez, Jane. "A Bitter Struggle in a Land of Strife." <i>New York Times</i> 3 Feb. 1999. (May be accessed online at http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/featured_articles/990212friday.html)</p> <p>1d-e.Internet fact sheet on the conflict in Kosovo may be found at the following web site: http://www.infoplease.lycos.com/spot/kosovo1.html</p> <p>1d-e.Note: Teachers may access all materials referenced in 1d-e above from the <i>Daily Lesson Plan</i>, developed in partnership with the Bank Street College of Education in New York City, at http://www.nytimes.com/learning/teachers/lessons/990212friday.html.</p> <p>1d-e."The Promise of Justice: Burning the Evidence." From the Web site about the burning of bodies of Albanians in Kosovo. http://www.npr.org/programs/atc/010126.kosovo.html</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trace the growth of the ethnic Albanian rebel movement in Kosovo. (The teacher may assign a different article to a number of small groups in the class.) With your group, create a poster that relays how the article describes ethnic Albanians fighting back against Serb troops. Groups can then arrange their posters in chronological order, forming a timeline which they can use for analysis about the growth of the rebel movement. • Evaluate the intervention of the United States in overseas conflicts such as Kosovo. Compare and contrast this United States involvement with others such as the Vietnam War, the Gulf War, Bosnia, Operation Desert Storm in Iraq. What were the purposes and results? • Read and discuss some of the articles that offer the perspectives of those intimately involved in the events in Kosovo (such as <i>Days and Nights in Kosovo: Relief Worker's Diary</i>; <i>Children of Balkan Immigrants Share War Stories in Classroom</i>; and <i>Ethnic Albanians Recount a Massacre</i>) Compare and contrast first-hand accounts of the conflicts in Kosovo to the news stories that journalists relayed. • Study Slobodan Milosovic's rise to power as the Serbian president and his influence on the events in Kosovo. Learn about the creation of the province of Serbia 	<p>1d-e.Consult Web site: www.angelfire.com/mi2/genocide</p> <p>1d-e.Consult Kosovo Liberation Army Web site: www.kosova.com/english/news_180699.htm</p> <p>1d-e.Drakulic, Slavenka. <i>S. A Novel About the Balkans</i>. New York: Penguin, 1999.</p> <p>1e. Sharf, Michael. "The Indictment of Slobodan Milosevic." <i>ASIL Insight</i>. American Society of International Law. June 1999. Online. http://www.asil.org/insigh35.htm.</p>

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>under the leadership of Marshal Tito and his views about internal and foreign affairs. What has happened to Milosovic? (See <i>The Indictment of Slobodan Milosevic</i>)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interpret the photographs that accompany many of the articles in the Kosovo special. Free-write on your interpretations of what is happening in the picture, or take the perspective of a person in a photograph as the voice in a first-person narrative piece of writing. • Use the following questions as a guide to your analysis of the situation in Kosovo: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Why does such animosity between Serbs and ethnic Albanians exist, and what events have resulted from this animosity? ▪ How might a strong sense of ultranationalism foster conflict within a country? ▪ What role might a government play in the inciting of great ethnic tensions within a country or region? ▪ What is the history of the Balkan region with regard to the many ethnic groups residing there? ▪ What international methods have been and are being attempted in an effort to bring peace to the Balkans? 	

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Should the United States continue to play a role in the conflicts in Kosovo? ▪ What impact or responsibilities do international organizations such as NATO have in controlling or interfering in the conflicts in the Balkans? [also, United Nations] <p>1f. Examine the case study of Sudan.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Read daily news briefs from an internet site. • Locate Sudan on a map • List arguments on both sides: Is this a genocide? <p>1g. Using the United Nations definition of genocide, or the definition that you have developed earlier in this unit, determine which of the events listed on the chart, "Which Are Genocides?" (Reading) #16 meet your preferred definition of genocide. Provide a brief explanation of your rationale in a class discussion.</p>	<p>1f. Daily news briefs may be accessed from the following web sites: http://www.oneworld.org/ips2/mar99/17_09_068.html and http://www.srdis.ciesin.org/cases/Sudan-paper.html</p> <p>1f. Peterson, Scott. <i>Me Against My Brother: At War in Somalia, Sudan and Rwanda</i>. New York: Routledge, 2000. (Note: May be used as a resource for Sudan and Rwanda case studies in this section.)</p> <p>1g. Gwin, Christopher. "Which Are Genocides?" (Unpublished Chart). Informed by R.J. Rummel, <i>Death by Government</i>. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1997, and various internet sites listed in the Appendix. (READING #16)</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
<p>3. Students will analyze the root causes of events other than the Holocaust that have been identified as genocides.</p>	<p>A. Analyze several of the events listed below that have been identified as genocides and summarize the root causes of each event.</p> <p>1. Select one of the genocides listed below from the text <i>Century of Genocide: Eyewitness Accounts and Critical Views</i>, and write an essay on the uniqueness of that genocide. Additional sources may be consulted.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Genocide of the Hereros • The Armenian Genocide • Soviet Man-Made Famine in Ukraine • Soviet Deportation of Whole Nations • Indonesian Massacres • East Timor Genocide • Bangladesh Genocide • Burundi Genocide • The Cambodian Genocide • Physical and Cultural Genocide of Various Indigenous Peoples • The Rwanda Genocide <p><i>(Note: The source listed also devotes chapters to the Holocaust. However, they are not listed here because the objective relates to events other than the Holocaust.)</i></p>	<p>A. Resources for Section A:</p> <p>1a. Totten, Samuel, William S. Parsons and Israel W. Charny, Eds. <i>Century of Genocide: Eyewitness Accounts and Critical Views</i>. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1997. (Note: One chapter is devoted to each of the genocides in #1.)</p> <p>1b. Churchill, Ward. <i>Indians Are Us</i>. Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1994.</p> <p>1c. Churchill, Ward. <i>A Little Matter of Genocide: Holocaust and Denial in the Americas, 1492 to the Present</i>. San Francisco, CA: City Lights Books, 1997.</p> <p>1d. Rummel, R.J. <i>Death By Government</i>. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, March 1997.</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>B. Select from among the following events that have been described as genocides and analyze the root causes and effects of each.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Armenian Genocide (1915-1923) 2. The Forced Famine in Ukraine: 1932-1933 3. The Great Irish Famine (1845-1849) 4. The Cambodian Genocide (1975-1979) 	<p>B. Resources for Section B:</p> <p>NOTE: The N.J. Commission on Holocaust Education has endorsed individually developed curriculum guides on each of the following events. Thus, it is recommended that these resources be consulted in the planning of instructional units on the respective topics.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>The Armenian Genocide: The Forgotten Genocide.</i> The N.J. Commission on Holocaust Education, P.O. Box 500, Trenton, NJ 08625. 2. <i>The Forced Famine in Ukraine: 1932-1933: Curriculum and Resource Guide for Educators.</i> Available from the N.J. Commission on Holocaust Education, P.O. Box 500, Trenton, NJ 08625. 3. <i>The Great Irish Famine</i> (Revised 1998). Prepared by the Irish Famine Curriculum Committee, James Mullin, Chairman. 757 Paddock Path, Moorestown, NJ 08057 (856) 727-4255, FAX 856 866-9538, e-mail: JVMullin@aol.com. Also, available from the N.J. Commission on Holocaust Education, P.O. Box 500, Trenton, NJ 08625. 4. <i>The Cambodian Genocide Curriculum Guide.</i> Available from the NJ Commission on Holocaust Education, P.O. Box 500, Trenton, NJ 08625.

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>5. The American Indian Genocide</p> <p>6. In addition to the genocides listed in 1-5, investigate any of the following genocidal acts that have occurred in the 20th century. Analyze each using your definition of genocide and determine whether each meets the criteria in the definition.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1904: The German Government massacred 65,000 of a total population of 80,000 people known as the Hereros in southern Africa. • 1919: Jews in Ukraine, between 100,000 and 250,000 slaughtered in 2000 different pogroms (massacres). • 1936-1939: 400,000 - 500,000 people were shot and killed in the Soviet Union for political reasons. • 1943-1946: Under Josef Stalin, the Soviet Union deported whole nations of people from their native lands, including the Karachai and the Autonomous Kalmyk Republic, the Chechen and Ingush peoples and all Balkans. Many of the exiles died even before arriving at their destinations. The survivors were 	<p>5. <i>The Right to Live: American Indian Genocide Curriculum.</i> Camden, NJ: Teaching Excellence Center, Rutgers University, 1995. Available from N.J. Commission on Holocaust Education, P.O Box 500, Trenton, NJ 08625.</p> <p>6. "A Brief Listing of Some of the Genocidal Acts That Have Occurred During the 20th Century." <i>The Social Science Record: The Journal of the New York State Council for the Social Studies.</i> Vol.24, Issue 2. Fall 1987.</p> <p>6. Totten, Samuel, William Parsons and Israel Charny. <i>Century of Genocide.</i> New York: Garland Publishers, 1997.</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>treated extremely harshly in order to bring about their destruction.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1950-1959: China's attempt to annihilate Buddhism in Tibet. • 1965: The government of Indonesia slaughtered up to 600,000 people it accused of being "communists," many of whom were simply opponents of the government. • 1965-1972: The Tutsi killed between 100,000 – 300,000 people of the Hutu tribe in the African nation of Burundi. • 1965-Present: Tens of thousands of Indians in Guatemala, most of whom were non-combatants, have been killed during the course of counter-insurgency operations of the Guatemalan military. • 1966: Whole tribes of Ibo people were massacred in northern Nigeria by government troops. • 1971: The Pakistan military killed between one to three million indigenous Bangladeshis. • 1972-1973: The Paraguayan government enslaved, tortured and killed thousands of Ache Indians in Paraguay. 	

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1975-2000: An estimated 700,000 people of East Timor have been slain by Indonesian troops. • 1980: Hundreds of members of the Baha'i religion were tortured and executed in Iran under the government of Ayatollah Khomeini. • 1992-1995: 40,000 or more Muslims were murdered in a Bosnian Serb effort at what they called "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia-Herzegovina. • 1998: 20,000 Muslims in Kosovo were killed during a government policy to drive them from their homeland. • 2000: Sudan, East Timor and Indonesia 	

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
<p>4. Students will analyze the work of non-governmental agencies and the creation of a permanent international criminal court in relation to the establishment of an early warning system for the prevention of genocide.</p>	<p>A. Conduct a study of the various organizations that are committed to the elimination or reduction of genocide by engaging in the following activity:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Investigate and report on current organizations that are working to reduce and possibly eliminate present and future genocides. Discuss how the activities of these organizations may serve to alert the world to potential genocide, war crimes or crimes against humanity. Examples include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Amnesty International • Hate Watch • Anti-Defamation League (ADL) • Southern Poverty Law Center • NAACP • Doctors Without Borders • The United Nations • Erase the Hate (MTV) • Dith Pran • I*E.A.R.N. • Save the Children • Human Rights Watch • International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs • Refugees International 	<p>A. Resources for Section A:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1a.. <i>Amnesty International Handbook</i>. New York: Amnesty International Publications, Amnesty International USA, 1991. 1b. Sullivan, Edward T. <i>The Holocaust in Literature for Youth</i>. Lanham, MD.: Scarecrow Press, 1999. [Includes an excellent list of resources, materials and organizations] 1c. Web Sites of Organizations Committed to the Elimination of Genocide: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Amnesty International: http://www.amnesty.org/ • Anti-Defamation League: http://www.adl.org/ • Southern Poverty Law Center: http://www.splcenter.org/ • NAACP: http://www.naacp.org/ • Doctors Without Borders: http://www.doctorswithoutborders.org/ • United Nations: http://www.globalpolicy.org/ • Erase the Hate (MTV): http://www.usanetwork.com/functions/nohate/erasehate.html • Dith Pran: http://www.dithpran.org/ • I*E.A.R.N.: http://www.iearn.org/ • Save the Children: http://www.savethechildren.org/ • Human Rights Watch: http://www.hrw.org/

GENOCIDE

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>2. Read <i>Using the Early Warning System</i>, by Franklin H. Littell. Using the criteria presented, identify potentially genocidal movements and select appropriate strategies for responding to each of them.</p> <p>B. Make a commitment to the preservation of human rights by engaging in one or more of the following activities:</p> <p>1. Develop a personal plan (which may also include family members) designed to help reduce prejudice, racism and bigotry in your own life and the community in which you live.</p> <p>2. After completing activity #1, above, study at least one human rights organization of your choosing and report to the class about that organization's mission and philosophy and what would be required to be a member.</p> <p>3. Investigate and report an actual atrocity or war crime by completing the report form that the UN requires on its similar investigation. Review the <i>Universal Declaration of Human Rights</i>.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs: http://www.iwgia.org/ • Refugees International: http://www.refintl.org/ <p>2. Littell, Franklin H. "Using the Early Warning System." <i>Creating An Early Warning System: The 20th Century Confrontation With Terrorist Movements</i>. Merion Station, PA: the Philadelphia Center on the Holocaust, Genocide and Human Rights. 1 Sept 1996. (READING #17)</p> <p>B. Resources for Section B:</p> <p>1. Student-developed plan.</p> <p>2. Student-developed report.</p> <p>3. <i>Universal Declaration of Human Rights</i>. New York: United Nations Department of Public Information. Online at http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html (READING #18)</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>4. Using newspaper, magazine or Internet-based sources, identify one or more current genocidal activities in the world and do the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use the criteria in the definition of genocide you prefer to determine whether the activities you identify are genocidal in nature. • Develop a report form on the incident in which you outline those factors that you believe indicates a possible genocide is occurring, and encourage a governmental or non-public organization to take appropriate action. <p>5. Investigate establishing a high school chapter of Amnesty International and get involved in freeing prisoners of conscience or engaging in other human rights campaigns against hunger and homelessness.</p> <p>6. Examine arguments for and against the United States ratification of the Rome Accord on a Permanent International Criminal Court. Write a defense of the position with which you agree. You may also participate in a class debate in which both sides are presented and argued.</p>	<p>4. Student and/or teacher-identified resources.</p> <p>5. Contact Amnesty International's Urgent Action Program Office, P.O. Box 1270, Nederland, CO 80466-1270, or telephone (303)258-1170; fax (303)258-7881; e-mail: emoore@aiusa.org</p> <p>6a. Chippendale, Neil. <i>Crimes Against Humanity</i>. Philadelphia, PA: Chelsea Press, 2001.</p> <p>6b. Totten, Samuel, William Parsons and Israel Charny. <i>Century of Genocide</i>. New York: Garland Publishers, 1997.</p> <p>6c. Gutman, Roy, ed. <i>Crimes of War: What the Public Should Know</i>. New York: Norton, 1999.</p>

GENOCIDE

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>7. Analyze the political cartoon <i>The 20th Century: 100 Years of Genocide</i> by Tony Auth, which was published during the recent internal conflict in Kosovo. In a small group, do the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify each of the items in the cartoon. • Discuss the meaning of the caption. • Discuss the genocides that are depicted. • Identify other genocides you would include. Explain why. • Discuss who the character in the cartoon is supposed to represent. • Discuss the meaning of his remark, "The civilized world wishes to express its ongoing regrets." • Discuss whether you agree with Tony Auth's message. • Discuss what you believe is the value of political cartoons such as this. Compare and contrast their value compared with written editorials in the media. <p>8. Organize a committee to plan a school-wide celebration of the anniversary of the signing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on December 10th. The celebration might include honoring students, teachers and community members who acted on behalf of others, who did not stand by while rights were violated.</p>	<p>7. Auth, Tony. Cartoon. <i>The Philadelphia Inquirer</i>. "The 20th Century: 100 Years of Genocide." 1998. (READING #19)</p> <p>8. Student-organized activity.</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
<p>5. Students will reassess their generalizations about human nature in light of their study of genocide.</p>	<p>A. Given your study of genocide, reassess and refine your previous generalization about human nature.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Review your last generalization about human nature. 2. Given the new knowledge you have acquired as a result of the study of genocide in this unit, reassess your last generalization about human nature and, if necessary, develop a revised generalization that more accurately reflects your view. 	<p>A. Resources for Section A:</p> <p>1-2. Students' last generalizations about human nature.</p>

READINGS INCLUDED IN UNIT VI

Reading#**Title/Reference**

1. Totten, Samuel and Milton Kleg. "Genocide." *Human Rights*. Hillside, NJ: Enslow Publish, Inc., 1989. 91-94.
2. Totten, Samuel. "The Scourge of Genocide: Issues Facing Humanity Today and Tomorrow." *Social Education*. National Council for the Social Studies. March 1999. 116-121.
3. Bauer, Yehuda, "The Holocaust—Summing Up—The Holocaust and Genocide: Is There a Difference?" *A History of the Holocaust*. New York: Franklin Watts, 1982.
4. Chalk, Frank and Kurt Jonassohn. "Genocide: An Historical Overview." William Parsons and Samuel Totten, eds. "Teaching About Genocide: Special Section." *Social Education*. National Council for the Social Studies, February 1991. 92-95.
5. "Definitions of Genocide"
6. Chalk, Frank and Kurt Jonassohn. "The Definition of Genocide in the Criminal Code of the United States." *The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analyses and Case Studies*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990. 51-53.
7. Charny, Israel W. "Toward a Generic Definition of Genocide". Ed. George Andreopoulos. *Genocide: Conceptual and Historical Dimensions*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994. 64-94.
8. Chalk, Frank and Kurt Jonassohn. "The Definition of Genocide." *The History and Sociology of Genocide—Analyses and Case Studies*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990. 27-33; 51-53.

Fernekes, William R. "Defining Genocide: A Model Unit." (Excerpts) Eds. William Parsons and Samuel Totten. *Social Education*. National Council for the Social Studies. February 1991. 130-131: (see Readings # 9, 10 and 11 below)
9. "Labeling Potential Genocidal Acts"
10. "Genocide Definitions: Similarities and Differences"
11. "Alternative Expert Definitions of Genocide"
12. United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*. Geneva, Switzerland: Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, December 1948.

13. Fein, Helen. "Twentieth Century Path to Genocide." *Accounting for Genocide: Victims and Survivors of the Holocaust*, The Free Press, 1979. 18-16, 28-30.
14. Nyiszli, Miklos. *Auschwitz: A Doctor's Eyewitness Account*. New York: Arcase Publishing, 1993.
15. Maclear, Michael. *The Ten Thousand Day War*. New York: Avon Books, 1981.
16. Gwin, Christopher. "Which Are Genocides?" (unpublished chart). Informed by R.J. Rummel, *Death by Government*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1997.
17. Littell, Franklin H. "Using the Early Warning System." *Creating An Early Warning System: The 20th Century Confrontation With Terrorist Movements*. Merion Station, PA: the Philadelphia Center on the Holocaust, Genocide and Human Rights. 1 Sept 1996.
18. *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. New York: United Nations Department of Public Information.
19. Auth, Tony. Cartoon. *The Philadelphia Inquirer*. "The 20th Century: 100 Years of Genocide." 1998.

HUMAN RIGHTS

“GENOCIDE”

Samuel Totten and Milton Kleg

“The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing.”

—Edmund Burke, British statesman (1728-1797)

Slaughter. Bloodbaths. All-out or partial destruction. Mass executions. Exterminations. Mass political killings. Purges. Pogroms. These are some of the terms and phrases that are usually used to describe acts of genocide.

The term “genocide” was coined in 1944 by a lawyer named Raphael Lemkin. *Geno* means “a tribe or race” of people. *Cide* means “to cut or kill.” Genocide has come to mean the *deliberate* destruction or murder of a *particular* group of people. It is usually committed because one group (often government officials) distrusts or despises a particular group because of its race, religion, ethnic background, political beliefs, or nationality.

In this context, the word “destruction” can mean a number of different things. It could mean the murder, in part or whole, of a particular group of people. Sometimes the killings number in the hundreds, thousands, or even millions. For instance, the Nazis slaughtered over six million Jewish people (as well as six million others) during the years 1936-1945.

“Destruction” could also mean deliberate actions, aside from outright murder, that bring about the end of a particular group. For example, it could mean the planned starvation of a group of people. This actually happened between 1932 and 1933 when the Soviet Union carried out a policy that led to the starvation of up to ten million Ukrainian people.

Or the term “destruction” could also mean the establishment of laws that try to prevent births within a group. Such an action could result in the eventual extinction or end of the entire group.

Genocide is vastly different from homicide. *Homo* is the biological name for “human.” *Cide*, of course, means to “kill.” Homicide, then, refers to the murder of one person or ten. But it does not refer to the destruction of the lives of hundreds, let alone thousands or millions, like genocide does.

Numerous experts point out that many, if not most, homicides are not planned. They often just happen on the spur of the moment. For instance, a person may get so furious during an argument that he or she ends up killing someone. Or, a person who is robbing a store may get into a gunfight and kill someone. Genocide, on the other hand, is usually carried out according to a specific plan.

War also should not be confused with acts of genocide, even though genocide can and sometimes does take place during wartime. War is usually defined as “an armed struggle between opposing forces in order to accomplish a particular goal.” Genocide, however, is the planned murder of a group of people because they are “different” in some way or hated for some reason.

Also, in a war both sides usually do everything they can to win. Each side uses all of its soldiers and as many of its weapons as it needs to. But during acts of genocide it is a vastly different situation. Sometimes the victims try to fight off their murderers and sometimes they do not. But even when the victims attempt to fight back, it is often a lost cause. Why? Because quite often the murderers so far outnumber the victims that the victims do not have a chance. This is particularly true when an entire nation attempts to destroy one segment of its population. Also, oftentimes the murderers have most, if not all, of the weapons. Finally, since the victims are often unaware of the other group’s plan to destroy them, the victims are easily led to their own slaughter.

Genocide has taken place throughout history. Historical records from ancient Greece and Rome talk about genocidal acts. So does the Bible. During the Middle Ages genocide occurred during the religious battles of the crusades. Genocide also took place when countries like England, Spain, and France went out and colonized new lands. The American settlers of the West also committed genocidal acts against the

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Indians. So genocide is a human rights violation that has plagued humanity for a long time.

However, people of the twentieth century like to think that they are more civilized than their ancestors. This is the century, they point out, in which humanity split the atom and put a man on the moon. Nevertheless, some of the worst acts of genocide in the history of humanity have taken place during the twentieth century.

Over three times as many people have been killed in genocidal acts from 1900 to the present as in all of the wars during this century. That is astounding when you realize that over 35 million people have died since 1900 in World War I and II, various civil wars and revolutions. But over 119 million people have died in genocidal acts.

One hundred and nineteen million is a huge

number. It is such a large number that it may be hard to imagine. But think of it in these terms. There are about 230 million people in the United States. Thus, to kill 119 million people would be like killing off every single person in every state that borders either the Atlantic or Pacific Ocean. That would include people in all of the following states: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Washington, Oregon, California. It would also include all of the people living in Washington, D.C. Imagine what it would be like to fly to one of those states and not see a single person alive in the airport, or on any street, or in any store or home in any city or town.

THE SCOURGE OF GENOCIDE: ISSUES FACING HUMANITY TODAY AND TOMORROW

Samuel Totten



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The shock of the Holocaust “provided the impetus for the formal recognition of genocide as a crime in international law, thus laying the basis for intervention by judicial process.”¹ As a result, says Leo Kuper in *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century*, the “declared purpose of the [UN Genocide] Convention, in terms of the original resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations, was to prevent and punish the crime of genocide.”² The UN Convention defines genocide as follows:

Genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) killing members of the group;
- (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm

- to members of the group;
- (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part,
- (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; and
- forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

The development of the Genocide Convention was a major milestone in the protection of basic human rights, despite its extremely broad and compromised nature (for example, after much debate, “political groups” was excluded from its wording and members of such groups from its protection).³ The sad fact is, however, that implementation of the Convention has been sorely ineffective, and the post-Holocaust world has

Source: Totten, Samuel. “The Scourge of Genocide: Issues Facing Humanity Today and Tomorrow.” *Social Education*. National Council for the Social Studies. March 1999. 116-121.

witnessed the perpetration of one genocide after another in which millions have been brutally murdered.

Among the many places where genocide has occurred in the past half century are: Indonesia (1965-1966), East Timor (1975-1979), Bangladesh (1971), Burundi (1972), Cambodia (1975-1979), Rwanda (1994), and Bosnia-Herzegovina (early 1990s). Moreover, this list of large-scale genocides does not touch upon the many small indigenous groups that have been subjected to both genocide and ethnocide in recent decades.

More often than not, the international community has failed either to intervene when genocide was being perpetrated or to subsequently hold the perpetrators accountable for their actions. While one cannot be sanguine about the prospects for ending genocide, there are at least glimmers of hope in the commitment of some individuals and groups to staunch (sic) the mass bleeding of humanity. At the same time, there are counter forces—some subtle and some overt—that are bound to pose barriers in any attempt to come to grips with the problem.

Barriers to Ending Genocide

Most responsible world leaders decry the act of genocide. The problem is that they seem to do so after the fact, that is, after an act of genocide has been committed and members of the targeted group are lying dead in the tens to hundreds of thousands, if not millions. Indeed, during those periods when genocide is actually being carried out it almost seems as if world leaders including those at the United Nations—are time and again playing out a deadly and scurrilous game of “see no evil, hear no evil.”

Undoubtedly, there are numerous reasons why world leaders, both individually and collectively, persistently ignore both the early warning signs of an impending genocide as well as the actual genocidal events. These include, but are not limited to, the following: (a) the concept of so-called “internal affairs” and the related issue of the primacy of national sovereignty, which cause many nations to hesitate before becoming involved in another nation’s internal affairs; (b) the hesitancy to commit one’s troops to a dangerous situation; (c) the lack of care regarding the problems of a nation whose geopolitical status is deemed “insignificant”; (d) the wariness of many nations at entering into agreements that could, at some point, subordinate national sovereignty to international will; and (e) a myriad of other reasons related directly to the concept of *realpolitik*.

Not surprisingly, the issue of “internal affairs” is often used by genocidal nations to keep “outsiders” at

bay, and by “bystander” nations as an excuse for not acting to prevent the genocide. In effect, the group perpetrating genocide is asserting, “This is our business, not yours (e.g. the international community’s), and we will handle our problems as we wish.” Conversely, and while possibly sickened by the actions of the genocidal state, the onlooker nations are, in effect, saying, “As disturbing as the situation is, it (the perpetration of genocide) is their problem, not ours.” Left unsaid but subsumed under the latter is the notion that “We don’t want other nations poking their noses in our business, and thus we won’t poke our nose in theirs.”

The trouble with this attitude is that it ignores the central tenet of the Genocide Convention that genocide is a crime under international law. More specifically, Article 1 of the Convention states: “The Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and to punish.” The problem, as Kuper notes, is that “The doctrine of humanitarian intervention, [which] may be defined as “the right of one nation to use force against another nation for the purpose of protecting the inhabitants of that other nation from inhumane treatment by their governing sovereign,’ is dearly in conflict with the cardinal principles of respect for national unity, territorial integrity, and political independence.”⁴ Until this thorny issue is resolved, the intervention of outside nations to prevent genocide is bound to remain problematic.

Hesitancy on the part of a nation to commit its own troops to a dangerous situation (e.g. where genocide is taking place in another nation) also acts as a deterrent vis-a-vis intervention. A classic case of late was the Clinton Administration’s decision not to intervene in the conflict in the former Yugoslavia because of the so-called “Somalia factor.” As Neier explains:

(I)n October 1993, the Somalia factor reappeared when eighteen Americans were killed in battle with the loyalists of a Somali warlord. Amid cries that America could not be policeman to the world, the episode gave Washington an additional reason not to deploy Americans in Bosnia. [R]etreat from the plan to intervene with force in Bosnia left the new president looking weak and inept. Accordingly, supporting the idea of a war crimes tribunal became opportune to the Clinton Administration. It was a way to do something about Bosnia that would have no political cost domestically.⁵

The same situation was reportedly at work regarding

the Rwandan genocide:

...The United States...heard early warnings of the slaughter but resisted getting involved until it was far too late...It was the Americans, stinging from their failed peacekeeping operation in Somalia in 1993, who put up the most resistance to getting involved in Rwanda in the spring of 1994, aides to Mr. Annan [Secretary-General of the United Nations] said privately.⁶

As cynical as it sounds, nations may also ignore genocide when it is perpetrated in a locale deemed of little or no geopolitical significance. Again, the genocide in Rwanda provides such an example.

There is also the wariness of many nations to enter into agreements that could, at some point, subordinate national sovereignty to international will. A case in point is the fact that the United States did not ratify the UN Genocide Convention until 1988, due to the fact that within the United States "suspicion of international law has remained a potent political force."⁷ This issue is obviously tied to interest in preserving one's own internal affairs from interference by other nations.

Finally, there is a wide array of other reasons for nations to act tentatively about preventing and/or intervening in genocide that relate to perceived national interest or *realpolitik*. As Charny trenchantly notes:

Without doubt, one of the greatest obstacles to progress is the fact that, with few exceptions, leaders and governments employ self-interest cruelly and unashamedly...[For example, as of 1988] the United States remained a supporter of Pol Pot [the architect of the Cambodian genocide between 1975-1979] as the vested leader of the Cambodian people so as to undermine the standing of the Vietnam-supported government of Cambodia. This left the Soviet Union, Vietnam, and Cuba trying to unseat the Pol Pot representation...Prior to the time that Vietnam fought against Pol Pot, the same Soviet Union was supporting the "Agrarian People's Government" of Pol Pot despite the reports of massive genocidal killing, while the United States was bringing to bear impassioned spokespersonship for human life and liberty against him.⁸

Up until the mid-1990s, the international community's record on bringing perpetrators of genocide to justice was nothing short of dismal. The examples are many and include those leaders responsible for genocide in Uganda (Idi Amin)

Cambodia (Pol Pot, Leng Sary, Khieu Samphan, and Non Chea), and Bosnia Herzegovina (Radovan Karadzic and Rakdo Mladic). However, the Cambodian government did recently arrest Ta Mok, a top military commander in the Khmer Rouge, and plans to try him.

In 1993, the UN Security Council established a war crimes tribunal in The Hague to prosecute individuals responsible for serious violations of international humanity law in the territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1991. As Neier has observed, this decision "set a precedent for the world body: it was the first time in its forty-eight year history that it tried to bring anyone to justice for committing human rights abuses."⁹ Equally significant, "The charter for the ex-Yugoslavia war crimes tribunal uses language from the UN's 1948 Genocide Convention, even though the Convention itself was never invoked before Bosnia."¹⁰

In the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide in 1994, the UN Security Council established a second tribunal in Tanzania to prosecute those who committed genocide and crimes against humanity in that nation. The new Rwandan government also established its own tribunal. As positive as these developments are, all have had their share of problems.

Two of the major figures responsible for the genocide in the former Yugoslavia (those named above), as well as more than half of the 62 other men indicted on war-crimes charges, have evaded capture.¹¹ Many of those who best understand the situation, including senior United States diplomats, have argued that "no lasting peace is possible in Bosnia until Dr. Karadzic and General Mladic are brought to justice."¹²

As for the situation in Rwanda:

[Over] 120,000 Hutu people have been arrested in Rwanda over the past (four) years on genocide charges stemming from the four-month bloodletting in 1994 in which at least 500,000 Tutsi died...Since January of 1998, the Rwandan courts have tried more than 200 people, handing out death sentences to about 40 percent and life in prison to about 30 percent. About 1 in 20 defendants has been acquitted. But the Government's relative success in training new judges and bringing cases to trial has not eased the legal crisis here, nor has it brought about reconciliation between the ethnic groups...With ethnic war raging in this hilly nation's western provinces, the police and the Tutsi-dominated military continue to arrest more than 1,000 Hutu a

month on various genocide charges, shoving them into already teeming prisons, where most await hearings without formal charges lodged against them. At the present rate of trials, it would take 500 years to try all the defendants.¹³

Though rife with limitations, each tribunal is undoubtedly a major step toward facing up to and addressing the profound need to punish those who commit genocide. For a detailed and highly readable discussion of the war crime tribunals and related events, see Aryeh Neier's *War Crimes: Brutality, Genocide, Terror, and the Struggle for Justice*.¹⁴

The Study of Genocide

Approximately 25 years old, the field of genocide studies is eclectic in nature and involves a small group of scholars working on numerous fronts in an attempt to understand those factors that culminate in genocide. Most are also committed to developing the means for intervening in or preventing future genocides from taking place. Thus far, and understandably so, scholars in the field are making more headway in regard to understanding than in achieving the desired effects.

One major undertaking by scholars has been an effort to develop a more useable—and some would say, accurate—definition of genocide. For example, some agree with the late Leo Kuper's inclusion of political groups in the definition on the ground that "political affiliation can be as permanent and as immutable as racial origin."¹⁵

Scholars have also engaged in ample debate over the use of the word "intent" in the UN Genocide Convention. Numerous scholars have argued that the inclusion of the term "intent" is problematic in that genociders brought to trial could argue that they had no intent of committing genocide, thus opening a loophole to wiggle out of prosecution.

Another major area of study has focused on the "predictable conditions" as to when genocide will take place.¹⁶ If scholars can detect the conditions under which genocide is likely to be perpetrated, then it may be possible to prevent a situation of geopolitical upheaval from slouching toward genocide. Some of the situations that scholars have noted as being ripe for genocide include: war; colonization; tribal conflict; periods of extreme nationalism; struggles for power between ethnic, racial, or religious groups within a single country; consolidations of despotic regimes; and economic expansion.¹⁷

Hand-in-hand with trying to ascertain when genocides are likely to take place, some scholars have also attempted to distinguish between various

categories of genocide. For example, early in the development of the field, sociologist Helen Fein distinguished between four major categories of genocide: (1) developmental genocide, where the perpetrators clear the way for the colonization of an area inhabited by an indigenous people; (2) despotic genocide, where the perpetrators clear away the opposition to their power as in a political revolution; (3) retributive genocide, where peoples are locked into ethnic or other dominance-submission struggles; and (4) ideological genocide.¹⁸ Still other scholars have examined the nature of societies in which genocide is perpetrated.¹⁹

Early Warning Systems

As humanity moves into the 21st century, it is still struggling to determine the most effective means for intervening in and/or preventing genocide from being perpetrated. As previously noted, numerous scholars are examining situations and signals that need to be monitored in order to detect whether various geopolitical situations are likely to erupt into genocidal acts.

Some of the specific signals that may come into play include: (1) ongoing civil and human rights violations, particularly those that target specific groups of people (as was common during the Nazi reign of terror during the Holocaust years); (2) newspaper articles or radio commentaries that systematically disparage, malign, or attempt to ostracize a particular group (again, this use of media for organized propaganda was common during the Holocaust); (3) radio reports that incite violence against a particular group of people (as happened in Rwanda during the 1994 genocide); (4) sporadic and violent attacks against a particular group of people by government or government-sponsored forces; and (5) "ethnic cleansing," wherein a targeted group is forced en masse from their homes, communities, and region (as took place in Cambodia in the mid-1970s and the former Yugoslavia throughout the 1990s).

Among the many ideas that have been proposed as possible means for preventing or intervening in genocide are:

- ▶ the establishment of a Genocide Bureau (or genocide early warning system) that would monitor "hot spots" around the globe that have the potential to explode into genocidal acts;²⁰
- ▶ a Committee on Genocide that would periodically report on situations likely to result in genocide and/or actual genocidal actions,²¹ and that would be "empowered to indict a State against which charges of genocide were raised;"²²

- ▶ the convening of mass media professionals to examine and develop more effective ways of disseminating information about genocidal acts;²³
- ▶ a specially organized and systematic effort to collect first-person accounts of targeted groups, relief workers, and journalists in areas where a potential genocide was brewing;²⁴ and
- ▶ the development of a World Genocidal Tribunal that would have the authority to try individuals as well as governments that have committed genocide.²⁵

Although some of these ideas were spawned as early as 1982, none of them have as yet been implemented. That said, two real advances have been made.

First is the establishment of International Alert (IA), whose initial mandate was both to alert world public opinion and government leaders as to potential genocides and to implement conflict resolution programs in areas of ongoing violence with the potential to explode into genocidal massacres. For over a decade, IA has quietly gone about its work in various parts of the world to attempt to resolve internecine violence and other types of conflict. For some reason, IA has not acquired the same stentorian voice as Amnesty International in alerting the world's populace to serious human rights infractions, but that is possibly due to the fact that it has focused more on the second part of its mission.

Second, in June 1998, the United Nations established the first International Court, "a permanent body on call to deal with rogue leaders in a systematic way so that a mastermind of death like the late Pol Pot would not pose a jurisdictional problem caught."²⁶ As positive as this move was, heated disagreement over the wisdom of subordinating national sovereignty to international will placed a damper on the establishment of the court. (A)long with half a dozen other nations including Iraq and Libya, the Americans *voted against* setting up the new court. The Clinton Administration, especially the Pentagon, feared that



there were not enough safeguards to prevent American soldiers from being brought to trial for acts committed in the line of duty abroad. A Republican led Congress would go further, saying that no American should even be subjected to international legal proceedings. (*italics added*)²⁷

Another hope for preventing future genocides lies in the use of satellite photos for the express purpose of detecting early signs of "ethnic cleansing," such as the rounding up of large groups of people and the presence of earthmoving equipment at new excavation sites in close proximity to these people. Satellite photos could also detect where dead bodies have been buried during a genocidal action.

The Role of Teachers in Addressing Genocide

With few exceptions, most teachers who address the issue of genocide focus on the Holocaust. In many ways, this is understandable. First, the Holocaust is one of the most (if not the most) documented events in the history of humanity. Second, and this is obviously related to the first point, a plethora of books, essays, first-person accounts, films, curricula, teacher guides, and other adjunct materials are available for use by teachers. Third, numerous documentaries, feature films, and television mini-series on the Holocaust have captured the interest of educators and students alike, thus creating a strong “constituency” for focusing on the tragedy of the Holocaust. Fourth, the Holocaust was perpetrated by a Western nation against its own citizens and people of neighboring countries, providing a focal point that is of great interest to other Westerners. Fifth, many survivors of the Holocaust live in the United States, and teachers and students with access to them have been extremely moved by their stories. Sixth, the recent establishment of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum has generated a tremendous interest in this event among not only students and teachers, but the general public.

Two other genocidal events studied at the secondary level, but to a much lesser extent than the Holocaust, are the Armenian genocide by the Ottoman Turks (1915-1919) and the Khmer Rouge’s slaughter of their own people (1975-1979). Even fewer study the Soviet man-made famine in the Ukraine (1932-1933). Most other genocides perpetrated in this century appear to have been consigned to a black hole of forgetfulness in the schools.

Why? Many genocides do not have a constituency, let alone a strong constituency, calling attention to them. Very few materials addressing such genocides have been designed for use in secondary schools. Many high school teachers—not being specialists in particular periods of history, geographical areas, or the field of genocide studies—are, understandably, not aware of such events with the possible exception of those perpetrated during their lifetimes. Moreover, the issues inherent in each genocidal event are complex, and it is not easy to ascertain the antecedents that led up to and culminated in the genocides.

What, then, are teachers to do if they want to extend the study of genocide beyond the Holocaust? First, they should seek out key works about genocide in order to become familiar with the major genocidal events and conversant with the key issues in the field of genocide studies. Second, it is helpful to obtain a

few key texts for classroom use that provide both an overview of genocide and insights into theories about it. Third, rather than focusing on the same genocidal act every semester or year, teachers could engage students in study of different occurrences of genocide. Fourth, students should be encouraged to conduct individual and/or small group studies into specific genocides and present their findings to the class.

Some teachers and students may be interested in founding a student-led Amnesty International Adoption group. In such groups, students work on the behalf of prisoners of conscience across the globe. Although the main focus of such groups is a wide range of human rights violations and not only genocide, such work provides students with powerful insights into problems faced by nations and individuals across the globe, some of which lead to genocidal acts. (For information about student A.I. Adoption Groups, contact Amnesty International USA at 322 8th Avenue, New York, NY 10001; aimember@aiusa.org; or 212-807-8400.)

Finally, when studying any genocide, it is imperative never to forget that behind the massive and frequently numbing statistics of the dead are individuals—men, women, and children; mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters, grandmothers and grandfathers, nieces and nephews, aunts and uncles. As this writer has written elsewhere, to comprehend the enormity of genocide, any study must move “from a welter of statistics, remote places and events, to one that is immersed in the ‘personal’ and ‘particular.’”²⁸

Conclusion

With the ratification of the UN Convention on Genocide in 1948, there was widespread hope that the crime of genocide would become a thing of the past. Sadly, that hope proved naive; the latter part of the twentieth century has been as bloody—if not more so—than the first half.

It is easy, of course, to point one’s finger at bystanders of genocides in the past. It is more difficult to look in the mirror and admit that one’s country and oneself are doing nothing to ward off a modern genocide.

However much we hope for it, we simply cannot assume that our government, or the United Nations is going to act for us to counteract genocide in a timely fashion, if at all. It becomes imperative, therefore, for individuals to act on their own accord, or preferably, in concert with others who do not want to see humankind’s worst actions repeated.

Unit VI: READING #2

Notes

1. Leo Kuper. *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981). 20.
2. *Ibid*, 36.
3. *Ibid*. For a detailed discussion of the many problematic aspects of the definition settled upon by the United Nations, see Chapter 2, "The Genocide Convention."
4. Leo Kuper, "Theoretical Issues Relating to Genocide: Uses and Abuses," in George J. Andreopoulos, ed., *Genocide: Conceptual and Historical Dimensions* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 31-46.
5. Arych Neier, *War Crimes: Brutality, Genocide, Terror, and the Struggle for Justice* (New York: Time Books, 1998), 129.
6. James C. McKinley, Jr., "Ugly Reality in Rwanda: Leadership in Denial over Ethnic Genocide," *The New York Times* (May 10, 1998): 4.
7. Neier, 21.
8. Israel W. Charny, "Intervention and Prevention of Genocide," in Israel W. Charny, ed., *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographic Review* (New York: Facts on File, 1988), 20-38.
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11. Tim Weiner, "U.S. Drops Plan to Raid Bosnia to Get 2 Serbs," *The New York Times* (July 26, 1998): 1,8.
12. *Ibid*.
13. James C. McKinley, Jr., "Massacre Trials in Rwanda Have Courts on Overload," *The New York Times* (November 2, 1998): 3.
14. See Neier for a highly readable discussion of the war crime tribunals and related events.
15. Leo Kuper, *The Presentation of Genocide* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985).
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22. Charny, "Invention and Prevention."
23. Charny, *How Can We Commit the Unthinkable?*
24. Samuel Totten, "Introduction," in Samuel Totten, ed., *First-Person Accounts of Genocidal Acts Committed in the Twentieth Century: An Annotated Bibliography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1991), xi-lxxv.
25. Luis Kutner and Ernest Katin, "World Genocide Tribunal: A Proposed for Planetary Prevention Measures Supplementing a Genocide Early Warning System," in Israel W. Charny, ed., *Toward the Understanding and Prevention of Genocide: Proceedings of the International Conference on the*

Holocaust and Genocide (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984), 330-346.

26. Barbara Crossette, "Dictators (and Some Lawyers) Tremble," *The New York Times* (Nov. 29, 1998.)
27. *Ibid*.
28. Samuel Totten, "The Personal Face of Genocide: Words of Witness in the Classroom," Special Issue on "Genocide: Issues, Approaches, Resources," *Social Science Record* 24, No. 2 (1987):63-67.

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Charny, Israel W., ed. *Encyclopedia of Genocide*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC Clio Press, in press. *The Encyclopedia of Genocide* addresses a wide-range of critical issues germane to all facets of genocide. Most of the noted scholars in the field of genocide studies have contributed entries to this pioneering volume.

Kuper, Leo. *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981. 255pp. A classic in the field, this book addresses such issues as the genesis of and controversy over The Genocide Convention, theories of genocide, social structure and genocide, the genocidal process, related atrocities, the sovereign territorial state and its relationship to genocide, and what it will take to develop a "non-genocidal society."

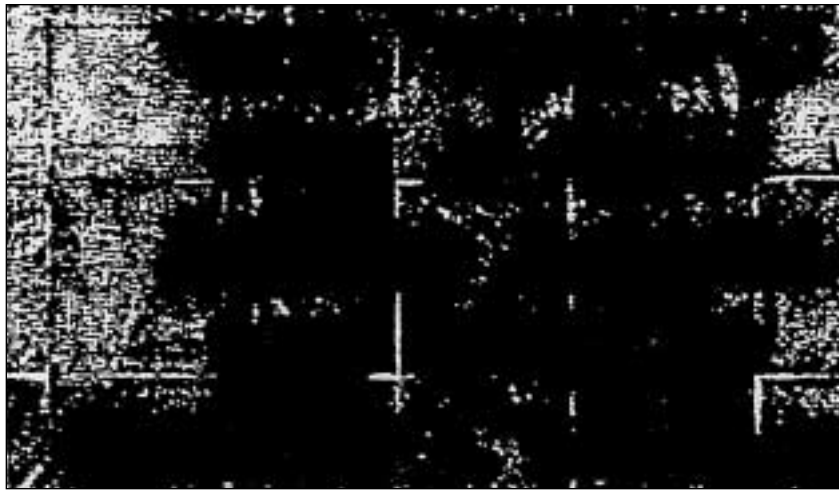
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National Council for the Social Studies, *Social Education* 55, No. 2 (February 1991). Special Issues on "Teaching About Genocide" guest edited by William Parsons and Samuel Totten. Includes over 15 articles by noted scholars and educators on various aspects of genocide, including but not limited to: "Teaching and Learning About Genocide: Questions of Content, Rationale and Methodology," "Genocide: An Historical Overview," "Genocide Intervention and Prevention," and articles on the Armenian genocide, genocide in Burundi, the Holocaust, the genocide of the Gypsies by the Nazis and the genocide in Cambodia.

Neier, Arych. *War Crimes: Brutality, Genocide, Terror, and the Struggle for Justice*. New York: Times Books, 1998. 286 pp. In this highly readable and significant work, the author, a Holocaust survivor and long-time human rights activist, examines, through the lens of the recent events in the Balkans and Rwanda, the ineffectual response of the international community to one human rights tragedy after another that has been perpetrated in this century. In doing so, he examines such critical issues of realpolitik in addressing human rights infractions and bringing perpetrators to justice, and the need and means for bringing perpetrators to justice.

Totten, Samuel, Williams S. Parsons, and Israel W. Charny. *Century of Genocide: Eyewitness Accounts and Critical Views*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1997. 488pp. This book includes critical essays by specialists on fourteen of the major genocides perpetrated in the twentieth century. First-person accounts accompany each essay.

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Acknowledgement

The photos in this article were taken at Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site near Munich, Germany, in 1997. The subjects in order are: a section of the Monument by Nandor Glid; a bas relief with Biblical inscription, "Was sucht ihr den Lebenden bei den Toten" or "Why seek ye the living among the dead"(Luke 24:5); and a wall bearing the admonition "Never Again" in five languages. Together, these memorials bear the poignant message that we remember the victims of the Holocaust for themselves and in the hope of preventing future genocides.

Photographer: Jessie Rothwell

THE HOLOCAUST— SUMMING UP

What “Caused” the Holocaust?

Yehuda Bauer

Historians agree that the Holocaust resulted from a confluence of various factors in a complex historical situation. That antisemitism festered throughout the centuries in European culture is centrally important; the Jews were (and are) a minority civilization in a majority environment. In periods of crisis, instead of searching for the solution of such crises within the majority culture, the majority will tend to project blame for the crisis on a minority which is both familiar and weak. As the originators and bearers of an important part of civilization, the Jews are a “father civilization” against which pent-up aggressions are easily unleashed. Christianity’s long quarrel with a religion that, according to the church fathers, should not really exist exacerbates the dangers. The view of the Jews as a satanic force out to control the world, developed in the Middle Ages, was reinforced in the crises accompanying the emergence of liberalism, democracy, and the industrial world by the modern secularist biological theories of blood and race.

Violence against Jews was perpetrated not only in Germany. Antisemitism is a Euro-American phenomenon, the oldest prejudice of humanity. Without denying the universality of antisemitism, the conception of the Holocaust by German Nazism can be explained by specific factors operating in Germany:

1. The rigidity of German family structure as a precondition for acceptance of an authoritarian dictatorship
2. The destruction of a German national identity and the retardation of the development of a national unity resulting from the Thirty Years’ War and the consequent division of Germany into a large number of separate political entities
3. The identification of popular German (*volkisch*) nationalism with both Germanic Christianity and German pagan anti-Christian traditions, which excluded Jews.

4. German romanticism, which rejected liberal and democratic traditions
5. The weak liberalism of the German middle class
6. The German defeat in World War I and the resulting desire to reassert German collective strength
7. The economic crises and the resulting destruction of objective and subjective security for the group, the social class, and the individual
8. The long-standing tradition of antisemitism in “explaining” crises and social problems

Holocaust and Genocide— Is There a Difference?

Every Jew—man, woman, and child—was to be killed. The Poles, Russians, Czechs, and Serbs were not to be totally annihilated. Their leaders and their national, economic, political, cultural, and religious life were to be destroyed—hence the term *Genocide*—but the masses were not to be killed but to be used as slaves. Others would be voluntarily or forcibly Germanized. In Poland, for example, the intelligentsia was mass murdered, large numbers of the Catholic priesthood underwent martyrdom, whole Polish areas were depopulated, cultural institutions were closed, millions of Polish people became slaves in Nazi industries. But although 3 million Poles were murdered, the masses of the Polish people survived.

In the original definitions of the term *Genocide* by lawyer Rafael Lemkin (1943) there is an interesting contradiction: on the one hand, Lemkin defines Genocide as the “extermination” of a people; but on the other hand, he goes into great detail describing the selective mass murder of leadership by the perpetrators, the destruction of religious life, the appropriation by the perpetrators of economic advantage, and the moral corruption of the victims. Obviously, if people are murdered, they cannot be victimized by moral corruption. What is suggested here is that of the two definitions offered by Lemkin,

the second is what is here called Genocide, and the other, the first, is Holocaust.

It is unfortunately essential to differentiate between different types of evil, just as we differentiate between types of good. If we do that, we can see a continuum from mass brutalization through Genocide to Holocaust. Mass brutalization began, in our century, with World War I and the massive murder of soldiers (by gas, for instance) that took place then. This appears to have prepared the world

for the shedding of all restraints imposed by the relatively thin veneers of civilization. The next step is Genocide, and Holocaust is then defined as the extreme case, the farthest point of the continuum. It then becomes not only the name by which the planned murder of the Jewish people is known, but a generic name for an ideologically motivated planned total murder of a whole people. Holocaust related events would then include the Armenian massacres.

GENOCIDE: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Frank Chalk and Kurt Jonassohn

The word 'genocide' evokes the memories of several mass killings in the twentieth century: Hitler's Germany, Stalin's Russia, Pol Pot's Cambodia come readily to mind. However, although the word was coined only in the 1940s, the events it is meant to describe have been taking place since the dawn of history.

There are several reasons for taking a closer look at the historical origins of genocide. First, few people appreciate that it has been practiced throughout history in all parts of the world. Second, it is the ultimate violation of human rights. Third, it now produces far more than half of all refugees. We shall return to these points after we have dealt with some definitional matters.

Early Definitions

International lawyers and scholars in the social sciences have legitimate sets of objectives when laying out the boundaries of their subjects. For international lawyers, defining genocide means defining a crime. Like any criminal offense, the definition of genocide must be appropriate for legal prosecution and it must withstand review by judges and lawyers for the accused. Social scientists have a different set of objectives. When defining genocide, they are outlining the boundaries of a set of cases they want to study for the purpose of discovering their common elements and analyzing the processes that brought them about. Perhaps these differences in objectives account for the differences in breadth and focus one finds in the several definitions of genocide that have appeared since the concept was first elaborated by Raphael Lemkin (1944, chap. 9).

Lemkin, a Polish Jewish jurist, defined genocide as the coordinated and planned annihilation of a national, religious, or racial group by a variety of actions aimed at undermining the foundations essential to the survival of the group as a group. For a time, the General Assembly of the United Nations seriously debated adding a new category of victims—"political and other groups"—to Lemkin's list, but it gave up the effort when delegates from the Soviet

and Eastern bloc argued that because of their mutability and lack of distinguishing characteristics the inclusion of political groups would blur and weaken the whole convention (Kuper 1981, 26).

On December 9, 1948, the United Nations (1966) adopted the Genocide Convention, incorporating the following definition:

Article II

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

The narrow definition of the victim groups that lies at the heart of the UN definition of genocide was the direct result of a political compromise designed to preserve the remainder of the Genocide Convention. It answered the practical needs of governments as well as the strictures of international lawyers. Since 1944, social scientists have advanced several alternative definitions of genocide. Among the most important for the field are those advanced by Pieter N. Drost, Irving Louis Horowitz, and Helen Fein (Chalk and Jonassohn 1990, 9-23).

Criticisms of the UN Definition

In 1959, Pieter N. Drost, a Dutch law professor with extensive experience in the Dutch East Indies, wrote a major work assessing the UN Convention (1959, 125). Drost assailed the omission of political and other groups from the UN definition of genocide, accurately predicting that governments would

thoroughly exploit the obvious loophole in the convention. Rejecting the notion that the victims of genocide were limited to racial, religious, national, and ethnic groups, Drost proposed that the United Nations redefine genocide as “the deliberate destruction of physical life of individual human beings by reason of their membership of any human collectivity as such.”

In the early 1970s, Herve Savon (1972, chap. 1) voiced his skepticism about the utility of the UN definition as a tool for sociologists, noting that it really belongs to the language of law and ethics, not the realm of sociological analysis. In 1976, the sociologist Irving Louis Horowitz (1980, 170) addressed the same issue but proposed to view genocide as a fundamental policy employed by the state to assure conformity to its ideology and to its model of society. He amended the UN definition to emphasize that genocide was “a structural and systematic destruction of innocent people by a state bureaucratic apparatus.” Since then Horowitz (1994, 1-2 1) has concluded that a totalitarian society is a necessary precondition for the genocidal process, but it is not a sufficient one. Horowitz believes that national culture plays a much more important role in genocide than the ideology of the state. A totalitarian ideology may make class, race, or religion lethal sins, he contends, but the decision to eradicate these sins by committing genocide is largely a function of culture.

In the 1980s, Helen Fein (1988, 9), another sociologist, focused her attention on developing a broader and deeper sociological definition of genocide. She arrived at the conclusion that:

Genocide is a series of purposeful actions by a perpetrator(s) to destroy a collectivity through mass or selective murders of group members and suppressing the biological and social reproduction of the collectivity.

Fein’s explanation of her definition shows that she has decided to include political and social groups as victims and to exclude deaths resulting from warfare.

Leo Kuper has contributed more to the comparative study of the problem of genocide in the twentieth century than anyone since Raphael Lemkin. In *Genocide*, (1981) and *The Prevention of Genocide* (1985), Kuper presents a comprehensive analysis of genocidal processes and motivations and confronts the difficulties of defining genocide. After delivering a devastating critique of the UN definition, the political compromises that shaped it, and the organization’s morally bankrupt record of nonenforcement, Kuper reluctantly accepts the UN handiwork on the grounds that its definition is

internationally recognized and may one day become the basis for effective preventive action by the United Nations. Kuper does not ignore the groups excluded by the UN definition. He discusses the victim of state-organized, politically-motivated mass killings in Stalin’s Soviet Union, in Indonesia, and in Kampuchea (Cambodia) under the heading “related atrocities.” He suggests that each of these cases would have been labeled a genocide if the UN definition had included political groups.

Our Definition

The definition of genocide contained in the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, adopted in December 1948, was quite unsatisfactory for one very simple reason: none of the major groups of victims of the genocides that have occurred since its adoption falls within its restrictive specifications. Article II of the UN Convention contains the crux of this problem, which limits the term genocide to “acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group.” Other victim groups—whether economic, political, or social ones—do not qualify as the victims of genocide because they were omitted from that definition. Leo Kuper (1981, chap. 2) discussed the reasons for that omission and they are less relevant here than our need for a definition that would cover the planned annihilation of any group, no matter how that group is defined and by whom. Minimally, such a definition should include economic, political, and social groups as potential victims. A number of efforts have been made to amend and expand the UN definition of possible victim groups—so far without success (Whitaker 1985).

This lack of success is all the more puzzling since the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees specifies that a refugee is “any person who owing to well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality” (D’Souza and Crisp 1985,7). These two conflicting definitions, arising from the same organization, seem to produce a puzzling paradox. People fleeing from genocide—as defined below—are being recognized as refugees, whereas those unable to flee from the same events are not acknowledged as being its victims. So, after many revisions, we have finally adopted the following definition for our own research (Chalk and Jonassohn 1990, 23):

GENOCIDE is a form of one-sided mass killing in which a state or other authority intends to destroy a group, as that group

and membership in it are defined by the perpetrator.

The main difference between the United Nations definition and ours is that we have no restrictions on the types of groups to be included. This allows us to include even those groups that have no verifiable reality outside the minds of the perpetrators, such as "wreckers" or "enemies of the people"; although such groups may not fall within the usual definition of a group as used in the social sciences, the labeling of such groups by the perpetrator suffices to define them.

Historical Origins

Although the term genocide was coined only in the middle of the twentieth century, it describes a phenomenon that is as old as recorded history. Baillet (1912, 151-152) tells us that genocides were common in predynastic Egypt; the Assyrians (Chalk and Jonassohn 1990, 58-61) claim to have practiced it, if we are to accept their own reports; and several cases are to be found in the Old Testament (Chalk and Jonassohn 1990, 61-63).

The Old Testament contains several quite specific descriptions that are of interest to us. The Amalekites are reported to have been annihilated several times, which might raise questions about the historical accuracy of the reports or about the completeness with which the annihilations were carried out. Our interest is not so much in these details as in the style in which they were reported. That style allows us to conclude that the physical destruction of the entire people of defeated opponents was not unusual at that time, nor that it evoked any humanitarian outrage. The victims seemed to have accepted their fate as the usual lot of the losers at the same time as they were lamenting their losses.

The origins of genocide are shrouded in the unrecorded past. In antiquity, because it is always reported in connection with wars, we can make an educated guess about its roots. City-states and empires were very small by modern standards; many of them were located in the so-called golden triangle, the modern Middle East. The geopolitical dimensions of this area seemed to have been designed to produce almost continuous warfare. The valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates are very fertile with few natural boundaries. The region lies across the trade routes between Asia, Europe, and Africa. Similar criteria apply to the Nile Valley. Thus, opportunities for competition and conflicts leading to wars seemed to be ever present. However, these wars initially did not settle anything; the defeated party went home,

recruited and trained another army, produced more and sometimes better weapons, and then returned to fight another war in order to recoup losses and wreak revenge. It did not take much imagination for someone to decide that the only way to preserve a victory was to annihilate the vanquished enemy entirely, not only the combat forces. Baillet (1912, 167-168) argues that this method of concluding a victorious campaign lasted for about 1,000 years in Egypt before it fell into disuse. This change was not the result of any rise in humanitarian concerns, but rather the realization that the victims would be much more valuable alive than dead.

The states in the fertile crescent were extraordinarily labor intensive because their fertile valleys required elaborate irrigation systems; because the large number of gods they worshipped all required temples; and because few rulers were content with the palaces of their predecessors and therefore spent huge resources on new palaces, or burial sites in Egypt, to glorify their reign. Thus, the new realization that the captives of a conquered enemy were much more useful as slaves than as corpses became widespread in the area.

Genocides continued to be performed by states and empires in order to eliminate a real or perceived threat, in order to terrorize a real or imaginary enemy, or in order to acquire economic resources that others owned but which could not be carried off as loot or booty. These three motives were usually present at the same time, although one of them tended to predominate in any particular situation. Of course, the farther we go back into the past, the more difficult it becomes to obtain evidence of the motives of the perpetrators,

In antiquity it is particularly difficult to account for the fates of peoples. From inscriptions, clay tablets, and parchments we know a great many names of peoples about whom hardly anything else is known. Even when we know something of their history, some of them have disappeared without our knowing what happened to them. The classic illustration is the story of the Hittites who are well known to us from scripture and Egyptian records (Chalk and Jonassohn 1990,60-61). We know that they conquered their neighbors and built an empire that competed with Assyria and Egypt. Then they disappeared from history without a trace. In fact, it is only in modern times that the remains of their capital were discovered; it had been burned to the ground and cursed to prevent it from being resettled. Their writing was deciphered, and the peace treaty that they negotiated with Ramses II was decoded. However, we still have no idea what happened to the

Hittite people. Were they dispersed to other areas? Did they assimilate into the culture of their conquerors? Or were they slaughtered? Only the development of an archeology of genocide holds any promise of solving that riddle.

The history of empires, right into the modern period, is punctuated by periodic persecutions, sometimes escalating into genocides, which were performed either to build up an empire or to maintain it. One of the important characteristics of these types of genocides is that the victim groups were always located outside the perpetrator society, physically and socially. The campaigns of Athens against Melos, of Rome against Carthage, of Genghis Kahn against several peoples (Chalk and Jonassohn 1990, 65113), and of the Crusaders against populations of Antioch and Jerusalem (Runciman 1962, 235, 260, 286-287), may serve as examples.

Modern Genocides

Starting with the Crusades, a new element appeared that has become the dominant one in the twentieth century: genocides to implant belief, ideology, or theory. The Crusade to reconquer Palestine as well as the Albigensian Crusade in the South of France were early precursors in which the motives to enlarge an empire and to spread a belief were both present. At the end of the eleventh century, the crusaders started out to free the Holy Land from the infidels. When they reconquered Jerusalem they slaughtered the entire non-Christian population. They also stayed to establish kingdoms and acquire wealth. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Languedoc (present-day southern France), the most flourishing region of Europe, was devastated by the Albigensian Crusade. Various heresies were quite widespread and even found some sympathy among aristocracy in court circles. The Pope saw this as a threat to the authority of Rome and asked the king of France to organize a crusade to wipe out the heretics. He did this so effectively that the region has never recovered its preeminent status; but, while the heretics and their sympathizers were eradicated, the region was also incorporated into the realm of the king of France.

The first purely ideological genocide probably was the persecution of Christians in seventeenth century Japan (Chalk and Jonassohn 1990, 139-151). Early Spanish and Portuguese trading ships carried not only merchandise but also missionaries who were surprisingly successful in making converts, both among the upper classes and among the poor peasantry. The Tokugawa court perceived this foreign penetration as a threat that undermined not only

traditional trading patterns, but also traditional values governing a rigid social order. This resulted first in several so-called exclusion decrees and then in the Shimabara rebellion during which large numbers of Christians were massacred. These, exclusion decrees effectively closed Japan to Western influences for over 200 years.

At approximately the same time Western Europe experienced the Great Witch-Hunts during which mostly poor people were persecuted for conspiracy with the devil. We are not suggesting that these were genocides—they were not. But the widespread persecutions and burnings were meant to eradicate deviations from the dominant belief system. The procedures for extracting damaging evidence developed at the time are still in use by some modern genocidal regimes.

When we get to the twentieth century, all of the major genocides are ideological ones that are perpetrated to enforce some ideological imperative. Here the victim groups are always located within the perpetrator society, both physically and socially. This explains one of the often overlooked differences between genocides that are performed to enforce an ideological imperative: the former produced tangible benefits for the perpetrators in that they did eliminate the threat, or terrorize the enemy, or produce new economic wealth, while the latter are always carried out in spite of great costs to the perpetrator societies in both social and economic terms.² This is true whether we examine the Turkish annihilation of the Armenian community, Nazi Germany's destruction of the Gypsies and Jews, Stalin's extermination of several groups, or the Khmer Rouge's killing of the urban third of Cambodia's population.

Common Features

Ideological genocides seem to have several features in common that ought to provide a clue to ways of preventing future genocides. These types of genocides tend to be performed in the name of theories, beliefs, or ideologies (1) that devalue the individual in favor of the collectivity; (2) that sanctify means in order to achieve ends; (3) that reject the rule of law; and (4) that do not subscribe to or observe the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948. Each of these points is explored in the following paragraphs.

(1) One of the major ways in which beliefs, ideologies, and theories differ is in how they define their subject. In some cases they define as their subject the individual human being, and the

collectivity plays only a secondary role. We are most familiar with this kind in the West; in civic matters we believe that individuals should vote to help decide the future of the collectivity, and in religious matters we believe in individual conscience rather than the duty of the collectivity. But in many other parts of the world the individual is of secondary importance and it's only the collectivity that matters. In such countries it will be accepted as a matter of course that individuals must suffer in order to further the good of the collectivity. Their leaders may even look with contempt at the Declaration of Human Rights (or the American Bill of Rights) as a document of an inferior culture.

(2) Beliefs, ideologies, and theories also vary in how they interpret the relationship between means and ends. That relationship has produced some interesting debates and analyses. However, in the present context suffice it to say that when the ends justify the means, human rights and human lives are seriously at risk.

(3) Although often enough used without specification of what the "rule of law" really means, its meaning is neither obvious nor clear. However, the rule of law is a very important notion in the comparative study of governments. Most simply expressed, "the rule of law" refers to a type of society governed by the rule of law, the lowliest workers and the highest ruling elites are all subject to the same law. When a society exempts certain individuals or groups from that law, it has taken the first steps away from a democratic regime. The idea of democracy is so widespread that we often do not remember its reference. Literally, it refers to rule by the people; but that is hardly possible in a large-scale society. Instead, we invest the authority to rule in the hands of representatives chosen in free elections. We think it still appropriate to call such government a democracy and we refer to countries that have this kind of an arrangement as republics. Whether that appellation remains appropriate depends on the people's ability to maintain final control. When a government rules in spite of the opposition of the majority, or when it clings to power against the will of the people, then the appellation of democracy becomes inappropriate and human rights are at risk.

(4) These three aspects of beliefs, ideologies, and theories overlap considerably. Perhaps we can adopt as a short-cut measure whether a country observes the terms of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights or the related Helsinki accord. Unfortunately, some countries have signed these documents under pressure from some Western powers, but have no intention of applying them to their internal affairs. Certainly, the commitment to

observe these agreements is the best guarantee that human rights will not be violated—and that includes genocide, the ultimate violation of human rights.

One response to persecution and potential genocide is the attempt to escape. Because some people have always managed to escape, no genocide has ever been completely successful. In the second half of this century [20th] several genocides have taken place, and increasing numbers of people, seeing the danger, have managed to escape. The result is that the majority of refugees in the world today are refugees from genocides. They represent two very different kinds of challenges. The first one arises from the fact that these refugees often bring the most accurate and reliable news of an incipient genocide. When they are taken seriously, and not discounted as biased observers, they can be a crucial part of an early win system. The second challenge overtaxes the UN High Commission for Refugees and the other humanitarian organizations that are trying to assist these refugees.

Notes

1 For a fuller presentation of Fein's definition, see Helen Fein, "Genocide: A Sociological Perspective," *Current Sociology* 38 no. 1 (Spring 1990): 23-25.

2 Chalk and Jonassohn 1990. pp. 415-421. For an expanded version of this paper see: Kurt Jonassohn, "The Consequences of Ideological Genocides and Their Role in Prevention." *Armenian Review* 42, no. 4/168 (Winter 1989): 1-16.

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Burundi: A Case of “Selective Genocide”

René Lemarchand



In a continent where ethnic violence is a common occurrence, only in Burundi has the phenomenon reached the proportions of a “selective genocide.” In 1972 an estimated 100,000 Hutu lost their lives in retribution for their abortive attempt to seize power from a Tutsi-dominated government; significantly, the educated and semi-educated among the Hutu were deliberately singled out as the prime target of the repression. Again, in August 1988 as many as 30,000 Hutus were wiped out by the army in response to the massacre of scores of Tutsi by panic-stricken Hutus.

The extreme brutality of the repression unleashed by the all-Tutsi army in 1972 and 1988 is a grim reminder of the intense fears

raised among Tutsi elements by the prospect of Hutu domination. In a country of approximately 5 million people the Hutu account roughly for 85 percent and the Tutsi for 14 percent of the total population.

For most Tutsi the implications of majority rule are made ominously clear by the recent history of neighboring Rwanda, which shares with Burundi much the same type of ethnic configuration. In the course of the Hutu-instigated revolution that accompanied Rwanda’s accession to independence (1962) countless exactions were perpetrated against the Tutsi, forcing thousands into exile. Many fled to Burundi. Stories of their plight contributed in no small way to intensify the fears and anxieties of their kin in the face of Hutu efforts to assert their claims as an ethnic majority.

Contrary to the conventional image projected through the media, the Hutu-Tutsi conflict is a recent phenomenon. Nothing in the historical record suggests ancestral enmities between Hutu and Tutsi. If only because it perpetuates the myth of long-standing cultural incompatibilities, the concept of “tribe” is equally inappropriate to describe communities that share the same historical heritage, the same language (Kirundi), the same type of social organization and often the same way of life, and whose members for centuries lived peacefully side by side. The political mobilization of ethnic identities in Burundi is intimately tied up with the unfolding of the Rwanda revolution. Reduced to its essentials, ethnic polarization is traceable to a self-fulfilling prophecy inspired by the Rwanda model. What the Hutu see as a source of revolutionary inspiration for the dismantling of minority rule is seen by the Tutsi as a nightmarish scenario, to be avoided at all costs.

Although the government of President Pierre Buyoya has taken important steps to promote a measure of interethnic harmony, renewed ethnic violence is by no means excluded. On October 6, 1988, a consultative commission of twenty-four members, consisting of an equal number of Hutu and Tutsi, was created to investigate the circumstances of the 1988 massacre and make appropriate recommendations to bring about “national unity.” Shortly thereafter Buyoya agreed to a major reshuffling of his cabinet, resulting in an equal number of Hutus and Tutsi, and with the prime ministership now in the hands of a Hutu (Adrien Sibomana). Perhaps the most significant innovation of the Buyoya regime lies in its explicit recognition of the Hutu-Tutsi problem—a fact that none of the previous regimes had been willing to concede. Whether, as a result of these reforms and initiatives, fundamental changes will take place in the actual distribution of rank and privilege remains to be seen.

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DEFINITIONS OF GENOCIDE

Charny: The wanton murder of a group of human beings on the basis of any identity whatsoever that they share – national, ethnic, racial, religious, political, geographical, ideological. Legal warfare is not included in this definition.

Horowitz: A structural and systematic destruction of innocent people by a state bureaucratic apparatus. Different from assassination which is the sporadic and random act of people seeking power who eliminate major figures in a government in an effort to gain power illegally.

Chalk and Jonassohn: A form of one-sided mass killing in which a state or other authority intends to destroy a group, as that group and membership in it are defined by the perpetrators.

Fein: A series of purposeful actions by a perpetrator(s) to destroy a collectivity through mass or selective murders of group members and suppressing the biological and social reproduction of the collectivity. This can be accomplished through the imposed proscription or restriction of reproduction of group members, increasing infant mortality, and breaking the linkage between reproduction and socialization of children in the family or group of origin. The perpetrator may represent the state of the victim, another state, or another collectivity.

UN: Any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group as such: (a) Killing members of the group; (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

D. THE DEFINITION OF GENOCIDE
IN THE CRIMINAL CODE
OF THE UNITED STATES

S. 1851

One Hundredth Congress of the United States of America
At the Second Session

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday,
January 25, 1988

An Act

To Implement the International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment
of Genocide

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in
Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE

This Act may be cited as the "Genocide Convention Implementation Act of 1987 (the Proxmire Act)".

SECTION 2. TITLE 18 AMENDMENTS

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(a) In General.—Part I of title 18, United States Code, is amended by inserting after chapter 50 the following:

CHAPTER 50A—GENOCIDE

Sec.

1091. Genocide

1092. Exclusive remedies.

1093. Definitions.

Sec. 1091. Genocide

- (a) Basic Offense.—Whoever, whether in time of peace or in time of war, in a circumstance described in subsection (d) and with the specific intent to destroy, in whole or in substantial part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group as such—
- (1) kills members of that group;
 - (2) causes serious bodily injury to members of that group;
 - (3) causes the permanent impairment of the mental faculties of members of the group through drugs, torture, or similar techniques;
 - (4) subjects the group to conditions of life that are intended to cause the physical destruction of the group in whole or in part;
 - (5) imposes measures intended to prevent births within the group. or
 - (6) transfers by force children of the group to another group; or attempts to do so, shall be punished as provided in subsection (b);

Unit VI: READING #6

- (b) Punishment for Basic Offense.—The punishment for an offense under subsection (a) is—
- (1) in the case of an offense under subsection (a) (I), a fine of not more than \$1,000,000 and imprisonment for life; and
 - (2) a fine of not more than \$1,000,000 or imprisonment for not more than twenty years, or both, in any other case.
- (c) Incitement Offense.—Whoever in a circumstance described in subsection (d) directly and publicly incites another to violate subsection (a) shall be fined not more than \$500,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.
- (d) Required Circumstance for Offenses—The circumstance referred to in subsections (a) and (c) is that—
- (1) the offense is committed within the United States; or
 - (2) the alleged offender is a national of the United States (as defined in section 101 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101)).
- (e) Nonapplicability of Certain Limitations—
- Notwithstanding section 3282 of this title, in the case of an offense under subsection (a)
- (1), an indictment may be found, or information instituted, at any time without limitation.

Sec. 1092. Exclusive remedies

Nothing in this chapter shall be construed as precluding the application of State or local laws to the conduct proscribed by this chapter, nor shall anything in this chapter be construed as creating any substantive or procedural right enforceable by law by any party in any proceeding.

Sec. 1093. Definitions

As used in this chapter—

- (1) the term “children” means the plural and means any individuals who have not attained the age of eighteen years;
- (2) the term “ethnic group” means a set of individuals whose identity as such is distinctive in terms of common cultural traditions or heritage;
- (3) the term “incites” means urges another to engage imminently in conduct in circumstances under which there is substantial likelihood of imminently causing such conduct;
- (4) the term “members” means the plural;
- (5) the term “national group” means a set of individuals whose identity as such is distinctive in terms of nationality or national origins;
- (6) the term “racial group” means a set of individuals whose identity as such is distinctive in terms of physical characteristics or biological descent;
- (7) the term “religious group” means a set of individuals whose identity as such is distinctive in terms of common religious creed, beliefs, doctrines, practices, or rituals; and
- (8) the term “substantial part” means a part of a group of such numerical significance that the destruction or loss of that part would cause the destruction of the group as a viable entity within the nation of which such group is a part.

TOWARD A GENERIC DEFINITION OF GENOCIDE

Israel W. Charny

Introduction

The definition of genocide adopted in law and by professional social scientists must match the realities of life, so that there should be no situation in which thousands and even millions of defenseless victims of mass murder do not "qualify" as victims of genocide. Insofar as there is ever a major discrepancy between the reality of masses of dead people and our legal-scholarly definitions, it is the latter which must yield and change.

The definition of genocide must also be consistent with the everyday usage of the word by reasonable people when they stand and face a mass of murdered people and naturally apply to such an event the only word there is in the human language for such occurrences. Thus, the mass murders of twenty million Soviet citizens by Stalin, the massacre of one hundred thousand or more of the communist opposition by Indonesia, the murders of one to two million Cambodians by the Khmer Rouge are all instances of clear-cut genocide. And instances of mass murders of a lesser magnitude by governments—five thousand Tamils in Sri Lanka and five thousand students in Tiananmen Square in China, for example—are also, in common sense and understanding, genocidal events, although there may be a consensus to characterize these numerically smaller events as *genocidal massacres*, as Leo Kuper, the doyen of genocide scholars, has proposed.

This chapter proposes a generic definition of genocide, which at the same time is supplemented by a series of subcategories of different types of genocide. I shall also propose at least two new categories of genocide: first, accomplices to genocide, and second, genocide as a result of ecological destruction and abuse. I shall introduce these two proposed concepts first, and then we shall meet them once again in the context of their places in the schema of a generic definition of genocide.

Accomplices to Genocide

The concept of accomplices to murder is well established in criminal law; it refers to a person who, knowingly and willfully assists, prepares, or

furnishes a murderer with the weapon with which he commits murder. But there has been no corresponding concept for those who assist, prepare, or furnish the mass murderers of the world with the means to exterminate huge numbers of people. Included in this definition are the scientists who research and design the mega-weapons, the engineers who plan and oversee their production, the businessmen who trade the murder-weapon systems, the barons of finance who profit from enabling the transactions to take place, the government bureaucrats who knowingly or tacitly license or allow the illegal shipments of materials needed to create mega-weapons, as well as the institutions, companies, and various governmental groups which make the mass murders possible. Needless to say, the events leading up to the Gulf War (1991) are being revealed to have included hundreds of major crimes of accomplices to genocide.

Under the present proposal, international laws and laws adopted by national governments would provide a base not only for prosecuting accomplices for violating or conspiring to evade laws about trade licenses and illegal sales of weaponry, but for prosecuting them under laws of genocide as full-blown criminals who are to be held accountable for degrees of responsibility for the actual deaths of victims as a consequence of their actions.

Genocide as a Result of Ecological Destruction and Abuse

Destruction of any number of facets of the ecosystem in which man exists can cause the deaths of countless human beings: thus, nuclear radiation not only as a result of purposeful war but as a result of malevolent or haphazard indifference to safety requirements in nuclear installations has affected hundreds of thousands of people and can reach more calamitous proportions in the future. Poisoning the water supplies of soldiers has long been a strategy of war, but larger-scale poisoning of reservoirs and of waterways, seas and oceans, whether as a result of the haphazard handling of industrial pollutants or of the purposeful poisoning of the waters, can also wipe

out innumerable lives. The list of chemical, biological, and physical hazards that can be unleashed on human beings unwittingly carelessly or wittingly malevolently is endless. As the human capacity to harness forces of nature increases enormously, the possibilities of man becoming Destroyer of Nature correspondingly increase.

Again it is clear that recent events in the Gulf include the demonstrated readiness of a brutal dictator-led government to destroy and poison major components of the ecosystem, and, although at this writing, the actual extent of the loss of life which has and will result from these measures is not clear, the fact that new vistas of ecocidal genocide increasingly loom before the human race cannot be minimized.

Under the present proposal, international laws and parallel laws adopted by national governments would provide a basis for prosecuting those who destroy and abuse the ecology not only for the destruction of natural resources and properties, but under laws of genocide as full-blown criminals who are to be held accountable for degrees of responsibility for the actual deaths of victims as a consequence of their actions.

Before we develop the classification of genocides further, I propose that we develop some perspective about the kinds of establishments that bring to bear political pressures in our field of study, each of which has an interest in establishing a given definition of genocide to suit its political purposes.

Political Interests In the Definition of Genocide

Unfortunately, the process of selecting and developing definitions that are more correct than incorrect is not only a function of the good sense and excellence of scholars, nor is it only a function of pure scientific inquiry, experimentation, and demonstration. Even in a society where the scientific method is the valued and prevailing mode, definitions are subject to enormous ideological and political pressures from the societal establishments within which thinkers do their work.

Throughout the history of ideas, there are endless illustrations of how certain definitions were ruled out from the outset because they were intolerable to the ruling establishment, while other definitions were forced upon the people of their times despite the damage they did to the accurate perception of reality. The legions of thinkers who have suffered at the hands of the censors, interdictors, and inquisitors throughout history is replete with the greatest and finest. Many thousands of lesser scholars and inquirers have also paid in excommunication, exile, and on guillotines and

gallows for the ideas they advanced to their hostile societies.

In those societal contexts that are not quite so severe as to take the actual heads of the thinkers, there are nonetheless enormous political pressures that are brought to bear to disallow errant ideas. Even if the originators of the ideas are not subjected to grievous bodily harm, forced into exile, or personally barred, banned, and excommunicated, they are frequently unable to find proper settings for their work or outlets for their communication of ideas. The ideas themselves are subjected to outright censorship in totalitarian societies, but even in democratic societies, the power of ruling elites and the self-interest of conformists and sycophants lead de facto to a banning of full-scale inquiry and the development of ideas that are not acceptable to those in power in the culture. In the medical sciences and professions, for example, there are noxious surgical procedures, such as the unnecessary hysterectomies of millions of women that continue to this day in many areas of the United States, or the mind-destroying psychosurgeries, such as the lobotomies that were forced on an enormous number of psychiatric patients over the course of two decades if not more in the last half of this [20th] century. Many medical policies are linked to outright battles against any alternatives that are promoted by nonmedical practitioners, for example, the promotion of radical orthopedic surgery in lieu of chiropractic, osteopathy, and other nonmedical procedures including the Alexander Method and the Feldenkreis Method: wars of ophthalmologists to banish optometrists and their nonsurgical corrective procedures; or the power tactics of psychiatrists against psychologists and social workers whose client interventions are generally less intrusive. In all the sciences, McCarthy-type loyalty rituals have plagued the lives and careers of many scientists in democracies as well as in dictator-run governments.

Our goal of correctly defining genocide in order to advance further research and legislation to prevent genocide and to punish its perpetrators is no less subject to the political and ideological self-interest groups that seek to define genocide according to their ideologies and their quest for power.

Those familiar with the history of genocide hardly require an elaborate introduction to the many outright revisionists who seek to rule out the truth of the Holocaust in order to maintain their virulent anti-Semitic purposes: nor do they need to be instructed about the brutal use of political power by Turkey, a seemingly modern state (a NATO member in good standing and recently a welcome ally of the

U.S. against Saddam Hussein), which has committed millions of dollars and first-line political resources to insisting that the Armenian Genocide be written out of the history books. These revisionist conceptions are grotesque to any normal thinking person, but they are sponsored by powerful people and groups and cannot simply be dismissed as irrelevant, despite the fact that they are so patently distorted as to be far out of line with the simplest requirements of scholarship.

Along with these dangerous if farcical denials of known realities there are other insidious types of political pressures on the definition of genocide that issue from entirely respectable intellectual circles. The subject of genocide draws intense political fire over which events of mass murder are to be considered bona fide genocides. The following are four of the most frequent types of political pressures that are brought to bear on the act of defining genocide:

1. Pressures to define genocide so that certain events will be excluded and not generate legal responsibility to the perpetrator country or individual perpetrators who executed the event.
2. Pressures to exclude from the definition of genocide certain events for purposes of realpolitik, such as interests in maintaining diplomatic or economic ties with a genocidal government.
3. Pressures to define genocide so that a given event of mass murder emerges as more "important" than another, including especially pressures to claim for a given genocide the crown of "ultimate importance." A closely related argument has to do with the assignment of relative degrees of evil to different events of mass murder so that a given event is taken to represent the greater, incarnate evil in comparison to other events of genocide, which are treated somewhat as more usual events of massacre and slaughter in human history.
4. Blatant denials and revisionism of known historical events of mass murder.

1. *Pressures to define genocide so that certain events will be excluded and not generate legal responsibility to the perpetrator country or individual perpetrators who executed the event.* The oldest tactic for resisting a full and open definition of murder is that he who commits a murder, or who plans to or who is an accomplice to the commission of a

murder by others, will seek to minimize, attenuate, and confound any definition that will put the murderer or the accomplice in a legally culpable position. It has always struck me as bizarre about justice systems in democracies that the goal of many attorneys is to play a game in which, irrespective of the truth, the attorney instructs even the guilty to deny responsibility totally, and if there is too much evidence to get away with that the legal practitioner nonetheless seeks to reduce the severity of the definition of murder from first to second degree, to manslaughter, to whatever categories of lesser responsibility.

When it comes to perpetrators of genocide, the game, sadly, is no different. Fortunately, in most cases when the perpetrator takes as his defense the claim that he was only following orders of superiors, the courts have ruled that there can be no shirking of one's responsibility not to accept orders to commit war crimes and genocide. Unfortunately, in practice, relatively few perpetrators of genocide are brought to justice. Moreover, even in the greatest democracies in the world, perpetrators have been known to receive preferential treatment even after conviction (as in the case of Lieutenant Calley, convicted for the massacre at My Lai, whose sentence was reduced thereafter by President Nixon), and have been strangely and secretly supported and rewarded with high and comfortable positions after release from jail (for example, several Israeli soldiers convicted for massacring innocent Arabs in 1956 are reported to have been assisted by no less an official than Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion following their release from relatively brief jail sentences. As for nations, legal procedures and sanctions against perpetrator nations have never been taken. David Hawk and his associates at the Cambodia Documentation Commission made herculean efforts in recent years to bring legal charges under the UN Genocide Convention against Cambodia, but no government was found willing to bring the charges before the World Court.

There are especially strong pressures by many countries to bar definitions of any military actions as genocide. The question of whether events of mass deaths of civilians, such as massive or nuclear bombing in the course of wars, are to qualify as genocide or are to be excluded from the universe of genocide, is understandably controversial. The heart that cries out for peace on earth must in principle oppose wars: and straightforward logic tells us that wars are a prime precondition of many genocides, hence we would want to do everything to avoid

them. Realistically, however, wars are a fact of human society, and the status of the present development of human civilization may preclude an encompassing idealistic definition of all mass deaths caused by wars of genocide. Most scholars of genocide reluctantly back off from defining war and the massive killing that goes on during war within the universe of genocide. As a result, a number of forms of massive killings of civilians in wartime—such as the saturation bombings of Dresden in the course of what most of us have no doubt was a just war against evil incarnate, and the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in a war against classic military imperialism and cruelty—are treated gingerly and suspiciously by many otherwise well-meaning scholars of genocide. Even those of us who are quite convinced that those mass deaths of civilians in unjust wars which are not objectively in the service of self-defense must be enjoined as criminal by the international system are aware that the problems of objectively defining self-defense are so great that it too will be a difficult task at this point in the history of ideas.

2. *Pressures to exclude from the definition of genocide certain events for purposes of realpolitik.* Every definition of genocide carries with it policy implications at the levels of international law and international relations as well as for political and economic interests, such implications are even experienced at the level of those who write the historical and moral record of a given people and government. In an ideal universe, the definition of genocide should, in the view of many of us, justify interventions by international legal and political systems, certainly international relief and disaster operations on behalf of the victims, and also humanitarian-based military interventions on the part of neighboring countries and international peacekeeping forces which would employ military force to stop the genociding nation in its tracks. Today's battles over the proper intellectual and political definition of genocide will someday have very real implications. The spokesmen of darkness in human affairs—and there are many—who openly espouse genocidal policies, and also the many who more subtly seek to protect a nation's "right to commit genocide" will seek to limit definitions of genocide that encroach on their ability to conduct their affairs of State as they wish.

If we consider the present definition of genocide

under the UN Convention, the most obvious exclusions from the universe of genocide are political mass killings. Kuper has described how in the original deliberations on the United Nations Convention on Genocide, the big powers conspired and supported one another in an effort to remove from the basic definition events in which governments take action against their political opponents. Even a case such as the U.S.S.R.'s murder of an estimated twenty million (see Note 1) of its own citizens remained unknown to the majority of the free world for the longest time and was not labeled as genocide. It remained for scholars to slowly raise questions about such events and to seek ways to prove that even under the present legal structure some of the victims constitute a definable ethnic minority group. Therefore the events constitute genocide under the present UN Convention and should not be relegated to a government's conduct of its internal affairs. So too, in connection with the Cambodian genocide (which a UN Commission labeled "auto-genocide"), scholars have resorted to the proof that there were at least two clearly defined target groups of the Khmer Rouge, the Buddhist priesthood and the Cham people, and that therefore a bona fide definition of genocide applied.

One implication of such strained proofs remains that planned killing of even millions of one's political opponents would not constitute genocide if one were careful that they were all of different faiths or different ethnic backgrounds. In other words, our human civilization has reached the point in its ethical evolution at which the murder of a single person is murder most foul, but there are conditions under which the murder of millions of people can still fall into a definitional void. We are reminded of Raphael Lemkin's impassioned protest: "Why is the killing of a million a lesser crime than the killing of a single individual?" What Lemkin saw as bizarre in human society was the fact that collective murder of a single target people, the genocide he recognized most familiarly, went unacknowledged, while the murder of a single person generally aroused all the natural emotional concerns one would expect, as well as the proper reactions of the justice system. What we are now adding to Lemkin's cry is the concern that mass killings, on an enormous scale, can fail to qualify as genocide under the present definition if the victims are either a heterogeneous group or native citizens of the country that is destroying them. How absurd, and ugly. It is not surprising that, increasingly voices are calling for the expansion of the definition of genocide to include all political killings and all mass murders of one's own people (see in particular the proposals by the authoritative

Whitaker Commission of the United Nations in 1985). Unfortunately, attempts to exclude cases of mass murder from the definition of genocide for purposes of protecting one's policy interests is, sadly and outrageously, a matter of operational government policy even on the part of the great democracies of our human civilization. Thus, until the summer of 1990 when there were increasing signs of a danger (that has still not passed) that the genocidal Khmer Rouge might again take control of Cambodia, the United States had carefully sustained its political and also economic recognition of the Khmer Rouge as the ruling government of Cambodia in order to further its avowed opposition to the Vietnamese Communist government and its sponsored government in Cambodia, which has vied with the Khmer Rouge and others for control of the country.

Decent people around the world were not only concerned but outraged at the United States' initial failure to protect millions of Kurdish people in Iraq from mass deaths, either at the hands of Saddam Hussein or in the frenzied mass flight from Saddam Hussein's troops, a situation of genocide which the Bush administration unbelievably labeled an "internal affair" of the Iraqis.

Similarly, one American administration after another has gone along to some extent with the exclusion of the Armenian Genocide from the universe of the definition of genocide, lest NATO-ally Turkey be offended. Every few years we are privy to ludicrous and obscene scenes of would-be and actual American presidential candidates promising their support to the Armenian community for its right to mark and remember the genocide of its people; but on assuming office, the newly elected president bows to prevailing State Department policy and its rhetoric, which refers to the murder of the Armenians as an "alleged genocide" and emphasizes that the historical record of the time is a matter of some "controversy."

3. *Pressures to define genocide so that a given event of mass murder emerges as more "important" than another.* I never fault or argue with a survivor's claim that a given genocide was the ultimate evil of all, nor do I find fault with collective expressions of such demands for uniqueness of a given genocide when they spring from the same natural folk-outpouring of grief, disbelief, horror, and rage at the tragedy and infamy done to one's people. However, when possible, and certainly in scholarly forums, I do caution that the phenomenological belief that the genocide committed against one's people was the worst crime ever perpetrated in human history is a natural response, and that this legitimate, subjective reaction itself does not assign objective

credence to the position.

I object very strongly to the efforts to name the genocide of any one people as the single, ultimate event, or as the most important event against which all other tragedies of genocidal mass deaths are to be tested and found wanting. Thus, with regard to the Holocaust of my own people. I do believe that the configuration of the events of the Holocaust, including the totality of the persecution, the unbearably long trail of dehumanization and unspeakable tortures suffered by the victims, the modern organization and scientific resources committed to the mass extermination, the active participation and complicity of every level of society including the public institutions of an ostensibly civilized people, have afforded the Holocaust a timeless meaning and the deserved position as the archetypal event of mass murder in human history. Nonetheless, it is by no means the only event of organized mass murder, and the deadly outcomes for its victims are no more deadly and therefore, no more tragic than the outcomes for the victims of other peoples' genocides. It is also by no means the last word on how human beings at this stage of evolution produce mass deaths on this planet. I strongly oppose any efforts to place the Holocaust beyond the ranges of meanings that attend the destruction of other peoples, and I object to any implications that we should be less sensitive or outraged at the murders of other peoples (see Kuper's criticism of ("the alienation of the unique."))

4. *Blatant denials and revisionism of known historical events of mass murder.* Finally, one must refer again to those outrageous but nonetheless prevalent attempts by groups and governments to deny, censor, revise, and destroy the records of human history about known genocides. Anti-Semitic groups of all sorts, including political enemies of Israel who are also entirely comfortable exploiting anti-Semitism in their battles against Israel, claim that there was no Holocaust, that there were no gas chambers, that the number of more than six million Jewish victims is grossly exaggerated, that Hitler never gave an order to kill the Jews, and that if something happened to the Jews on whatever smaller scale, it was at the behest of low-level commanders.

The most insidious revisionists are those who don't deny that people were killed but who seek cleverly to deny that the given historical event fulfills the demanding criteria that they ostensibly seek to ensure in the definition of genocide. It is abominable

to see pseudo-intellectual products in ostensibly academic journals and books by bona fide tenured academicians of prestigious institutions of scholarship (for example, Arthur Butz) who rewrite the facts and figures of known mass deaths in order to disqualify an event of genocide.

Another insidious variant of revisionism is seen in recent publications by German historians, prominent among them Professor Ernest Nolte, who seek to diminish the significance of the events of the Holocaust, and in effect to diminish the significance of the underlying category to which it belongs, by advancing the observations that after all such events of mass murder have always occurred in history, thus the Holocaust should not be treated as being of unusual significance and certainly not as a historically definitive event. To play a sophisticated game of revisionism properly, one must, of course, add a caveat that one's intention is not at all to dismiss the significance of any genocide, it is only to put it in a proper perspective: but the underlying meaning of such arguments is that the event of genocide need not be an object of civilization's great concerns. The real purpose of revisionism, in its various propagandist forms, is always to re-create a climate of moral support and approval of genocide past, present, and future.

Even democratic governments such as the United States and Israel—which in addition to begin a democracy, is, on another level, the representative of a victimized people who should certainly know better—enter into full-blown conspiracies of denial and revisionism. As previously mentioned, the U.S. State Department has made its share of references to the Armenian Genocide as an “alleged genocide” has opposed even commemorative events about the Armenian Genocide because of its ongoing political interest in relations with the arch-revisionist Turks who to this day deny that there ever was an Armenian Genocide in their hands. It is a sad and obscene commentary on the cultural history of our times that the executive branch of the United States government has several times devoted its full energies to diverting the Congress from passing legislation that would have created a ceremonial day of remembrance for the victims of the Armenian Genocide (to join the literally hundreds of other days of commemoration that have been mandated by congressional legislation)—a day that was, as defined by its Armenian sponsors, also to have commemorated the victims of all genocides in history. It is by now well known that Israel, the land of Holocaust memorial—which protests, as it should, every vestige of revisionism of the Holocaust—conspires to suppress the story of the Armenian

Genocide, whether in the massive government efforts to stop the International Conference on the Holocaust and Genocide in 1982 (which has become a cause celebre in the history of academic freedom and a critical example of governmental suppression of information about genocide) for more recently in assisting Turkish diplomats to lobby the American Congress against the Armenian Genocide bill.

In all these instances, the battle is not only about history and the authenticity of the records of past events in our civilization. It is about the extent to which we today hold our governments responsible for their actions. For as long as there is normative support for the *realpolitik* of government revisionism, we will see the facts of current history erased within days after massacres by governments everywhere, in Tiananmen Square, Sri Lanka, Kurdish villages in Iraq, elsewhere.

Toward a Generic Definition of Genocide

What is needed, I would argue, is a generic definition of genocide that does not exclude or commit to indifference any case of mass murder of any human beings, of whatever racial, national, ethnic, biological, cultural, religious, and political definitions, or of totally mixed groupings of any and all of the above.

I propose that whenever large numbers of unarmed human beings are put to death at the hands of their fellow human beings, we are talking about *genocide*. Shortly after the adoption of the UN Convention on Genocide, Dutch jurist Pieter Drost wrote:

A convention on genocide cannot effectively contribute to the protection of certain described minorities when it is limited to particular defined groups...It serves no purpose to restrict international legal protection to some groups: firstly, because the protected members always belong at the same time to other unprotected groups.

In 1985 the authoritative Whitaker Commission of the UN referred to earlier, called for decisive amendment of the Convention to include all political mass murders. Some years ago, I proposed a *humanistic definition* of genocide, namely, “the wanton murder of a group of human beings on the basis of any identity whatsoever that they share—national, ethnic, religious, political, geographical, ideological.” Similarly, John Thompson has written, “There seems to be no adequate conceptual criteria

for distinguishing between groups whose destruction constitutes genocide and groups whose destruction does not."

With the regrettable but necessary exception of actual military combat, I call on fellow scholars to be faithful to the commonsense meanings of loss of human lives so that we do not exclude in arbitrary, cynical, or intellectual elitist ways, the deaths of any group of our fellow human beings from our definitions of genocide. I believe there is no task of greater importance than that of committing ourselves to the protection of all human lives.

In Table 2.1 I have assembled a proposed matrix for a new encompassing definition of genocide. I would argue that a *generic definition of genocide* be as follows:

Genocide in the generic sense is the mass killing of substantial numbers of human beings when not in the course of military action against the military forces of an avowed enemy, under conditions of the essential defenselessness and helplessness of the victims.

Raphael Lemkin correctly underscored the overriding motivation of many mass killings to exterminate a given people and therefore wisely called to our attention that the murder of a people's culture or elimination of their rights and abilities to maintain biological continuity are also forms of destruction of the species to which we dare not be indifferent. First and foremost, however, we must have a language that clearly defines as genocide any actual biological murder of masses of people even if the people are not all of the same ethnicity, religion, or race.

At the same time, since there are also a great many important reasons to distinguish between different kinds of genocide, having defined genocide in its generic sense, we also need to create a series of definitions of categories of genocide. Each event of genocide is to be classified into the one or more subcategories for which it qualifies. It is to be expected that over the course of time there will always emerge new categories as the complexity of life and reality unfold, for example, in our time we may witness the creation of a category to define accomplices to genocide who supply deadly weapons of mass destruction to those who commit genocide, and some day in the future perhaps of a category for the destruction of planets (Which I have elsewhere called *planeticide*, *partial planeticide*, as well as *attempted planeticide*).

Genocidal Massacre

Events of mass murder that are on a smaller scale than mass events may be defined, as Leo Kuper originally proposed, under a category of "genocidal massacre." I would define *genocidal massacre* as follows:

Mass killing as defined above in the generic definition of genocide, but in which the mass murder is on a smaller scale, that is, smaller numbers of human beings are killed.

With this category we are now equipped to describe many pogroms, mass executions, and mass murders that are, intrinsically, no less vicious and no less tragically final for the victims, but in which the numbers of dead are small in comparison to the events of genocide and of which even the well-meaning people who do not approve conceptually of "numbers games" have found it difficult to speak of as genocide. Thus, we would apply the specific concept of genocidal massacre in the government of Sri Lanka's rounding up some five thousand Tamils over a weekend and executing them; and to the government of China's mowing down an estimated similar number in Tiananmen Square.

Intentional Genocide

The category for which there is generally the greatest interest is that of genocides that are executed on the basis of an ideological and operational commitment to destroy a specific targeted people. In a sense, this has been the most "coveted" category, that is, the ultimate, pure form of genocide, in which the premeditated, malevolent intention and the totality of operational commitment to destroy a specific people generate a comprehensive evil plan.

If there were to be only one ultimate, seemingly pure form of genocide, this would be its definition, but this pure-form definition, sadly, has also set off competitions between different events of mass extermination, where the debate as to which would be admitted to the "royal club" of "true genocide" has taken precedence. In some cases, there developed claims that only the Holocaust qualified as a true genocide, to which no other mass murder could be compared. I refer once again to Leo Kuper's recent criticism of demands for exclusivity and a dubious categorization of "uniqueness" for the Holocaust at the expense of common sensitivity and respect for the plights of many other peoples who, although they were not led to slaughter in the Holocaust's terrifying scenarios of protracted persecution, torture, and

TABLE 2. A Proposed Definitional Matrix for Crimes of Genocide.

A. Generic Definition of Genocide

Genocide in the generic sense is the mass killing of substantial numbers of human beings, when not in the course of military action against the military forces of an avowed enemy under conditions of the essential defenselessness and helplessness of the victims.

1. **Genocidal Massacre**
Mass killing as defined above in the generic definition of genocide but in which the mass murder is on a smaller scale, that is, smaller numbers of human beings are killed.
2. **Intentional Genocide**
Genocide on the basis of an explicit intention to destroy a specific targeted victim group, (ethnic/religious/racial/national/political/biological or other), in whole or in substantial part.
 - a. Specific Intentional Genocide refers to intentional genocide against a specific victim group.
 - b. *Multiple Intentional Genocide* refers to intentional genocide against more than one specific victim group at the same time or in closely related or contiguous actions.
 - c. *Omnicide* refers to simultaneous intentional genocide against numerous races, nations, religions, etc.
3. **Genocide in the Course of Colonization or Consolidation of Power**
Genocide that is undertaken or even allowed in the course of or incidental to the purposes of achieving a goal of colonization or development of a territory belonging to an indigenous people, or any other consolidation or political or economic power through mass killing of those perceived to be standing in the way.
4. **Genocide in the Course of Aggressive (“Unjust”) War**
Genocide that is undertaken or even allowed in the course of military action by a known aggressive power. e.g. Germany and Japan in World War II, for the purpose or incidental to a goal of aggressive war, such as massive destruction of civilian centers in order to vanquish an enemy in war.
5. **War Crimes Against Humanity**
Crimes committed in the course of military actions against military targets, or in treatment of war prisoners, or in occupation policies against civilian populations which involve overuse of force or cruel and inhuman treatment and which result in unnecessary mass suffering or death.
6. **Genocide as a Result of Ecological Destruction and Abuse**
Genocide that takes place as a result of criminal destruction or abuse of the environment, or negligent failure to protect against known ecological and environmental hazards, such as accidents involving radiation and waste from nuclear installations, uncontrolled smog, or poisonous air from industrial pollution, pollution of water supplies. etc.

B. Accomplices to Genocide

Persons, institutions, companies, or governments who knowingly or negligently assist individuals, organizations, or governments who are known murderers or potential murderers to gain access to mega-weapon of destruction, or otherwise to organize and execute a plan or mass murders, are to be held responsible as accomplices to the defined crimes of genocide or war crimes.

C. “Cultural Genocide”

1. **Ethnocide**
Intentional destruction of the culture of another people, not necessarily including destruction of actual lives (included in original UN definition of genocide but, in present proposed definitions, *ethnocide* is not subsumed under *genocide*).
- a. **Linguicide**
Forbidding the use of or other intentional destruction of the language of another people— a specific dimension of *ethnocide*.

organized factories of death, were no less wantonly slaughtered.

As noted earlier, the present proposal is for a definitional matrix that combines a generic definition of genocide and specific subcategories. Such a definitional matrix makes it possible, first, to recognize all events of mass murder as genocide, and second, to assign each event to a further definitional category in which the specific characteristics of each event are recognized and groups of phenomena that share common structural features can be subjected to analyses of their characteristic sequences and dynamics and to comparative analyses with other types of genocide.

I would define *intentional genocide* as follows:

Genocide on the basis of an explicit intention to destroy a specific targeted victim group (ethnic / religious / racial / national / political / biological / or other), in whole or in substantial part.

Under the category of intentional genocide, I would further define *specific intentional genocide* as intentional genocide against a specific victim group: *multiple intentional genocide* as intentional genocide against more than one specific victim group at the same time or in closely related or contiguous actions; and *omnicide* as simultaneous intentional genocide against numerous races, nations, religions, and so on.

The heartbreaking events of the Armenian Genocide, the Holocaust of the Jews, the Holocaust of the Gypsies, the Holocaust of homosexuals, Sukarno's massacre of the Communists in Indonesia, the tragic gassing of the Kurds in recent years by Iraq, and many other events qualify in the category of intentional genocide. Note that within this communality, there are still many further distinctions to be made in the course of the analyses of the different incidents, involving, for example, numbers of victims, totality of intention, commitment to implementation, and many more: and there is every reason to establish the specific ways in which a given genocide was unique, but without in the process downplaying the recognition of other events as genocide.

Genocide in the Course of Colonization or Consolidation of Power

Genocides in the course of colonization have taken the lives of countless indigenous peoples. Such genocidal colonization of indigenous peoples continue throughout the world.

Using this category in combination with the

earlier category of genocidal massacre to describe, as has Arens, the mass killing of the Ache Indians we will finally solve the difficult conceptual problems created by that admirable and electrifying report. Arens described the murder of perhaps a thousand people, and yet adopted the powerful term *genocide* without further subspecification or definition. An uncomfortable intellectual situation thus developed whereby the cruel killings of a quantitatively small indigenous people was being defined in liberal circles as *genocide*, while some years later the murder of millions of Cambodians was excluded from the field of inquiry of genocide on the grounds of its being an internal affair of the Cambodian government. The present proposed definitional system would confirm from the outset, without hesitation, that both events were indeed genocide under a generic definition of mass killings of defenseless human beings: the specific type of genocide then is assigned to further categories, both as to the type of genocide and as to its quantitative aspects.

There are also numerous situations in which governments seek to consolidate their power through genocidal campaigns against constituent minority ethnicities or against political opponents. At this point at least, I choose to combine these situations with events of genocide in the course of colonization in a single conceptual category. These too are first of all prima facie cases of genocide in the generic sense, since masses of helpless human beings are exterminated. Thus, it will no longer be necessary to struggle laboriously to justify including Stalin's record of murdering perhaps twenty million victims as genocide (again, see note 1. below). I believe one reason that, incredibly, the Western world for the longest time acted as if it did not know of this monstrous record was that as long as the crime had no name and did not qualify in the same category of genocide that included the Holocaust's six million Jewish victims, there was no convenient conceptual experiential basis for people to organize the information. (I would note that the same is true for the other estimated six million non-Jewish victims of Nazi Germany, including those whom we identified earlier as victims of specific intentional genocide [e.g., Gypsies and homosexuals] and including the many millions of civilians of all nationalities in the countries invaded by Nazi Germany, whom we will identify shortly in the next definitional category as victims of genocide in the course of war.) Under the existing limited definition of genocide, it was necessary for scholars, such as those previously referred to argue that because there were instances in which specific ethnicities were eliminated by Stalin, it was legitimate to call these events genocide,

and it was necessary, also as noted earlier, to resort to the same intellectual tour de force to prove that the Pol Pot regime committed genocide in Cambodia. But it is absurd, as well as intellectually corrupt, for us to resort to such devices to allow us to justify calling clear cases of mass murder by the name genocide.

I propose the following definition of genocide in the course of colonization or consolidation of power:

Genocide that is undertaken or even allowed in the course of or incidental to the purposes of achieving a goal of colonization or development of a territory belonging to an indigenous people, or any other consolidation of political or economic power through mass killing of those perceived to be standing in the way.

Genocide in the Course of Aggressive (“Unjust”) War

Above and beyond the fact that genocides of all categories take place frequently under conditions of war, there are mass murders of defenseless noncombatant civilians in the course of war that are an important definitional focus in their own right. The number of civilians who die in the course of wars increases with the growth of destructive mega-weapons. Anatol Rapoport observes that since 1945 “the proportion of civilian deaths-in war has ranged from 65% to 90%,” and that “these killings, being indiscriminate, could well be subsumed under genocide” unless “only deliberate selective extermination of identifiable groups is subsumed under genocides.”

There are two legal categories* for serious crimes against human life in the course of conduct of war: war crimes or crimes committed primarily against combatants but also against noncombatants, in the course of military actions, and crimes against humanity or crimes committed against civilians in particular.

Whether mass deaths of civilians in the course of war should also qualify as a form of genocide is a complex subject that necessarily raises many serious legal, political, and philosophical questions regarding uses of mega-weapons and the large-scale destruction of civilian populations during wartime. The issues are at their sharpest focus when one considers whether massive civilian deaths are to be understood as (1) tragically inadvertent and necessary in the course of intrinsically “just wars” of self-defense against an acknowledged mass murdering power, such as Nazi Germany, and against a war-initiating power intent on aggressive occupation of another people’s lands, or (2) as mass killings of civilians in the course of “unjust wars.” I therefore propose to

take advantage of the distinction between “just” and “unjust” wars to suggest that the mass civilian deaths committed by aggressive powers in pursuit of “unjust” wars at the onset be defined decisively as genocidal. By first addressing genocide in the course of aggressive (“unjust”) war we postpone until later consideration of the issue of mass civilian deaths by intended victim peoples fighting “just wars” of self-defense. In the present category, the issue of mass civilian deaths is unambiguously genocide. The deaths issue from an identifiably aggressive war, and the attacks on civilians are made by rulers such as Hitler, Hirohito, and Saddam Hussein; there is no question that they are not at war in self-defense.

The following definition is proposed for *genocide in the course of aggressive (“unjust”) war*:

Genocide that is undertaken or even allowed in the course of military actions by a known aggressive power, such as Germany and Japan in World War II, for the purpose of or incidental to a goal of aggressive war, such as massive destruction of civilian centers in order to vanquish an enemy in war.

War Crimes Against Humanity

In addition to massive killing of civilians who are specifically and purposely targeted for killing in the course of war, there are also many events where large numbers of soldiers, and perhaps also civilians, are killed as the result of overly cruel or lethal means employed to conduct the war or to manage the detention of captured enemy soldiers, and where large numbers of civilians are terrorized and killed by being taken hostage or under the brutal control of occupied territories. As indicated, mass deaths brought about by such extreme policies have been defined as *war crimes* and/or as *crimes against humanity*.

I propose a single combined category of war crimes against humanity which is intended to define any use of overly cruel or lethal means of war in the course of military actions during the war, or after the war, in such acts as treatment of war prisoners or in the conduct of occupation of all enemy land and rule of its people. When mass deaths result from overuse of force by a warring country, even if it is morally justified by self-defense in its original conduct of the war, it retains no moral advantage with respect to genocidal policies of overkill in its military tactics or in its treatment of the enemy’s war prisoners or occupied civilians. Note especially that this category defines genocidal crimes against soldiers and civilians *regardless* of whether the war being waged

is aggressive or in self-defense.

Personally, I yield to the fact that, at least at this point in human evolution, there must be allowance for war and certainly for truly just wars of self-defense, and that under the circumstances of modern war there is a certainty and perhaps even inevitability of disasters to large numbers of noncombatant civilians. This has to be true at times when technologies of mass destruction are utilized purposefully against operational enemy centers in heavily populated civilian neighborhoods, such as the enemy's war ministry, communication headquarters, and so on. Nonetheless, caring people and history must be free to question whether the large number of dead, such as that which resulted from the Allied firebombing of Dresden and the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in World War II, should be defined as excessive and therefore criminal, and not be allowed to slip unnoticed into being simply another aspect of war. I acknowledge that this categorization of events is intellectually and emotionally extremely painful to many of us in the free world, but I prefer such distress over feigned ignorance or the denial of events where millions died, and over indifference to the issues.

Whatever one's personal opinions, the category of war crimes against humanity organizes these events for further analysis. We need the category to capture the many events in which millions of innocent people are killed because of extreme uses of power, so that we are forced into painful encounters with the moral dilemmas such events present. Defining events in this category does not preclude continuing political and moral analysis and debate as to what instances of mass killing of defenseless people in the course of just wars may be justified.

I propose the following definition of war crimes against humanity:

Crimes committed in the course of military actions against military targets, or in the treatment of war prisoners, or in occupation policies against civilian populations which involve overuse of force, or cruel and inhuman treatment, and which result in unnecessary mass suffering and death.

Genocide as a Result of Ecological Destruction and Abuse

Increasingly, it becomes clear that many human lives are being lost at man-made ecological disasters that are a result of the criminal destruction or abuse of the environment, or of uncaring malevolent indifference to the inevitability of the disaster

because of palpable ecological negligence. Direct military abuse of the environment as a weapon of genocidal destruction, such as, the Germans' poisoning of the Herero people's water holes at the beginning of the century, are obvious genocidal instances. But there are also degrees of abuse of nature that are more negligent in origin, such as the development of an increasingly large hole in the ozone layer surrounding our planet, which is attributable to widespread use of aerosols and which is already seen as causing a dramatic increase in Melanomas: the poisoning of frighteningly large numbers of bodies of water on earth; the pollution of the air above cities: the radioactive contamination of a huge geographical area (smaller instances around nuclear installations in the U.S. and the largest instance at Chernobyl in the U.S.S.R.) that require new policies or intergovernmental cooperation, even among long-standing military rivals, to forestall ecological mass disasters. It is now indisputable that as the instruments of man's power grow, the hazards of massive ecological destruction increase.

I propose the following definition of *genocide as a result of ecological destruction and abuse*:

Genocide that takes place as a result of criminal destruction or abuse of the environment or negligent failure to protect against known ecological and environmental hazards, such as accidents involving radiation and waste from nuclear installations, uncontrolled smog, or poisonous air from industrial pollution, pollution of water supplies, and so on.

I would add that the subject of ecology also leads us to consider the tragic extent to which millions die each year of hunger, and that there is room to consider those actions that create the conditions of unnecessary starvation, which cause the deaths of millions, as genocidal.

Accomplices to Genocide

It is now time to define a new category of accomplices to genocide. If in normal criminal law there are concepts pertaining to a party that supplies a known murderer or intended murderer with the murder weapon. I believe there needs to be clear legal definitions of the direct responsibility of those who supply the financial and technical means to mass murderers. We need legal criteria for defining the responsibility of the contractors, scientists, and others—individuals, companies, and governments—who, knowingly and maliciously, arm a mass murderer, and for assigning lesser criminal

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responsibility to those who were perhaps more innocent yet should not have been when they undertook to work for known and would be killers who were heard to threaten the massacre or incineration of a people. Such perfidies require firm responses under international law.

I propose to define *accomplices to genocide* as follows:

Persons, institutions, companies, or governments who knowingly or negligently assist individuals, organizations, or governments who are known or potential murderers to gain access to mega-weapons of destruction, or otherwise to organize and execute a plan of mass murders, are to be held responsible as accomplices to the defined crimes of genocide or war crimes.

Cultural Genocide

As noted earlier, Raphael Lemkin was correctly concerned not only with the physical destruction of a people but also with the destruction of their cultural identity. However, Lemkin's definitional system inadvertently leads to situations in which destruction of a culture's continuity is labeled as committing genocide while others in which millions of people are actually murdered are not.

Ethnocide

I propose to utilize a specific category of *ethnocide* for major processes that prohibit or interfere with the natural cycles of reproduction and continuity of a culture or a nation, but not to include this type of murderous oppression directly under the generic concept of genocide. Note again, that as in the case of the other proposed classifications so long as data of a given type of event are assembled into a clearly labeled definitional context, they are awaiting the emergence of new thinking and a new consensus as scholars continue to struggle with the enormous issues that are raised by virtually every definition. Note also that retaining this category of ethnocide adjacent to and in effect as part of the overall matrix of definitions of genocide (rather than removing it to a separate list of further human rights violations) retains a recognition of the closeness of the subjects, and also retains respect for the historical inclusion of ethnocide in the original definition of genocide that the world community first adopted. I strongly prefer, however, to reserve the concept of genocide for actual mass murders that end the lives of people. I propose to define *ethnocide* thus:

Intentional destruction of the culture of

another people, not necessarily including destruction of actual lives (included in the original UN definition of genocide, but, in the present proposed definitions, ethnocide is not subsumed under genocide).

Linguicide

Linguicide is a definitional subcategory of ethnocide which involves forbidding various uses of a people's language—printing of books, teaching the language, or everyday communication in the language. I define *linguicide* thus:

Forbidding the use of or other intentional destruction of the language of another people—a specific dimension of ethnocide.

Degrees of Criminal Responsibility

Finally, I believe that the definitional system will gain if it is also possible to assign different weights or gradations to various crimes of genocide. One system for doing so that is immediately familiar for purposes of legal definition is to utilize known gradations of murder, thus, genocide in the first degree, second degree, and third degree, just as definitions of individual murder vary in degree of premeditation, purposeful organization, cruelty, and more, so do programs of mass extermination.

I propose the following criteria by which to define degrees (first, second, third) of genocide, war crimes, and ethnocide:

- Premeditation
- Totality or singlemindedness of purpose
- Resoluteness to execute policy
- Efforts to overcome resistance
- Devotion to bar escape of victims
- Persecutory cruelty

Table 3 presents the overall proposed matrix of definitions that we saw previously with the addition of the option to further classify and assign degrees of criminal responsibility.

Although it has not been included in the table at the present time, I also suggest that the classification system lends itself to concepts of *attempted genocide*, in much the same way as "attempted murders" are categorized.

TABLE 3. A Proposed Definitional Matrix for Crimes of Genocide.

A. Generic Definition of Genocide

Genocide in generic sense is the mass killing of substantial numbers of human beings, when not in the course of military action against the military forces of an avowed enemy, under conditions of the essential defenselessness and helplessness of the victims.

To establish first, second, or third degree or genocide, evaluate extent of:

- Premeditation
- Totality or singlemindedness of purpose
- Resoluteness to execute policy
- Efforts to overcome resistance
- Devotion to bar escape of victims
- Persecutory cruelty

TABLE 3

1. ***Genocidal Massacre***

Mass killing as defined above in the generic definition of genocide but in which the mass murder is on a smaller scale. i.e., smaller numbers of human beings killed.

To establish first, second, or third degree genocidal massacres evaluate extent of:

- Premeditation
- Totality or singlemindedness of purpose
- Resoluteness to execute policy
- Efforts to overcome resistance
- Devotion to bar escape of victims
- Persecutory cruelty

2. ***Intentional Genocide***

Genocide on the basis of an explicit intention to destroy a specific targeted victim group (ethnic/religious/racial/national/political/biological/or other), in whole or in substantial part.

To establish first, second, or third degree intentional genocide, evaluate extent of:

- Premeditation
- Totality or singlemindedness of purpose
- Resoluteness to execute policy
- Efforts to overcome resistance
- Devotion to bar escape of victims
- Persecutory cruelty

- a. **Specific Intentional Genocide**
refers to intentional genocide against a specific victim group.
- b. **Multiple Intentional Genocide**
refers to intentional genocide against more than one specific victim group at the same time or in closely related or contiguous actions.
- c. **Omnicide refers to**
simultaneous intentional genocide against numerous races, nations, religions, etc.
- 3. **Genocide in the Course of Colonization or Consolidation of Power**
Genocide that is undertaken or even allowed in the course of or incidental to the purposes of achieving a goal of colonization or development of a territory belonging to an indigenous people, or any other consolidation of political or economic power through mass killing of those perceived to be standing in the way.

To establish first, second, or third degree genocide in the course of colonization or consolidation of power, evaluate extent of:

- Premeditation
- Totality or singlemindedness of purpose
- Resoluteness to execute policy
- Efforts to overcome resistance
- Devotion to bar escape of victims
- Persecutory cruelty

- 4. **Genocide in the Course of Aggressive (“Unjust”) War**
Genocide that is undertaken or even allowed in the course of military action by a known aggressive power, e.g Germany and Japan in World War II, for the purpose of or incidental to a goal of aggressive war, such as massive destruction of civilian centers in order to vanquish an enemy in war.

To establish first, second, or third degree genocide in the course of aggressive (“unjust”) war, evaluate extent of:

- Premeditation
- Totality or singlemindedness of purpose
- Resoluteness to execute policy
- Efforts to overcome resistance
- Devotion to bar escape of victims
- Persecutory cruelty

5. ***War Crimes Against Humanity***
Crimes committed in course of military actions against military targets, or in treatment of war prisoners, or in occupation policies against civilian populations which involve overuse or force or cruel and inhuman treatment and which result in unnecessary mass suffering or death.

To establish first, second, or third degree war crimes against humanity, evaluate extent of:

- Premeditation
- Totality or singlemindedness of purpose
- Resoluteness to execute policy
- Efforts to overcome resistance
- Devotion to bar escape of victims
- Persecutory cruelty

6. ***Genocide as a Result of Ecological Destruction and Abuse***
Genocide that takes place as a result of criminal destruction or abuse of the environment, or negligent failure to protect against known ecological and environmental hazards, such as accidents involving radiation and waste from nuclear installations, uncontrolled smog, or poisonous air owing to industrial pollution, pollution of water supplies, etc.

To establish first, second, or third degree genocide as a result of ecological destruction and abuse, evaluate extent of:

- Premeditation
- Totality or singlemindedness of purpose
- Resoluteness to execute policy
- Efforts to overcome resistance
- Devotion to bar escape of victims
- Persecutory cruelty

B. *Accomplices to Genocide*

Persons, institutions, companies, or governments who knowingly or negligently assist individuals, organizations, or governments who are known murderers or potential murderers to gain access to mega-weapons of destruction, or otherwise to organize and execute a plan of mass murders, are to be held responsible as accomplices to the defined crimes of genocide or war crimes.

To establish first, second, or third degree complicity to genocide, evaluate extent of:

- Premeditation
- Totality or singlemindedness of purpose
- Resoluteness to execute policy
- Efforts to overcome resistance
- Devotion to bar escape of victims
- Persecutory cruelty

C. “Cultural Genocide”

1. ***Ethnocide***

Intentional destruction of the culture of another people, not necessarily including destruction of actual lives included in original UN definition of genocide but, in present proposed definitions, *ethnocide* is not subsumed under *genocide*).

a. ***Linguicide***

Forbidding the use of or other intentional destruction of the language of another people— a specific dimension of *ethnocide*.

To establish first, second, or third degree cultural genocide, evaluate extent of:

- Premeditation
- Totality or singlemindedness of purpose
- Resoluteness to execute policy
- Efforts to overcome resistance
- Devotion to bar escape of victims
- Persecutory cruelty

On the Ills of “Definitionalism”

To conclude, the basic spirit and intention of the proposed definitional matrix is that, almost without exception, most events of mass deaths of innocent, helpless people qualify under the generic rubric of *genocide*. At the same time, my intention is to develop a rational, systematic series of differential classifications of subtypes of genocide. Both the generic definition of genocide and the various subcategories should stand up, first of all, to the test of natural logic and understanding; there should be no instance in which masses of human beings lie murdered while our definitional categories do not encompass the event of their deaths. The classification of different categories of genocide will allow for effective further study of their different properties and the development of proper legal definitions for assigning criminal responsibility in each case.

Most definitions of genocide have tended to be exclusive, that is, they sought to define what types of mass killings deserve to be called genocide, and hence also to define, directly or indirectly, what types of mass killings were to be excluded from the universe of genocide. The present proposal is strongly inclusive: it seeks to create a wide conceptual base that includes all known types of mass murder and mass deaths that are brought about at the hands of man, and thus to insure that few tragic events of destruction of large numbers of human lives will fall by the theoretical wayside, as if they were of no legal, historical, or spiritual importance. The advantage of treating genocide first of all as a generic category is that one brings into the net virtually all instances of mass killings at the hands of man (other than bona fide wars of self-defense). At the same time, this conceptualization allows room to subclassify into more specific and stringent classificatory groups the different types of events of mass killing. Once the competition to decide which tragic events will and won't be accepted into the vaunted “genocide club” is ended, one can study the different types of genocide more honestly and come to understand their individual characteristics and differences from one another. It would be a moral absurdity and an insult to the value of human life to exclude from full historical recognition any instance of mass killing as if it were undeserving of inclusion in the record.

I would like to conclude with a serious criticism of what I shall call “definitionalism,” which I define as a damaging style of intellectual inquiry based on a perverse, fetishistic involvement with definitions to the point at which the reality of the subject under discussion is “lost,” that is, no longer experienced

emotionally by the scholars conducting the inquiry, to the point that the real enormity of the subject no longer guides or impacts on the deliberations. The discussions about whether a given massacre or mass murder can be considered genocide are often emotionless, argumentative, and superrational, and one senses that the motivations and meta-meanings of the discussions often are based on intellectual competition and the claims to scholarly fame of the speakers rather than on genuine concern for the victims. The predominant intellectual goal of most participants in these definitional turf battles over what is and is not genocide is generally to exclude unfavored categories from the field.

For me, the passion to exclude this or that mass killing from the universe of genocide, as well as the intense competition to establish the exclusive “superiority” or unique form of any one genocide, ends up creating a fetishistic atmosphere in which the masses of bodies that are not to be qualified for the definition of genocide are dumped into a conceptual black hole, where they are forgotten.

I propose that, instead of expressing our dubious zeal for excluding categories of mass deaths from the realm of genocide, we put together the whole rotten record of all types of mass murder committed by man (an excellent collection of such events can be found in the scenarios created by Fein, who uses fictitious names in order to highlight the various models of genocide), and thereby generate an even more powerful force that will protest, intervene, and seek to reduce and prevent any and all occurrences of mass destruction of human lives. In my opinion, that is the real purpose of genocide scholarship.

Notes

1. The figure of twenty million victims of Stalin's U.S.S.R. was generally accepted by scholars for many years. Most recently, political scientist R.J. Rummel of the University of Hawaii has marshaled systematic evidence that no less than “61,911,000 people, 54,769,000 of them citizens, {were} murdered by the Communist party – the government – of the Soviet Union from 1917 to 1987” (R.J. Rummel, “The Death Toll of Marxism in the Soviet Union.” Special Section of *Internet on the Holocaust and Genocide*, double issue 30/31 [February, 1991]: 9-12. On the Soviet mass killings, see R.J. Rummel, *Lethal Politics: Soviet Genocide and Mass Murder since 1917* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Press, 1980). For other cases of genocide, see R.J. Rummel, *China's Bloody Century: Genocide and Mass Murder since 1900* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction press, 1991), and *Democide: Nazi Genocide and Mass Murder* (New

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 - See Barbara Harff, "Humanitarian Intervention," 146-53; David Kader. "Progress and Limitations in Basic Genocide Law," 141-45; and Barbara Harff and David Kader, "Bibliography of Law and Genocide," 154-72. all in Charny *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographic Review, Volume 2*.
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THE DEFINITION OF GENOCIDE

Having dealt above with several definitions of genocide and with our critiques of them, in this section we formulate and elaborate our own definition. It is deliberately restrictive. We have rejected the UN definition as well as others proposed because we want to confine our field of study to extreme cases. Thus, we hope that the term *ethnocide* will come into wider use for those cases in which a group disappears without mass killing. The suppression of a culture, a language, a religion, and so on is a phenomenon that is analytically different from the physical extermination of a group.

We have considered the utility of coining a new term and have rejected this possibility partly because we have not been able to think of an adequate alternate term and partly because the term *genocide* is by now so widely accepted. For the purposes of our research we have adopted the following definition:

Genocide is a form of one-sided mass killing in which a state or other authority intends to destroy a group, as that group and membership in it are defined by the perpetrator.

The terms of this definition require some comment. We start with a *form* of one-sided killing because we want to emphasize that there are many forms of mass killings and that we are proposing to deal with only one of them. We emphasize *one-sided* to indicate that we are dealing with cases in which there is no reciprocity; while the perpetrator intends to wipe out the victim group, the latter have no such plans. The term *mass killing* is meant to denote those cases in which all of the members of a group were labeled as victims, notwithstanding the fact that historically the extermination of 100 percent of a victim group is very rare. A distinction must be made here between the intent to destroy all of the members of a victim group and the empirical methods by which this may be achieved. We mean to exclude from consideration here those cases of mass killing, massacres, riots, and so forth that had a lesser aim, no matter how objectionable such cases are.

The term *one-sided mass killing* is also essential

in order to exclude from our analysis the casualties of war, whether military or civilian. When countries are at war, neither side is defenseless. Although individually the civilians may be defenseless, they are part of the group or nation that is at war. In our analysis, the group is the operable unit of analysis because we are concerned with the behavior of groups rather than individuals. Although our case materials include genocides that occurred during or after a war, these are not to be interpreted as exceptions because they do not concern the victims of combat. The genocide of the Armenians occurred during World War I; that of the Gypsies and Jews during World War II; but in neither case were the victims killed as a result of warfare. Similarly, when we include the victims of the Assyrians, the Mongols, and the Romans in Carthage, we do not mean to deal with war casualties, but with the killing of the entire population after the outcome of the war had already been decided.

A further implication of one-sided is that the victim group has no organized military machinery that might be opposed to that of the perpetrator. Even in those cases in which the victims engaged in attempts to oppose the power of the perpetrators, the very hopelessness of such attempts underscores the one-sidedness of these mass killings. Isolated attempts to oppose the perpetrator—the Warsaw Ghetto uprising or the defense of Van, for example—serve to assert the solidarity of the victims than to defeat the perpetrator.

Our definition of genocide also excludes civilian victims of aerial bombardment in belligerent states. In this we differ from Jean-Paul Sartre and Leo Kuper. Kuper writes, "I cannot accept the view that...the bombing, in time of war, of such civilian enemy populations as those of Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Hamburg, and Dresden does not constitute genocide within the terms of the [UN] convention" (Kuper 1981, 1985). We base our dissenting position on the fact that in this age of total war belligerent states make all enemy-occupied territory part of the theater of operations regardless of the presence of civilians. Civilians are regarded as combatants so long as their governments control the cities in which they reside. This practice was started by the Italians and the

Germans, and it became the practice of both sides in World War II. It seems unfair to single out the Allies for their bombings without mentioning Guernica and Warsaw, Rotterdam and Brest, and Rouen and London. On the other hand, the rules of war clearly entitle enemy civilians living in territory occupied by the victor to certain protections, including freedom from arbitrary killing, which would seem to place the Nazi killing of Jews, Gypsies, and others in a quite different category from wartime bombings.

In taking this view, we find ourselves in agreement with Telford Taylor, who has written,

[Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Hamburg and Dresden] were certainly not "genocides" within the meaning of the Convention, which limits genocide to "acts committed with intent to destroy...a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such." Berlin, London and Tokyo were not bombed because their inhabitants were German, English or Japanese. but because they were enemy strongholds. Accordingly, the killing ceased when the war ended and there was no longer any enemy.

The term *group*, in our usage, may present some difficulties. We realize that the culturally defined meaning of a group and group membership was quite different in antiquity and throughout history before the rise of nationalism. In ancient times the victims of genocide, as we have defined it, were likely to be the residents of a city-state in conflict with a rival power. Whole races, cultures, religions, or ethnic groups were generally not singled out for killing. Indeed, these concepts hardly existed in the ancient world. Thus, even if the Romans killed the residents of the city of Carthage after the fall of that city in 146 B.C. they did not also seek the elimination of the Phoenicians, who had founded and peopled Carthage. The Romans defined the residents of Carthage as a group, recognizing that Carthage had long before become independent of Phoenicia. Nor did the Romans try to kill Carthaginians living in Numidia and other nearby states on the grounds that they were Carthaginians and must die. Those Carthaginians living in the hinterland were not considered by the Romans as part of the victim group because they were not viewed as guilty of rebellion or as likely rivals for power once the city of Carthage and most of its residents had been destroyed. A crucial aspect of our definition of genocide is the definition of the group used by the perpetrator.

Another difficulty may arise when the definition of the perpetrator does not agree with conventional

usage. In many cases, the victim group is a real one, in the sense that it is defined by generally agreed-upon criteria of the culture of the time. But, in keeping with W.I. Thomas's famous dictum that if people define a situation as real it is real in its consequences, a group may be any collectivity of people that is so defined by the perpetrator of a genocide. (A more detailed discussion of this point will be found below in the elaboration of our typology.)

To the extent that a group of people has been targeted by the perpetrator, it is of crucial importance to these victims whether membership has been defined by the perpetrator as voluntary or as ascribed. Thus, individual Armenians sometimes could have saved themselves by converting to Islam, whereas the Nazis defined Jews in racial laws that left no room for individual decisions to opt out.

Because our definition leaves open the nature of the victim group, it allows the inclusion of groups that were excluded from the UN Convention. Further, it allows the inclusion of groups that had not previously been considered under the UN Convention as potential victim groups (for example, the retarded, the mentally ill, and homosexuals, as in Nazi Germany, or city dwellers in Pol Pot's Cambodia) and groups that have no existence outside a perpetrator's imagination (for example, demonic witches in Western Europe and "wrecker" and "enemies of the people" in Stalin's Russia), but whose fate was no less tragic, for all that.

Genocides are always performed by a *state or other authority*. In the twentieth century, the perpetrator is almost always the state because authority and power are highly centralized and the modern means of communication are so efficient that such centralization can be effectively imposed. The addition of *or other authority* was found necessary to deal with some cases in which the perpetrator was a local authority other than the state.

Finally, a word about *intent*. The inclusion of the criterion of intent is common to most of the definitions found in the literature. It is essential in order to exclude those cases in which the outcome was neither planned nor predicted. It thus excludes not only natural disasters, but also those mass deaths that were the result of some human action that did not have this intent (for example, the spread of diseases as a result of migration).

As we said above, our definition is deliberately restrictive in order to facilitate analysis. It excludes all cases that do not clearly fit our definition. A problem that remains to be dealt with concerns those actual cases that fit part of our definition, but not all of its restrictions. What do we do with those cases of

“one-sided mass killing” in which there was no intent to destroy the entire group? How do we deal with cases of an intent to destroy a group that was in fact destroyed, though only a small part of it was actually killed?

Since we suspect that many such cases are analytically instructive, we think we should not ignore them, at least not until sufficient research has accumulated to permit a more clear-cut decision. We have resolved this dilemma by including them under the label *genocidal massacres*. It should, however, be clearly understood that this is not a category designed to allow the inclusion of every case of massacre or communal violence. The cases of genocidal massacre should fit several dimensions of our definition.

The term *genocidal massacre* will also be applied to a number of cases that seem to be a combination of genocide and ethnocide, that is, there is no intent to kill the entire victim group, but its disappearance is intended. In these cases, a part of the victim group will be killed in order to terrorize the remainder into giving up their separate identity or their opposition to the perpetrator group or both.

We have defined genocide because we assume that it is a definable form of human behavior. But it must be remembered that the very term *genocide* was coined only in the middle of the twentieth century. This raises questions about the applicability of the term to earlier periods of history, and about the judgmental and moral loadings that have become attached to it.

No problem lies in applying the term to those phenomena that seem to fit the definition—assuming the reliability of the evidence—no matter when these phenomena occurred. A more serious problem is raised by the moral loading attached to the term. Western liberalism, as it has developed since the Enlightenment, raises the issue of moral relativism in historical and comparative studies. Thus, we take it for granted today that we are all against genocide whenever and wherever it occurred. But this obscures our knowledge of how it was perceived by contemporaries. In some societies, it was perceived as cruel and harsh punishment, even by the standards of the day. In other societies, it was fatalistically accepted as the fate of the losers and the weak. There were even societies in which it was seen—at least by the perpetrators—as the just and justified outcome of previous actions. But since the late Middle Ages, it has increasingly been thought of as inconsistent with the values and attributes of a fully human society. This inconsistency has resulted until recently in what we have called the *collective denial* of the prevalence of genocidal events, that is, the ignoring of these events in historical reporting, or their glossing over by the use of vague or

ambiguous terminology.

From the perspective of the victims, the most prevalent perception seems to have been a fatalistic acceptance that is hard to understand in the post-Holocaust era with its increasing emphasis on equality and human rights. Our current existential, or even future-oriented, *Zeitgeist* makes it difficult to appreciate the brutishness of values and living conditions and the acceptance of inequality throughout most of human history. Life was short, disease was rampant, and food, clothing, and shelter were almost always problematic—even at a minimal level. In many cultures, improvements were not looked for or expected in this life, but rather in the afterlife or in another incarnation. Thus, the terrible things that happened to people were accepted as being in the nature of life in this “vale of tears.”

Some Preconditions for Genocide

The most painful question about genocide is, How is it possible for people to kill other people on such a massive scale? The answer seems to be that it is not possible, at least not as long as the potential victims are perceived as people. We have no evidence that a genocide was ever performed on a group of equals. The victims must not only not be equals, but also clearly defined as something less than fully human.

Historically and anthropologically peoples have always had a name for themselves. In a great many cases, that name meant “the people” to set the owners of that name off against all other peoples who were considered of lesser quality in some way. If the differences between the people and some other society were particularly large in terms of religion, language, manners, customs, and so on, then such others were seen as less than fully human: pagans, savages, or even animals. The greater the perceived gap between the people and the out-group, the less were the values and the standards of the people applicable to the out-group.

Thus, in order to perform a genocide the perpetrator has always had to first organize a campaign that redefined the victim group as worthless, outside the web of mutual obligations, a threat to the people, immoral sinners, and/or subhuman. Even after such a campaign of vilification and dehumanization the actual performance of the mass killing seems to have required a good deal of coercion and centralized control: Unfortunately, we lack adequate data on the actual behavior of the perpetrators in most cases. But it seems that mass killing is extremely difficult for ordinary people to carry out; it requires the recruitment of pathological individuals and criminals. Thus, the reputedly bloodthirsty Mongols under Genghis Khan seem to have been reluctant to carry out his orders when the

entire population of a city was to be wiped out. He had to make sure that his orders were obeyed; to do this he divided the estimated population of the city by the number of his troops to determine how many each soldier had to kill, and then ordered each soldier to cut an ear off each victim and deliver the ears to his superior officer for counting. Both the Turks and the Nazis had to deal with symptoms of psychological breakdown when attempting to use regular troops for mass killing. Given such reluctance on the part of most ordinary people in all societies to carry out a mass slaughter of defenseless victims, it becomes clearer why the performance of a genocide has always required a high degree of centralized authority and quasi-bureaucratic organization. The only exceptions probably occur when the victim group is numerically small, such as the indigenous tribes wiped out by colonizing settlers.

Having said all this, one might be tempted to turn the question around and ask why such killings should have been so difficult, particularly in premodern times, when human life was not highly valued. In spite of this, the performance of a genocide required, first, the dehumanization of the victims, and second, a strong, centralized authority and bureaucratic organization.

A Typology of Genocide

Throughout our work we have felt it important to develop a typology that would allow us to group those phenomena that could be meaningfully compared. We found that typologies available in the literature were unsatisfactory for a variety of reasons—some of which we have discussed above. We have devised several typologies ourselves and discarded them for similar reasons. Our present thinking has resulted in a fourfold typology, based on the motives of the perpetrator. This typology is presented here as a heuristic device; its validity can arise only from its usefulness in further research. But it seems to us that in the comparative research on genocide a crucial distinction is to be made in terms of the motives of the perpetrator. Therefore, our current *typology* classifies genocides according to their motive:

1. to eliminate a real or potential threat;
2. to spread terror among real or potential enemies;
3. to acquire economic wealth; or
4. to implement a belief, a theory, or an ideology.

In any actual case, more than one of these motives will be present. We propose to assign each case of genocide to one of these types by deciding which of the four motives was the dominant one.

A number of other dimensions may be considered as bases for constructing a typology.

While we have temporarily rejected them in favor of our simpler typology based only on motives, we consider them to be important dimensions to be explored in future research. Here we indicate briefly what these other bases are.

Type of society. One kind of typology deals with the nature of the societies in which genocides have occurred. The earliest of these was proposed by Jessie Bernard (1949) in her effort to develop a continuum of accommodation for racial and ethnic conflicts in the international community (see p. 12). More recently Irving Louis Horowitz (1980) has developed a continuum of modern societies. His key variable is the extent to which the state permits or represses dissent and the right to be different. His eight types range from genocidal to permissive societies (see pp. 13-14). The weakness of these efforts lies in their tautological nature; that is, a society is assigned a type or category on the basis of outcomes, not on the basis of characteristics that lead to specific outcomes. It is exactly this kind of perceived discrepancy between the character of a society and its actions that led to the worldwide incredulity when the first news of Hitler's Final Solution became public. Such an outcome seemed at the time incongruous because it was not in accord with expected behavior—behavior appropriate to a modern, Western, developed society.

Types of perpetrator. Throughout history most genocides were committed by empires to eliminate a threat, to terrorize an enemy, or to acquire and keep wealth. Another way of putting this is to say that they were committed in the building and maintaining of empires. These types of genocides have become rare in the twentieth century. Our fourth type, committed to implement an ideology, has become most frequent and seems to be associated with the rise of new regimes and states (Larner 1981). It would require a great deal of research to discover the nature of the link between the rise of the nation-state and the increase in genocides. Is it a matter of imposing a new discipline on a recalcitrant population, or is it the enforced implementation of a new ideology? As will be seen, this dichotomy of empire versus nation-state overlaps with some of the dimensions described below.

Types of victims. In the first three types of genocides in our typology the victim groups were usually located outside the perpetrator society. This had significant effects on the genocidal process. Thus, it was not necessary to dehumanize the victim group. All societies have considered outsiders as less than equal or less than fully human. In our fourth type the victim group has usually been found within the perpetrator society (especially in the twentieth century). It is this phenomenon that made it necessary first to identify the victim group as

separate from the larger society, and second, to isolate and segregate it. This has to be done in such a way that the members of the perpetrator society accept the new definition; if they fail to do so, the genocide will also fail.

Types of groups. This base for constructing a typology has been much discussed ever since the UN Convention included only four types of groups in its definition. Various authors have suggested the inclusion of economic, political, or social groups or all three. As shown in our definition above, we avoid this problem entirely by using the perpetrator's definition of the victim group. However, another important distinction must be considered: that between real groups and pseudo-groups. The former can be identified by an outside observer, while the latter can be identified only by the perpetrator. The outside observer can identify such groups only after the victimization has started. The transition cases here, as we have noted, include the victims of the Great Witch-Hunt, and, in modern times, Stalin's persecution of the "enemies of the people" is a classic case. This distinction is particularly relevant to efforts at prevention because the victim group can be identified by outsiders only after the victimization has been carried out, or at least started.

Types of accusation. Much has been written about the various reasons for persecution. There seems to be a close connection between the type of group that is being victimized and the type of offense that it is being accused of. The distinction that seems important here is whether the accusation is based on verifiable fact or whether it is a pseudo-accusation that has no reality outside the frame of reference of the perpetrator. Thus, heretics usually did not deny their deviant beliefs while witches confessed to conspiracy with the devil only under torture.

In the context of genocide it is necessary to differentiate clearly between individual and collective guilt. Confessions may be extracted from individuals, but the perpetrator always victimizes a group that is accused of collective guilt. Therefore, the confessions to be extracted placed little emphasis on what the victim had done, focusing rather on the identities of the co-conspirators, that is, the members of the group.

Types of results for the perpetrator society. The bulk of the literature deals with the results of genocide for the victims, but little deals with the results for the perpetrators. For those of us who have an interest in prediction and prevention this should be a serious issue because it might lead to avenues of preventive action.

Historically, the results for the perpetrator

society seem to be directly related to their motives. Genocides committed to eliminate threats, to spread terror, or to acquire wealth are motivated by concrete situations. To the extent that these situations are perceived as pressing problems by the perpetrator state, successful genocides eliminate the problem and materially enrich the perpetrator. That is, the threatening group is eliminated or terrorized into subservience, and the economic wealth is in fact acquired. In ideological genocides, however, the motive is much more abstract: it may be to enforce conformity, to purify the race, to legitimate a new regime, or to homogenize a nation-state. Such abstract motives are much harder to realize and the resulting abstract benefits have no direct relation to material costs. This seems to account for the historical fact that such ideological genocides are always carried out at tremendous costs to the perpetrator society—notwithstanding the fact that individuals may have enriched themselves (see pp. 415-2 1).

It bears repeating that any typology must be evaluated in terms of the results it aids in producing. Clearly, the most important results would be those that help us predict and prevent genocides in the future.

During a faculty workshop on mass killings some of our friendly critics suggested several other bases for typologies. The one most frequently mentioned was the scale of casualties. Regardless of whether this is done in numbers or in percentages, it has not been shown that any meaningful research results would be arrived at by using this method. Similarly, it has been suggested that the method of killing and its technological sophistication or the organizational complexity of such killing operations might be treated as important variables. However, it seems doubtful that these aspects would yield anything beyond descriptive categories. This is not meant to be a flippant statement: it merely reflects a conviction that the major reason for doing comparative research on genocides is the hope of preventing them in the future. Such prevention will pose difficult applied problems, but first it must be based on an understanding of the social situations and the social structures and processes that are likely to lead to genocides. Only by acquiring such knowledge can we begin to predict the likely occurrence of genocides and direct our efforts toward prevention.

LABELING POTENTIAL GENOCIDAL ACTS

INSTRUCTIONS: Label each of the scenarios described in this handout as a genocidal act (G) or as a non-genocidal act (NG). Explain your reasoning.

- _____ 1. The government declares that subversive groups have been undermining national security by using terrorist tactics against social institutions (military, educational, economic). A national emergency is declared and subversives are arrested, imprisoned and eventually many “disappear.”
- _____ 2. Government policy of converting forests and surrounding areas into pastureland has produced conflict between indigenous peoples and new settlers. New settlers take action to expand their control over forestlands, and in the process eliminate not only the food sources but the economic livelihoods of the indigenous cultures. Indigenous peoples who resist are relocated, and some die in the process. Most significantly, survival of the indigenous culture is threatened.
- _____ 3. In a society where ethnic tensions have long been a problem, a minority religious and ethnic group has long suffered at the hands of the majority ethnic group. Recent attempts by the majority group to solidify control of the national government through use of discriminatory legislation have led to violent uprisings by the minority ethnic group, which also has a distinct religious tradition. Military forces controlled by the majority ethnic group have retaliated and massacred elements of the minority group in isolated towns and villages.
- _____ 4. A revolutionary government has recently come to power and has begun to take reprisals against its opponents in this nation. Those opponents of the current regime who were in positions of high status or influence prior to the revolution are prime targets of the reprisals, and many have been deported, relocated into labor camps, or imprisoned. A policy of “re-education” of the young has been implemented by the revolutionary government, and all who oppose it are either exiled or killed by the revolutionary army.
- _____ 5. The government of this country has determined that the most effective means for solidifying its control over the population is to identify a cultural group that has long been a target of prejudice and discrimination, and blame it for recent internal social and economic problems. Despite the support of a vocal minority of intellectuals and some outside pressure from sympathetic governments, the targeted group has received little aid in its protests against this policy. Forced relocation and denial of basic civil rights have already been imposed upon this group by the government, and some group members have fled the country warning of harsher measures to come.

GENOCIDE DEFINITIONS: SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

Part One: For each question answer YES, NO or Unsure:

	UN Genocide Convention Definition	Charny Definition	Horowitz Definition
1. Is the state the perpetrator of genocide?	_____	_____	_____
2. Is the act of killing intentional?	_____	_____	_____
3. Are the victims defined by category(ies)?	_____	_____	_____
4. Is genocide labeled as a crime? \	_____	_____	_____
5. Are the victims groups rather than individuals?	_____	_____	_____

Part Two: Decide whether each of the five scenarios from the handout "Labeling Potential Genocides" is labeled as a "genocide" by the three definitions. Use YES, NO or UNSURE.

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	UN Genocide Convention Definition	Charny Definition	Horowitz Definition
Scenario #1	_____	_____	_____
Scenario #2	_____	_____	_____
Scenario #3	_____	_____	_____
Scenario #4	_____	_____	_____
Scenario #5	_____	_____	_____

Part Three: Which of the three definitions do you believe is most effective in identifying potential genocidal situations? How effectively does your preferred definition distinguish between genocidal and non-genocidal acts? Use class discussions and documents to support your position.

Source: Fernekas, William R. "Defining Genocide: A Model Unit." Ed. William Parsons and Samuel Totten. "Teaching About Genocide." *Social Education*. February 1991. National Council for the Social Studies. Handout above informed by the work of Frank Chalk. "Definitions of Genocide and Their Implications for Prediction and Prevention." *Holocaust and Genocide Studies: An International Journal* 4. 1989. 149-1603. Used with permission of the author and NCSS.

ALTERNATIVE EXPERT DEFINITION OF GENOCIDE

Israel Charny: Genocide is “the wanton murder of a group of human beings on the basis of any identity whatsoever that they share—national, ethnic, racial, religious, political, geographical, ideological.” Charny excludes “legal warfare” from his definition (1985).

Irving Louis Horowitz: Genocide is “a structural and systematic destruction of innocent people by a state bureaucratic apparatus.” He distinguishes it from “assassination,” which he sees as the sporadic and random acts of people seeking power who eliminate major figures in a government in an effort to gain power illegally. (1980, 17).

Activity: Identify points of similarity and difference between the definitions above. How do these definitions compare with the UN Genocide Convention definition of genocide? In light of these new definitions, reexamine one or two of the scenarios from the handout “Labeling Potential Genocidal Acts.” What characteristics of the Charny and Horowitz definitions permit one or more of these scenarios to be labeled genocide, whereas they might be labeled “non-genocidal” under the UN Genocide Convention definition?

Homework: Complete the handout “Genocide Definitions: Similarities and Differences.”



UNITED NATIONS
HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR HUMAN RIGHTS



Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide

**Approved and proposed for signature and ratification or accession by
General Assembly resolution 260 A (III) of 9 December 1948**

entry into force 12 January 1951, in accordance with article XII

status of ratifications

The Contracting Parties,

Having considered the declaration made by the General Assembly of the United Nations in its resolution 96 (I) dated 11 December 1946 that genocide is a crime under international law, contrary to the spirit and aims of the United Nations and condemned by the civilized world,

Recognizing that at all periods of history genocide has inflicted great losses on humanity, and

Being convinced that, in order to liberate mankind from such an odious scourge, international cooperation is required,

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Hereby agree as hereinafter provided:

Article 1

The Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and to punish.

Article 2

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Article 3

The following acts shall be punishable:

- (a) Genocide;
- (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;
- (c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
- (d) Attempt to commit genocide;
- (e) Complicity in genocide;

Article 4

Persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in article III shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals.

Article 5

The Contracting Parties undertake to enact, in accordance with their respective Constitutions, the necessary legislation to give effect to the provisions of the present Convention, and, in particular, to provide effective penalties for persons guilty of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in article

Article 6

Persons charged with genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in article III shall be tried by a competent tribunal of the State in the territory of which the act was committed, or by such international penal tribunal as may have jurisdiction with respect to those Contracting Parties which shall have accepted its jurisdiction.

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Article 7

Genocide and the other acts enumerated in article III shall not be considered as political crimes for the purpose of extradition.

The Contracting Parties pledge themselves in such cases to grant extradition in accordance with their laws and treaties in force.

Article 8

Any Contracting Party may call upon the competent organs of the United Nations to take such action under the Charter of the United Nations as they consider appropriate for the prevention and suppression of acts of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in article III.

Article 9

Disputes between the Contracting Parties relating to the interpretation, application or fulfilment of the present Convention, including those relating to the responsibility of a State for genocide or for any of other acts enumerated in article III, shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice at the request of any of the parties to the dispute.

Article 10

The present Convention, of which the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall bear the date of 9 December 1948.

Unit VI: READING #12

Article 11

The present Convention shall be open until 31 December 1949 for signature on behalf of any Member of the United Nations and of any nonmember State to which an invitation to sign has been addressed by the General Assembly.

The present Convention shall be ratified, and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

After 1 January 1950, the present Convention may be acceded to on behalf of any Member of the United Nations and of any non-member State which has received an invitation as aforesaid. Instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article 12

Any Contracting Party may at any time, by notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, extend the application of the present Convention to all or any of the territories for the conduct of whose foreign relations that Contracting Party is responsible.

Article 13

On the day when the first twenty instruments of ratification or accession have been deposited, the Secretary-General shall draw up a proces-verbal and transmit a copy thereof to each Member of the United Nations and to each of the non-member States contemplated in article 11.

The present Convention shall come into force on the ninetieth day following the date of deposit of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession.

Any ratification or accession effected, subsequent to the latter date shall become effective on the ninetieth day following the deposit of the instrument of ratification or accession.

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Article 14

The present Convention shall remain in effect for a period of ten years as from the date of its coming into force.

It shall thereafter remain in force for successive periods of five years for such Contracting Parties as have not denounced it at least six months before the expiration of the current period.

Denunciation shall be effected by a written notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article 15

If, as a result of denunciations, the number of Parties to the present Convention should become less than sixteen, the Convention shall cease to be in force as from the date on which the last of these denunciations shall become effective. Article 16

A request for the revision of the present Convention may be made at any time by any Contracting Party by means of a notification in writing addressed to the Secretary-General.

The General Assembly shall decide upon the steps, if any, to be taken in respect of such request.

Article 17

The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall notify all Members of the United Nations and the non-member States contemplated in article XI of the following:

- (a) Signatures, ratifications and accessions received in accordance with article 11;
- (b) Notifications received in accordance with article 12;
- (c) The date upon which the present Convention comes into force in accordance with article 13;
- (d) Denunciations received in accordance with article 14;
- (e) The abrogation of the Convention in accordance with article 15;
- (f) Notifications received in accordance with article 16.

Article 18

The original of the present Convention shall be deposited in the archives of the United Nations.

A certified copy of the Convention shall be transmitted to each Member of the United Nations and to each of the non-member States contemplated in article XI.

Article 19

The present Convention shall be registered by the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the date of its coming into force.

ACCOUNTING FOR GENOCIDE

National Responses and Jewish Victimization during the Holocaust

Helen Fein

THE HOLOCAUST

Reverberations of German Defeat in World War I (2)

Germany, defeated by the Allies in World War I, resumed political existence as a republic after aborted revolutions and right-wing coups. The weakness of this republic, never formally overthrown even after Hitler's accession as chancellor, has been attributed to many causes: lack of a liberal tradition among the middle classes, lack of traditional legitimation, an authoritarian pattern of organization throughout German life, the insecurity among the middle classes generated by the catastrophic inflation of the early 1920s and the subsequent world depression, the inability of left-wing parties to work in concert, the accommodation of the middle-class parties, the opportunism of the conservative industrialists, and the onus of the Versailles Peace Treaty, which required Germany to assume war guilt and pay reparations. Although the reparations absorbed only 1.7% of Germany's budget between 1923 and 1929, less than half of the loans received from foreign governments, they were a symbol of German national subordination. A. J. P. Taylor contends that it was the adherence of most German parties to the nationalists' goal of German supremacy that ultimately undermined the low potential for democracy: the antidemocratic parties could play the nationalist game better, as they were not inhibited by any respect for international commitments or internal democracy. Hitler was an astute organizer and charismatic orator, but he was only one of many agitators demanding militant national action to redress German grievances. Many commentators agree that Hitler's popularity reflected how well he resonated popular moods – aspirations, resentment, and blame – and reiterated attacks on conventional targets, such as the Jews. Germany's loss in World War I was never acknowledged as a defeat in either his oratory or his personal testament, *Mein Kampf*, written while imprisoned for his participation in the unsuccessful Munich putsch of 1923. Instead, he attributed the loss to internal enemies, especially the Jews, who he claimed had stabbed Germany in the back.

Rise of the Nazi Party and its Ideology (3)

Although the Socialist, Catholic Center, and Liberal parties obtained a parliamentary majority and formed the government in 1928, the Nazi party (the NSDAP) secured 12 seats in the Reichstag and 2.6% of the vote. They multiplied their representation ninefold after the Depression began, securing 107 seats in 1930. In 1932, they doubled their vote, winning 230 seats, thus becoming the strongest party in the Reichstag. Analyses of voting patterns show that the Nazis gained disproportionately from the lower middle classes, which had earlier been most likely to support the non-Catholic middle-class parties.

President (and Field Marshal) von Hindenburg appointed Hitler chancellor on 30 January 1933, after Franz von Papen won support of the Ruhr industrialists for his appointment. Hitler was later named president after Hindenburg's death in 1934, fusing both offices and transforming the former parliamentary bureaucracy into a totalitarian state in which authority was legitimated by his charisma. Those not swayed by charisma were beaten up by his brown-shirted paramilitary (the SA). The Nazi goon squads magnified their own losses in order to sustain the fear of the Communist threat. The Nazis' exploitation of the burning of the Reichstag chambers, arson on that they attributed to a conspiracy involving German Communists despite the evidence that it was set independently by a Dutch Communist, helped them to obtain more seats but not a majority (288 of 647) in the election of March 1933. The government invoked the emergency powers provided by the Weimar constitution not only to suppress all civil liberties but also to rule by decree. Its rule was confirmed by the Reichstag, which passed the Enabling Act granting Hitler this authority permanently. The Communist and Socialist parties were successively repressed and other parties dissolved themselves, so that the Nazi party was soon established as the only legal party. Taylor observes how Hitler's rule was consolidated by the rise of a new class personally loyal to him: "Hitler discovered a 'Hitler class,' his unshakeable resource in extremity. . . . The S.S.—the middle class of education but no

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property.”

The populist violence of Hitler's early street fighters, the SA, was replaced by the violence of the SS, a central internal security organization coordinating all the German states' police apparatus. Political prisoners were funneled into the vastly expanded concentration camps, from which they returned, if they returned, silenced, living testimonies to the cost of dissidence.

The ends that Hitler promised to achieve and the themes of his speeches that triggered most audience approval were not novel, but resonated German ideologies and popular notions fully developed fifty years before the beginning of World War II. The German nationalist ideologies united romantic nationalism with anti-Semitism and modern racism. They assumed an underlying mythic identity or homogeneity among the German people, or *Volk*, based on “blood.” The Jews were not *Volk*, but aliens to whom the Germans owed no obligation. This was explicit in the Nazi party program of 1920. While the Germans belonged to the Aryan race, whose supremacy over the Slav and nonwhite races they unhesitatingly asserted, the Jews, according to the Nazis, were nonhuman; bloodsuckers, lice, parasites, fleas, bacilli. The hidden agenda seems an obvious implication from the definition of the problem itself: these are organisms to be squashed or exterminated by chemical means. “The murderous design was made plain, for example, in a speech in May 1923 when he (Hitler) declared: ‘The Jews are undoubtedly a race, but not human. They cannot be human in the sense of being an image of God, the Eternal. The Jews are an image of the devil. Jewry means the racial tuberculosis of the nations.’”

The *Volk* had a messianic mission, entailing the destruction of other races and nation-states in the way of its achievement. This conception was expounded by pan-German ideologues in turn-of-the-century Vienna, where Hitler, by his own account, first became politically educated. They were obsessed by envy of the Jews, of their cohesion and their claim to chosenness. The explanatory power of anti-Semitism was expanded by the diffusion of the fraudulent *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, published by the Czar's secret police and spread by anti-Bolshevik emigres to reactionary circles in Germany after World War I. The *Protocols* depicted a worldwide conspiracy, holding Jews responsible for Bolshevism.

The metahistory of the *Volk* differed from the actual history of the Germans, for whose misfortunes actual Germans were not responsible. They had been betrayed, stabbed in the back, by the enemy within—the Jew. The *Volk* demanded not only equality with other nations—the right to defend their frontiers without restriction—but additional room to expand

— *Lebensraum*. Other nationals of German blood (*Volksdeutsche*) who could be reclaimed resided from the Rhine to the Vistula. The nations that they inhabited would become incorporated into the Reich or colonized by it during the next decade. Natives of colonized nations belonging to the inferior Slavic race would be stripped of rights, reduced to subliteracy, exploited ruthlessly, and frequently subjected to collective violence.

Paving the Road toward the “Final Solution” (4)

During the first five years of the Nazi regime, Germany prepared itself for European domination before intervening openly in 1938 in Czechoslovakia. It repudiated war reparations but attempted to show pacific intentions by signing a treaty respecting the Polish frontiers and professing diplomatic assurances to Western nations. The program to isolate the Jews by successively processing them in a functional sequence—first in order to expel them but later to annihilate them—was not rationalized until 1938, when it was tested in Vienna. In Germany itself, the regime wavered before initiating new steps, reacting to the consequences of earlier steps for the primary goals of that period, rearmament and economic autarchy. Jews were stripped of offices in the government and schools by local administrative actions beginning in 1933, and a boycott was instigated against Jewish enterprises that had been marked. But only in 1935 were Jews (as differentiated from non-Aryans) defined. They were classified by lineage, corresponding to the Nazi belief that Jews were a race, rather than a religious community, and new intermarriages and cohabitation were prohibited to prevent Jews from evading their fate by assimilation and to protect Aryans from being polluted by them. Identification mechanisms were perfected in 1938 with marked identification cards and passports preventing free movement within Germany and easy exodus from it. But exit requirements, foreign nations' immigration laws, Nazi regulations stripping the Jews of their wealth, and the hopes of some Jews that they could accommodate to the new regime deterred Jews from emigrating. From the 1933 peak of 37,000, annual Jewish emigration declined to 20,000 in 1938. But in November 1938 their hopes were shattered as were the glass panes of Jewish enterprises in Germany.

Attempting to diminish the number of Jews on its soil, Germany reacted to an order by Poland revoking citizenship of Poles living abroad over five years—which was used to deprive about 50,000 Jews residing in Germany of the right to any state's protection—by physically expelling such Polish Jews over the border on 28 October 1938. Seventeen-year-old Hershl Grynspan, then visiting Paris, was

incensed to read his parents' report of the treatment they had endured after being ejected from Germany overnight despite having lived there for twenty-four years. Grynspan responded by shooting Ernst vom Rath, a third secretary in the German embassy in Paris on 7 November 1938: the Ambassador, his intended target, was out. Allegedly reacting to this provocation, the Nazi party instigated a pogrom on 10 November 1938, burning nearly 300 synagogues, breaking windows and vandalizing Jewish shops and interning 30,000 male Jews in concentration camps. But *Kristallnacht*, the "night of the broken glass," was the SA's "final fling," as Hitler vowed. Reichsmarschall Goring regretted the cost; damage for glass alone owed by insurance companies to German owners was estimated at 24 million marks. He solved the immediate problem by imposing a fine of one billion marks upon the Jews. Jewish policy was rapidly coordinated after this event and executed principally by the SS. With identification mechanisms accomplished, successive segregation measures inhibited the freedom of Jews to move and to communicate. The deprivation of liberty, the intensified drive to "Aryanize" economic enterprise, and the threat of further violence spurred Jews who still had businesses to liquidate them hastily and get out of Germany. By state decree, the Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland, a nationwide Jewish voluntary association, became an organization coordinating all persons labeled as Jews; it was now the Reichsvereinigung. It informed the Jews of new government measures, fed the Gestapo the information they needed, and later assisted in the execution of such measures. Thus, Jews became collectively regulated by the co-optation rather than the elimination of Jewish leadership, although such leaders functioned within a control structure that insured their powerlessness. No ghettoization was instituted in Germany since the few remaining Jews had been completely segregated and isolated within the German sea before being compelled to wear the yellow star in September 1941, expediting the next task of the Gestapo—to seize them.

Although Germany sought to lessen the observability or perception of extermination in the old Reich, its organization, Raul Hilberg has pointed out, involved all agencies of the state: "The machinery of destruction, then, was structurally no different from organized German society as a whole: the difference was only one of function. The machinery of destruction was the organized community in one of its special roles." With the modern social organization of bureaucracies, characterized by hierarchy and a high division of labor, the important killers are white-collar criminals

who command the diverse staffs that must be mobilized. Bureaucracy is not in itself a cause of the choice of destructive ends, but it facilitates their accomplishment by routinizing the obedience of many agents, each trained to perform his role without questioning the ends of action. Max Weber foresaw society's becoming an "iron cage" in his classic analysis of modernity. But he did not anticipate that the cage could become an elevator, descending mechanically to crush the members excluded from the universe of obligation. The passengers within shrank from observing the walls around them, denying or repressing their vision of former members being systematically extruded to the pit below, accustomed as they were to assigning direction to the Fuhrrer—the only operator.

When did the "Final Solution" begin? The answer depends on which phase of the transformation from conception to execution of the plan to annihilate the European Jews we focus upon. Its execution depended first on success of the plan of conquest.

It was established during the international trials at Nuremberg that the order to devise implementation of an annihilation plan all over Europe was transmitted orally from Hitler to Goring in the spring of 1941 and from Goring to Reinhard Heydrich, chief of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), on 31 July 1941. Heydrich was instructed to make "all necessary preparations . . . for bringing about a complete solution of the Jewish problem"—code words as usual." Heydrich told Adolf Eichmann, his section chief on Jewish affairs, to make plans. Representatives of all major German bureaucracies and occupation authorities were informed of the blueprint for implementing the Final Solution at a conference at RSHA headquarters at Wannsee (a suburb of Berlin) on 20 January 1942, a meeting originally supposed to be held on 9 December 1941, but delayed because of United States entry into the war. Orders to massacre Jews in the territory formerly occupied by the Soviet Union during the invasion were given by Hitler to the army High Command and the RSHA chief, who established the special SS mobile execution squads, the Einsatzgruppen, during the spring of 1941. Between June 1941 and the spring of 1942, the SS discovered the superiority of prussic acid over carbon monoxide for mass gassing and built the extermination camps that enabled them to murder more Jews more efficiently than had been done before in mobile gas vans and carbon monoxide chambers.

The date when the determination to annihilate the Jews crystallized in Hitler's mind cannot be proven. Before the war, the most radical goal of Germany — admitted without dissembling—was to

expel the Jews from the country. Despite some German Jews' initial reluctance to leave (some leaders urged they not abandon their rights by flight) and the greater reluctance of other nations to accept them as immigrants, Germany would have succeeded, for by September 1941 over two of every three Jews in Germany in 1933 had fled. But Germany's aggressive design vastly expanded the number of Jews in her domain: the Polish government-in-exile estimated there were 2,042,000 Jews in the German-occupied area in 1939.

Scholars differ as to whether Hitler's decision to exterminate the Jews was latent from the beginning of his career or developed incrementally in response to the failure of previous plans to eliminate them—emigration, the Lublin reservation, and the Madagascar plan. The proposal by German Foreign Office bureaucrats in 1940 to resettle the Jews in a ghetto within a police-state on Madagascar was not entirely original; Poland had proposed forced resettlement of its Jews there in 1937. Christopher Browning, reviewing the Foreign Office and SS correspondence in 1940, concludes that Hitler selected extermination as the Final Solution sometime between the fall of 1940 and the spring of 1941 after it became evident the war against Britain would be prolonged, forestalling naval access to Madagascar. Contemplating the invasion of Russia, Hitler decided to slaughter the Jews in Soviet territory systematically.

Others view the Madagascar Plan as a blind or way-station: in retrospect it appears both as a smokescreen and a strategic tactic to allow the German bureaucracies concerned to adjust by stages to their roles as white-collar executioners. Lucy Dawidowicz emphasizes that "the Final Solution had its origin in Hitler's mind," showing how his fantasy revealed in *Mein Kampf* (written in 1924) of gassing the Jews was related to their subsequent execution." She infers that Goring and Himmler were told of Hitler's plans around 1936, a plausible happening considering Hitler's habit of freely verbalizing fantasies for extermination, but a disclosure that is not possible to corroborate. There is no question as to "the purpose of a reservation that can be derived from the report—surely a sick joke—that Philipp Bouhler, the head of Hitler's private chancellery, was slated to become governor of the Madagascar reservation. Bouhler headed the so-called Euthanasia Program, the first mass murder by gassing; an experience that doubtless qualified him to run a reservation for Jews that would become truly their final destination. "Gideon Hausner, the Israeli prosecutor of Adolf Eichmann, also asserts that Reinhard Heydrich (RSHA head) was aware that

extermination was to be the Final Solution by September 1939, based on his interpretation of Eichmann's pretrial police interrogation."

Hitler publicly signified his intent in a speech to the Reichstag on 30 January 1939, masked characteristically by projecting onto the Jews his own aim of domination that would provoke war:

And one thing I wish to say on this day which perhaps is memorable not only for us Germans: In my life I have often been a prophet, and most of the time I have been laughed at. . . . Today I want to be a prophet once more: If international Jewry inside and outside of Europe should succeed once more in plunging nations into another world war, the consequence will not be the Bolshevization of the earth and thereby the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation (Vernichtung) of the Jewish race in Europe.

Only nine days earlier, he had told the Czechoslovakian foreign minister that "we are going to destroy the Jews." It appears that his closest associates were aware of his intent according to a memorandum reaching the British Foreign Office in November 1938. This recorded the message was received by a British consul on leave who had gone to Germany to rescue a friend from the Dachau concentration camp and who had talked with a senior member of Hitler's chancellery in order to get him to intercede for his friend. The chancellery official had "made it clear that Germany intended to get rid of her Jews, either by emigration or if necessary by starving or killing them, since she would not risk having such a hostile minority in the country in the event of war." The official added that Germany "intended to expel or kill off the Jews in Poland, Hungary and the Ukraine when she took control of those countries."

Although the Jews had been characterized by Hitler and Nazi ideologues as enemies of the new Germany before the war, Karl Schleunes stresses Hitler's paradoxical dependence upon the Jews earlier:

It was the Jew who helped hold Hitler's system together—on the practical as well as the ideological level. . . . The continued search for a solution of the Jewish problem allowed Hitler to maintain ideological contact with elements of his movement for whom National Socialism had done very little.

How then, one may ask, could one rid Germany of the Jews if they served as the mortar making the blocks of National Socialism cohere? One may infer that only when Germans were mobilized behind an external enemy could they live without an internal enemy. Once the war began, ideology and opportunities converged for Hitler, providing means to commit the crime while other options that might eliminate the Jews and deterrents to their annihilation vanished. But the war was not an instigator of their extermination but an enabling condition. SS Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler, speaking to assembled SS Major-Generals at Posen on 4 October 1943, justified the single-minded ideological motivation of the extermination of the Jews, discriminating them from other peoples whom they regarded as inferior:

Our basic principle must be the absolute rule for the SS man: we must be honest, decent, loyal, and comradely to members of our own blood and to nobody else. What happens to a Russian, to a Czech does not interest me in the slightest. What the nations can offer in the way of good blood of our type, we will take, if necessary by kidnapping their children and raising them here with us, . . . Whether 10,000 Russian females fall down from exhaustion while digging an anti-tank ditch interests me only in so far as the anti-tank ditch for Germany is finished. We shall never be rough and heartless when it is not necessary, that is clear. We Germans, who are the only people in the world who have a decent attitude towards animals, will also assume a decent attitude towards these human animals. . . .

I also want to talk to you, quite frankly, on a very grave matter. Among ourselves it should be mentioned quite frankly, and yet we will never speak of it publicly. . . .

I mean the clearing out of the Jews, the extermination of the Jewish race. It's one of those things it is easy to talk about—"The Jewish race is being exterminated," says one party member. "that's quite clear, it's in our program — elimination of the Jews, and we're doing it. exterminating them." And then they come, 80 million worthy Germans, and each one has his decent Jew. Of course the others are vermin, but this one is an A-1 Jew. Not one of all those who talk this way has witnessed it, not one of them has been through it. Most of you must know what it means when 100 corpses are

lying side by side, or 500 or 1,000. To have stuck it out and at the same time—apart from exceptions caused by human weakness—to have remained decent fellows, that is what has made us hard. This is a page of glory in our history which has never been written and is never to be written."

To write this "page of glory" in history, war goals were not allowed to stand in the way. Skilled Jewish workers were killed and railroad cars diverted to bring the Final Solution into effect rather than to mobilize against the Allies, just as Armenian workers had been annihilated in Turkey during World War I, hindering Turkey's mobilization. The Final Solution became an end-in-itself, the only one attempted by Hitler that was virtually fulfilled in Central and Eastern Europe. Had Germany won, the Jews of North and South America were next on the list for gassing.

PLAYING DEITY: CREATING A PURE RACE

Extermination of the Unfit

Reifying the *Volks* justified using the state to play deity, correcting the results of past breeding and exploiting new conceptions to transform the German people into a race "of pure blood," as Himmler put it. The plan to kill people with physical or mental defects or diseases was implemented in 1939 simultaneously with the invasion of Poland. Hitler had observed in 1935 that if war came "such a program could be put into effect more smoothly and readily and in the general upheaval public opposition would be less likely." On 1 September 1939, Hitler authorized Dr. Karl Brandt and Reichsleiter Philip Bouhler to authorize "certain physicians" to grant "incurable" persons a "mercy death." In Nazi ideology, these were considered to be people unfit to breed, who served no function for the state. They included the mentally ill, deformed or retarded children, tuberculars, arteriosclerotic adults, and people of all ages held captive or institutionalized by the state. This program, which led to the death of an estimated 275,000 German psychiatric patients alone, has mistakenly been called "euthanasia" when it was simple murder. Supervised by psychiatrists, the program was justified by theories of eminent German psychiatrists writing from 1920 onward. But the program did not serve only to eliminate Germans. It was also a prototype for future mass extermination, Jews, Poles, and Czechs in concentration camps

interned as political prisoners, foreign workers in Germany who became unable to work, and Poles institutionalized in insane asylums also were killed. The same staff that developed the gas chambers for the special killing centers within Germany developed the massive installations at Auschwitz, and many members of the staff transferred to extermination camps. The gassing of German children transported by the busload to special extermination centers was halted by Hitler's edict in response to protests by Germans and their widespread expressed revulsion and fears; however, he authorized murders to be continued by less visible means, such as the injection of poisons. The gassing of German Jews was never stopped; few Germans felt any need to remark or protest their absence.

Expansion of the *Volk*

The fantasy of a pure race also inspired the *Lebensborn* ("well of life") program, first established by Heinrich Himmler within the SS in 1935 to enlarge and purify the Aryan race by selective mating from existing stock. During the war, maternity homes and clinics were established throughout Europe for women of diverse nationality whom SS officers had impregnated, thus fulfilling their duty (dictated by Himmler). The pregnant women had to pass racial screening tests for admission (as the prospective fathers had done to become SS officers). The children of unmarried parents became the legal wards of Himmler and could not be claimed by their parents. Robert Kempner, chief U.S. prosecutor at Nuremberg (1946-1949), estimates that 50,000 to 100,000 children were born under *Lebensborn* auspices. *Lebensborn* established homes in Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands, and Poland by taking over expropriated Jewish property and hospitals. Further, children of suitable racial characteristics (screened in orphanages, schools, and special centers) in the Protectorate, Poland, and the occupied eastern territories were openly kidnapped, institutionalized, and later (if they passed all racial tests) adopted by German parents. Those not selected died in concentration camps. It is estimated that 200,000 children were snatched from Poland alone.

The kidnapping of Polish children also served the German drive to extinguish Poland as a nation through destruction of the intelligentsia, reducing the masses to subliteracy, lowering the rate of population growth (by raising the minimum marriage age, depressing the standard of living, penalizing out-of-wedlock births), physical resettlement, and racially stratifying the population to induce or coerce Poles classified (often arbitrarily) as of German blood to become "re-Germanized." This

plan for gradual cultural genocide—Poles might remain alive, but not as Poles—was supplemented by selective extermination of especially vulnerable groups: Polish workers in Germany who became incapacitated for some reason and those in mental institutions in Poland. An attempt (not successful, because of German opposition) was also made to exterminate tubercular Poles in institutions.

While the ancient Pharaohs constructed pyramids triangulating to the heavens to symbolize their union with the immortals, Hitler's gas chambers produced pyramids of corpses whose ashes descended to the netherworld of Hell, symbolizing his kingdom over the dead. The living had to be annihilated for the sake of the new kingdom, the dominion of an ideal race, not yet existent. Hitler did not hesitate to authorize the sacrifice of Germans deemed imperfect in 1939. Nor did he hesitate in 1945 to order the destruction of basic resources affecting the food and energy supply of the German people whom he believed no longer deserved to live because they were unwilling to make the sacrifices he demanded. It was never the real people but the ideal Volk that dictated any means necessary.

Extermination of the Gypsies

The Jews were not the only group in Germany stigmatized as alien, but they were the only stigmatized group of political significance whose elimination had been promised publicly by Hitler twenty years before it began. The Gypsies were also designated for destruction, although scarcely any publicity was devoted to the "Gypsy problem." We are indebted (except where otherwise stated) to Kenrick and Puxon for this documentation.

Although Gypsies have not played a symbiotic role similar to that of the Jews — they cannot be labeled, a "middleman minority" — they have been accused of crime and corruption since their entry into Europe, charged with assistance at the Crucifixion, unnatural copulation, cannibalism, necrophiliac activity, and spreading filth and disease. The first response of European states from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century was to expel them: 148 such laws were passed by German states alone between 1416 and 1774. Violence was commonly employed for enforcement and deterrence. As late as the nineteenth century, Gypsy hunts (like fox hunts) occurred in Denmark. Only after drives for expulsion and extermination had failed did states attempt to assimilate them, denying the right of Gypsies to live together, by encouraging settlement and criminalizing the nomads' life. By 1933 police in France, Baden, and Prussia already had files with fingerprinted identification of Gypsies there.

Gypsies were officially defined as non-Aryan by the Nuremberg laws of 1935, which also first defined Jews; both groups were forbidden to marry Germans. Gypsies were later labeled as asocials by the 1937 Laws against Crime, regardless of whether they had been charged with any unlawful acts. Two hundred Gypsy men were then selected by quota and incarcerated in Buchenwald concentration camp. By May 1938, SS Reichsführer Himmler established the Central Office for Fighting the Gypsy Menace, which defined the question as “a matter of race,” discriminating pure Gypsies from pan Gypsies as Jews were discriminated, and ordering their registration. In 1939, resettlement of Gypsies was put under Eichmann’s jurisdiction along with that of the Jews. Gypsies were forbidden to move freely and were concentrated in encampments within Germany in 1939, later (1941) transformed into fenced ghettos, from which they would be seized for transport by the criminal police (aided by dogs) and dispatched to Auschwitz in February 1943. During May 1940, about 3,100 were sent to Jewish ghettos in the Government-General: others may have been added to Jewish transports from Berlin, Vienna, and Prague to Nisko, Poland (the site of an aborted reservation to which Jews were deported). These measures were taken against Gypsies who had no claim to exemption because of having an Aryan spouse or having been regularly employed for five years.

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Some evaded the net at first. Despite a 1937 law excluding Gypsies from army service, many served in the armed forces until demobilized by special orders between 1940 and 1942. Gypsy children were also dismissed from schools beginning in March 1941. Thus, those who were nominally free and not yet concentrated were stripped systematically of the status of citizens and segregated. The legal status of Gypsies and Jews, determined irrevocably by the agreement between justice Minister Thierack and SS Reichsführer Himmler on 18 September 1942, removing both groups from the jurisdiction of any German court, confirmed their fate. Thierack wrote, “I envisage transferring all criminal proceedings concerning [these people] to Himmler. I do this because I realize that the courts can only feebly contribute to the extermination of these people. ”

The Citizenship Law of 1943 omitted any mention of Gypsies since they were not expected to exist much longer. Himmler decreed the transport of Gypsies to Auschwitz on 16 December 1942, but he did not authorize their extermination until 1944. Most died there and in other camps of starvation, diseases, and torture from abuse as live experimental subjects. By the end of the war, 15,000 of the 20,000

Gypsies who had been in Germany in 1939 had died. Kenrick and Puxon make no estimate of those imprisoned Gypsies who endured sterilization and/or trauma leading to future debilitating diseases and breakdowns so their estimate of Gypsy victims is not comparable to my estimate of Jewish Victims (see Table 3.1).

One explanation of Himmler’s pause before the annihilation of the Gypsies was an early plan of his to spare two groups, the supposedly pure Sinti and the indigenous German Lalleri. But Martin Bormann, head of the Nazi Party Chancellery, objected on 3 December 1942:

I have been informed that the treatment of the so-called pure Gypsies is going to have new regulations. . . . Such a special treatment would mean a fundamental deviation from the simultaneous measures for righting the Gypsy menace and would not be understood at all by the population and the lower leaders of the party. Also the Führer would not agree.

Soon after (16 December), Himmler, when authorizing the transit of Gypsies to Auschwitz, exempted the two groups from the first police raids. He had co-opted representatives of these groups (as the SS had sought out Jewish elders), asking them to prepare lists of pure Sinti and Lalleri. But ultimately, these lists usually saved neither the named nor the namers: “Most of this activity proved a futile blind.”

CONCLUSION

The victims of twentieth-century premeditated genocide—the Jews, the Gypsies, the Armenians—were murdered in order to fulfill the state’s design for a new order. That design arose from the political formulas adopted by the new elites that rose to power and transformed the state into a criminal instrument. Such ideologies radically denied their past national failures. Both Germany and the Ottoman Empire had suffered military defeats within the generation the new regime that authorized genocide came to power. Any elite seeking to capture the state needed a political formula to justify its rule, which addressed the critical question of the nation’s existence. The right of a master race, the unique destiny of a chosen people, was such a formula. War was used in both cases (an opportunity anticipated and planned for by Germany but simply seized by Turkey after World War I began) to transform the nation to correspond to the ruling elite’s formula by

eliminating groups conceived of as alien, enemies by definition. Thus, victims are labeled as adversaries.

While the political formulas justifying the extinction of the targeted group were the tools of new leadership, in both cases the victims had earlier been decreed as outside the universe of obligation, by Koranic injunctions and by Christian theodicy, respectively. However, a church holding out the possibility of conversion to all must assume a common humanity, and therefore may not sanction unlimited violence. But a doctrine that assumes people do not belong to a common species knows no limits inhibiting the magnitude of permissible crime.

Can we apprehend other premeditated genocides? Paradoxically, at the beginning of such crimes are ideals, radical ideals actualized by

organized movements or elites that were not checked. The last defense against actualization of such programs was sanctions from other nations. War between nations and internal war now (as then) diminishes the possibilities of observing and checking genocide; peace allows but does not in itself instigate allies to probe what may be considered "internal affairs." Those who seek to deter future genocide will have to look beyond preconceptions, for it has and will appear again masked by new ideologies that justify it among nations to whom racism is an abhorrent and/or stigmatized doctrine. Only by focusing on the identity of the victim and that of the perpetrator can we strip the mask of ideology and the accounting mechanisms used by perpetrators to disguise their responsibility.

AUSCHWITZ

A Doctor's Eyewitness Account

Dr. Miklos Nyiszli

1 May, 1944. INSIDE EACH OF THE LOCKED cattle cars ninety people were jammed. The stench of the urinal buckets, which were so full they overflowed, made the air unbreathable.

The train of the deportees. For four days, forty identical cars had been rolling endlessly on, first across Slovakia, then across the territory of the Central Government, bearing us towards an unknown destination. We were part of the first group of over a million Hungarian Jews condemned to death.

Leaving Tatra behind us, we passed the stations of Lublin and Krakau. During the war these two cities were used as regroupment camps—or, more exactly, as extermination camps—for here all the anti-Nazis of Europe were herded and sorted out for extermination.

Scarcely an hour out of Krakau the train ground to a halt before a station of some importance. Signs in Gothic letters announced it as "Auschwitz," a place which meant nothing to us, for we had never heard of it.

Peering through a crack in the side of the car, I noticed an unusual bustle taking place about the train. The SS troops who had accompanied us till now were replaced by others. The trainmen left the train. From chance snatches of conversation overheard I gathered we were nearing the end of our journey.

The line of cars began to move again, and some twenty minutes later stopped with a prolonged, strident whistle of the locomotive.

Through the crack I saw a desert-like terrain: the earth was a yellowish clay, similar to that of Eastern Silesia, broken here and there by a green thicket of trees. Concrete pylons stretched in even rows to the horizon, with barbed wire strung between them from top to bottom. Signs warned us that the wires were electrically charged with high tension current. Inside the enormous squares bounded by the pylons stood hundreds of barracks, covered with green tar-paper and arranged to form a long, rectangular network of streets as far as the eye could see.

Tattered figures, dressed in the striped burlap of

prisoners, moved about inside the camp. Some were carrying planks, others were wielding picks and shovels, and, farther on, still others were hoisting fat trunks onto the backs of waiting trucks.

The barbed wire enclosure was interrupted every thirty or forty yards by elevated watch towers, in each of which an SS guard stood leaning against a machine gun mounted on a tripod. This then was the Auschwitz concentration camp, or, according to the Germans, who delight in abbreviating everything, the KZ, pronounced "Katzet." Not a very encouraging sight to say the least, but for the moment our awakened curiosity got the better of our fear.

I glanced around the car at my companions. Our group consisted of some twenty-six doctors, six pharmacists, six women, our children, and some elderly people, both men and women, our parents and relatives. Seated on their baggage or on the floor of the car, they looked both tired and apathetic, their faces betraying a sort of foreboding that even the excitement of our arrival was unable to dispel. Several of the children were asleep. Others sat munching the few scraps of food we had left. And the rest, finding nothing to eat, were vainly trying to wet their desiccated lips with dry tongues.

Heavy footsteps crunched on the sand. The shout of orders broke the monotony of the wait. The seals on the cars were broken. The door slid slowly open and we could already hear them giving us orders.

"Everyone get out and bring his hand baggage with him. Leave all heavy baggage in the cars."

We jumped to the ground, then turned to take our wives and children in our arms and help them down, for the level of the cars was over four and a half feet from the ground. The guards had us line up along the tracks. Before us stood a young SS officer, impeccable in his uniform, a old rosette gracing his lapel, his boots smartly polished. Though unfamiliar with the various SS ranks, I surmised from his arm band that he was a doctor. Later I learned that he was the head of the SS group, that his name was Dr. Mengele, and that he was chief physician of the Auschwitz concentration camp. As the "medical

selector" for the camp, he was present at the arrival of every train.

In the moments that followed we experienced certain phases of what, at Auschwitz, was called "selection." As for the subsequent phases, everyone lived through them according to his particular fate.

To start, the SS quickly divided us according to sex, leaving all children under fourteen with their mothers. So our once united group was straightway split in two. A feeling of dread overwhelmed us. But the guards replied to our anxious questions in a paternal, almost good natured manner. It was nothing to be concerned about. They were being taken off for a bath and to be disinfected, as was the custom. Afterwards we would all be reunited with our families.

While they sorted us out for transportation I had a chance to look around. In the light of the dying sun the image glimpsed earlier through the crack in the box car seemed to have changed, grown more eery and menacing. One object immediately caught my eye: an immense square chimney, built of red bricks, tapering towards the summit. It towered above a two-story building and looked like a strange factory chimney. I was especially struck by the enormous tongues of flame rising between the lightning rods, which were set at angles on the square tops of the chimney. I tried to imagine what hellish cooking would require such a tremendous fire. Suddenly I realized that we were in Germany, the land of the crematory ovens. I had spent ten years in this country, first as a student, later as a doctor, and knew that even the smallest city had its crematorium.

So the "factory" was a crematorium. A little farther on I saw a second building with its chimney, then, almost hidden in a thicket, a third, whose chimneys were spewing the same flames. A faint wind brought the smoke towards me. My nose, then my throat, were filled with the nauseating odor of burning flesh and scorched hair. —Plenty of food for thought there. But meanwhile the second phase of selection had begun. In single file, men, women, children, the aged, had to pass before the selection committee.

Dr. Mengele, the medical "selector," made a sign. They lined up again in two groups. The left-hand column included the aged, the crippled, the feeble, and women with children under fourteen. The right-hand column consisted entirely of able-bodied men and women: those able to work. In this latter group I noticed my wife and fourteen-year-old daughter. We no longer had any way of speaking to each other; all we could do was make signs.

Those too sick to walk, the aged and insane, were loaded into Red Cross vans. Some of the elderly

doctors in my group asked if they could also get into the vans. The trucks departed, then the left-hand group, five abreast, ranked by SS guards, moved off in its turn. In a few minutes they were out of sight, cut off from view by a thicket of trees.

The right-hand column had not moved. Dr. Mengele ordered all doctors to step forward; he then approached the new group, composed of some fifty doctors, and asked those who had studied in a German university, who had a thorough knowledge of pathology and had practiced forensic medicine, to step forward.

"Be very careful," he added. "You must be equal to the task; for if you're not . . ." and his menacing gesture left little to the imagination. I glanced at my companions. Perhaps they were intimidated. What did it matter! My mind was already made up.

I broke ranks and presented myself. Dr. Mengele questioned me at length, asking me where I had studied, the names of my pathology professors, and how I had acquired a knowledge of forensic medicine, how long I had practiced, etc. Apparently my answers were satisfactory for he immediately separated me from the others and ordered my colleagues to return to their places. For the moment they were spared. Because I must now state a truth of which I then was ignorant, namely, that the left-hand group, and those who went off in cars, passed a few moments later through the doors of the crematorium. From which no one ever returned.

2 STANDING ALONE, A LITTLE APART FROM the others, I fell to thinking about the strange and devious ways of fate, and, more precisely, about Germany, where I had spent some of the happiest years of my life.

Now, above my head, the sky was bright with stars, and the soft evening breeze would have been refreshing if, from time to time, it had not borne with it the odor of bodies burning in the Third Reich's crematoriums.

Hundreds of searchlights strung on top of the concrete pillars shone with a dazzling brilliance. And yet, behind the chain of lights, it seemed as though the air had grown heavier, enveloping the camp in a thick veil, through which only the blurred silhouettes of the barracks showed.

By now the cars were empty. Some men, dressed in prison garb, arrived and unloaded the heavy baggage we had left behind, then loaded it onto waiting trucks. In the gathering darkness the forty box cars slowly faded, till at last they melted completely into the surrounding countryside.

Dr. Mengele, having issued his final instructions

to the SS troops, crossed to his car, climbed in behind the wheel and motioned for me to join him. I got into the back seat beside an SS junior officer and we started off. The car bounced crazily along the clay roads of the camp, which were rutted and filled with potholes from the spring rains. The bright searchlights flew past us, faster and faster, and in a short while we stopped before an armored gate. From his post an SS sentry came running up to let the familiar car through. We drove a few hundred yards farther along the main road of the camp, which was bounded on either side by barracks, then stopped again in front of a building which was in better shape than the others. A sign beside the entrance informed me that this was the "Camp Office."

Inside several people, with deep, intelligent eyes and refined faces, wearing the uniform of prisoners, sat working at their desks. They immediately rose and came to attention. Dr. Mengele crossed to one of them, a man of about fifty, whose head was shaved clean. Since I was standing a few steps behind the Obersturmfuhrer, it was impossible for me to hear what they were saying. Dr. Sentkeller, a prisoner, and, as I later learned, the F Camp doctor, nodded his head in assent. At his request, I approached another prisoner's desk. The clerk rummaged for some file cards, then asked me a number of questions about myself, recorded the answers both on the card and in a large book, and handed the card to an SS guard. Then we left the room. As I passed in front of Dr. Mengele I bowed slightly. Observing this, Dr. Sentkeller could not refrain from raising his voice and remarking, ironically rather than with intended malice, that such civilities were not the custom here, and that one would do well not to play the man of the world in the KZ.

A guard took me to another barracks, on the entrance to which was written: "Baths & Disinfection," where I and my card were turned over to still another guard. A prisoner approached me and took my medical bag, then searched me and told me to undress. A barber came over and shaved first my head, then the rest of my body, and sent me to the showers. They rubbed my head with a solution of calcium chloride, which burnt my eyes so badly that for several minutes I could not open them again.

In another room my clothes were exchanged for a heavy, almost new jacket, and a pair of striped trousers. They gave me back my shoes after having dipped them in a tank containing the same solution of calcium chloride. I tried on my new clothes and found they fitted me quite well. (I wondered what poor wretch had worn them before me.) Before I could reflect any further, however, another prisoner pulled up my left sleeve and, checking the number on

my card, began skillfully to make a series of little tattoo marks on my arm, using an instrument filled with a blue ink. A number of small, bluish spots appeared almost immediately. "Your arm will swell a little," he reassured me, "but in a week that will disappear and the number will stand out quite clearly."

So I, Dr. Miklos Nyiszli, had ceased to exist; henceforth I would be, merely, KZ prisoner Number A 8450.

Suddenly I recalled another scene; fifteen years before, the Rector of the Medical School of Frederick Wilhelm University in Breslau shook my hand and wished me a brilliant future as he handed me my diploma, "with the congratulations of the jury."

3 FOR THE MOMENT MY SITUATION WAS TOLERABLE. Dr. Mengele expected me to perform the work of a physician. I would probably be sent to some German city as a replacement for a German doctor who had been drafted into military service, and whose functions had included pathology and forensic medicine. Moreover, I was filled with hope by the fact that, by Dr. Mengele's orders, I had not been issued a prisoner's burlap, but an excellent suit of civilian clothes.

It was already past midnight, but my curiosity kept me from feeling tired. I listened carefully to the barracks chief's every word. He knew the complete organization of the KZ, the names of the SS commanders in each camp section, as well as those of the prisoners who occupied important posts. I learned that the Auschwitz KZ was not a work camp, but the largest extermination camp in the Third Reich. He also told me of the "selections" that were made daily in the hospitals and the barracks. Hundreds of prisoners were loaded every day onto trucks and transported to the crematoriums, only a few hundred yards away.

From his tales I learned of life in the barracks. Eight hundred to a thousand people were crammed into the superimposed compartments of each barracks. Unable to stretch out completely, they slept there both lengthwise and crosswise, with one man's feet on another's head, neck, or chest. Stripped of all human dignity, they pushed and shoved and bit and kicked each other in an effort to get a few more inches' space on which to sleep a little more comfortably. For they did not have long to sleep: reveille sounded at three in the morning. Then guards, armed with rubber clubs, drove the prisoners from their "beds." Still half asleep, they poured from the barracks, elbowing and shoving, and immediately lined up outside. Then began the most inhumane part

of the KZ program: roll call. The prisoners were standing in rows of five. Those in charge arranged them in order. The barracks clerk lined them up by height, the taller ones in front and the shorter behind. Then another guard arrived, the day's duty guard for the section, and he, lashing out with his fists as he went, pushed the taller men back and had the short men brought up front. Then, finally, the barracks leader arrived, well dressed and well fed. He too was dressed in prison garb, but his uniform was clean and neatly pressed. He paused and haughtily scanned the ranks to see if everything was in order. Naturally it was not, so he began swinging with closed fists at those in the front rank who were wearing glasses, and drove them into the back rank. Why? Nobody knew. In fact you did not even think about it, for this was the KZ, and no one would even think of hunting for a reasonable explanation for such acts.

This sport continued for several hours. They counted the rows of men more than fifteen times, from front to back and back to front and in every other possible direction they could devise. If a row was not straight the entire barracks remained squatting for an hour, their hands raised above their heads, their legs trembling with fatigue and cold. For even in summer the Auschwitz dawns were cold, and the prisoners' light burlap served as scant protection against the rain and cold. But, winter and summer, roll call began at 3:00 a.m. and ended at 7:00, when the SS officers arrived.

The barracks leader, an obsequious servant of the SS, was invariably a common law criminal, whose green insignia distinguished him from the other prisoners. He snapped to attention and made his report, giving a muster of those men under his command. Next it was the turn of the SS to inspect the ranks: they counted the columns and inscribed the numbers in their notebooks. If there were any dead in the barracks—and there were generally five or six a day, sometimes as many as ten—they too had to be present for the inspection. And not only present in name, but physically present, standing, stark naked, supported by two living prisoners until the muster was over or, living or dead, the prescribed number of prisoners had to be present and accounted for. It sometimes happened that when they were overworked, the kommando job it was to transport the dead in wheelbarrows failed to pass by for several days. Then the dead had to be brought to each inspection until the transportation kommando finally arrived to take charge of them. Only then were their names crossed off the muster list.

After all I had learned, I was not sorry to have acted boldly and tried to better my lot. By having

been chosen, the very first day, to work as a doctor, I had been able to escape the fate of being lost in the mass and drowned in the filth of the quarantine camp.

Thanks to my civilian clothes, I had managed to maintain a human appearance, and this evening I would sleep in the medical room bed of the twelfth "hospital" barracks.

At seven in the morning: reveille. The doctors in my section, as well as the personnel of the hospital, lined up in front of the barracks to be counted. That took about two or three minutes. They also counted the bed-ridden, as well as the previous night's dead. Here too the dead were stretched out beside the living.

During breakfast, which we took in our rooms, I met my colleagues. The head doctor of barracks-hospital number 12 was Dr. Levy, professor at the University Of Strasbourg; his associate was Dr. Gras, professor at the University of Zagreb; both were excellent practitioners, known throughout Europe for their skill.

With practically no medicines, working with defective instruments and in surroundings where the most elementary aseptics and antiseptics were, lacking, unmindful of their personal tragedy, unconscious of fatigue and danger, they did their best to care for the sick, and ease the sufferings of their fellow men.

In the Auschwitz KZ the healthiest individual was given three or four weeks to collapse from hunger, filth, blows and inhuman labor. How can one describe the state of those who were already organically ill when they reached the camp? In circumstances where it was difficult to forget that one was a human being, and a doctor besides, they practiced their profession with complete devotion. Their example was faithfully followed by the subaltern medical corps, which was composed of six doctors. They were all young French or Greek doctors. For three years they had been eating the KZ bread made from wild chestnuts sprinkled with sawdust. Their wives, their children, their relatives and friends had been liquidated upon arrival. Or rather, burned. If by chance they had been directed to the right-hand column they had been unable to stand up under the ordeal for more than two or three months and, as the "chosen," had disappeared into the flames.

Overcome by despair, resigned, apathetic, they nevertheless attempted, with the utmost devotion, to help the living-dead whose fate was in their hands. For the prisoners of that hospital were the living-dead. One had to be seriously ill before being admitted to the KZ hospital. For the most part they

were living skeletons: dehydrated, emaciated, their lips were cracked, their faces swollen, and they had incurable dysentery. Their bodies were covered with enormous and repulsive running sores and suppurating ulcers. Such were the KZs sick. Such were those one had to care for and comfort.

4 I STILL HAD NO CLEARLY DEFINED JOB. During a visit around the camp in the company of a French doctor, I noticed a sort of annex jutting out from one side of a KZ barracks. From the outside it looked like a tool shed. Inside, however, I saw a table about as high as a man's head, built of unplanned, rather thick boards; a chair, a box of dissecting instruments; and, in one corner, a pail. I asked my colleague what it was used for.

"That's the KZ's only dissecting room," he said. "It hasn't been used for some time. As a matter of fact, I don't know of any specialist in the camp who's qualified to perform dissections, and I wouldn't be a bit surprised to learn that your presence here is tied in with Dr. Mengele's plans for reactivating it."

The very thought dampened my spirits, for I had pictured myself working in a modern dissecting room, not in this camp shed. In the course of my entire medical career I had never had to work with such defective instruments as these, or in a room so primitively equipped. Even when I had been called into the provinces on cases of murder and suicide, where the autopsy had had to be performed on the spot, I had been better equipped and installed.

Nevertheless I resigned myself to the inevitable, and accepted even this eventuality, for in the KZ this was still a favored position. And yet I still could not understand why I had been given almost new civilian clothes if I were slated to work in a dirty shed. It didn't make sense. But I decided not to waste my time worrying about such apparent contradictions.

Still in the company of my French colleague, I gazed out across the barbed wire enclosures. Naked dark-skinned children were running and playing. Women with Creole like faces and gaily colored clothes, and half-naked men, seated on the ground in groups, chatted as they watched the children play. This was the famous "Gypsy Camp." The Third Reich's ethnological experts had classified gypsies as an inferior race. Accordingly, they had been rounded up, not only in Germany itself, but throughout the occupied countries, and herded here. Because they were Catholics, they were allowed the privilege of remaining in family groups.

There were about 4,500 of them in all. They did no work, but were assigned the job of policing the neighboring Jewish camps and barracks, where they exercised their authority with unimaginable cruelty.

The Gypsy Camp offered one curiosity: the experimental barracks. The director of the Research Laboratory was Dr. Epstein, professor at the University of Prague, a pediatrician of world renown, a KZ prisoner since 1940. His assistant was Dr. Bendel, of the University of Paris Medical School.

Three categories of experiments were performed here: the first consisted of research into the origin and causes of dual births, a study which the birth of the Dionne quintuplets ten years before had caused to be pursued with renewed interest. The second was the search to discover the biological and pathological causes for the birth of dwarfs and giants. And the third was the study of the causes and treatment of a disease commonly called "dry gangrene of the face."

This terrible disease is exceptionally rare; in ordinary practice you scarcely ever come across it. But here in the Gypsy Camp it was fairly common among both children and adolescents. And so, because of its prevalence, research had been greatly facilitated and considerable progress made towards finding an effective method of treating it.

According to established medical concepts, "dry gangrene of the face" generally appears in conjunction with measles, scarlet fever and typhoid fever. But these diseases, plus the camp's deplorable sanitary conditions, seemed only to be the factors that favored its development, since it also existed in the Czech, Polish and Jewish camps. But it was especially prevalent among gypsy children, and from this it had been deduced that its presence must be directly related to hereditary syphilis, for the syphilis rate in the Gypsy Camp was extremely high.

From these observations a new treatment, consisting of a combination of malaria injections and doses of a drug whose trade name is "Novarsenobenzol," had been developed, with most promising results.

Dr. Mengele paid daily visits to the experimental barracks and participated actively in all phases of the research. He worked in collaboration with two prisoner doctors and a painter named Dina, whose artistic skill was a great asset to the enterprise. Dina was a native of Prague, and had been a KZ prisoner for three years. As Dr. Mengele's assistant she was granted certain privileges that ordinary prisoners never enjoyed.

THE TEN THOUSAND DAY WAR

Michael Maclear

The My Lai massacre of civilians was only disclosed by journalists in late 1969 after the known facts had been suppressed by the military for more than a year. On 16 March 1968, Lieutenant W.L. Calley led a platoon of thirty men into a village complex in the central Quang Ngai province, and subsequent accounts estimate that between 200 and 500 unarmed villagers were slaughtered. Says the study by career officers: 'Even the staunchest defenders of the army agree that in normal times a man of Lieutenant Calley's low intelligence and predispositions would never have been allowed to become an officer if the army had maintained its normal standards for officer selection, and that because the army did in fact lower its standards it must share in the guilt and culpability for the My Lai affair. The lowering of standards was a wound that the officer corps inflicted upon itself.'

Seymour Hersh, the journalist whose investigation brought the first full national exposure of the massacre, wrote in *My Lai 4: A Report on the Massacre and its Aftermath*: 'If there was any concurrence among former members of Calley's platoon in Vietnam, it is the amazement that the army considered Calley officer material.' Author George Walton, a retired Lieutenant-Colonel, gives this description of William Laws Calley, nicknamed 'Rusty' in his book *The Tarnished Shield: A Report on Today's Army*. 'The lieutenant was a below-average, dull, and inconspicuous boy, his father, a World War II naval veteran, had made a modest success as a salesman of heavy construction machinery, and being moderately affluent the Calleys maintained a residence in Miami and a home in the mountains near Waynesville, North Carolina, where Rusty and his three sisters spent happy summer months. He first attended the Edison High School in Miami and thereafter the Georgia Military Academy but his grades in both schools were such that he was unable to attend a college and ended by going to Palm Beach Junior College in Lake Worth, Florida. There his grades were even worse than they had been in high school. At the end of the first year he flunked out with two Cs, one D. and four Fs.' Calley

enlisted in 1966, was named for Officer Candidate School and 'although Calley graduated in the middle of his class, he had not even learned to read a map properly'.

Calley was a platoon leader in Charlie Company, 1st Battalion, 20th Infantry of the newly formed Americal Division. Charlie Company arrived in Vietnam in December 1967. It was the height of 'Search and Destroy', and just weeks before the ultimate attrition of the Tet Offensive with its random killings of civilians by both sides. The towns of Can Tho and My Tho had been destroyed in order to 'save' them. Ancient Hue, Vietnam's Mecca, was a ruin and its victims reportedly included hundreds of civilians executed by the guerrillas. Walton quotes Calley as having spoken of the My Lai massacre as '...no big deal, Sir'.

My Lai-4 was one of several hamlets in a village known to the Vietnamese as Son My. Among the GIs the area was known as 'Pinkville' — the guerrillas were entrenched there, though in which hamlet no one was certain. On 25 February, a patrol from Charlie Company stumbled onto a minefield and six men were killed and another twelve severely wounded. On 14 March there were more casualties, and early the next day battalion commander Lieutenant-Colonel Frank A. Barker Jr. a veteran of twenty years, summoned the commanding officer of Charlie Company, Captain Ernest L. Medina, who had advanced through enlisted ranks and after eight years graduated fourth in his officer class of 1966. The Colonel told the Captain, according to published accounts, that a guerrilla force of perhaps 250 men was believed operating from My Lai-4. The intelligence reports were that on Tuesdays the women and children went to the market by 7 am. Medina's company was to attack the village after that hour and destroy it. They had twenty-four hours to prepare; some are quoted as regarding it as their first real live battle; others as having 'a score to even up'.

Tim O'Brien, who would search the same area a year later before the disclosure of the massacre, describes the atmosphere: 'I knew it was a bad place. We were afraid to go to Pinkville. It was a sullen,

hostile, unpeopled place. We'd go among the My Lai villages and there were never any people: deserted, and yet there were smoldering fires—people obviously lived there. It was a place where men died. It was a heavily mined area. There was no tangible object to attack except the land itself. And in a sense the area of My Lai itself became the enemy, not the people of My Lai, not even the Viet Cong, but the physical place — the sullen villages, the criss-cross paddies, the bomb craters and the poverty of the place became the enemy. We took revenge, burning down huts, blowing up tunnels.

At sunrise on Tuesday 16 March 1968, the Hueys airlifted the entire Charlie Company west of the hamlets to a clearing designated Landing Zone Dotti. The company commander, Captain Medina, set up his CP in an old graveyard. As the gunships put down, other senior officers were described as observing the operation from aircraft stacked at 1000 and 2000 feet. Calley's thirty men advanced on My Lai-4, just a cluster of thatched roof huts. The accounts note that with platoons spread out through 'Pinkville' no one observed the entire events. The accounts, however, state that at My Lai-4 there was no opposing fire and that Calley ordered his platoon to go in shooting and to throw grenades into the dwellings. As women and children ran out they were mowed down by automatic fire, and soon 'the contagion of slaughter was spreading throughout the platoon'. Other civilians — all women, children or old men — were described as being led with hands above their heads to a large ditch and there systematically shot. Two other platoons beyond the hamlet cut down the few who had managed to run from My Lai-4.

The author of *The Tarnished Shield*, retired Lieutenant-Colonel George Walton, is a former attorney and a professor of political science. He wrote this account: 'Within My Lai-4 the killings had become more sadistic. Several old men were stabbed with bayonets and one was thrown down a well to be followed by a hand grenade. Some women and children praying outside of the local temple were killed by shooting them in the back of the head with rifles. Occasionally a soldier would drag a girl, often a mere child, to a ditch where he would rape her. One GI is said to have thrown a grenade into a hootch where a girl of five or six lay that he had just raped. The young were slaughtered with the same impartiality as the old. Children barely able to walk were picked off at point blank range.'

In an observation helicopter Hugh C. Thompson, a warrant officer on second duty tour, saw what was happening and put down in My Lai-4. After threatening a shoot out with Calley's platoon, Thompson is credited with saving the lives of sixteen

children and was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross. It was at 9 am — two hours after it all began — when battalion commander Colonel Barker was described as arriving over the area in his helicopter and only then realizing what had occurred. He radioed Captain Medina at the graveyard CP to cease all action.

The army chain of command in Vietnam kept silent on the reports it received of My Lai-4. The usual practice of submitting such findings to Washington was not followed. My Lai-4 might never have been known — or at least never proved — except for the fact that a *Stars and Stripes* reporter on the operation took photographs of the Belsen-style bodies piled in the ditch. One soldier, GI journalist Ronald Ridenhour, investigated the rumors and for months persisted in trying to get U.S. political and religious leaders to recommend an inquiry. He sent written evidence to thirty prominent people, including President Nixon and sixteen Congressmen. Only two of these thirty people — House Member Morris K. Udall and Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee L. Mendel Rivers — took vigorous action, demanding a Pentagon investigation. The chief of Army Reserve, Lieutenant-General William R. Peers, was assigned to conduct the inquiry.

Officially, it was estimated that about 200 civilians were murdered in My Lai-4. Among others who investigated was the American international law expert Richard A. Falk who estimated there were 500 civilian victims, and in his survey us army author George Walton estimates 700 were massacred.

General Peers, himself a former divisional commander in Vietnam, concluded: 'The principal failure was in leadership. Failures occurred at every level within the chain of command, from individual squad leaders to the command group of the Division. It was an illegal operation, in violation of military regulations and of human rights, starting with the planning, continuing through the brutal, destructive acts of many of the men involved, and culminating in abortive efforts to investigate and, finally, the suppression of the truth.'

Despite this uncompromising indictment, only thirteen officers and enlisted men were charged with war crimes and an additional twelve were charged with cover-up. Of the twenty-five men charged, only William Laws Calley was court-martialed, found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment. Calley spent just three days in military jail, then on White House orders he was transferred to house arrest where he spent three and a half years pending appeals to various military courts. All these appeals were denied, but after its final review the White House concurred in suggestions for parole. In effect,

President Nixon pardoned Calley.

Wrote General Peers, 'I think it unfortunate that of the twenty-five men charged with war crimes or related acts, he was the only one tried by courtmartial and found guilty.... Above and beyond that, he personally participated in the killing of non-combatants. So I don't consider him a scapegoat.' George Walton in his study of 'today's' army states: 'When an army is required to fight a war without the support of society it is forced to commission its Calleys.'

Wrote law authority and military consultant Richard Falk: 'The Vietnam war has amply demonstrated how easily modern man and the modern state – with all its claims of civility – can relapse into barbarism in the course of pursuing belligerent objectives in a distant land where neither national territory nor national security is tangibly at stake.' And he added: 'It would be misleading to isolate the awful happening at Son My from the overall conduct of the war [or from] the general line of official policy that established a moral climate in which the welfare of Vietnamese civilians is totally disregarded.'

In the most searing verdict on My Lai-4, the mother of platoon member David Paul Meadlo was reported in the *New York Times* of 30 November 1969 saying: 'I sent them a good boy, and they made him a murderer.'

Few would question that the boys America sent to Vietnam were, as they set out, a cross-section of humanity as good as any – but they were just boys, and years later, unable to comprehend, few Americans would care to ask how the boys came back so different. My Lai was a collective consequence of the individual emotional overload which almost every American ground combatant in Vietnam came to endure in a war without any recognizable front, enemy or cause, waged without national participation or unity.

Sergeant Tim O'Brien had just patrolled the My Lai area when he heard of its infamy: 'On the one hand I was shocked and I thought that this is terrible: you don't kill the people. And then I wasn't shocked.'

After all the frustrations we had been through, I understood the frustrations that were felt by Calley's company. This is not to excuse his behaviour. I hated what he did. I thought it was wrong and terrible and I still do. I think that he should have been sent to jail for life. But at the same time, as a man who was there, and who saw men die in the My Lais, I understand what happened.'

But some GIs would feel that their training as much as Vietnam's environment conditioned them – and the events. Marine medic Jack McCloskey remembers the mock Vietnamese village at training camp: 'It was taught to us, go into this Ville, and you have to blow everything away in this Ville. Your basic mistrust of the Vietnamese people is already ingrained in you: anything with slant eyes was a "gook" – they were not human beings.' McCloskey, with his body full of shrapnel, would later devote a decade to counseling emotionally disturbed veterans through his self-help organization 'Twice Born Men'.

Special Forces member Lou Carello recalls: 'We were always told, "As long as you don't make human contact with them, you will always see them as the enemy."' He was 'part of a team that killed civilians; civilians who were in key spots. I was like a hired gun, you know. I still can't sleep without a light on. All the people that I either put away or helped put away are going to get me.' Carello lost both legs in Vietnam. Back home, he returned to school to study sociology. Condemned for life to a wheelchair, he says, 'I don't want people to know my whole story. But understand me when you see me.'

All wars brutalize, but in Vietnam the war's nature and strategy produced a schizophrenic norm. Ivan Delbyk, Special Forces, remembers: 'You could be walking and it was quiet and peaceful, and you are listening to the birds singing, and the air smells good, and the trees and the greenery look beautiful. And then all of a sudden all hell breaks loose. From a rocket or a mortar, and a few seconds later it is quiet again. And if nobody is wounded you continue on your way. And if they are, you wait until you have Medevac.'

WHICH ARE GENOCIDES?

Directions: Choose one or more of the following events to research, using R.J. Rummel's book (citation below) or the Internet as references. Select the United Nations' definition of genocide, or your own definition of genocide developed earlier in this unit, and determine which of the following you believe were genocides. Discuss your findings and decisions with a small group or whole class.

Location	Date	Number Killed	Victim Group	Perpetrator
Burundi	1972			
Cambodia	1975-1979			
Bosnia-Herzegovina	1992-1995			
East Timor	1975-2000			
Bangladesh	1971			
Armenia	1915-1922			
Soviet Union	1932-1933			
Rwanda	1994			
Sri Lanka	1983			
Kosovo	1998			
Iraq	1991-2000			
Kashmir	1947-2000			
El Salvador	1980			

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Sources: Rummel, R.J. *Death by Government*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1997. (See Appendix F for Internet addresses.)

WHEN A LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT FAILS*

First, what are the characteristics of a “legitimate” government?

In classical terms, dating from the time when Hugo Grotius and Samuel Pufendorf laid down the first outlines of modern international law, a legitimate government is a regime that satisfies two qualifications. First, it must establish its power and achieve order over a defined territory. Second, it must be recognized by a sufficient number of other regimes to be politically and militarily viable.

These qualifications are no longer sufficient. We now know that terrorist movements, once they gain control of the communications and fire-power provided by modern technology, can no longer be cast out by unarmed or poorly equipped popular revolts. The abortive efforts in East Germany (1953) and Hungary (1956) established the point that the cornerstone of Jefferson’s “Declaration of Independence” and Wilson’s “Fourteen Points” had been removed. (The famous Kerzenrevolution of East Germany 1989 would never have occurred without the transitions that had been initiated by the new leadership in Moscow.) The second traditional qualification for legitimacy is equally anachronistic: given a specific ideological alignment, any new government following a coup will automatically receive the blessing of a number of other (equally illegitimate) regimes.

Since the decline of rulers by divine right and the rise of popular sovereignty, and especially with the emergence of such phenomena as “democratic societies which are not free” (Alexis de Toqueville) and “totalitarian democracy” (Jacob Talmon), a new definition of legitimate government is needed. There are today at least two factors determining the legitimacy of a government:

First, does it represent – filtered through adequate sharing of information and public, free, un intimidated discussion – the best judgment of the citizens?

Second, are the liberties of loyal citizens – individually and in groups – secured and protected, especially when they are in the opposition?

There are two other points worth discussion on another occasion. One of them concerns the basic Human Rights – as distinct from civil liberties – of those inhabitants not fully entitled to the liberties of

citizens. Among such are illegals and criminals. (Both the Federal Republic of Germany – with its generous provision of political refuge, and the United States of America – with its flood of illegal immigrants, have recently found this an acute issue.)

We have a right to expect that a society of free people, certainly one with a background in the Hebrew Scriptures (the “Old Testament” of Christians), will care for “the stranger in the land” with more compassion than do the hapless subjects of brutal regimes.

The other point concerns a free society’s self-protection against those internal forces – chiefly terrorist – that are not in good faith in the public forum. Their legal status, carefully defined and subject to due process of law, should be different from that of the initiatives of my entitled citizens.

In international affairs a working hypothesis is this: democratic societies do not go to war against each other; indeed, they have usually been found all too tardy even to defend themselves against aggressions launched by despotisms or dictatorships. By contrast, an act of aggression abroad, even one inviting war, is very often an easy recourse taken by an illegitimate regime to shore up its slipping control over its own subjects.

A related working hypothesis is this: democratic societies do not commit genocide upon minorities among their own citizens. A study of the tragic history of the Weimar Republic shows that there are identifiable characteristics of a legitimate government that is losing its grip upon self-government and liberty – a condition that prepares the way, as it were, for an illegitimate regime that will indeed commit genocide and other crimes. What then are some of the points (“stars”) to look for in fashioning a “grid” at this level?

1. Is there a rise in the number of terrorist movements, inadequately resisted by those entrusted with the maintenance of order and public safety?

2. Is there a lack of leaders of high profile and high quality, to give confidence to the mature and serve as role models for the young? Are reports of corruption in high places a standard diet in the media?

*A “grid” to identify potentially genocidal (“terrorist”) movements, presented by Professor Franklin H. Littell; developed from a section of his article on *Early Warning*, in III *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* (1988) 4:483-90; an elaboration of the argument for an “Early Warning System,” first presented in his book *Wild Tongues* (Macmillan, 1969), with extensive illustrations and documentation.

3. Is a language of polarization, extreme emotion and violence becoming acceptable in the public forum? Do communal leaders strive to strengthen their followings by using the language of assault against other ethnic, religious or cultural minorities (e.g., the demagoguery of David Duke or Louis Farrakhan)?

4. Are people restless, anxious and insecure because of military defeat, economic loss, social insecurity, violence in the streets?

5. Is there a developing failure to distinguish between military and police actions in managing internal affairs?

6. Are branches of government usurping by misuse of power the constitutional prerogatives of other centers of power and responsibility, thereby jeopardizing the checks and balances by which the executive, the legislative branch and the judiciary are restrained from the arrogance of power?

7. Especially, are the offices of government responsible for the clandestine use of authority – such as in America the FBI, the CIA and major offices in the military establishment – sliding from civilian control and on the way to becoming loose cannons?

8. Is the power of government being misused to serve not the general welfare but special interests – corporate, communal, religious, racial, sectional...?

9. Can government offices be relied upon to tell the truth? As good Pope John XXIII put it almost exactly thirty-two years ago in his encyclical "Peace on Earth" (Pacem in Terri, 10 April 1963): "By the natural law every human being has the right to respect for his person, to his good reputation, the right to freedom in searching for truth and in expressing and communicating his opinions... And he has the right to be informed truthfully about public events." (italics mine – FHL)

10. Is there a lively network of free associations and civic forums at the local level – churches and synagogues, union locals and professional societies, colleges and universities, fraternal clubs and other voluntary initiative groups – in which public issues are openly and adequately debated?

11. Are there adequate and functioning lines of communication through which the discussions and conclusions of face-to-face local groups are channeled to the highest level of such sub-political associations

and made to impact upon the instruments of government?

12. Is the political forum free of religiously and ideologically exclusive language? For example, in pluralistic societies like America, England and Germany have those speaking from religious conviction learned to use the common language rather than the arcane language of the congregation or parish?

13. Is there an alienated youth generation, product of shattered families and a moral collapse in the society? Is the alienation of youth exacerbated by poorly oriented and directed secondary schools?

14. Are there private armies, attached to political parties or warlords, training an alienated youth to usurp the functions of the state? Are private citizens being trained in the use of anti-personnel weapons?

15. Is there evident a collapse of professional ethics, with doctors, business executives, lawyers, theologians, journalists and others serving extremist politics and/or movements disloyal to the general welfare?

16. Are the universities training technically competent barbarians or educating patriotic citizens of disciplined ethics and commitment to the common good?

Identifying Terrorist Movements*

1. The group or movement prints, distributes, and uses antisemitic material for attracting sympathizers and recruiting members.

2. The group or movement makes antisemitic appeals through the media or in evangelistic meetings.

3 & 4. The actions itemized in #1 & #2 are directed as a tool in the quest for political power against any other ethnic, religious or cultural community.

5. Members cultivate violence toward opponents – publishing slanderous charges, bombing meeting places and homes and media, beating and assassinating.

6. The movement pursues the politics of polarization, scorning the middle ground of

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compromise or consensus, rejecting the politics of moderation and orderly change. If it becomes numerous enough, instead of functioning as a “loyal opposition” it builds the structures of “a state within a state.” (The Weimar Republic was whip-sawed between extremist groups, until finally the center – in Weimar the Zentrum and the SPD – could not hold.)

7. The movement uses the Language of Assault toward political opponents, rather than using the Language of Dialogue and participating in good faith in the political forum.

8. The group or movement deliberately drives a wedge between the generations, creating youth groups hostile to their parents’ generation and to their heritage.

9. The movement maintains camps for paramilitary training, including the use of anti-personnel weapons, outside the control of either Police or Military officials.

10. The movement trains and maintains private armies, demonstrating in public in uniform, parading and marching to intimidate loyal citizens.

11. Leaders of the movement elaborate a quasi-religious structure of authority and sanctions, with political hymns, shrines, martyrs, liturgies.

12. Archaic tribal, clannish or religious symbols are worn by members as recognition signs; secret passwords, handshakes, and other secret signals are used to signal co-believers in public situations.

13. Induction and termination of membership are observed as quasi-religious rites. Straying members are treated as “heretics” – subject to exorcism, with intensive group confession techniques applied in attempts at “rescue.”

14. The movement’s basic unit is the closed cell, with three to seven the standard number. This is the classic unit of a revolutionary party or intelligence operation, but outside the constitutionally appropriate means to exercise influence upon a legitimate government.

15. The movement practices deception and confuses public opinion by launching one-issue “fronts” – without clear identification of sponsorship, financing and control. A great deal of money is raised this way, ostensibly for some good public purpose but actually to serve the party’s internal interests. This is known as “the large net”

within which “innocents” are caught.

16. The movement’s studied tactics include infiltration and subversion of public institutions and voluntary associations, turning their direction from public service to bolstering the movement’s drive for power. (The history of subversive initiatives in Europe as well as America indicates that control of education and schools and control of the police and public safety are the two special targets of infiltration and subversion of the democratic processes.)

Using the Early Warning System

The use of the Early Warning System on potentially genocidal movements requires recognition of the fact that terrorists are engaged in a war against the United States of America – alike whether they are indigenous bad citizens or infiltrators sent from abroad. Although some laws exist which could be enforced with vigor, confronting adequately the threat of terrorism requires additional legislation.

The structure of laws, with attention to due process of law in their enforcement, must be national: the terrorist assault is directed against the life and liberties of loyal citizens as well as against the republic itself.

The critical issue is to identify and inhibit the terrorist movements in time, before they become strong enough to rip and tear the rights of loyal citizens and to threaten the fundamental institutions of the United States of America.

Just as the laws must be enforced carefully, so the delicate interaction of checks and balances – so important to republican principles – must be maintained; e.g., short cuts such as use of the military for civilian police functions, dangerous to civil liberties, are to be avoided.

Laws against terrorism must clearly distinguish between movements whose actions are outside the public dialogue, apocalyptic religious movements disinterested in political power, and groups which conduct themselves as “loyal oppositions.” The Early Warning “grid” makes such distinctions possible.

Since the development of new lines of defense against a new form of warfare requires the convergence and discussion of proposals from citizens from various sectors of the American people, the following proposals are put forward for debate and correction.

What Can be Done Now

1. Legislation is enacted banning the training of private individuals in the use of anti-personnel weapons.

Unit VI: READING #17

2. Legislation is enacted forbidding the sale of weapons to private individuals, with the exception of registered sales of equipment to registered hunters and sports clubs.

3. All manufactured shells are required to include taggants.

4. The recruitment and training of private armies is forbidden.

5. No uniformed public marches or demonstrations are permitted, except by units under police or military control.

6. "Hate speech" and other expressions of the Language of Assault against targeted minorities are prosecuted as crimes.

7. Double penalties are enacted for "ordinary" crimes (e.g., bank robberies, counterfeiting) planned and committed by terrorist groups.

Defense Actions Requiring New National Legislation

1. A National Office of Defense Against Terrorism shall be created, with professional staff and adequate budget. (The German office and activity of the Bundeszentrale für Verfassungsschutz is one useful model.)

2. Procedures are developed for applying the Early Warning System to potentially genocidal ("terrorist") movements and banning them from public life.

3. Public demonstrations, recruitment activities and membership in a banned group are defined as crimes against the republic.

4. No newspapers, magazines, radio or TV stations may be owned or controlled by a member of a banned group.

5. No business or non-profit organization may be incorporated by an individual member or the banned group itself.

6. An individual convicted of membership in a banned association is found guilty of war against the USA and his civil liberties are cancelled. (He retains, as fitting in a free society, the fundamental Human Rights afforded all noncitizens.)

7. A systematic and stringent set of sanctions against regimes promoting terrorism and supporting terrorist movements is adopted and declared.

8. Close cooperation with other legitimate governments in the suppression of terrorism is made a priority policy.

Franklin H. Littell
1 September 1996

ALL HUMAN RIGHTS FOR ALL
FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION
OF HUMAN RIGHTS



1948-1998

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

*Adopted and proclaimed by General Assembly resolution 217 A (III) of 10
December 1948*

On December 10, 1948 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights the full text of which appears in the following pages. Following this historic act the Assembly called upon all member countries to publicize the text of the Declaration and “to cause it to be disseminated, displayed, read and expounded principally in schools and other educational institutions, without distinction based on the political status of countries or territories.”

PREAMBLE

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, Therefore THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY proclaims THIS UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Unit VI: READING #18

Article 1.

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2.

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3.

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4.

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5.

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6.

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7.

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8.

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9.

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10.

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11.

(1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defense.

(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Source: *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. New York: United Nations Department of Public Information.

Article 12.

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13.

- (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.
- (2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14.

- (1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.
- (2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15.

- (1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.
- (2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16.

- (1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.
- (2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.
- (3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

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Article 17.

- (1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.
- (2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18.

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19.

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20.

- (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.
- (2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Unit VI: READING #18

Article 21.

- (1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
- (2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.
- (3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22.

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23.

- (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.
- (2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.
- (3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.
- (4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

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Article 24.

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25.

- (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.
- (2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26.

- (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

Source: *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. New York: United Nations Department of Public Information.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27.

(1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

(2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28.

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29.

(1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

(3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

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Article 30.

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.



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Source: Auth, Tony. Cartoon. *The Philadelphia Inquirer*. "The 20th Century: 100 Years of Genocide."

ISSUES OF CONSCIENCE
AND
MORAL RESPONSIBILITY



“MEMORIAL TO CHILDREN”

UNIT VII:

ISSUES OF CONSCIENCE

AND

MORAL RESPONSIBILITY

With the surrender of the German army on May 8, 1945, it was possible for the Allies to liberate Jews and other prisoners from the concentration camps. Once released, however, Jews were uncertain about their future. Persistent anti-Semitism in parts of Europe ruled out for many their return home. Forty-two Jews who went back to Kielce, Poland, for example, were killed in a pogrom on July 4, 1946.

Still in force, the British White Paper (1939) additionally restricted Jewish immigration to Palestine. Some, however, tried – often in vain – to find their way in secret. In 1947, survivors on the ship *Exodus* attempted but failed to evade the British blockade and were immediately sent back. The situation dramatically improved when the United Nations established the State of Israel on November 29, 1947. After Israel came into existence six months later, many Jews joined the fight in its War of Independence. By 1951, about 200,000 Holocaust Survivors settled in the Jewish state and helped to build it.

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In the meantime, many Jews took up temporary residence in Displaced Persons Camps established by the Allies after the war in Germany, Austria and elsewhere. Here they received protection, medical care and food until they were able to leave the camps, emigrate, settle and commence new lives.

But as much as survivors and the rest of humanity were eager to move on, an insatiable need lingered for explanations of *The Final Solution* as well as for justice. Even during the war, on December 17, 1942, eleven Allied governments agreed that after the war they would determine guilt for mass murder and punish the guilty. Some insisted from the beginning of the judicial process that the regime acting on behalf of its people implicated an entire nation, while others felt that only those who committed crimes should be held responsible.

An International Military Tribunal, known as the Nuremberg Tribunal, came into existence on August 8, 1945 and commenced proceedings on November 20th. The 1945 Charter called for equal representation among the four allies – France, Britain, Russia and the United States – in judging and prosecuting the case of common plan or conspiracy, crimes against peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity. Ten months later, on October 1, 1946, nineteen men were found guilty. Twelve received the death sentence, and seven received sentences from ten years to life.

ISSUES OF CONSCIENCE AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY

The pursuit of justice did not end with these first trials. Several people, including Simon Wiesenthal and Beate Klarsfeld, have dedicated their lives to locating Nazis who escaped judgment to live under false identity in South America and any country that would take them in. Israeli secret agents found Adolf Eichmann in Argentina on May 23, 1960 and brought him to trial in Israel for his central role in deporting more than three million Jews to death camps. He was sentenced to death.

As other Nazis or “illegal immigrants” who fled to the United States were eventually found, many Holocaust survivors came forward for the first time to testify against them. Their testimonies, enriched by scholarly study and the discovery of new documents, comprise an extensive body of information and interpretation on the Holocaust era. Textbooks, the present second edition of *The Holocaust and Genocide: The Betrayal of Humanity*, as well as numerous popular books, videos, CDs, films and journals, continue to discuss the Holocaust’s considerable dimensions.

The quest for knowledge and justice offers insights about us and the Nazi past; for the Holocaust has permanently changed the way we live and think. As difficult and solemn as it is, explaining what happened and, above all, why, heightens our awareness of the reality of evil and its consequences. As onerous as their personal memories are, survivors of the Holocaust are teaching the world that the preservation of life is sacred but fragile and, therefore, demands constant attention to the protection of each individual’s human rights and the preservation of each individual’s human dignity.

This final unit is designed to help students analyze society’s moral codes and to assess a range of related issues of conscience and moral responsibility. Students will examine the meaning of personal responsibility, values and morality and consider whether there is a relationship between the level of one’s education and being a responsible, moral person. They will study the difference between a crime and a war crime and analyze the purposes and results of the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal as well as more recent trials of World War II Nazis.

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In addition, students will reflect upon a series of wider issues of conscience, such as the bystanders, the German industrialists, and medical experiments in an effort to understand individual and collective responsibility. The issues of restitution and reparations to survivors of the Holocaust will be examined as well as survivor feelings of guilt. The relationship between the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel will also be discussed.

One of the ongoing debates among Holocaust historians and educators has been on the question of whether the Holocaust should be viewed as a unique period of history, or whether its study should focus on its universal implications. It is the view of the writers of this curriculum guide that the Holocaust must be studied for its uniqueness *and* its universal applications. Students will grapple with the attempts of some to deny the reality of the Holocaust and consider appropriate responses to such efforts to deny history; examine post-Holocaust persecution of Jews in Eastern Europe; and study the impact of the Holocaust upon the post-Holocaust life of survivors, their children and grandchildren.

In sum, the goal of Unit VII is to have students analyze society’s moral codes and assess issues of conscience and moral responsibility and their effect. Students will (1) analyze issues related to responsibility, values and morality; (2) differentiate between a crime and a war crime; (3) examine the organization and set up of the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal, and compare and contrast the sentences given to the 22 original Nazi defendants; (4) study and analyze the wider issues of conscience beyond the scope of the Nuremberg Trials; (5) assess the relationship between the

Holocaust and the State of Israel; (6) discuss individual and collective responsibility for the Holocaust; (7) evaluate the uniqueness and universal implications of the Holocaust; (8) assess attempts at Holocaust denial and formulate appropriate responses to such attempts within the principles of a democratic society; (9) examine post-Holocaust persecution of Jews in Eastern Europe; (10) examine the impact of the Holocaust upon the post-Holocaust lives of survivors, their children and grandchildren; (11) reflect upon and demonstrate the meaning of their study of the Holocaust and genocides for their future and that of society; and (12) reevaluate their previous generalizations about human nature.

If a comprehensive and truly effective final assessment of the kind of student learning promoted in this curriculum were conducted, it is the hope of the New Jersey Commission on Holocaust Education that it would show an increase in respect for the human rights and integrity of every human being regardless of the differences each possesses. The result would be a more humane and caring world in which the safety and well being of each of us would be preserved, and the Holocaust and other genocides could remain as powerful reminders of a time past when human beings abrogated their responsibility to the human family. Will our students learn enough to make it happen? Part of that is up to us and to our commitment to teach this subject well. The rest is up to our students who, hopefully, will make their own commitment to shape a legacy that we can all live with. That is truly the final assessment of this and any compelling curriculum on the Holocaust and genocides.

ISSUES OF CONSCIENCE AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY

UNIT VII: ISSUES OF CONSCIENCE AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY

UNIT GOAL: Students will analyze society’s moral codes and assess issues of conscience and moral responsibility and their effect.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
<p>1. Students will analyze the concepts of responsibility, values and morality.</p>	<p>A. Develop and apply your own definitions of responsibility, values and morality.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Develop a definition of “responsibility” and do the following: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Complete the survey <i>Assigning and Assessing Responsibility</i> and respond to the questions at the beginning of the survey. • After completing this activity, join with a small group of students and discuss your respective responses. • Compare and contrast your responses and discuss your group’s results with the rest of the class. 	<p><i>Note: the notation (READING #) in this column indicates that a copy of the article is included in this curriculum guide.</i></p> <p>A. Resources for Section A:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1a. Furman, Harry, Ed. “Assessing and Defining Responsibility.” <i>The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience—An Anthology for Students</i>. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983. (READING #1) 1b. Browning, Christopher R. <i>Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland</i>. New York: Harper Collins, 1992. 1c. Browning, Christopher R. <i>Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, German Killers</i>. England: Cambridge University Press, 2000. 1d. Sereny, Gitta. “Excerpts from Gitta Sereny’s Interview With Franz Stangl, the Commandant of Treblinka and Sobibor.” Section XIV, pp. 186-201 in Michael Berenbaum, ed. <i>Witness to the Holocaust: An Illustrated Documentary History of the Holocaust in the Words of the Victims, Perpetrators and Bystanders</i>. New York: Harper Collins, 1997.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>B. Examine the relationship between the level of a person's education and moral responsibility.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Read "Letter to a Teacher," by Haim Ginott. What is Ginott's expressed view of the relationship between a person's level of education and moral responsibility? Do you agree with his view? If so, how do you account for this? 2. Examine the chart in the article <i>Nazi Leadership</i> using the questions at the end of the reading as a guide to your analysis and discussion of the relationship between the level of a person's education and his or her sense of moral responsibility. 3. Read the article <i>Do You Take The Oath?</i> With a small group of classmates review this man's explanation of why his education failed him. Do you believe he knew right from wrong? What does his experience reveal to you about the relationship between the level of one's education and moral responsibility? 	<p>B. Resources for Section B:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1a. Ginott, Haim G. "Letter to a Teacher." <i>Teacher and Child</i>. New York: Macmillan, 1972. in Harry Furman, Ed. <i>The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience: An Anthology for Students</i>. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983. (READING #2) 1b. Cargas, Harry J. "Nazi Leadership." <i>A Christian Response to the Holocaust</i>. Foreword by Elie Wiesel. Denver, CO: Stonehenge, 1981. 1c. McFarland-Icke, Bronwyn Rebekah. <i>Nurses in Nazi Germany</i>. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999. 2. Furman, Harry, Ed. "Nazi Leadership." <i>The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience—An Anthology for Students</i>. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983. (READING #3) 3. Strom, Margot Stern, ed. "Do You Take the Oath?" Reading #20. <i>Facing History and Ourselves: Holocaust and Human Behavior</i>. Brookline, MA: Facing History and Ourselves National Foundation, Inc. 1994. (READING #4)

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
<p>2. Students will differentiate between a crime and a war crime.</p>	<p>A. Define the difference between a crime and war crime by engaging in the activities that follow:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Research the legal basis for establishing the War Crimes Tribunal and define and discuss the following: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Ex-post facto</u> • Common law • Statute law • Conspiracy • The Hague Convention 1899, 1907 • The Geneva Convention 1929 • Subsequent Geneva Rules/Conduct of Warfare • German rules of conduct 1944 • Tribunal 2. View the video <i>War Crimes</i> and use the following questions as a basis for analysis and discussion: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Should soldiers be held responsible for atrocities committed during war, even when following orders? • Summarize the issues involved in each of the case studies presented in the video: The Nuremberg Trials of 1945-1946; the 1967 individual trials of Lt. William Calley and Capt. Ernest Medina for the My Lai massacre; and the 1986 trial of John Demjanjuk, accused of being the sadistic Treblinka guard known as "Ivan the Terrible." 	<p>A. Resources for Section A:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Conot, Robert E. <i>Justice at Nuremberg</i>. New York: Harper & Row, 1983. (<i>Note: This is a very extensive, behind the scenes look at the eleven month trial based on interviews, memoirs, letters and testimony.</i>) 1. Consult United Nations Web site: www.un.org 1. Consult Court TV Web site: www.courtstv.com/casefiles/ 1. Consult Web site: www.nuremberg 2. <i>War Crimes</i>. 50 min./color/black and white. Videocassette. "American Justice Series." The History Channel, 1994. (Warning: graphic presentation of atrocities.)

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
<p>3. Students will examine the organization and set up of the Nuremberg War Crimes tribunal, and compare and contrast the sentences given to the 22 original Nazi defendants.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What did Robert Jackson, the American prosecutor at Nuremberg, mean when he said, “We must never forget that the record on which we judge these defendants today is the record on which history will judge us tomorrow”? <p>A. Research the background of the following:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. War Crime Tribunal 2. Establishment of the Charter of Tribunal 3. How the charges were determined 4. List and describe the four counts of Indictment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conspiracy • Crimes against Peace • War Crimes • Crimes against Humanity 5. Nuremberg Trial – 22 defendants crimes/outcomes (See <i>The Limits of War.</i>) 	<p>A. Resources for Section A:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Conot, Robert E. <i>Justice at Nuremberg.</i> New York: Harper & Row, 1983. 2. Davidson, Eugene. <i>The Trial of the Germans.</i> New York: Macmillan, 1966. (Note: A long, fascinating account of Berman, Speer, Goering and Von Papen.) 3. Taylor, Telford. <i>The Anatomy of the Nuremberg Trial.</i> New York: Little, Brown, 1992. 4. Gilbert, G.M. <i>Nuremberg Diary.</i> New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1947. Signet Book, 1961. (Note: A prison psychologist in the Nuremberg jail tells his meticulous story about Speer, Goering, Hess and many others.) 5. Woetzel, R. <i>The Nuremberg Trials in International Law.</i> New York: Praeger, 1960. (A thorough analysis of the trials, basis in, and implications to international law.) 6. “The War Trials: Judgment at Nuremberg.” <i>The Limits of War:</i>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>B. Examine the backgrounds of each of the principal Nuremberg defendants and the verdicts rendered in each case.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Prepare a brief biography of each of the principal Nuremberg defendants. 2. Evaluate the verdicts of these defendants considering the degree of their involvement in the Nazi regime. 3. View selected trial scenes from <i>Judgment at Nuremberg</i> and <i>QBVII</i>. 	<p><i>National Policy and World Conscience</i>. Middletown, CT: Xerox Corporation, 1978. 12-33. (READING #5)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7. <i>Hitler's Inferno</i>. Narrated by Bill Forrest. LP. Last Track, Side 2; Audio Rarities #2445, 1961. (re-released) Clear audio recording of Nuremberg Trial and the pleas of "Not guilty" by principal defendants.) 8. Fest, Joachim. <i>Faces of the Third Reich: Portraits of the Nazi Leadership</i>. Pantheon books/Random House, New York, 1970. 9. Martink Roy A. , MD. <i>Inside Nurnberg: Military Justice for Nazi War Criminals</i>. Shippensburg, PA: White Mane Publishing, 2000. <p>B. Resources for Section B:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1-2. Furman, Harry, ed. "The Nuremberg War Crimes Trial." <i>The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience—An Anthology for Students</i>. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983. (READING #6) 3a. <i>Judgment at Nuremberg</i>. 187 min. Black/white. Dir. Stanley Kramer. Perf. Spencer Tracy, Judy Garland, Burt Lancaster, Maximilian Schell and Montgomery Clift. Videocassette. United Artists. (Available from Social Studies School Service)

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>C. Compare the Nuremberg Trials with the Eichmann Trial:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legality of apprehension • Jurisdiction for the conduct of the trial • Verdict • Sentence <p>D. Read <i>Judgment</i> and discuss the questions in the “Connections” section of the reading.</p> <p>E. Investigate recent trials of John Demjanjuk, or Ivan “The Terrible,” and Klaus Barbie, the “Butcher of Lyon,” and research other trials of Nazi war criminals.</p> <p>Discuss whether you believe it is necessary to seek out and bring former Nazi war criminals to justice today.</p>	<p>3b. <i>QB VII</i>. Perf. Ben Gazarra, et al. DVD. May 29, 2001.</p> <p>C. Resources for Section C:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Hausner, Gideon. <i>Justice in Jerusalem</i>. New York: Holocaust Library. First published by Harper Row, 1966. 2. <i>Nuremberg</i>. Perf. Alec Baldwin. Videocassette. TNT Productions, 2000. 3. Nuremberg Web Site: www.tnt-tv.com/movies/tntoriginals/nuremberg/poster.htm <p>D. Resources for Section D:</p> <p>Strom, Margot Stern, ed. “Judgment.” <i>Facing History and Ourselves: Holocaust and Human Behavior</i>. Brookline, MA: Facing History and Ourselves Foundation, Inc., 1994. (READING #7)</p> <p>E. Resources for Section E:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Murphy, Brendon. <i>The Butcher of Lyon: The Story of the Infamous Nazi Klaus Barbie</i>. New York: Empire Books, 1983. 2. Wiesenthal, Simon. <i>The Murderers Among Us: the Wiesenthal Memoirs</i>. New York: McGraw Hill, 1967.

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
<p>4. Students will study and analyze the wider issues of conscience beyond the scope of the first set of Nuremberg Trials.</p>	<p>A. Analyze issues from the Holocaust such as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Moral issues regarding Germany • Unpunished individuals, institutions: e.g., I.G. Farben, Krupp, IBM • Reparations • Bystanders • Corruption of power • Medical experiments in camps • Moral responsibility <p>1. Read <i>The Gathering</i> by Arje Shaw using the questions in the reading as a basis for thought and discussion.</p> <p>2. Read <i>I.G. Farben</i>, using the questions at the end of the reading as a basis for analysis and discussion.</p>	<p>3. Dabinhaus, Dr. Erhard. <i>Klaus Barbie</i>. Washington, D.C.: Acropolis Books, 1983.</p> <p>4. Teicholtz, Tom. <i>The Trials of Ivan The Terrible</i>. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990.</p> <p>5. Klarsfeld, Beate. <i>Wherever They May Be</i>. New York Vanguard Press, 1972.</p> <p>6. Rosenbaum, Alan. <i>Prosecuting Nazi War Criminals</i>. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993.</p> <p>A. Resources for Section A:</p> <p>1. Moricca, Susan J. and Arlene Shenkus. <i>The Gathering: A Study Guide</i>. (In Press) (READING #8)</p> <p>2. Rubenstein, Richard L. "I.G. Farben." <i>The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience—An Anthology for Students</i>. Harry Furman, ed. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983. (READING #9)</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>3. Read <i>Senate Throws Weight Behind Restitution Bill</i>. Discuss the idea of giving survivors or families of those who didn't survive reparations for any property taken during the Holocaust. How do you compensate someone for what they lost? (<i>Note: This refers to the Senate in Poland.</i>)</p> <p>4. Read <i>Bystanders at Mauthausen</i> using the questions in the "Connections" section as a basis for analysis and discussion.</p> <p>5. Conduct research on the Internet to update current lawsuits against I.G. Farben.</p> <p>6. Medical experiments were conducted in the camps to investigate how pilots who crashed over water could survive. Today, because of this research, it is known that people in water for a period of time can survive and live a normal life. Also, we know that people in snow and freezing temperatures can be brought back to life. Discuss the issue of using research obtained from medical experiments to save lives today.</p> <p>7. Read <i>Why Me?</i> By Ernst Papanek. Discuss the concept of survivor guilt. Use the following questions as a guide:</p>	<p>3. Golden, Juliet D. "Senate Throws Weight Behind Restitution Bill." <i>Warsaw Business Journal</i>. 30 Jan 2001 (From Holocaust Restitution at http://www.holocaustrestitution.com/wbj7.htm) (READING #10)</p> <p>4. Strom, Margot Stern, ed. "Bystanders at Mauthausen." <i>Facing History and Ourselves: The Holocaust and Human Behavior</i>. Brookline, MA: Facing History and Ourselves National Foundation, Inc., 1994. (READING #11)</p> <p>5. Borkin, Joseph. <i>The Crimes and Punishment of I.G. Farben</i>. New York: Free Press, 1978.</p> <p>6a. <i>Children of the Flames: Dr. Joseph Mengele and the Untold Story of the Twins of Auschwitz</i>. 50 min. color. Videocassette. A & E, 1995.</p> <p>6b. Lifton, Robert J. <i>The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide</i>. New York: Basic Books, 1988.</p> <p>7. Papanek, Ernst. "Why Me?" <i>Images from the Holocaust: A Literature Anthology</i>. Jean E. Brown, Elaine C. Stephens and Janet E. Rubin, eds. Lincolnwood, III: National Textbook Company, 1997. (READING #12)</p>

ISSUES OF CONSCIENCE AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is there an explanation for why some survive any tragedy and others do not? • What can help a survivor of any tragedy to give some “meaning” to the tragedy? • Why are projects and museums (e.g., the museum for the Oklahoma City bombing) established? <p>8. Read <i>Heir of the Holocaust: A Child’s Lesson</i> by Harry Furman. Furman, the child of Holocaust survivors, states: “A study of the Holocaust will not matter unless it has some effect on our everyday behavior,” With a small group, discuss your responses to the questions that Furman asks us to consider:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What does this event teach me about how I should live my life? • What is the meaning of Furman’s assertion that “...the penalty for society’s silence toward each other’s suffering is a spiritual death”? • What comparison is made between the characters in <i>The Pawnbroker</i> and <i>Harold and Maude</i>? • What is the task of “Man,” according to Rabbi Menachem Mendl of Kotzk? • A character in one of Elie Wiesel’s novels states, “So you 	<p>8. Furman, Harry, ed. “Heir of the Holocaust.” <i>The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience—An Anthology for Students</i>. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983. (Out-of-print) (READING #13)</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
<p>5. Students will assess the relationship between the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel.</p>	<p>hope to defeat evil? Fine. Begin by helping your fellow man. Triumph over death? Excellent. Begin by saving your brother.” How do you react to this challenge?</p> <p>A. Assess the relationship between the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel using the recommended resources and the following questions as a basis for your inquiry:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why did so many Holocaust survivors become displaced persons (DP's) after the war? • Why did Great Britain continue the policy of excluding Jews from immigration to the Jewish settlement in Palestine? • What was the Bricha Movement? (See Ben Wicks book, <i>Dawn of the Promised Land</i>, p.118) • How did the voyage of the <i>Exodus 47</i> emphasize the plight of the displaced persons? (See <i>Exodus 47</i>, by Ben Wicks) • What was the purpose of the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry and its recommendations? • Why did the Haganah and Irgun attack British installations in Palestine? • Why did Great Britain turn over the problem of Palestine to the United Nations? 	<p>A. Resources for Sections A and B:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Displaced Persons</i>. 48 min. Videocassette. Israel Film Service. 2. <i>Exodus 1947</i>. 60 min. Videocassette. Cicada Maryland Public TV. 3. <i>The Long Way Home</i>. 120 min. Videocassette. Moriah/Simon Wiesenthal Center. 4. Wicks, Ben. “Exodus 47.” <i>Dawn of the Promised Land</i>. New York: Disney Press, 1998. (READING #14) 5. Kariuk, Yorum and Seymour Simckes. <i>Commander of the Exodus</i>. New York: Grove Press, 2000. 6. Altman, Linda. <i>The Creation of Israel</i>. San Diego, CA: Lucent, 1998. - 7. Gilbert, Martin. <i>Israel: A History</i>. New York: William Morrow & Co., 1998. 8. Shahar, Howard. <i>The History of Israel: From the Rise of Zionism to Our Time</i>. New York: Knopf, 1996.

ISSUES OF CONSCIENCE AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explain the United Nations favorable vote for the partition of Palestine. (See <i>November 29, 1947</i> by Uri Dan) • Account for the rejection by Arab states of the partition plan and their attacks on Jewish settlements. (See <i>The Arab Flight</i>, by Uri Dan) • What was the substance of the Israeli Declaration of Independence and its immediate results? • What factors permitted the absorption of the survivors of the Holocaust into Israeli society? (See Yablonka: <i>Survivors of the Holocaust</i>.) <p>B. Select one of following activities as a basis for extending your understanding of the relationship between the Holocaust and the creation of the State of Israel. Use the specified resources, or those listed in #1-13 in Resources for Sections A and B.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • View any one of these videos and tell from what point of view its producers operated: <i>The Long Way Home; Exodus 1947; or Displaced Persons</i>. How did the film enhance your understanding of this topic? 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 9. Laqueur, Walter. <i>A History of Zionism</i>. New York: Fine Communications, 1997. 10. Yabdonka, Hanna and Ora Cummings. <i>Survivors of the Holocaust: Israel After the War</i>. New York: New York University Press, 1999. 11. Schultz, Kristen. <i>The Arab-Israeli Conflict</i>. Greenwood, CT: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999. 12. Hogan, David J. Ed-in-Chief. "Israel and the Holocaust." <i>The Holocaust Chronicle: A History in Words and Pictures</i>. Licolnwood, Ill: Publications International Ltd., 2000. 666. 13. Dan, Uri. "November 29, 1947," and "The Arab Flight." <i>To the Promised Land</i>. New York: Doubleday, 1997. (READINGS #15 & 16) <p>B. Resources for Section B: See #1-13 in Section A & B above.</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Read <i>Dawn of a Promised Land</i> and paraphrase the story of a Bricha participant in her adventure from Vienna to Palestine. • Read <i>Commander of the Exodus</i> and write directions for a movie scenario for his ocean voyage. • Prepare an argument as would be given by David Ben Gurion before the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry for the immediate admission of Jewish DP's to Palestine. Give the argument of Ernest Bevin, the British Foreign Secretary against such admission. • Write a letter to President Harry Truman urging him to support the United Nations Partition Plan. • Present the Arab position against the Partition Plan. • Write a diary page describing your reaction as an Israeli to the Israeli Declaration of Independence (May 14, 1948). • Draw a map of Israel under the United Nations Partition Plan, then superimpose a map of Israel after the truce in 1949. • Draw a timeline of the major events in this unit based on the topics above. Explain to the class the interrelationships of each event. 	

ISSUES OF CONSCIENCE AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>C. Examine several issues that related to the Holocaust and the creation of the State of Israel:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Read and write a book review on <i>One Hundred Children</i> that deals with the issue of orphaned children following the Holocaust. 2. Read and discuss personal experiences of teenage survivors: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Stubborn Son of a Stubborn People, Saul’s Story,” from <i>Home At Last</i>. • Other selections from <i>Open the Gates</i>. 3. Review the <i>Proclamation of the State of Israel</i>. Explain how the State of Israel was established. 4. Consider the following hypothetical question with a small group of classmates. Share your group’s responses with the class: Question: What would have happened if the Jews of Europe had Palestine (now Israel) as a safe haven to which to flee in the 1930’s? <p>D. Compare the similarities and differences between the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and the Israeli War of Independence.</p> <p>Read <i>50 Years Ago: Revolt Amid the Darkness</i>, pp. 185-219.</p>	<p>C. Resources for Section C:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Silverman Kuchler, Lena. <i>One Hundred Children</i>. New York: Doubleday, 1961. 2a. Eisenberg, Azriel and Leah Ain-Globe, eds. <i>Home At Last</i>. New York: Block Publishing, 1977. (READING #17) 2b. Avriel, Echud. <i>Open the Gates</i>. New York: Atheneum, 1975. 3. Abba Eban. “Proclamation of the State of Israel.” <i>My People</i>. New York: Random House, 1988. (READING # 18) 4. Students should draw from their acquired knowledge of the history of the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel. <p>D. Resources for Section D:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>50 Years Ago: Revolt Amid the Darkness</i>. Washington, DC: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1993. 185-219.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
<p>6. Students will discuss individual and collective responsibility for the Holocaust.</p>	<p>A. Review the issue of individual moral responsibility vs. obedience to authority using examples of moral dilemmas and discussions.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. View the video <i>Joseph Schultz</i>. Use the following questions as a basis for your analysis and discussion in a small group: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who was Joseph Schultz? • Where did this scene take place? • Who were the people targeted for execution? • What was Joseph Schultz asked to do? • What were the alternatives available to him and his fellow soldiers? • What were the probable consequences of each alternative? • What do you think Joseph Schultz thought about as he made his decision? • What did he decide to do? What does this reveal about him? Did he do the right thing? • How did his decision differ from his fellow soldiers? • What do you think would have happened if the majority of the soldiers acted as he did? • Is it ever right for a soldier to disobey a direct order? 2. Examine two or more of the six case studies presented in <i>The Bystander's Dilemma</i> using the following questions as a guide for analysis and discussion: 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Write to Ghetto Fighters House, Kibbutz Lochamei Hagetaot, D.N., Oshrat, 25220, Israel. <p>A. Resources for Section A:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Joseph Schultz</i>. 13 min. color. Videocassette. Available from Social Studies School Service. 2. <i>The Bystander's Dilemma: Thinking Skills and Values Exploration in the Social Studies</i>. Zenger. Available from Social Studies School Service.

ISSUES OF CONSCIENCE AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For what reasons should a bystander choose to get involved in a particular situation? • What risks, if any, are acceptable? • What are the probable consequences of the various alternatives, including the decision to do nothing? <p>3. In a small group, join each member in making a list of situations you have witnessed in which the issue of personal and/or collective responsibility to “do the right thing” was involved. In each instance, discuss the following and share your group’s responses with the class:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What was the situation? Who was the perpetrator(s)? Who was the intended victim(s)? • How many people witnessed the situation? • What alternatives were available to the intended victim(s), you and the others who witnessed the situation? Probable consequences of each alternative? • What action, if any, did you or the others take? Why? • What were the results and their effects on the victim, the perpetrator and the witnesses? • Do you believe people who intend to do harm to another person could be deterred if they 	<p>3. Student-generated ideas.</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>knew witnesses would be willing to take some action?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elie Wiesel has said, "Silence is never the answer when human rights are involved." Do you agree with him? <p>4. Read, list and discuss character traits of rescuers and the righteous during the Holocaust.</p> <p>5. Marian P. Pritchard has said, "I think you have a responsibility to yourself to behave decently." Relate this quotation to the following modern-day issues:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Providing marijuana to a sick friend • Mercy killing • Conscientious objectors during wartime <p>6. With a group of peers, write and perform a play based upon The White Rose movement during the Holocaust.</p> <p>7. Read <i>The Importance of Not Coming Too Late</i>. Discuss the questions listed in the "Connections" section of the reading.</p> <p>8. Read and discuss <i>Choices</i> using the questions listed in the "Connections" segment of the reading. (This reading deals with a non-choice by a good person; a good choice by an evil person; a</p>	<p>4. Rogasky, Barbara. <i>Smoke and Ashes</i>. New York: Holiday House, 1988. 141-151.</p> <p>5. Block, Gay and Malka Drucker. <i>Rescuers: Portraits of Moral Courage in the Holocaust</i>. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1992. 33.</p> <p>6. Jens, Inge. <i>At the Heart of the White Rose: Letters and Diaries of Hans and Sophie Scholl</i>. New York: Harper & Row, 1987.</p> <p>7. Strom, Margot Stern, ed. "The Importance of Not Coming Too Late." <i>Facing History and Ourselves. Holocaust and Human Behavior</i>. Brookline, MA: Facing History and Ourselves National Foundation, Inc., 1994. (READING #19)</p> <p>8. Strom, Margot Stern, ed. "Choices." <i>Facing History and Ourselves. Holocaust and Human Behavior</i>. Brookline, MA: Facing History and Ourselves National Foundation, Inc., 1994. (READING #20)</p>

ISSUES OF CONSCIENCE AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>good and troublesome choice by a person who didn't think it was a choice; and evil choices by good people.)</p> <p>B. Define and asses the individual and collective responsibility for the Holocaust.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Define the term "responsibility." Then, complete the activity <i>Assessing and Defining Responsibility</i> which asks you to assume you were a judge who had to assess the level of responsibility for the Holocaust of a number of individuals listed. When finished, determine what punishment, if any, you would give to each person on the list. Share your responses and supporting arguments with a discussion group. 2. Discuss questions of guilt and responsibility of the Nazis. Present a play about individual responsibility. 3. Read the poem, <i>Riddle</i>, by William Heyen. This poem raises numerous issues about the concepts of conformity, silence and obedience on the part of people from various walks of life in Germany during the Holocaust. Use the excellent questions that accompany the reading for discussion or related assignments. 	<p>B. Resources for Section B:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Furman, Harry, Ed. "Assessing and Defining Responsibility." <i>The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience—An Anthology for Students</i>. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983. (SEE READING #1) 2. Wiesenthal, Simon. <i>The Sunflower</i>. New York: Schocken Books, 1998. 3. Heyen, William. "Riddle." Eds., M. Teichman and S. Leder. <i>Truth and Lamentation: Stories and Poems on the Holocaust</i>. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994. (READING #21)

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>4. Many corporate executives who were responsible for the production of Zyklon B (the gas used to kill people in the gas chambers) and the use of slave labor received light sentences after the war. They often lived to become very successful businessmen shortly after the war. Use the following questions as a basis for reflection and discussion:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do you feel about this historic fact? • How does this situation compare with the way we treat “white collar” crime in our own society? • Why do we find such attitudes towards “white collar” behavior? <p>5. Read the following written by Haim Ginott in his book <i>Teacher and Child</i> using the questions that follow as a basis for analysis and discussion: (<i>Note: This was referenced earlier in this unit.</i>)</p> <p><i>Dear Teacher:</i></p> <p><i>I am a survivor of a concentration camp. My eyes saw what no man should witness:</i></p> <p><i>Gas chambers built by LEARNED engineers</i></p> <p><i>Children poisoned by EDUCATED physicians</i></p> <p><i>Infants killed by TRAINED nurses</i></p> <p><i>Women and babies shot and burned by HIGH SCHOOL and COLLEGE graduates.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>(continued)</i></p>	<p>4a. Hogan, David J. Ed-in-Chief. “Holocaust Justice and the Cold War.” <i>The Holocaust Chronicle: A History in Words and Pictures</i>. Lincolnwood, Ill: Publications International Ltd., 2000. 660.</p> <p>4b. Ferencz, Benjamin. <i>Less Than Slaves: Jewish Forced Labor and the Quest for Compensation</i>. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978.</p> <p>5. Flaim, Richard F. and Edwin W. Reynolds, eds. “Rationale for Holocaust and Genocide Studies.” (cites the quotation from Haim Ginott). <i>The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience- A Curriculum Guide</i>. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983.</p>

ISSUES OF CONSCIENCE AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p><i>So I am suspicious of education. My request is: Help your students become human. Your efforts must never produce learned monsters, skilled psychopaths, educated Eichmanns. Reading, writing and arithmetic are important only if they serve to make our children more humane.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the author’s purpose? • Why does he emphasize certain words? • What is the main message of this letter? • How does this letter relate to the issue of assessing and defining responsibility for the Holocaust? • Whose responsibility is it to teach young people about individual responsibility and the need to respect all people? <p>6. Write an essay in which you discuss your feelings about individual and collective responsibility for the Holocaust.</p> <p>C. Review recent responses to the Holocaust from the Catholic Church and discuss their implications for the future of Christian-Jewish relations.</p> <p>1. <i>Speech of John Paul II: Visit to the Yad Vashem Museum.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Summarize the content and tone of Pope John Paul II’s message. 	<p>6. Student-generated essay.</p> <p>C. Resources for Section C:</p> <p>1. John Paul II. “Speech of John Paul II: Visit to the Yad Vashem Museum.” Jerusalem, Israel, 23 March 2000. (Reprinted in <i>SRT Endowment Update</i>. The Sister Rose Thering Endowment for Jewish-Christian Studies. West</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does this message represent any assumption of responsibility for the Holocaust? Explain. • Discuss the significance of this message for the future of Jewish and Christian relations. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. <i>Catholics Remember the Holocaust.</i> Read <i>We Remember: A Reflection on the Shoah</i>, the Holy See's Commission for Religious Relations With the Jews, March 1998, and the statements of Catholic bishops from many countries of the world. Discuss the implications. 3. Read <i>Asking the Jewish Community's Forgiveness</i> based upon the address by Archbishop Rembert Weakland of Milwaukee to a group of 400 at Congregation Shalom in Fox Point, Wisconsin, on November 7, 1999. What are the tone and the substance of the Archbishop's address? Discuss the implications of this address for the future of Catholic-Jewish relations. <p>D. Examine examples of the assumption of responsibility to the survivors of the Holocaust, both voluntary and court-ordered, by the German and other governments, and private businesses.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Read <i>Loss and Restitution and German Reparations</i>, and other sources from current literature and the Internet, and discuss the following questions: 	<p>Orange, NJ: Seton Hall University, Vol VI, No.3, Fall-Winter 2000. 5. (READING #22)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. <i>Catholics Remember the Holocaust.</i> Washington, D.C.: Secretariat for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs, National Conference of Catholic Bishops, 1998. (SEE READING #35) 3. "Asking The Jewish Community's Forgiveness." (Based upon address by Archbishop Rembert Weakland of Milwaukee, at Congregation Shalom in Fox Point, Wisconsin, November 7, 1999.) <i>Origins.</i> Vol 29, No 24. CDS. 25 Nov. 99. (READING #23) <p>D. Resources for Section D:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Hogan, David J. Ed-in-Chief. "Loss and Restitution," and "German Reparations." <i>The Holocaust Chronicle: A History in Words and Pictures.</i> Lincolnwood, Ill: Publications International Ltd., 2000. 688-694.

ISSUES OF CONSCIENCE AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are reparations? What is their purpose? • To whom did the West German government agree to pay reparations? When? Why was it not done earlier? <p>2. In addition to the devastating loss of family members, Holocaust survivors' losses included countless possessions such as bank accounts, stock holdings, insurance policies, stolen land, houses, buildings, businesses, jewelry and artworks. Complete the activity <i>Restitution and Responsibility to Survivors of the Holocaust: A Timeline of Events</i>. After reviewing the timeline, discuss with a group of peers the following questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To what degree do you believe each item in the timeline constitutes a significant form of restitution and assumption of responsibility for what happened to the victims of the Holocaust? • What are the limitations of such efforts? • Is there any way that survivors of the Holocaust can be justly compensated for their losses? Explain. 	<p>2. Flaim, Richard F. "Restitution and Responsibility to Survivors of the Holocaust." <i>The Holocaust and Genocide: The Betrayal of Humanity</i>. Trenton, NJ: N.J. Commission on Holocaust Education, 2003. Informed by David J. Hogan, ed.-in-chief. <i>The Holocaust Chronicle: A History in Words and Pictures</i>. Lincolnwood, Ill: Publications International, Ltd., 2000. 686-698. (READING #24)</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
<p>7. Students will evaluate the uniqueness and universality of the Holocaust.</p>	<p>A. Reflect upon the history of the Holocaust and the numerous historic genocides you have studied and complete the following activity:</p> <p>Over the years, historians and others have debated the question of whether the Holocaust should be viewed as a unique event or as an event that has universal implications. Given your study of the Holocaust and numerous genocides, reflect upon the following questions and enter your reactions in a journal or reflective essay:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the major characteristics of the Holocaust that distinguish it from other historic genocides? • Select several genocides that you have studied and discuss the major characteristics that distinguish each from all other genocides, including the Holocaust. • Are there any characteristics of the Holocaust and other historic genocides you have studied that are shared in common? Identify them and explain the commonalities. • Do the Holocaust and other genocides you have studied have any universal implications for people in the world today? If so, what are they? 	<p>A. Resources for Section A:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bauer, Yehuda. "Holocaust Questions." in <i>The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience-An Anthology for Students</i>. Harry Furman, ed. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983. (READING # 25) 2. Student-identified sources. 3. Bauer, Yehuda. <i>Rethinking the Holocaust</i>. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001. 4. Rosenbaum, Alan S., Israel Charny, Eds. <i>Is the Holocaust Unique?</i> New York: Westview Press, 1997.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
<p>8. Students will assess the reality of attempts at Holocaust denial and formulate appropriate responses to such attempts within the principles of a democratic society.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reflect upon the following resolution and write your reactions: <i>While the Holocaust shared some characteristics with other historic genocides, it remains an unprecedented and unique event in human history.</i> <p>A. Examine various examples of attempts at Holocaust denial and consider the effectiveness of various responses to such attempts.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Read <i>The Holocaust On Trial</i> and <i>British Court Hands Victory to Holocaust Author</i>, discuss each of the questions in #1 and complete three of the remaining activities in Section A: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What were David Irving’s charges against Deborah Lipstadt? • What three Holocaust issues were challenged by Irving? • What was Judge Gray’s finding? • Do you agree with the judge’s statement “that no objective, fair-minded historian would have serious cause to doubt that there were gas chambers at Auschwitz...?” • Other than Irving, identify five groups or persons who have been described as Holocaust deniers. 2. In October 1999, the college newspaper at Hofstra University in New York published an ad paid for by Bradley Smith in 	<p>A. Resources for Section A:</p> <p>NOTE: <i>The recommended activities, readings and other resources for this objective are drawn from The Hitler Legacy: A Dilemma of Hate Speech and Hate Crime in a Post-Holocaust World, Richard F. Flaim and Harry Furman, Editors. This document, published by the N.J. Commission on Holocaust Education in 2002 is available in its entirety from the Commission at the N.J. State Department of Education, CN 500, Trenton, NJ 08625, and is available online at www.holocaust@doe.nj.state</i></p> <p>1-10. Flaim, Richard F. and Harry Furman, eds. “Lesson 5: The Denial of History.” <i>The Hitler Legacy: A Dilemma of Hate Speech and Hate Crime in a Post-Holocaust World</i>. Trenton, NJ: N.J. Commission on Holocaust Education, 2002.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>The Denial Of History: Introduction and Essential Questions and Activities (READING #26)</i>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>which the historical reality of the Holocaust was questioned. Write a position paper in which you argue whether or not an editor of a college newspaper should agree to publish a paid ad that denies the reality of the Holocaust, or is openly anti-Semitic. What if it was an article submitted for publication?</p> <p>3. Fred Leuchter, who claims to be an engineer, believed he had scientific evidence to prove that gas chambers in concentration camps contained no residue of cyanide gas and thus could not have possibly been used to murder people. Although his theories have been accepted among Holocaust deniers, his theories have been disproved scientifically. (The documentary film <i>Mr. Death</i> is about this case.)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do you believe could be the motivation for someone to find scientific evidence to deny the reality of gas chambers in the death camps? • Do you believe Leuchter is aware that he is wrong in his assertions? Does he seek to manipulate the public or does he really believe his theories? <p>4. Robert Faurrison is a French writer who denies that there was a systematic plan of the Nazis to murder Jews. His ideas were so despised that some people believed his right to make such</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>The Holocaust On Trial</i> (READING #26) • <i>British Court Hands Victory to Holocaust Author</i> (READING #26) • <i>Mr. Death. The Rise and Fall of Fred A Leuchter, Jr.</i> 1 hr. 32 min., color. Videocassette. Prod./Dir. Errol Morris. PG 13. Lions Gate Films/ Independent Film Channel Productions, 2000.

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>statements should be restricted. Noam Chomsky, a prolific writer and professor at MIT, argued that, despite his despicable ideas, Faurrison should be permitted to say and write what he wanted. Discuss the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do you feel about this situation? • Do you believe there are any limits on what a person should be permitted to say? <p>5. The French philosopher Voltaire wrote the following: <i>I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it.</i> Do you agree with Voltaire? Explain why or why not.</p> <p>6. In a small group, discuss the following questions, then share your group's views with the class as a whole:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Should professors, scientists or writers who work for a public institution be limited in what they can say? • How would you react to a high school teacher who states that the Holocaust is a myth? That African-Americans are genetically inferior to whites? Or that women are genetically inferior to men? <p>7. Philosopher and writer Berel Lang has argued that Holocaust denial is an artful level of evil designed to murder the dead all</p>	

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>over again and, in so doing, to both erase the victims from history and assassinate their character and memory afresh. Discuss your reactions with the class.</p> <p>8. Some countries have very different policies toward Holocaust denial. For example, in April 2000, Dariusz Ratajczak, a Polish history professor, was fired by his university and was banned from teaching elsewhere for publishing the book <i>Dangerous Themes</i> that included an assertion that gas chambers were really intended to kill lice on prisoners. Polish law makes it a crime to publicly deny Nazi and Communist-era crimes. Write a brief essay expressing how you feel about Polish state policy toward Holocaust denial. If you agree with this policy, should the United States have a similar policy?</p> <p>9. In 1987, a French right-wing leader, Jean-Marie Le Pen caused an uproar in France when he referred to the Holocaust as a "detail in history." In response, a French court fined him 1.2 million francs for the remark. In 1997, Le Pen made the same comment and stated that history books would relegate the gas chambers to a few lines. Le Pen had won 15% of the vote in a campaign for the Presidency of France in 1993. Conduct research to determine why Le Pen received that much support.</p>	

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>10. Read <i>The Survivor's Dilemma</i>. Analyze and discuss the issues using the questions at the end of the story as a guide.</p> <p>11. Read <i>The Web of Hate: The University President's Dilemma</i>. Analyze and discuss the issues using the questions at the end of the story as a guide.</p> <p>B. Investigate the history of the Holocaust denial movement using the following questions as a guide. Report your findings to the class.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How does the denial movement relate to historical anti-Semitism? • In the United States, what are the First Amendment implications for Holocaust denial? • What will happen when there are no more survivors and liberators and when new generations are further removed from the Holocaust? 	<p>10. <i>The Survivor's Dilemma</i> (READING #26)</p> <p>11. Flaim, Richard F. and Harry Furman, Eds. "The Web of Hate: The University President's Dilemma." <i>The Hitler Legacy: A Dilemma of Hate Speech and Hate Crime in a Post-Holocaust World</i>. Trenton, NJ: N.J. Commission on Holocaust Education, 2002. (READING #27)</p> <p>B. Resources for Section B:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lipstadt, Deborah E. "The Antecedents: History and Conspiracy." <i>Denying the Holocaust: The History of the Revisionist Assault on the Truth and Memory</i>. New York: The Free Press, 1993. 31-50. 2. Lipstadt, Deborah E. <i>Beyond Belief: The American Press and the Coming of the Holocaust 1933-1945</i>. New York: The Free Press, 1986. 3. <i>Holocaust Denial: A Pocket Guide</i>. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1997. 4. <i>Hitler's Apologists: The Anti-Semitic Propaganda of Holocaust "Revisionism."</i> New York: Anti-Defamation League. 5. Stern, Kenneth S. <i>Holocaust Denial</i>. Millburn, NJ: American

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>C. Compare and contrast denier and anti-denier sites on the Internet. Report your findings to the class.</p> <p>D. Investigate and brainstorm ways to confront deniers of the Holocaust using the listed resources as a basis.</p>	<p>Jewish Committee, 1993. (Address: 225 Milltown Avenue, Millburn, NJ, 07041.) (READING #28)</p> <p>6. <i>Never to Forget</i>. 95 min. Videocassette, 1991. Available from Social Studies School Service. (The story of Mel Mermelstein, survivor of Auschwitz-Birkenau who was challenged by a hate group to prove in court that anyone was gassed in Auschwitz.)</p> <p>C. Resources for Section C:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Anti-Denier Site: www.nizkor.org 2. Denier Site: www.ihr.org <p>D. Resources for Section D:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Smith, B. "The Holocaust Controversy: The Case for an Open Debate." <i>Student Life</i>. Washington University, February 1992. 2. "They Claim that 6 Million Did Not Die." <i>Inside</i>. Winter 1994. 62. 3. Guttenplan, D. "Holocaust On Trial." <i>Atlantic Monthly</i>. February 2000. 45-66 4. Reich, W. "Unbelievable Horrors That Some Want to Deny." Sunday, 16 April 2000.

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
<p>9. Students will examine post-Holocaust persecution of Jews in Eastern Europe</p>	<p>E. Examine a case involving a denier of the Holocaust and a Holocaust historian After examining both sides carefully, present your findings in the form of a mock trial.</p> <p>A. Students will read and/or view selected segments of <i>Shoah</i> to examine post-Holocaust persecution and attitudes toward Jews in Eastern Europe. Discuss the following questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Does the testimony in <i>Shoah</i> indicate that anti-Semitism and/or anti-Jewish attitudes are no longer a problem in Eastern Europe? What evidence is there of anti-Semitism today? 	<p>5. Winkler. "How Scholars Should Respond to Assertions that the Holocaust Never Happened." 11 Dec. 1991.</p> <p>6. "Who Says It Never Happened?" Videocassette. <i>60 Minutes</i>. CBS</p> <p>7. Vidal-Nanquet, P. <i>Assassins of Memory: Essays on Denial of the Holocaust</i>. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.</p> <p>8. Podhoertz. N. "The Jews: Still Here and More." <i>The National Review</i>.</p> <p>E. Resources for Section E:</p> <p>http://www.thecouriermail.com.au/common/story_page/0.2294.5559761%255E954.00.html</p> <p>A. Resources for Section A:</p> <p>1. Lanzmann, Claude. <i>Shoah</i>. 570 min. Color/black and white. Videocassette. Paramount Home Videos.</p> <p>2. Lanzmann, Claude. <i>Shoah: An Oral History of the Holocaust-The Complete Text of the Film</i>. New York: Pantheon Books, 1985.</p> <p>3. Flaim, Richard F. and Harry Furman. "Education Section." <i>Shoah Companion Guide</i> (With Suggestions for Discussion Groups</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p><i>Note to the teacher:</i> WNET/Thirteen, New York, published <i>Shoah Companion Guide</i> that may be used for the development of lessons on the Holocaust. The applicability of this guide incorporates but goes beyond the scope of this one objective. The Education Section provides suggested lesson plans.</p> <p>B. <i>Escape from Sobibor</i> is a feature film that depicts the most successful escape from a death camp during World War II. The final segment of the film reveals what happened to the 48 who survived the war. Complete the following activities:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Prior to viewing the film, develop a hypothesis in which you describe what you believe happened to the survivors of Sobibor after the war. 2. View the final segment of <i>Escape from Sobibor</i> (the last 8-10 minutes). 3. Discuss what happened to the survivors and how this measured up to your hypothesis. <p>C. Read and discuss the pogrom in Kielce and connect this event to the Bricha movement and the fleeing of survivors to American Displaced Persons Camps.</p>	<p>and High School Lesson Plans). New York: WNET / Thirteen, Publishing Department. 1987. 22-24.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Rossel, Seymour. <i>The Holocaust, the World and the Jews, 1932-1945</i>. New York: Behrman House, 1992. <p>B. Resources for Section B:</p> <p><i>Escape from Sobibor</i>. 120 min /color. Videocassette. Perf. Alan Arkin, Joanna Pacula, Rutger Hauer. Social Studies School Service.</p> <p>C. Resources for Section C:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1a. Werner, Mark, ed. "Disillusionment and Departure." <i>Fighting Back: A Memoir of Jewish Resistance in World War II</i> by Harold Werner. New York:

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>1. In his memoir Harold Werner recounts the experience of Polish-Jewish survivors who returned to their towns in Poland following the war. Read <i>Disillusionment and Departure</i>, and write and discuss your responses to the following questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What common goal was shared by both Jewish and non-Jewish Polish partisans during the war? Was this a logical common goal? Explain. • What kind of welcome do you believe Polish Jewish survivors had a right to expect upon their return to their towns after the war? • How were they treated upon their return? Why do you believe this happened? • What options were left for the Polish Jews who attempted to reestablish their lives in their home towns after the war? What were the consequences of each of the options? Which option did Harold Werner pursue? <p>(Note: Harold Werner eventually settled in Vineland, NJ, where he and his wife Dorothy raised a family. He dictated his memoir to his wife from his hospital bed. Two weeks after he completed this work, he died on December 4, 1989, following a long illness.)</p>	<p>Columbia University Press, 1992. 232-235. (READING #29)</p> <p>1b. Szulc, Tad. <i>The Secret Alliance: The Extraordinary Story of the Rescue of the Jews Since World War II</i>. New York: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux, 1991. (See Chapters XIII, XIV and XV)</p> <p><i>The Long Way Home</i>. 116 minutes/color. Videocassette. Museum of Tolerance Book Store, Los Angeles, CA (Note: This video may be used to examine the variety of challenges and problems that Holocaust survivors experienced following their liberation.)</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
<p>10. Students will examine the impact of the Holocaust upon the post-Holocaust life of survivors, their children and their grand-children.</p>	<p>A. View any of the following videos or CD-Roms about the effects of the Holocaust on survivors and their families. Write your conclusions in a journal or essay and share your findings with the class.</p>	<p>A. Resources for Section A:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Fortunoff Archive of Videotaped Survivor Testimonies at Yale University. (Available on loan from the Holocaust Resource Center at the Richard Stockton College of New Jersey) 2. <i>Breaking the Silence</i>. 60 min., color. Videocassette. PBS. (Available from Anti-Defamation League) 3. <i>A Generation Apart</i>. 60 min., color. Videocassette. 4. <i>The Legacy: Children of Holocaust Survivors</i>. 23 min., color. Videocassette. (Available from Films Inc.) 5. <i>Survivors of the Holocaust</i>. 70 min., color. Videocassette. Turner Original Productions. (Available from Social Studies School Service.) 6. <i>Return to Life: The Story of the Holocaust Survivors</i>. CD-Rom/Windows. Yad Vashem, 1997. (Available from Social Studies School Service.) 7. <i>Survivors: Testimonies of the Holocaust</i>. CD-Rom. Steven Spielberg and Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation, hosted by Leonardo DiCaprio and Winona Ryder. (37 film testimonies, 75 audio segments, 7 interactive maps), 1997. (Available from Social Studies School Service.)

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>B. Examine readings and psychological studies of the experiences of survivors and their families.</p>	<p>B. Resources for Section B:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bar-On, Dan. <i>Fear and Hope: Three Generations of the Holocaust</i>. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995. 2. Berger, Alan L. <i>Children of Job: American Second Generation Witnesses to the Holocaust</i>. New York: State University of New York Press, 1997. 3. Braham, Randolph L., ed. <i>The Psychological Perspectives of the Holocaust and Its Aftermath</i>. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988. 4. Epstein, Helen. <i>Children of the Holocaust: Conversations with Sons and Daughters of Survivors</i>. New York: Penguin USA, 1988. 5. Felman, Shoshana and Dori Laub, M.D. <i>Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis and History</i>. New York: Routledge, 1992. 6. Hass, Aaron. <i>The Aftermath: Living with the Holocaust</i>. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996. 7. Hass, Aaron. <i>In the Shadow of the Holocaust: The Second Generation</i>. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996. 8. Langer, Lawrence L. <i>Holocaust Testimonies: The Ruins of</i>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>C. After viewing and reading studies about the effects of the Holocaust on survivors, their children and their grandchildren, develop a project to interview two or three generations of a survivor family.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Locate a survivor family (2 or 3 generations) willing to be interviewed. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ask for permission to audiotape, videotape and transcribe the testimonies. • Research the country, city, town, shtetl, ghetto or camp of origin of the interviewees as per that particular time period. 2. Interview generations separately using the following criteria: 	<p><i>Memory</i>. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 9. Sigal, John J. and Morton Weinfeld. <i>Trauma and Rebirth: Intergenerational Effects of the Holocaust</i>. Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc., 1989. 10. Spence, Donald P. <i>Narrative Truth and Historical Truth: Meaning and Interpretation in Psychoanalysis</i>. New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1982. 12. Rabinowitz, Dorothy. <i>New Lives: Survivors of the Holocaust and Living in America</i>. Avon, 1976. <p>C. Resources for Section C:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • See resources in Sections A and B, above. • See list of Holocaust Resource Centers at New Jersey colleges and universities in the Appendix to this guide.

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus main interest on the “life stories” narrated by the interviewees and if and how they parallel their “life histories” (chronology). • Look for a connection between the major life events they reveal and any traumatic external events. • Attempt to discover to what extent the interviewee maintains a family context while telling his/her life story in spite of any trauma he/she may have endured. <p>3. Focus attention on what is “told” and what is “untold.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Begin the interview with the survivor by asking, “Tell me about your life,” so as <u>not</u> to suggest that the response be structured verbally in relation only to the Holocaust. • Follow the same procedure with the second generation family members and then the third. • After the interviews, document whether they mentioned events similar or dissimilar to events related by the survivor. • Interviewers strive to determine what, if anything remains “untold.” <p>4. Being careful not to impose a theme upon the texts in advance, look for the after-effects of the Holocaust in the lives of the interviewees:</p>	

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Negative —fear, hate, helplessness, shame, guilt• Positive — hope; a belief in a better future despite what happened• Examine the “working through” process of the second (and possibly the third) generation to see if they have “reframed” any of their life stories.• Determine if the second generation has developed his/her own frame of reference independent of his/her parents and grandparents as they navigate between the first and third generations. <p>5. Transcribe and analyze texts to assess outcomes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The interviewer attempts to ascertain whether the reported historical fact/event is being retold by the interviewee accurately or honestly, and is being interpreted by the interviewer correctly.• Assess the importance of the historically true (accurate) narrative. When the interviewee gives an inaccurate date, does that invalidate or nullify the truth of the testimony?• The student analyst attempts to determine if too deeply “reading into” the meanings and interpretations of the interviewee risks obscuring the truth. How	

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>do interviewers avoid imposing their feelings and understanding upon the narrative?</p> <p>D. Read and discuss the following:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>The Legacy of the Holocaust Survivors</i>. ("The Legacy," written by Elie Wiesel, is an oath taken at the World Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors, Jerusalem, Israel, June 1981.) 2. <i>The Pledge of Acceptance of the Second Generation</i>. (Also presented at the World Gathering in Jerusalem, Israel in June 1981, it was read by six survivors and accepted by six children of survivors.) <p>E. Read the recommended sources and reflect upon the following:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What do the authors Prager and Berenbaum believe are the most powerful things to be learned from a study of the Holocaust? With which do you agree? Why? 2. In recent years, the Catholic Church has taken steps to improve relationships between Catholics and Jews. An important step has been its responses to the role of many Christians and the 	<p>D. Resources for Section D:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Wiesel, Elie. <i>The Legacy of the Holocaust Survivors</i>. Washington, D.C.: The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Reprinted with permission by American Gathering/Federation of Jewish Holocaust Survivors. (READING #30) 2. <i>The Pledge of Acceptance of the Second Generation</i>. Washington, D.C.: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Reprinted by permission of American Gathering/Federation of Jewish Holocaust Survivors. (READING #31) <p>E. Resources for Section E:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Prager, Dennis. "Lessons of Holocaust." <i>Ultimate Issues</i>. July-Sept. 1989. (READING #32) 2. Berenbaum, Michael. "The Afterword." <i>The World Must Know: The History of the Holocaust as Told in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum</i>. Boston, MA: Little,

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
<p>11. Students will reflect upon and demonstrate the meaning of their study of the Holocaust and genocides for their future and that of society.</p>	<p>Church before and during the Holocaust. After reading <i>The Bishops' Statements on the 50th Anniversary of the Liberation of Auschwitz</i> and <i>"We Remember: A Reflection of the Shoah</i>, to what extent do you believe these are significant statements? What impact do you believe such statements have on survivors and their families?</p> <p>A. At the conclusion of your study of the Holocaust and genocides, reflect upon the meaning of this study for you today and in the future, and for society as a whole. You may select one or more of the following activities as a way to demonstrate your personal insights:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. After completing a course on the Holocaust and genocides at your school, you learn that due to budget cuts the Board of Education has decided to eliminate several elective courses, among which is this course. You 	<p>Brown and Company, 1993. 220-223. (READING #33)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Lipscomb, Archbishop Oscar H. "Three Statements on the 50th Anniversary of the Liberation of Auschwitz." Washington, D.C.: National Conference of Catholic Bishops, 27 Jan 1995. (READING #34) 4. "We Remember: A Reflection on the Shoah—Holy See's Commission for Religious Relations With the Jews." Catholics Remember the Holocaust. Washington, D.C.: Secretariat for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs, United States Catholic Conference, 1998. (READING #35) (This source also contains a variety of responses from Catholic bishops around the world.) <p>A. Resources for Section A:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Student-generated resources.

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>have been asked by several classmates to appear before the Board of Education to express your views on this decision. Your presentation to the Board must take no longer than five minutes. Prepare a five- minute presentation in which you persuasively argue your position.</p> <p>2. Write a mission statement, generally one to four powerfully written paragraphs, in which you describe those beliefs and actions to which you are committed as a means of reducing prejudice during your lifetime.</p> <p>3. Write a series of poems that express the meaning of your study of the Holocaust and genocides to you and its implications for your and society's future.</p> <p>4. Create a painting, a series of sketches or a multimedia presentation that expresses the meaning of your study of the Holocaust and genocides to you and its implications for your and society's future.</p> <p>5. Now that you have completed (but certainly not finished) your study of the Holocaust and genocides, what are you willing to do to reduce prejudice within your family, in your school and in the community, and later with your own children? Be specific. Share your reflections with classmates in a small group. Develop a list of your group's</p>	<p>2. Student-generated resources.</p> <p>3. Student-generated resources.</p> <p>4. Student-generated resources.</p> <p>5. Student-generated resources.</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>ideas, post it on the wall and discuss it with the class. Compare your group's ideas with those of other groups. Conclude by discussing with the class the degree to which the suggested ideas can make a difference.</p> <p>6. Organize a panel discussion based upon student panelists' ideas of the best way to complete any or all of the following statements:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>The Holocaust differed from other genocides because...</i> • <i>While it is unique, the Holocaust shares some features with other genocides, such as....</i> • <i>The Holocaust could have been prevented if...</i> • <i>Understanding the role of the bystander in history is important because...</i> • <i>The Holocaust has meaning for society today because...</i> • <i>The Holocaust embodied a level of cruelty that is difficult for us to imagine, yet it also embodied examples of the human potential for decency. This leads me to believe that in our future...</i> • <i>The Holocaust could not have occurred without...</i> • <i>Jewish and non-Jewish resistance during the Holocaust demonstrates...</i> 	<p>6. Student-generated resources.</p>

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>If I could express my deepest feelings about the Holocaust to a survivor, I would say...</i> • <i>If I could express my deepest feelings about the Holocaust to a perpetrator (Hitler, member of the SS, ordinary German and collaborator, etc.), I would say...</i> • <i>If I could express my deepest feelings about the Holocaust to a bystander, I would say...</i> • <i>If I could express my deepest feelings about the Holocaust to a liberator, I would say...</i> • <i>If I could express my deepest feelings about the Holocaust to a denier of the Holocaust I would say...</i> • <i>Society still has not learned the real "lessons" of the Holocaust because...</i> • <i>A study of the Holocaust and genocides affected me in the following ways: ...</i> • <i>If I could change one thing to improve my study of the Holocaust and genocides, it would be...</i> • <i>The part of my study of the Holocaust and genocides that had the greatest impact on me was...</i> 	

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p><i>Note to the Teacher:</i> The incomplete statements above may also be used as a basis for student essays, small-group discussions or reflective entries in student journals.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7. Act out the playlet <i>It's Really True</i> and discuss its implications regarding our individual and collective responsibility to preserve and defend the truth regarding the Holocaust. 8. Write an essay on the importance of studying the Holocaust for today and the future. 9. Create a collage, painting, a series of sketches or a PowerPoint presentation that represents your impressions of the Holocaust that you believe should be remembered. 10. Prepare a school program for Yom Hashoah (Holocaust Remembrance Day Commemoration) as a way of culminating this phase of your study of the Holocaust. 11. Brainstorm and create a class list of all the reasons "Why the Holocaust must be studied." 12. Read the poem <i>The Broken Tree</i>, written by a fifth grade student. Respond to the questions at the conclusion of the reading. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7. Rabiner, Joni, Ari Kaufmann, Jordan Barry and Philip Paul. <i>It's Really True</i>. Written by students of the SJCC, Summit, NJ. READING #36) 8. Student-generated resources. 9. Student-generated resources 10. Littell, Marcia Sachs, Ed. <i>Liturgies on the Holocaust: An Interfaith Anthology</i>. Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellon Press, 1986. 11. Student-generated resources. 12. Steier, Jessica Brooke. "The Broken Tree." <i>What The Lessons of the Holocaust Mean To Me...</i> Submitted as a fifth grade assignment to her teacher, Mrs. Broslaw, at Elementary School P.S. 195 in New York City, February 1997. (READING #37)

ISSUES OF CONSCIENCE AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>13. Write your responses to the following questions, adapted from <i>What We Must Learn from the Holocaust</i>, and be prepared to defend your opinions in a class discussion:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What did you learn about yourself and about humanity by studying the Holocaust? Should schools continue to teach the Holocaust to high school students today? Why or why not? • Could a Holocaust or its equivalent happen today or in the near future? Why or why not? Does memory or history serve to make the world more humane? Do recent events prove that the world has not forgotten? Has forgotten? • What forces are essential to develop attitudes free of inhumane and barbarous actions on the part of individuals or nations? • Elie Wiesel once said that anyone who witnesses an atrocity, or an act of inhumanity, and does nothing to stop it, is just as guilty as the person committing the act. Those who know and remain silent are guilty of the same offense. To stand by silently is to participate in the crime. Do you agree with Elie Wiesel's judgment? Explain your position. 	<p>13. Hogue, Donald R. "What We Must Learn from the Holocaust." <i>Night: Curriculum Unit</i>. Rocky River, OH:: The Center for Learning, 1993. 75-76.</p>

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
	<p>14. Read <i>"And You?"</i> and discuss the questions in the "Connections" section of the reading.</p> <p>15. Read <i>I Want</i>. Discuss the self-discoveries made by David Bergman and their application to yourself and today's world.</p> <p>16. In a small group, read each of the following in order, and discuss the meaning of each as it relates both to your study of the Holocaust and to your life now and in the future:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Destiny</i> • <i>A Champion's Creed</i> • <i>The Man in the Glass</i> • <i>I Shall Pass Through This Life But Once....</i> 	<p>14. Strom, Margot Stern, Ed. <i>"And You?" Facing History and Ourselves: Holocaust and Human Behavior</i>. Brookline, MA: Facing History and Ourselves Foundation, Inc., 1994. 232-233. (READING #38)</p> <p>15. Bergman, David. "I Want." <i>The Holocaust: A Teenager's Experience</i>. Niles, IL: Remembrance Educational Media, United Learning, 1991. (READING #39)</p> <p>16. See (READING #40)</p>

ISSUES OF CONSCIENCE AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS/RESOURCES
<p>12. Students will reevaluate their previous generalizations about human nature.</p>	<p>A. Given your study of the Holocaust, and the related issues of conscience and moral responsibility in this unit, reevaluate and, if warranted, revise your previous generalization about human behavior. As you reflect upon your view of human nature, consider the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What does your view of human nature reveal about your hope for humanity? • In what ways has your generalization about human nature changed as a result of your study of the Holocaust? Why do you think this happened? • Do you believe it is possible for human beings to be optimistic about the future of inter-group relations in the United States and around the world? • What do you believe you, as an individual, can do in your life to promote the kind of values that can make a positive difference for humanity? 	<p>A. Resources for Section A:</p> <p>Students' previous essays in which they articulated their view of human nature.</p>

READINGS INCLUDED IN UNIT VII

- | Reading# | Title/Reference |
|-----------------|---|
| 1. | Furman, Harry, Ed. "Assessing and Defining Responsibility." <i>The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience—An Anthology for Students</i> . New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983. |
| 2. | Ginott, Haim G. "Letter to a Teacher." <i>Teacher and Child</i> . New York: Macmillan, 1972, in Harry Furman, ed. <i>The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience: An Anthology for Students</i> . New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983. |
| 3. | Furman, Harry, Ed. "Nazi Leadership." <i>The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience—An Anthology for Students</i> . New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983. |
| 4. | Strom, Margot Stern, ed. "Do You Take the Oath?" Reading #20. <i>Facing History and Ourselves: Holocaust and Human Behavior</i> . Brookline, MA: Facing History and Ourselves National Foundation, Inc. 1994. |
| 5. | "The War Trials: Judgment at Nuremberg." <i>The Limits of War: National Policy and World Conscience</i> . Middletown, CT: Xerox Corporation, 1978. 12-33. |
| 6. | Furman, Harry, ed. "The Nuremberg War Crimes Trial." <i>The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience—An Anthology for Students</i> . New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983. |
| 7. | Strom, Margot Stern, ed. "Judgment." <i>Facing History and Ourselves: Holocaust and Human Behavior</i> . Brookline, MA: Facing History and Ourselves Foundation, Inc., 1994. |
| 8. | Moricca, Susan J. and Arlene Shenkus. <i>The Gathering: A Study Guide</i> . (In Press) |
| 9. | Rubenstein, Richard L. "I.G. Farben." <i>The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience—An Anthology for Students</i> . Harry Furman, ed. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983. |
| 10. | Golden, Juliet D. "Senate Throws Weight Behind Restitution Bill." <i>Warsaw Business Journal</i> . 30 Jan 2001. |
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| 12. | Papanek, Ernst. "Why Me?" <i>Images from the Holocaust: A Literature Anthology</i> . Jean E. Brown, Elaine C. Stephens and Janet E. Rubin, eds. Lincolnwood, Ill: National Textbook Company, 1997. |
| 13. | Furman, Harry, ed. "Heir of the Holocaust." <i>The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience—An Anthology for Students</i> . New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983. |

ISSUES OF CONSCIENCE AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY

14. Wicks, Ben. "Exodus 47." *Dawn of the Promised Land*. New York: Disney Press, 1998.
- 15-16. Dan, Uri. "November 29, 1947," and "The Arab Flight." *To the Promised Land*. New York: Doubleday, 1997.
17. Eisenberg, Azriel and Leah Ain-Globe, eds. *Home At Last*. New York: Block Publishing, 1977.
18. Eban, Abba. "Proclamation of the State of Israel." *My People*. New York: Random House, 1988.
19. Strom, Margot Stern, ed. "The Importance of Not Coming Too Late." *Facing History and Ourselves. Holocaust and Human Behavior*. Brookline, MA: Facing History and Ourselves National Foundation, Inc., 1994.
20. Strom, Margot Stern, Ed. "Choices." *Facing History and Ourselves. Holocaust and Human Behavior*. Brookline, MA: Facing History and Ourselves National Foundation, Inc., 1994.
21. Heyen, William. "Riddle." Eds., M. Teichman and S. Leder. *Truth and Lamentation: Stories and Poems on the Holocaust*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994.
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- 888 23. "Asking The Jewish Community's Forgiveness." (Based upon address by Archbishop Rembert Weakland of Milwaukee, at Congregation Shalom in Fox Point, Wisconsin, November 7, 1999.) *Origins*. Vol 29, No 24. CDS. 25 Nov. 99.
24. Flaim, Richard F. "Restitution and Responsibility to Survivors of the Holocaust." *The Holocaust and Genocide: The Betrayal of Humanity*, Trenton, NJ: The NJ Commission on Holocaust Education, 2003. Informed by David J. Hogan, ed.-in-chief. *The Holocaust Chronicle: A History in Words and Pictures*. Lincolnwood, Ill: Publications International, Ltd., 2000. 686-698.
25. Bauer, Yehuda. "Holocaust Questions." in *The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience-An Anthology for Students*. Harry Furman, ed. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983.
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- *The Denial Of History* (Flaim and Furman)
 - *The Holocaust On Trial* from: <http://channel14.co.v/c/nextstep/holocaust/denial.htm>
 - *British Court Hands Victory to Holocaust Author* by Bert Roughton, Jr., Cox Newspapers, Washington Bureau, 12 April 2000.
 - *The Survivor's Dilemma* (Flaim and Furman)
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36. Rabiner, Joni, Ari Kaufmann, Jordan Barry and Philip Paul. *It's Really True*. Written by students of the SJCC, Summit, NJ
37. Steier, Jessica Brooke. "The Broken Tree." *What The Lessons of the Holocaust Mean To Me...* Submitted as a fifth grade assignment to her teacher, Mrs. Broslaw, at Elementary School P.S. 195 in New York City, February 1997.
38. Strom, Margot Stern, Ed. "And You?" *Facing History and Ourselves: Holocaust and Human Behavior*. Brookline, MA: Facing History and Ourselves Foundation, Inc., 1994. 232-233.
39. Bergman, David. "I Want." *The Holocaust: A Teenager's Experience*. Niles, IL: Remembrance Educational Media, United Learning, 1991.
40. Closing Activities:
 - *Destiny*
 - *A Champion's Creed*
 - *The Man in the Glass*
 - *I Shall Pass Through This Life But Once*, by Etienne de Grellet

ASSESSING AND DEFINING RESPONSIBILITY

As best you can, define what the term “responsibility” means to you. Now list ten “responsibilities” you see yourself having.

If you were a judge, how would you assess the “responsibility” of these people for what happened in the world between 1933 and 1945? Indicate one of the following:

1. Not responsible
2. Minimally responsible
3. Responsible
4. Very responsible

What penalty, if any, could you foresee yourself giving to each of them?

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- | | |
|---|---|
| ___ 1. Adolf Hitler, Chancellor of Germany | ___ 16. A person who always respectfully gave the “Heil Hitler” salute |
| ___ 2. One of Hitler’s direct subordinates, such as Heinrich Himmler or Joseph Goebbels | ___ 17. A person who served as a concentration camp guard |
| ___ 3. A German who voluntarily joined Hitler’s special elite, the SS | ___ 18. A person who turned the lever to allow the gas into the chambers |
| ___ 4. A German industrialist who financially supported Hitler’s rise to power and continued to support him verbally | ___ 19. A driver of the trains that went to the concentration camps |
| ___ 5. A judge who carried out Hitler’s decrees for sterilization of the “mentally incompetent” and internment of “traitors” | ___ 20. A diplomat for the Nazi government |
| ___ 6. A doctor who participated in sterilizations of Jews | ___ 21. The American Government which limited emigration of Jews to the United States in the 1930s |
| ___ 7. A worker in a plant producing Zyklon B gas | ___ 22. The “little guy” who claimed “he doesn’t get involved in politics” and thus went about his business as quietly as he could in the Hitler regime |
| ___ 8. The Pope who made no public statement against Nazi policy | ___ 23. The soldier who carried out orders to roust Jews from their homes for “evacuation and resettlement” |
| ___ 9. An industrialist who made enormous profits by producing Zyklon B gas | ___ 24. The German couple who took up residence in a home evacuated by Jews |
| ___ 10. A manufacturer who used concentration camp inmates as slave labor in his plants | ___ 25. The Christian who took over a store just abandoned by Jews |
| ___ 11. American industrialists who helped arm Hitler in the 1930s for their own profit | ___ 26. The German who refused all pleas to participate in hiding and smuggling of Jews |
| ___ 12. A person who voluntarily joined the Nazis in the 1930s | ___ 27. The policemen who helped round up escaping Jews |
| ___ 13. A person who agreed to publicly take the Civil Servant Loyalty Oath (swearing eternal allegiance to Adolf Hitler in 1934) | ___ 28. A teacher who taught Nazi propaganda in the schools |
| ___ 14. A person who complied with the law excluding Jews from economic and social life | ___ 29. Children who joined the Hitler Youth |
| ___ 15. A person who regularly and enthusiastically attended Hitler rallies | ___ 30. Parents who sent or allowed their children to attend Hitler Youth meetings |

LETTER TO A TEACHER

Haim Ginott

Dear Teacher:

I am a survivor of a concentration camp. My eyes saw what no man should witness:

Gas chambers built by LEARNED engineers

Children poisoned by EDUCATED physicians

Infants killed by TRAINED nurses

Women and babies shot and burned by HIGH SCHOOL and COLLEGE graduates.

So I am suspicious of education.

My request is: Help your students become human. Your efforts must never produce learned monsters, skilled psychopaths, educated Eichmanns.

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Reading, writing, and arithmetic are important only if they serve to make our children more humane.

Haim Ginott—Teacher and Child

NAZI LEADERSHIP

Harry Cargas, in his book, *A Christian Response to the Holocaust*, asks: “Who were the architects who designed the ovens into which people were delivered for cremation? Who meticulously executed the plans for the efficient gas chambers into which naked men, women and children were herded to die? Who originated the design for the camps, those models of economical, technological destruction? Which firms bid on the contracts to build the camps, the gas chambers, the ovens? Who bribed whom to win the coveted contracts, to pin the chance to make a profit and serve the Fuehrer by erecting houses of death and torture? Which doctors performed experiments on Jewish victims? Who shaved their heads, and all bodily hairs, to gain materials for cloth and rugs? We’ve heard of lampshades made from Jewish skins, of “enforcers” throwing Jewish victims—most of them dead, but not all—into huge pits, of brutal guards crushing Jewish babies’ skulls with rifle butts, and shooting aged and unhealthy Jews who couldn’t keep up on forced marches, and forcing naked Jews to stand for hours in freezing weather for either convenience or amusement. Who were these tormentors? What of the train engineers who guided the cattle cars packed with starving, dying, dead Jews to their locales of interment? And what of the ordinary citizens of many European nations who, as the death trains passed through their communities, would throw bits of bread into the cattle cars to be entertained by watching famished Jews fight over the food in an agonizing display of attempt at survival?” (pgs. 3-4)

The following is a short list of the occupational backgrounds of some leading Nazis. An operation as immense as the efficient process of murder demanded the services of many educated people.

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Name	Age in 1933 (Beginning of Third Reich)	Profession	Position in Reich
Hans Frank	33	lawyer	Governor General of Poland; in Einsatzgruppe
Franz Six	24	professor of political science	Anti-Semitic expert; in Einsatzgruppe
Helmut Knochen	23	professor of literature	Colonel, SS; Commander of Security Police, Paris, 1940-44
Otto Ohlendorf	26	economist; doctorate in jurisprudence	In Einsatzgruppe
Roland Freisler	40	lawyer; summa cum laude at Jena	President of the People’s Court of Berlin, 1942-45; the “hanging judge”; at Wannsee Conference
Joachim Mugrowski	28	professor of bacteriology	Head of SS Health Dept
Paul Blobel	—	architect	In Einsatzgruppe
Ernst Biberstein	34	Protestant pastor	In Einsatzgruppe; Blobel’s colleague
Richard Korheer	30	statistician	Himmler’s Institute for Statistics; devout Catholic

Source: Furman, Harry, Ed. “Nazi Leadership.” *The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience An Anthology for Students*. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983.

Name	Age in 1933 (Beginning of Third Reich)	Profession	Position in Reich
Karl Brandt	29	physician	Hitler's private surgeon; conducted medical experiments in camps
Karl Clauberg	35	physician	Sterilized women at Auschwitz and Ravensbruck
Leonard Conti	33	physician	Reich "Health" leader; wrote books on racist medicine; interested in artificial insemination; director of German Red Cross
Franz Gurtner	52	lawyer	Reich Minister of Justice; originator of "Night and Fog Decree" of Dec 7, 1941 allowing Nazis to seize persons "endangering German security"
Johan von Leers	31	lawyer	Nazi propagandist
Walter Schellenberg	33	lawyer	Number 2 man in Gestapo after Himmler
Kurt Becher	24	grain salesman	SS Colonel; assistant to Himmler; head of SS horse purchasing commission; later directed to conduct negotiations to exchange Jews for money.
Robert Mulka	—	businessman	Death camp commandant at Auschwitz
Robert Ley	43	chemist	Head of German Labor Front
Victor Bracke	28	student of economics	Helped set up camps in Poland
Ludwig Muller	50	Evangelical theologian	Reich Bishop 1933-35; confidante on church-state problems
Josef Mengele	22	physician; degrees in philosophy and medicine	"Medical experiments" at Auschwitz; responsible for "selection" in the death camp
Karl Gebhardt	35	physician	Conducted "medical experiments" at Ravensbruck
Victor Capesius	26	physician	Headed camp pharmacy at Auschwitz
Werner Best	30	lawyer	First legal advisor to SD and Gestapo
Hans Globke	35	lawyer	Helped frame Nuremberg laws of 1935; high official in Minister of Interior
Kurt Lischka	23	law student at Breslau	Ran Compiègne, a concentration camp in France; head of Secret Police in Paris
Otto Ambros	—	chemist	Top I.G. Farben executive; expert on Buna and poison gas at I.G. Farben at Auschwitz
Albert Speer	28	architect	Minister of Armaments and War Production

Unit VII: READING #3

Name	Age in 1933 (Beginning of Third Reich)	Profession	Position in Reich
August Hirt	35	anthropologist and surgeon	SS Director of Anatomical Research; studied skulls
Gregor Ebner	–	physician	Head of Lebensborn program
Herta Oberhauser	–	physician	She gave lethal injections to women at Ravensbruck
Willi Frank	30	physician	Chief of Dental Station at Auschwitz
Bernhart Rost	40	secondary school	Reich Minister of Science, teacher Education and Culture
Waldemar Klingelhofer	–	professional opera singer	In Einsatzgruppe
Alfred Rosenberg	40	educated as engineer	Hon. General, SS; writer of numerous books
Fritz Todt	42	construction engineer	Reich Minister of Armaments and Munitions; chief engineer in charge of construction at I.G. Farben Works at Auschwitz
Ernst Grawitz	34	physician	Chief of SS medical service; head of German Red Cross
Gerhart Wagner	45	physician	One of the originators of the Euthanasia program
Sigmund Rascher	24	physician	Did “freezing” experiments at Dachau
Wilhelm Frick	56	lawyer	Reich Minister of the Interior, close friend of Hitler
Ernst Kaltenbrunner	30	lawyer	Chief of the SD
Otto Thierach	44	lawyer	Reich Minister of Justice 1942-45
Heinz Kammler	–	construction engineer	Head of SS Works Dept; built gas chambers at Auschwitz
Fritz Reinhardt	38	schoolmaster	Leader of Nazi party school for orators
Arthur Seyss-Inquart	41	lawyer	Reich Commissioner for the Netherlands
Hermann Behrends	26	lawyer	First leader of Berlin SD; major general in SS
Richard Gluecks	44	businessman	Head of Concentration Camp Inspectorate
Herbert Linden	–	physician	Member of Health Dept; commissioner of all insane asylums in Germany

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Source: Furman, Harry, Ed. “Nazi Leadership.” *The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience An Anthology for Students*. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983.

Name	Age in 1933 (Beginning of Third Reich)	Profession	Position in Reich
Erwin Weimann	—	physician	Under Blobel in Einsatzgruppen; former commander of Security Police and SD in Prague
Alfred Baeumler	46	professor, University of Berlin	Academic philosopher of the Reich
Dieter Allers	—	lawyer	Appointed chief administrator of T4 (Euthanasia Program)
Albert Hartl	—	Roman Catholic Priest	Member SS; appointed Chief of Church Information at the Reich Security Office
Hans Lammers	54	lawyer; jurist	Reich Minister and State Secretary of the Chancellory; expert on constitutional law; served during the Weimar Republic
Oswald Pohl	41	economist	Head of Economic Administration of the SS (WVHA)
Fritz Ter Meer	—	scientist, held doctorate	Chief executive of I.G. Farben
Walter Duerrfeld	—	engineer	Chief engineer of construction at I.G. Farben at Auschwitz

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What kinds of occupations are listed? What preliminary conclusions might be drawn about the average age of many Nazi leaders? Does this surprise you?
2. As indicated here, what occupations were represented in the Einsatzgruppen?
3. Does an "educated" professional like a medical doctor or a lawyer have any special responsibility to people or to society?
4. How do you think the professional skills of these people were used to carry out Nazi policy?
5. What values should an educated person have? What values should an uneducated person have?

DEFINITIONS

SS: Political police, later also assigned the duty of administering the concentration and death camps

SD: the intelligence branch of the SS

DO YOU TAKE THE OATH?

Soldiers were not the only ones required to take the new oath. A German recalled the day he was asked to pledge loyalty to the regime.

I was employed in a defense plant (a war plant, of course, but they were always called defense plants). That was the year of the National Defense Law, the law of "total conscription." Under the law I was required to take the oath of fidelity. I said I would not; I opposed it in conscience. I was given twenty-four hours to "think it over." In those twenty-four hours I lost the world...

You see, refusal would have meant the loss of my job, of course, not prison or anything like that. (Later on, the penalty was worse, but this was only 1935.) But losing my job would have meant that I could not get another. Wherever I went I would be asked why I left the job I had, and when I said why, I would certainly have been refused employment. Nobody would hire a "Bolshevik." Of course, I was not a Bolshevik, but you understand what I mean.

I tried not to think of myself or my family. We might have got out of the country, in any case, and I could have got a job in industry or education somewhere else.

What I tried to think of was the people to whom I might be of some help later on, if things got worse (as I believed they would). I had a wide friendship in scientific and academic circles, including many Jews, and "Aryans," too, who might be in trouble. If I took the oath and held my job, I might be of help, somehow, as things went on. If I refused to take the oath, I would certainly be useless to my friends, even if I remained in the country. I myself would be in their situation.

The next day, after "thinking it over," I said I would take the oath with the mental reservation, that, by the words with which the oath began, "*Ich schwore bei gott*," "I swear by God," I understood that no human being and no government had the right to override my conscience. My mental reservations did not interest the official who administered the oath. He said, "Do you take the oath?" and I took it. That day the world was lost, and it was I who lost it.

First of all, there is the problem of the lesser evil. Taking the oath was not so evil as being unable to

help my friends later on would have been. But the evil of the oath was certain and immediate, and the helping of my friends was in the future and therefore uncertain. I had to commit a positive evil there and then, in the hope of a possible good later on. The good outweighed the evil; but the good was only a hope, the evil a fact.... The hope might not have been realized—either for reasons beyond my control or because I became afraid later on or even because I was afraid all the time and was simply fooling myself when I took the oath in the first place.

But that is not the important point. The problem of the lesser evil we all know about; in Germany we took Hindenburg as less evil than Hitler, and in the end, we got them both. But that is not why I say that Americans cannot understand. No, the important point is—how many innocent people were killed by the Nazis, would you say?... Shall we say, just to be safe, that three million innocent people were killed all together?... And how many innocent lives would you like to say I saved?... Perhaps five, or ten, one doesn't know. But shall we say a hundred, or a thousand, just to be safe?... And it would be better to have saved all three million, instead of only a hundred, or a thousand? There, then, is my point. If I had refused to take the oath of fidelity, I would have saved all three million....

There I was, in 1935, a perfect example of the kind of person who, with all his advantages in birth, in education, and in position, rules (or might easily rule) in any country. If I had refused to take the oath in 1935, it would have meant that thousands and thousands like me, all over Germany, were refusing to take it. Their refusal would have heartened millions. Thus the regime would have been overthrown, or, indeed, would never have come to power in the first place. The fact that I was not prepared to resist, in 1935, meant that all the thousands, hundreds of thousands, like me in Germany were also unprepared, and each one of these hundreds of thousands was, like me, a man of great influence or of great potential influence. Thus the world was lost....

These hundred lives I saved—or a thousand or ten as you will—what do they represent? A little something out of the whole terrible evil, when, if my faith had been strong enough in 1935, I could have

The fact that I was not prepared to resist, in 1935, meant that all the thousands, hundreds of thousands, like me in Germany were also unprepared, and each one of these hundreds of thousands was, like me, a man of great influence or of great potential influence. Thus the world was lost.

prevented the whole evil.... My faith, I did not believe that I could "remove mountains." The day I said "No," I had faith. In the process of "thinking it over," in the next twenty-four hours, my faith failed me. So, in the next ten years, I was able to remove only anthills, not mountains.

My education did not help me, and I had a broader and better education than most men have had or ever will have. All it did, in end, was to enable me to rationalize my failure of faith more easily than I might have done if I had been ignorant. And so it was, I think, among educated men generally, in that time in Germany. Their resistance was no greater than other men's.

Not everyone was willing to take the oath. Among those who refused was Ricarda Huch, a poet and writer. She resigned from the prestigious Prussian Academy of Arts with this letter.

That a German should feel German, I should take almost for granted. But there are different opinions about what is German and how German-ness is to be expressed. What the present regime prescribes as national sentiment, is not my German-ness. The centralization, the compulsion, the brutal methods, the defamation of people who think differently, the boastful self-praise I regard as un-German and unhealthy. Possessing a philosophy that varies so radically from that prescribed by the state I find it impossible to remain one of its academicians. You say that the declaration submitted to me by the Academy would not hinder

me in the free expression of my opinion. Apart from the fact that "loyal collaboration in the national cultural tasks assigned in accordance with the Academy's statutes and in the light of the changed historical circumstances" requires an agreement with the government's programme that I do not feel, I would find no journal or newspaper that would print an oppositional view. Therefore, the right to express one's opinions freely remains mired in theory... I herewith declare my resignation from the Academy.

Huch could not publicize her stand by publishing her letter. She lived in Germany throughout the Nazi era as a silent dissenter in "internal exile."

CONNECTIONS

What did the man mean when he said his education failed him? That "no human being and no government had the right to override my conscience?" Did he have a conscience—that is, did he know right from wrong? If so, did his conscience also fail him? Milton Mayer wrote that there was a time in Nazi Germany when teachers could have made different decisions. Why was the decision of most teachers to take and obey the new oath to Hitler a crucial step toward totalitarianism?

What is the "problem of the lesser evil"? Find examples of it in this reading and in other readings in this chapter. Look for examples in your own experience.

Compare the decisions described in this reading with those detailed in earlier readings. What issues influenced each decision? What values and beliefs? The man quoted in this reading states, "I had to commit a positive evil there and then, in the hope of a possible good later on." Do you agree? Is it possible to distinguish among evils? Who today face similar dilemmas? How are those dilemmas resolved?

What is "silent dissenter"? "Internal exile?" How meaningful is either?

JUDGMENT AT NUREMBERG

In 1945 Nazi leaders were tried for their involvement in Germany's master plan to dominate Europe and exterminate the Jews.

BALD, bullet-headed Julius Streicher glared at his accusers from the prisoner's dock in the crowded Nuremberg courtroom.

"They are crucifying me now, I can tell," he said. "Three of the judges are Jews. I know because I can recognize blood. Three of them get uncomfortable when I look at them. I can tell. I've been studying race for 20 years. I'm an authority on that subject..."

Streicher had, indeed, been regarded as an authority by Adolf Hitler. And as one of Hitler's leading advocates of racial hate during the years of Nazi rule in Germany, he had done much to spark the bitterness that led to the wholesale murder of more than 12 million men, women, and children-half of them Jews.

Nazi leaders, exploiting longstanding anti-Jewish feelings, had blamed the Jewish people for Germany's humiliating defeat in World War I and for the economic depression that followed.

Now, in November of 1945, Germany lay defeated by the United States, England, the Soviet Union, France, and their Allies. Hitler and some of his aides were dead. Streicher and 21 others were captured by the Allies and were facing trial before an international tribunal in the Palace of Justice in Nuremberg, Germany.

They stood accused not only of the murder of millions of Jews but also of "aggressive war" and a "master plan" to rule other nations by force and terror.

With Streicher were such Nazi leaders as Hermann Goring, former German air force chief; Joachim von Ribbentrop, Hitler's foreign minister; Alfred Jodl, army chief of staff; and Nazi political leaders such as Rudolf Hess and Hans Frank...men whom an American prosecutor called "living symbols of racial hatreds, of terrorism and violence, and of the arrogance and cruelty of power."

The trial of these men was to become a model for later trials of about 10,000 other Germans.

Throughout the war, as reports of Nazi atrocities mounted, the Allies promised that Germans would be held accountable for war crimes, and this became a major goal.

With victory, war-weary peoples of the world

demanded swift action against war criminals. "Line them up and shoot them" was a common suggestion. "No, shooting is too good for them," others insisted. And some suggested cynically that captured Nazi leaders should be given a fair trial and then shot. But it was decided that an International Tribunal should be held for the sake of justice and so that the deeds of Nazi Germany might be fully documented and permanently recorded for the world.

UNITED STATES Supreme Court justice Robert Jackson chief American prosecutor, had outlined the scope and purposes of the trials in a report to President Roosevelt months earlier "Our case against the major defendants is concerned with the Nazi master plan not with individual barbarities and perversions which occurred independently of any central plan. The grounds of our case must be...authentic and constitute a well-documented history of what we are convinced was a grand, concerted pattern to incite and commit the aggressions and barbarities which have shocked the world..."

An agreement signed in London on August 8, 1945, by representatives of the four powers defined the crimes falling under the Tribunal's jurisdiction:

1. Conspiracy: Leaders, organizers, instigators, and accomplices in the formulation or execution of a common plan, or Conspiracy, to commit any of the following crimes are responsible for all acts performed by any persons in execution of such plan.
2. Crimes Against Peace: Planning and waging of a war of aggression or a war in violation of international agreements....
3. War Crimes: Violations of the laws or customs of war, including murder, mistreatment or enslavement of civilians in occupied territories or at sea. Mistreatment of prisoners of war, and destruction of public or private property not justified by military necessity.
4. Crimes Against Humanity: Murder, mistreatment enslavement, or deportation

of civilians before and during the war, also, political, racial, or religious persecutions, whether or not in violation of domestic law of the country where it was practiced. (War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity overlap.)

Eight judges were to try the Nazis—two judges from each of the four Allied powers. (none of them was Jewish, as Streicher charged.)

DAYS BEFORE Streicher's emotional and bitter outburst, Justice Jackson had presented a more objective view of the proceedings in his opening statement for the United States.

While the world press watched and listened, while interpreters sat ready to feed the microphones with German, French, Russian, and English versions of the proceedings, Justice Jackson began: "The privilege of opening the first trial in history for crimes against the peace of the world imposes a grave responsibility. The wrongs which we seek to condemn and punish have been so calculated, so malignant, and so devastating, that civilization cannot tolerate their being ignored because it cannot survive their being repeated. That four great nations, flushed with victory and stung with injury, stay the hand of vengeance and voluntarily submit their captive enemies to the judgment of the law is one of the most significant tributes that Power ever has paid to Reason...."

"THIS INQUEST represents the practical effort of four of the most mighty of nations, with the support' of fifteen more, to utilize International Law to meet the greatest menace of our times—aggressive war. The common sense of mankind demands that law shall not stop with the punishment of petty crimes by little people. It must also reach men who possess themselves of great power and make deliberate and concerted use of it to set in motion national evils which leave no home in the world untouched..."

"In the prisoner's dock sit twenty-odd broken men. Reproached by the humiliation of those they have led almost as bitterly as by the desolation of those they have attacked, their personal capacity for evil is forever past. It is hard now to perceive in these miserable men as captives, the power by which, as Nazi leaders they once dominated much of the world and terrified most of it. Merely as individuals, their fate is of little consequence to the world.

"What makes this inquest significant is that these prisoners represent sinister influences that will lurk in the world long after their bodies have returned to dust. They are living symbols of racial hatreds, of terrorism and violence, and of the

arrogance and cruelty of power. They are symbols of fierce nationalisms and of militarism, of intrigue and war making which have embroiled Europe generation after generation, crushing its manhood, destroying its homes, and impoverishing its life. They have so identified themselves with the philosophies they conceived and with the forces they directed that any tenderness to them is a victory and an encouragement to all the evils which are attached to their names. Civilization can afford no compromise with the social forces which would gain renewed strength if we deal ambiguously or indecisively with the men in whom those forces now precariously survive.

"What these men stand for we will patiently and temperately disclose. We will give you undeniable proofs of incredible events... They took from the German people all those dignities and freedoms that we hold natural and inalienable rights in every human being. The people were compensated by inflaming and gratifying hatreds toward those who were marked as 'scapegoats.' Against their opponents, including Jews, Catholics, and free labor, the Nazis directed such a campaign of arrogance, brutality, and annihilation as the world has not witnessed since the pre-Christian ages. They excited the German ambition to be a 'master race,' which of course implies serfdom for others. They led their people on a mad gamble for domination. They diverted social energies and resources to the creation of what they thought to be an invincible war machine. They overran their neighbors. To sustain the 'master race' in its war-making, they enslaved millions of human beings and brought them into Germany, where these helpless creatures now wander as displaced persons."

FOR THE NEXT 15 weeks the Allied prosecutors presented evidence against the accused. Most of the evidence consisted of official documents, movies, and photographs confiscated from German files. The evidence weighed tons and filled several trucks.

The American prosecutor, seeking to prove that Germany had planned a war of aggression, quoted from Hitler's own words to his advisers: "There is no question of sparing Poland, and we are left with the decision: to attack Poland at the first suitable opportunity."

Charging that Nazi organizations had carried out the plan, the American counsel said: "They fabricated the border incidents which Hitler used as an excuse for attacking Poland..." (Concentration camp inmates were dressed in Polish uniforms and forced to "attack" a German radio station at Gleiwitz. The Germans mowed them down and displayed the bodies to the press as "proof" of the attack.)

THEN ONE afternoon the Allied prosecution showed a film of concentration camps at the time they fell into Allied hands. In these camps millions of prisoners were killed or made to perform slave labor.

An observer, Gerald Dikler, described the film:

"The cameras coursed slowly over the mounds of hollow-cheeked corpses left behind in the final rout, the bones of inmates hastily buried alive, the gaping mouths of the still-warm crematorium ovens, the bales of human hair consigned to patriotic German bedding, the lampshades made of human skin."

THE DEFENDANTS, who had been jovial in the morning, suddenly had a change of mood—described by a prison psychiatrist:

"Fritzsche (who had not seen any part of film before) already looks pale and 'sits aghast as it starts with scenes of prisoners burned alive in a bar...Keitel wipes brow, takes off headphones...Hess glares at screen, looking like a ghoul with sunken eyes over the footlamp...Keitel puts on headphone, glares at screen out of the corner of his eye... von Neurath has head bowed, doesn't look...Funk covers his eyes, looks as if he is in agony, shakes his head... Ribbentrop closes his eyes, looks away... Sauckel mops brow...Frank swallows hard, blinks eyes, trying to stifle tears...Fritzsche watches intently with knitted brow, cramped at the end of his seat, evidently in agony...Göring keeps leaning on balustrade, not watching most of the time, looking droopy...Hess keeps looking bewildered...piles of dead are shown in a slave labor camp...Göring looks sad, leaning on elbow...Sauckel shudders at picture of Buchenwald crematorium-oven...as human skin lampshade is shown. Streicher says 'I don't believe that'...Göring coughing...Attorneys gasping...Now Dachau...Schacht still not looking...Frank nods his head bitterly and says, 'Horrible!'...British officer starts to speak, saying he has already buried 17,000 corpses...Ribbentrop sitting with pursed lips and blinking eyes, not looking at screen...Funk crying bitterly, claps hand over mouth as women's naked corpses are thrown into pit...Keitel and Ribbentrop look up at mention of tractor clearing corpses, see it, then hang their heads...Streicher shows signs of disturbance for first time...Film ends.

"After the showing of the film, Hess remarks, 'I don't believe it.' Göring whispers to him to keep quiet...Streicher says something about 'perhaps in the last days.' Fritzsche retorts scornfully: 'Millions? In the last days? No.' Otherwise there is a gloomy silence as the prisoners file out of the courtroom."

Testimony on Nazi 'Final Solution' for Jews

The Nazis had worked out what they called a "final solution to the 'Jewish problem'": wholesale extermination. Of the 9,600,000 Jews who lived in Nazi-dominated Europe, 6 million are estimated to have perished.

A German construction engineer in the Ukraine, Hermann Graebe, described the scene in one concentration camp as follows:

"ON 5TH OCTOBER, 1942, when I visited the building office at Dubno my foreman told me that in the vicinity of the site, Jews from Dubno had been shot in three large pits, each about 30 metres long and 3 metres deep. About 1,500 persons had been killed daily. All the 5,000 Jews who had still been living in Dubno before the pogrom were to be liquidated. As the shooting had taken place in his presence he was still much upset.

"Thereupon I drove to the site accompanied by my foreman and saw near it great mounds of earth, about 30 metres long and 2 metres high. Several trucks stood in front of the mounds. Armed Ukrainian militia drove the people off the trucks under the supervision of an S.S. man. The militiamen acted as guards on the trucks and drove them to and from the pit. All these people had the regulation yellow patches on the front and back of their clothes, and thus could be recognized as Jews.

"My foreman and I went directly to the pits. Nobody bothered us. Now I heard rifle shots in quick succession from behind one of the earth mounds. The people who had got off the trucks—men, women, and children of all ages—had to undress upon the orders of an S.S. man, who carried a riding or dog whip. They had to put down their clothes in fixed places, sorted according to shoes, top clothing, and underclothing. I saw a heap of shoes of about 800 to 1,000 pairs, great piles of underlinen and clothing. Without screaming or weeping these people undressed, stood around in family groups, kissed each other, said farewells, and waited for a sign from another S.S. man, who stood near the pit also with a whip in his hand.

"During the 15 minutes that I stood near, I heard no complaint or plea for mercy. I watched a family of about eight persons, a man and a woman both about 50 with their children of about 1, 8, and 10, and two grown-up daughters of about 20-29. An old woman with snow-white hair was holding the one-year-old child in her arms and singing to it and tickling it. The child was cooing with delight. The couple were looking on with tears in their eyes. The father was

holding the hand of a boy about 10 years old and speaking to him softly; the boy was fighting his tears. The father pointed to the sky, stroked his head, and seemed to explain something to him.

"At that moment the S.S. man at the pit shouted something to his comrade. The latter counted off about 20 persons and instructed them to go behind the earth mound. Among them was the family which I have mentioned. I well remember a girl, slim and with black hair, who, as she passed close to me, pointed to herself and said '23.' I walked around the mound and found myself confronted by a tremendous grave. People were closely wedged together and lying on top of each other so that only their heads were visible. Nearly all had blood running over their shoulders from their heads. Some of the people shot were still moving. Some were lifting their arms and turning their heads to show that they were still alive. The pit was already two-thirds full. I estimated that it already contained about 1,000 people. I looked for the man who did the shooting. He was an S.S. man who sat at the edge of the narrow end of the pit, his feet dangling into the pit. He had a tommy gun on his knees and was smoking a cigarette. The people, completely naked, went down some steps, which were cut in the clay wall of the pit and clambered over the heads of the people lying there, to the place to which the S.S. man directed them. They lay down in front of the dead or injured people; some caressed those who were still alive and spoke to them in a low voice. Then I heard a series of shots. I looked into the pit and saw that the bodies were twitching or the heads lying motionless on top of the bodies which lay before them. Blood was running away from their necks. I was surprised that I was not ordered away, but I saw that there were two or three postmen in the uniform nearby. The next batch was approaching already. They went down into the pit, lined themselves up against the previous victims and were shot. When I walked back round the mound I noticed another truckload of people which had just arrived. This time it included sick and infirm persons. An old, very thin woman with terribly thin legs was undressed by others who were already naked, while two people held her up. The woman appeared to be paralysed. The naked people carried the woman around the mound. I left with my foreman and drove in my car back to Dubno."

The Defense: 'No Crime Without a Law'

HANDLING the defense of the accused was a battery of attorneys, selected by the prisoners from the best German lawyers, judges, and professors—including a few Nazis. Their collective talent was

reduced somewhat by their unfamiliarity with the adversary system of criminal trials prevailing at Nuremberg. Patterned on the Anglo-American tradition, this procedure centers on a duel between rival advocates, refereed from the bench—in contrast to European trials, which take the form of investigations conducted by the judges with the assistance of counsel. However, with the passage of time, the defense attorneys adjusted themselves to the system and handled themselves skillfully.

In opening the prosecution's case, Justice Jackson had emphasized a "master plan" that directed all the defendants and all the Nazi organizations toward their criminal deeds. But the defense counsel challenged the idea of a conspiracy. The typical line of dissent was offered by Herr Jahrreiss, one of Göring lawyers:

"The Prosecution is based upon the completion of a conspiracy to conquer the world on the part of a few dozen criminals...But the Fuhrer Principle has...been the organizational guiding principle in the development of the Reich constitution after 1933...Now in a state in which the entire power to make final decisions is concentrated in the hands of a single individual, the orders of this one man are absolutely binding on the members of the hierarchy...An order by the Fuhrer was binding—and indeed legally binding—on the person to whom it was given, even if the directive was contrary to international law or to other traditional values...If such a conspiracy (to commit crimes against peace, usages of war, and humanity) had existed, then Hitler would have been...the leader of these conspirators. But it has already been emphasized that a conspiracy headed by a dictator is a contradiction in itself...Hitler was an autocrat. He was not concerned with the approval of these men, but merely with having his decisions executed...The concept of conspiracy belongs to the sphere of Anglo-American law...and is entirely unknown to German law ...May a criminal procedure, bent upon realizing justice, employ legal concepts which are...utterly alien to the defendants and to the legal trend of thought of their people?"

"As a further criticism, the Prosecutors...want to punish...the conspirators for individual actions they did not participate in...Article 6 of the Charter [establishing the Tribunal] says that all conspirators are responsible for any action committed by any one of the conspirators 'in execution of such plan.' These are the decisive words for the interpretation. In my opinion, the meaning of these words is as follows: The other conspirators are also responsible for any actions of their comrades forming part of the common plan which they helped to conceive, desired,

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or at least condoned...A legal principle extending the fellow conspirator's responsibility to actions not included in their common responsibility is alien to German law. Whether or not it belongs to Anglo-American law, the application of such a principle in the present trial would make punishable acts which, heretofore could not be punished. This would clearly contradict the rule of *nullem crimen sine lege* (no crime without a law)."

DEFENSE LAWYERS also challenged the responsibility of a government official or a general for the actions of others or even for his own actions in a state ruled by an absolute dictator. One of the accused prisoners, Alfred Jodl, the former German army chief of staff, was defended by his counsel, Dr. Exener, in the following terms:

"The decision to start the war was far removed from his influence...If Hitler had extensive plans right from the start, Jodl did not know of them let alone consent to them...Every time a campaign had been resolved upon, he did indeed do his bit to carry it out successfully...It is true that without his generals Hitler could not have waged the wars...If the generals do not do their job, there is no war. But one must add: If the infantryman does not, if his rifle does not fire,...there is no war. Is therefore the soldier, the gunsmith...guilty of complicity in the war...? Does Henry Ford share in the responsibility for the thousands of accidents which his cars cause every year?"

THE DEFENSE filed a joint objection against Count Two of the indictment concerning Crimes Against Peace in violation of international treaties and assurances. The defense contended that planning and waging aggressive war had never before been considered a crime. Even the League of Nations, which had been created to prevent wars, had only condemned aggressive states as violators of international law. It had never thought of putting on trial the statesmen, generals, and industrialists of those states.

For the prosecution to indict German leaders under Count Two, the defense argued, was to hold them guilty for actions that at the time were not regarded as criminal acts. In effect, the Allies were changing the law after the so-called crime had been committed. Such a policy, the defense concluded, "is repugnant to a principle of jurisprudence sacred to the civilized world..."

Defense lawyers challenged the notion that aggressive war was recognized as an international crime. They declared that although the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which Germany had signed, condemned

war "as an instrument of national policy," the pact did not specifically state that international aggression was a criminal act, nor did it set up courts to try aggressors. Counsel for Von Ribbentrop said. "All...plans for outlawing war during the period between the First and Second World Wars remained mere drafts...because practical politics would not follow these moral postulates." The defense contended, therefore, that the Kellogg-Briand Pact was meaningless as a mechanism for punishing aggressors.

Counts Three and Four were handled together at the trials. The category "Crimes Against Humanity" was new, extending international law to cover offenses not anticipated in earlier definitions of war crimes. Crimes against humanity included acts by German officials against German citizens during the war, even though these acts did not violate the laws of the Nazi state itself.

THIS LAST provision aroused the defense lawyers to protest again that the prosecution was making retroactive law. They said that since Nazi law permitted policies such as the extermination of political or racial groups, the Tribunal had no right to punish the defendants later.

Then the defense argued: Was it fair to judge German leaders by standards that the Allies themselves had violated? What about the Allied airmen who bombarded German cities to terrorize civilians? Alfred Jodl spoke bitterly of the annihilation of women and children by the machine guns of low-flying Allied pilots. He complained that the Canadians had bound prisoners with ropes that ran around their necks, down their backs, and around their legs, resulting in some prisoners being strangled. Göring described the Allied shooting of German planes marked with a Red Cross.

But the Tribunal refused to accept evidence or arguments comparing Allied and Nazi conduct in the war. When one defendant mentioned that the prewar military training of youth in the U.S.S.R. far exceeded Germany's program, the Court rebuked him for making "an irrelevant comparison." At one point the Tribunal explained: "We are not trying whether any other powers have committed breaches of international law, or crimes against humanity, or war crimes; we are trying whether these defendants have."

Defense lawyers then argued that the Tribunal had no authority to hold the defendants individually responsible.

Counsel for Von Ribbentrop, the former foreign minister, argued: "...when informed of imminent War Crimes, he did what was in his power to prevent

execution of Allied prisoners...It would be unjust to hold a foreign minister with limited authority responsible for war crimes and crimes against humanity, the more so as it has been conclusively proved that he was excluded from any influence on the conduct of the war.

Several of the defense counsels for German military leaders pointed out that the notion of individual responsibility was especially inappropriate in the military sphere. For example, Dr. Exener (representing Alfred Jodl) gave examples to show the impossibility, especially during wartime, of permitting military commanders to question the orders or judgment of political leaders.

The Prosecution's Rebuttal

Defense objection to the charge of *individual* responsibility of the accused had been answered in advance by two sections of the Charter establishing the Tribunal. The first rejected pleas based on "acts of state," or the principle that an individual is not responsible for actions that he commits while serving as a government official. The second section rejected pleas based on the principle that an individual is not punishable for actions carried out on orders from a higher official. Jackson explained why the Allies had decided ahead of time to rule out such pleas:

"Of course the idea that a state, any more than a corporation, commits crimes is a fiction. Crimes always are committed only by persons...The Charter recognizes that one who has committed criminal acts may not take refuge in superior orders nor in the doctrine that his crimes were acts of state. These twin principles working together have heretofore resulted in immunity for practically everyone concerned in the really great crimes against peace and mankind. Those in lower ranks were protected against liability by the orders of their superiors. The superiors were protected because their orders were called acts of state.

Under the Charter no defense based on either of these doctrines can be entertained."

According to Jackson, not only had many of the defendants gone "above and beyond the call of duty" in their zeal for carrying out "orders," but also German officials must have known their orders "from above" violated accepted principles of international law.

The Judgment

IN ITS judgment, the Tribunal stated: "Crimes against international law are committed by men, not by abstract entities such as states, and only by

punishing individuals who commit such crimes can the provisions of international law be enforced. "That a soldier was ordered to kill or torture in violation of the international law of war has never been recognized as a defense for such acts of brutality...The true test, which is found in varying degrees in the criminal law of most nations, is not the existence of the order, but whether moral choice was in fact possible."

On the question of conspiracy the Tribunal declared:

"In the opinion of the Tribunal, the evidence establishes the common planning to prepare and wage war by certain of the defendants. It is immaterial to consider whether a single conspiracy...has been conclusively proved. Continued planning, with aggressive war as the object, has been established beyond doubt...The argument that such common planning cannot exist where there is complete dictatorship is unsound...Hitler could not make aggressive war by himself. He had to have the cooperation of statesmen, military leaders, diplomats, and businessmen. When they, with knowledge of his aims, gave him their cooperation, they made themselves parties to the plan he had initiated...

"To initiate a war of aggression is...not only an international crime; it is the supreme international crime... "

Eight of the highest officials in the Nazi party were convicted of conspiracy (Count One.) Twelve defendants were convicted of waging aggressive war (Count Two).

THE TRIBUNAL convicted all but two of the 20 defendants who were indicted on one or both of Counts Three and Four. It then sentenced 12 defendants to death by hanging, three to life imprisonment, and four to imprisonment ranging from 10 to 20 years. Three were acquitted.

When the prisoners stood to receive their sentences, each was allowed to make a personal statement. Von Ribbentrop stated that the Tribunal had been guilty of severe injustice by rejecting certain evidence-evidence showing that other nations hadn't protested when Germany initiated her policies of defensive expansionism.

"This trial will go down in history," Von Ribbentrop declared, such as the Kellogg-Briand Pact did not have the force of international law because practical politics made them unenforceable. Furthermore, these agreements forbade nations, not individuals, to start wars.

e. The so-called "war crimes" did not violate the law of the German nation, which is the highest law

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to which any German owed obedience.

f. Many of the actions for which the Germans were being tried were also committed by the Allies. Why bring to trial only Germans? Why not try Allied war criminals also?

4. Applying the Principles of Nuremberg

Consider the following case:

The Creeks were perhaps the most "civilized" of the Indian tribes living in the Southeast. They had settled permanently, built homes, cultivated the land, and raised herds. They spun and wove into cloth cotton they had grown. They laid out roads, built mills, carried on business, and sent their children to schools run by missionaries. And, finally, they had established a representative government like that of the American states.

But white settlers and traders, in violation of existing treaties between the Creeks and the United States Government, moved onto Creek land in large numbers.

The whites generally considered the Creeks inferior and best kept out of the way of progress. The whites deceived the Indians into giving them land and money, and many Creeks became homeless wanderers. In desperation, some Creeks began attacking and killing whites. But U.S. troops quickly defeated the Creek uprising.

In 1836, when the Creek "war" ended, the move west began. Creek warriors, including aged and dignified chiefs, were handcuffed and chained, and marched 90 miles in double file. After them followed a long train of wagons bearing children, old women, and the sick. In July, 2,498 Creeks were crowded into the holds of two river steamboats. Many died of fever, dysentery, diarrhea, and cholera.

Those Indians who survived the river trip began their journey westward over the prairie by horse and by oxcart. A prairie dweller who watched the Creeks pass wrote: "Thousands of them are entirely destitute of shoes or cover of any kind for their feet, many of them are almost naked, but a few of them wear anything more than a light dress calculated only for the summer, or for a warm climate...In this...condition, they are wading in cold mud, or are harried on over the frozen ground, as the case may be. Many of them have in this way had their feet frostbitten; and being unable to travel, fall in the rear of the main party...where they remain until devoured by wolves..."

In all, 14,609 Creeks were removed from Alabama in 1836 in this manner. Of these, 2,495 were listed as hostile. Some were hanged in Alabama for taking part in attacks. The whites of Alabama held

a number of others, mostly children, as slaves. But the Creek "problem" was solved.

a. Compare the European settlers' response to the American Indian with the Nazi treatment of the Jews. How were the two situations similar? different? For example, Hitler's "final solution" to the "Jewish problem" in Under the Charter, no de

Germany was extermination of the Jews in gas chambers. To what extent tent has the United States solved the "Indian problem" in this country?

Nazi Germany was unsuccessful in its attempt to dominate European nations because other major countries came to the defense of the nations attacked. The United States, on the other hand, has been successful in dominating the Indian nations without alienating other major nations in the world.

b. As the U.S. expanded westward in the 1800's, Americans defended their annexation of new land by saying it was their "manifest destiny" as a people to spread over the continent. Was this doctrine related to their treatment of the Indians?

c. Do you think that the charges against the Germans at Nuremberg apply in any way to the American treatment of the Indian? Why or why not?

The Trial of Captain Levy.

Consider the following case: "Kill, kill. Cure, cure."

With these words Captain Howard B. Levy, a U.S. Army medical officer, age 30, expressed his inability to reconcile killing men with curing them.

Captain Levy was called into the Army in 1965 and he reported, reluctantly, to Fort Jackson, South Carolina-reluctantly because he strongly disapproved of what the U.S. was doing in Vietnam.

He told patients in his clinic that the war was wrong; he told Green Beret medical sides that they were "killers of peasants and murderers of women and children"; he told enlisted men that he would not serve in Vietnam if ordered to do so; he told Negro soldiers that if he were a Negro he would leave Vietnam and come home to fight the real battle—civil rights.

In the fall of 1966 Captain Levy's commanding officer at the hospital where he was assigned, Colonel Henry F. Fancy, ordered the young doctor to train Green Beret medical aid men.

Captain Levy refused on the grounds that it was contrary to medical ethics to do so because aid men were used as a friendly entry into South Vietnamese

villages. Levy said this was the Political use of medicine.”

Captain Levy was charged with willfully disobeying an order and with making statements designed to promote disloyalty among the troops. He was brought before a general court-martial.

Captain Levy's civilian attorney, Charles Morgan, Jr., of the American Civil Liberties Union, argued that Green Beret men were in fact “killers of peasants” and “murderers of women,” and Captain Levy was justified in refusing to be a party to war crimes. Morgan defended Levy by bringing in witnesses who said that Green Berets participated in the destruction of villages and turned over Viet Cong prisoners to the South Vietnamese.

It was known by the Berets that such prisoners were sometimes tortured, Morgan's witnesses asserted. Military medics are traditionally noncombatants, but Green Beret aid men are cross-trained in such skills as demolition or intelligence. Therefore, it was argued, the men Captain Levy trained could become parties to the crimes allegedly committed by Green Beret forces.

However, Colonel Earl Brown, the law officer (judge), declared that Morgan's defense amounted to accusing the Green Berets of committing war crimes of the kind that had been condemned at Nuremberg. After hearings, he ruled that there was insufficient evidence to bring the issue of war crimes before the court-martial.

Colonel Brown said: “While there have been perhaps instances of needless brutality in the struggle in Vietnam...there is no evidence that would render this order to train medical aid men illegal on the grounds that...these men would become engaged in war crimes or in some way prostitute their medical training by employing it in crimes against humanity.”

a. On June 3, 1967, ten officers found Captain Levy guilty on all charges of disloyalty and disobedience. He was sentenced the next day to three years at hard labor, dishonorable discharge from the Army, and forfeiture of all pay. Was Levy justified in refusing to train Green Beret medics for service in Vietnam? Why or why not? Find evidence from other sources to help you draw conclusions.

b. Should Captain Levy have been tried in a civilian court?

c. Col. Brown is the only American judge who has allowed the Nuremberg issue of war crimes to be raised in a court case. Suppose a court were to conclude that a policy of the American government was a war crime. What could the court do about it?

d. According to *The Law of Land Warfare* (U.S. Army Field Manual, No. 27-10) “complicity in the commission of crimes against humanity, and war crimes (is) punishable.” Does this mean that Green Beret forces can or should be held responsible for what happens to prisoners whom they have turned over to the South Vietnamese?

The Troubles at San Royalto State.

Consider the following case in which a major American university develops a unique plan to control its radical students.*

San Royalto State, a branch of a major state university, had a history of radical protest. The protests ranged from the “free speech” movement (the right to use obscene four-letter words in public) to countless sit-ins on university property to prevent buildings from being erected in “people's parks” (vacant lots developed into playgrounds for local residents by student volunteers).

Over the past few years local and state police had become increasingly short-tempered with student radicals, who were often allied with poor blacks living near the university. This alliance earned the radicals sympathy from moderate students and faculty, who supported attempts to control police action.

Great tensions developed between students, faculty, and local residents on one side and the police on the other. Finally, feelings boiled over when the police adopted a new tactic secretly labeled Demonstration Prevention and Control (DPC).

DPC involved essentially four steps: identification of small crowds around the university that might constitute a “hazardous demonstration”; rapid encirclement of the crowd by gas-masked police using police dogs; appearance of a low-flying helicopter that dropped Mace or tear gas on the crowd, finally, in the midst of the confusion, “detention” of faculty and students (and any other bystanders) in compounds for up to 48 hours under the most brutal conditions.

The tactic was used effectively three times. University authorities reported that crowds and demonstrations were no longer a problem on the campus. But American Civil Liberties Union lawyers, protesting that DPC violated basic civil rights, attempted to bring the issue into the courts.

However, police officials always admitted that some officers had behaved in an “irregular fashion” and then handed out brief suspensions and minor discipline and the matter was closed. In the absence

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of a specific legal case involving contending sides, it was difficult to get a clear-cut court ruling on DPC.

Several distinguished law professors on the campus appealed to both the United-States Attorney General and the President of the United States, but with no effect. It was well-known that many of the students, as well as high university and state officials, were pleased with the DPC program. From their point of view, it was an effective method of controlling radical Students and maintaining peace.

Finally, faced with seemingly endless delays in their efforts to stop "a deliberate policy of repression," the Dean of the Law School developed a brief arguing that the DPC program was a violation of fundamental human rights; that the use of gas and dogs constituted gross political persecution comparable to that used by the Nazis.

The document was directed to the Secretary General of the United Nations. It requested that a special tribunal be constituted (similar to that at Nuremberg) to try a number of university and state officials who directed the DPC program.

a. If you were Secretary General of the U.N. how would you respond to the request?

b. If you were a student at San Royalto who had been Maced and beaten by police, where would you turn for help after the state, local, and federal governments had refused to act? Or would you simply call the police action an "unfortunate mistake"?

c. If you were a police officer tried for crimes against humanity, what would be your defense?

5. Determining impact of Precedent.

In conducting the war crimes trials at Nuremberg, the Allies hoped that they would discourage nations from planning and waging aggressive wars in the future. The influence of Nuremberg has been felt in concrete ways. The American Army Field Manual, for example, states: "the fact that domestic law does not impose a penalty for an act which constitutes a crime under international law does not relieve the person who committed the act from responsibility under international law." Legal cases involving draft resistance have referred to Nuremberg.

- a. Will the Nuremberg trials:
- be forgotten?
 - cause people to conclude that might makes right?
 - cause people to resist what they believe to be unjust demands by their government?.

b. To what extent, if any, do you think the Nuremberg trials will deter individuals from Planning or participating in an aggressive war? Keep in mind that the U.N. General Assembly has unanimously accepted the principles on which the trials were held.

c. It has been proposed that there be a Permanent Criminal World Court, similar to Nuremberg and representing all the major power blocs of the world, that could try people for international crimes. Would you recommend that such a court be established now? If so, how would it operate?

6. Definitions of Aggression.

a. At Nuremberg, individuals were convicted of having planned and waged a war of aggression. Define a "war of aggression," spelling out what kinds of aggression should be forbidden.

b. Using your definition, decide which side was the aggressor in the following historical situations.

- In 1961, India attacked and conquered the Port of Goa, a tiny Portuguese colony on the west coast of India. Most of the residents of Goa were Indian, though they held Portuguese citizenship.

- In 1967, the Egyptian government declared that Israel shouldn't be governed by Jews, because they had seized control at a time when Arabs were in a majority there. Egypt asked the United Nations to withdraw its small peacekeeping force from the border and blockaded a nearby shipping lane of some importance to Israel. Israel attacked Egypt, explaining that this was necessary to prevent Egypt from attacking first.

- In 1950, North Korean troops crossed into South Korea. They were opposed by United Nations troops (mainly American and South Korean) who forced the North Koreans back to their homeland. However, U.N. forces then conquered much of North Korea. China, an ally of North Korea, entered the conflict and helped drive the U.N. forces back across the border dividing North and South Korea.

The Nuremberg Defendants

HERMANN GÖRING

Chief of the air force, ranked second after Hitler: *"The victor will always be the judge, and the vanquished the accused."*

Guilty 1, 2, 3, 4* Death

RUDOLF HESS

Reich Minister Without Portfolio, ranked third after Göring: *"I can't remember." (He suffered from amnesia.)*

Guilty 1, 2 Life In prison

JOACHIM VON RIBBENTROP

Foreign Minister: *"The Indictment is directed against the wrong people."*

Guilty 1, 2, 3, 4 Death

ERNST KALTENBRUNNER

Head of the Security Police: *"I do not feel guilty of any war crimes; I have only done my duty as an intelligence organ."*

Guilty 3, 4 Death

WILHELM KEITEL

Army general and Chief of the German High Command: *"For a soldier, orders are orders."*

Guilty 1, 2, 3, 4 Death

ALFRED ROSENBERG

Nazi Party Leader for Ideology and Foreign Policy: *"I must reject an Indictment for conspiracy."*

Guilty 1, 2, 3, 4 Death

HANS FRANK

Reich Minister Without Portfolio: *"I regard this trial as a God-willed world court, destined to examine and put an end to the terrible era of suffering under Adolf Hitler."*

Guilty 3,4 Death

JULIUS STREICHER

Editor of *Der Sturmer*, an anti-Jewish newspaper and a favorite of Hitler. *"This trial is a triumph of World Jewry."*

Guilty 4 Death

WILHELM FRICK

Reich Minister of the Interior and Director of the Central Office for all Occupied Territories: *"The whole*

Indictment rests on the assumption of a fictitious conspiracy."

Guilty 2, 3, 4 Death

WALTER FUNK

Press Chief, later Minister of Economics: *"I have never in my life consciously done anything which could contribute to such an indictment. If I have been made guilty of the acts which stand in the Indictment, through error or ignorance, then my guilt is a human tragedy and not a crime."*

Guilty 2, 3, 4 Life in prison

HJALMAR SCHACHT

Reich Minister of Economics and President of the Reichsbank: *"I do not understand at all why I have been accused."*

Acquitted

KARL DONITZ

Commander in Chief of the German Navy: *"None of these Indictment counts concerns me in the least—typical American humor."*

Guilty 2, 3, 10 Years

ERICH RAEDER

Admiral of the German Navy: Guilty 1, 2, 3 Life in prison

BALDUR VON SCHIRACH

Reich Governor and Leader of Youth: *"The whole misfortune came from racial politics."*

Guilty 420 Years

FRITZ SAUCKEL

Reich Governor and General in the SS: *"... The terrible happenings in the concentration camps has shaken me deeply."*

Guilty 3, 4 Death

ALFRED JODL

Army General and Chief of Staff to General Keitel: *"I regret the mixture of justified accusations and political propaganda."*

Guilty 1, 2, 3, 4 Death

MARTIN BORMANN

Chief of Staff to Rudolf Hess and Hitler's secretary. Bormann disappeared and has never been

found.

Guilty 3, 4 Death (in absentia)

FRANZ VON PAPEN

Reich Vice-Chancellor and Ambassador in Vienna and Turkey: *"I believe that paganism and the years of totalitarianism bear the main guilt."*

Acquitted

ARTUR VON SEYSS-INQUART

Deputy Governor-General of occupied Poland and the Netherlands: *"Last act of the tragedy of the second World War, I hope!"*

Guilty 2, 3, 4 Death

ALBERT SPEER

Reich Minister for Armament and Munitions: *"The trial is necessary. There is a common responsibility for such horrible crimes . . . even in an authoritarian system."*

Guilty 3, 420 Years

KONSTANTIN VON NEURATH

Foreign Minister before Ribbentrop, and Protector of Bohemia and Moravia: *"I was always against punishment without the possibility of a defense."*

Guilty 1, 2, 3, 4 15 Years

HANS FRITZSCHE

Director of Propaganda: *"It is the most terrible Indictment of all times."*

Acquitted



**The four counts of the Indictment were (1) Common Plan or Conspiracy; (2) Crimes Against Peace; (3) War Crimes; (4) Crimes Against Humanity. Quotes were recorded by prison psychiatrist, Gustave M. Gilbert.*

THE NUREMBERG WAR CRIMES TRIAL

With the defeat of Germany in 1945, the world saw firsthand photographs of the concentration camps. The Allies made plans to bring to justice the Nazis responsible for what happened during the war.

Millions of Germans and other Europeans were considered eligible for possible prosecution. Of these, only a small number were actually prosecuted, the most famous in the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal. Nineteen major Nazis were brought to trial. The defense questioned the legality of Germans being tried by the Allies. Even today, some people doubt that “war crimes” can be defined in legal terms adequate enough to prosecute people’s actions. The Germans responded by arguing that they followed orders of the government and that they could not be tried for breaking laws that did not exist until after the war. The defense charged that Allied airmen were also guilty of war crimes when they bombed German cities to terrorize civilians. Germans spoke of the fire-bombing of Dresden.

Many Germans, according to surveys, regarded the photographs of atrocities in the concentration and death camps with disbelief and without sorrow. This refusal to accept the reality of the death camps continues today with the publication of books such as Arthur Butz’s *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. Butz denies that the camps served as death factories and that 6 million Jews were killed. He claims that the Holocaust never happened, that it is a Zionist propaganda hoax.

908 Many Germans could not understand why they were being prosecuted. Consider this exchange between a German prisoner and his Allied captors quoted in *The Jew as Pariah* by Ron H. Feldman:

Q: Did you kill people in the camp?

A: Yes.

Q: Did you poison them with gas?

A: Yes.

Q: Did you bury them alive?

A: It sometimes happened.

Q: Were the victims picked from all over Europe?

A: I suppose so.

Q: Did you personally help kill people?

A: Absolutely not. I was only paymaster in the camp.

Q: What did you think of what was going on?

A: It was hard at first but we got used to it.

Q: Did you know the Russians will hang you?

A: (Bursting into tears) Why should they? What have I done?

November 12, 1944

As the trials proceeded, Holocaust victims slowly began to reintegrate their lives. It soon became clear to many survivors that they had lost almost their entire families. Many experienced the normal responses of loss and depression. Many survivors were placed in Displaced Persons (DP) camps while the Allies discussed the issue of where these people were to go. Poland and Germany were no longer nations in which most Jews felt they had any future. Some Jews boarded ships and attempted to run the British blockade of Palestine. Many were caught and sent back to DP camps. But in 1948, the United Nations voted for partition of Palestine, resulting in the creation of the state of Israel. In the ensuing years, many Jews went to Israel; and when immigration barriers were lifted in the early 1950s many Jews came to North and South America, most especially the United States, where survivors of the Holocaust began new lives.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Robinson Jeffers, the poet, has written:
"Justice and mercy are human dreams; they do not concern the birds nor the fish nor eternal God.
How could justice really be served after the Holocaust?"
2. Did the Allied nations have the moral right to bring Nazis to trial after the war?
3. Do you think it was possible for survivors to forget their past and forgive those who committed acts of atrocity against them? Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal wrote a novel called *The Sunflower* in which just such an issue is raised. A 21-year-old soldier lies on his deathbed just after the war. Wiesenthal is called in to hear the soldier's last words, in which he confesses his acts during the war and begs Wiesenthal to forgive him so that he can die in peace. What should Wiesenthal have done?
4. Examine the chart on the preceding pages of those Nazis judged in the most famous of all. Nuremberg Trials. On what basis do you think the decisions were reached? Examine the quotations; did any of the Nazi leaders repent?

JUDGMENT

In 1939, as Hitler planned the invasion of Poland, he asked, "Who after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?" During World War I, Turkey, which then ruled the Ottoman Empire, turned against the Armenians, a Christian minority that had lived for generations within the empire. Accused of divided loyalties, the Armenians became the century's first victims of genocide. It was a crime that was never judged or acknowledged.

Toward the end of World War II, as rumors of Nazi atrocities were confirmed, the leaders of the United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union decided that this time they would try the individuals responsible for crimes against humanity before an international court. This time, the perpetrators would be held accountable for their actions.

On November 14, 1946, the Allies brought to trial twenty-two Nazi leaders accused of one or more of the following crimes: conspiracy to commit crimes; crimes against peace; war crimes; crimes against humanity. The defendants were the most prominent Nazis the Allies could find at the time. Many of the best-known Nazis, including Adolf Hitler, were not tried at all. They committed suicide in the final days of the war. Others, like Adolf Eichmann, disappeared during the confusion that marked Germany's defeat.

That trial was the first of thirteen separate trials held in Nuremberg, Germany, between 1946 and 1950. John Fried, the Special Legal Consultant to the United States War Crimes Tribunals, said of them, "The story of the Nuremberg tribunals offers a concrete instance in which an individual's responsibility for a terrible crime is examined before the world. Not an abstract debate, but a life and death matter for the defendants, those age-old questions converged in the city of Nuremberg, and the standards established in that trial have become part of the unwritten law of nations ever since.

Each of the four Allied nations that occupied a part of Germany immediately after the war held its own war-crimes trials in its zone of occupation. Together, Britain, France, and the United States convicted over 5,000 Nazis and sentenced 800 to death. The Soviets held similar trials but did not release statistics. Trials also took place in nations once occupied by Germany. The Poles and the Czechs, for example, convicted and executed Jurgen Stroop, the SS leader who "liquidated" the Warsaw Ghetto; Rudolf Hoess, the commandant of Auschwitz; and Arthur Greiser, the man who set up the first death camp at Chelmno.

By the 1950s, the trials seemed to be over, even

though a number of Nazi war criminals were still at large. Most countries were eager to put the war behind them. Only Israel, which became an independent nation in 1948, remained committed to bringing every perpetrator to justice. The Israelis were particularly eager to capture Adolf Eichmann, Hitler's "expert" on the "Jewish Question." He was the one who set up the ghettos. And later he was the one who arranged for the deportation of hundreds of thousands of Jews to the death camps. Much of Eichmann's work took place behind the scenes. As a result, the Allies knew little about him. While they were trying top Nazi officials at Nuremberg, Eichmann was hiding in a prisoner-of-war camp. In 1950 he managed to emigrate to Argentina. Using the name "Ricardo Klement," he traveled on a passport issued by the Vatican to "displaced persons."

In May of 1960, the Israelis found Eichmann and smuggled him out of Argentina to stand trial in Jerusalem. In February, 1961, he was indicted on fifteen counts, including "crimes against the Jewish people," "crimes against humanity," and "war crimes." In his opening statement, Gideon Hausner, Israel's chief prosecutor, told the court:

As I stand here before you, Judges of Israel, to lead the prosecution of Adolf Eichmann, I do not stand alone. With me, in this place and at this hour, stand six million accusers. But they cannot rise to their feet and point an accusing finger towards the man who sits in the glass dock and cry: "I accuse." For their ashes are piled up on the hills of Auschwitz and in the fields of Treblinka, or washed away by the rivers of Poland; their graves are scattered over the length and breadth of Europe. Their blood cries out, but their voices are not heard. Therefore it falls to me to be their spokesman and to unfold in their name the awesome indictment.

As the trial unfolded, Hausner examined the history of Nazi Germany, from Hitler's rise to power

through the planning and implementation of the Holocaust. He entered 1,600 documents into evidence including Jurgen Stroop's own account of how the Nazis put down the uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto. Hausner also called over one hundred witnesses, many of them survivors. Among those who testified were Yitzhak Zuckerman, Zivia Lubetkin, David Wdowski, and Abba Kovner. (See Chapters 4-6.) At earlier trials, prosecutors had relied on the documents the Nazis left behind to prove their case. These documents were so detailed that Holocaust survivors were rarely asked to testify. Now for the first time, they were encouraged to tell the world what the Nazis had done to them, their families, friends, and neighbors.

Eichmann's lawyer, Robert Servatius, did not dispute the testimony of the survivors or the accuracy of the documents offered in evidence. Instead, he defended Eichmann as a man who was merely "following orders." The court disagreed. It ruled that "obedience to orders" does not relieve an individual of moral responsibility. Eichmann was sentenced to death.

Throughout the trial, Israelis stood silently in the streets and listened as loudspeakers broadcast the proceedings. People in other countries also followed the trial. No group was more deeply affected by the trial than Holocaust survivors. For the first time, many heard someone tell their story in a court of law. In his memoirs, Hausner described the mail he received from survivors:

Some sent in the yellow badges of ghetto days which they had kept all these years. A man sent me a picture of three little children riding ponies, and wrote: "This is their last picture, from summer 1939. They were all killed in Treblinka, and against the laws of nature I, their father, survived them. I empower you to charge Eichmann also on behalf of these three innocent children."...

"When I was discharged from Bergen-Belsen as a girl of fourteen," wrote a woman of Jerusalem, "I always hoped that one day I would be able to avenge the loss of my parents and of my whole family, though I did not know what revenge was. I could do nothing all these years, but now, having listened to the trial, I feel some relief."

There were other letters laden with emotion. "I kept my tears back all these years. I can weep now," wrote a woman saved as a child from the Kovno ghetto.

"Our neighbors here will now stop wondering how we managed to survive," wrote a couple in a joint letter.

"I was ten years old when I was liberated," wrote a member of a kibbutz. "Fourteen years of life in this country have corrected much of my distorted childhood, but I had to live and see this trial to relive all the horror, to be able to live it down."

"I relive with you the tragic days," a schoolteacher wrote to me. "I was nine years old that summer in 1942 when my despairing parents, who were about to be deported, delivered me to their Christian neighbors. With their help I wrote a woman who signed with initials only. "I saw and passed through a lot, and later related these things, without ever shedding a tear. It was only when listening to your opening address that the clock was put backward and the tears of the small orphan girl came out now, after nineteen years. Thank you for helping me to cry."

CONNECTIONS

What is the purpose of a trial: Is it to judge the guilty, avenge the victims, or warn those who might commit similar acts in the future?

When Hitler asked, "Who after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians," what was he saying about war? Some Armenians believe that if the perpetrators of the Armenian Genocide had been prosecuted and punished after World War I, the trial might have served as a deterrent for the Holocaust. Do you agree?

Was Israel right to kidnap and try Eichmann or should some other nation have assumed responsibility? How would your answer change if no other country was willing to do so?

The Eichmann trial was the first to make extensive use of the testimony of survivors. What might their words add to the trial that official reports, memos, letters, and other evidence cannot provide? How do you account for the response of survivors to the trial? What happens to a history that is not judged or acknowledged?

SYNOPSIS OF “THE GATHERING”

The *Gathering* by Arje Shaw is a story of a father and son relationship overshadowed by the events of the Holocaust and the secret revealed when the father, a Holocaust survivor, faces his past at a cemetery in Bitburg, Germany. When his son, a speech writer for the President, reveals that Reagan will visit Bitburg, where Nazi perpetrators are buried, to help our country's political relationship with Germany, the father takes a stand against the visit, “kidnapping” his grandson, taking him to the cemetery to protest the visit and speak out for those killed during the Holocaust.

This play, which includes a great deal of Jewish ritual and tradition, explores universal themes, including: never being able to live up to your parents' expectations, making passages in life meaningful, understanding why parents act as they do, having guilt and the effect of guilt on one's behavior, keeping secrets and how they affect a parent-child

relationship, overcoming deep hurt, and dealing with the effects of losses on future generations.

The play, which includes three generations of a family, focuses on the Holocaust survivor and his struggle with both his son and his grandson when the grandson is about to become a Bar Mitzvah and become a man. The legacy the grandfather will give his grandson and the legacy his generation will give to the generation entering their manhood and womanhood is a crucial question in the play.

What is our role today, considering the history of World War II and the Holocaust, and the presence of continuing genocides? The playwright wrestles with the legacy of the past and how this affects present relationships and influences the future. It becomes the responsibility of the audience to confront these themes and issues within their own lives.

"THE GATHERING"

(Excerpt)

Arje Shaw

GABE

I couldn't do it with you Stuart. I tried. I would come home from work, stand outside the door and talk to myself..."Gabe, Gabe, ...don't bring your misery inside the house...be kind, be gentle, play with your son, read him a book, sing him a song simple things. The simple things a father does to show his love I couldn't do. (Viciously towards Egon.) Because of him and his people, I lost a life and you lost a childhood!

EGON

Is there anything else you wish to blame me for Sir? (Beat.) There are evil men in this world but I am not one of them. I am sorry for what happened. I am ashamed of what my country did. There are not enough apologies...apologies cannot replace what you lost but you know Sir, there are young Germans who visit survivors, to do what little they can and the survivors receive them. But you Sir, it seems you wish to remain broken, I do not. The sins of my father's are not my sins. They are only my responsibility, my burden. I carry them, I accept them, but you Sir, do not accept me.

GABE

No,

EGON

(Beat.) You ask your son's forgiveness?

GABE

(Looks at Stuart slumped on the bench, head down.)

EGON

He should understand what you went through...

GABE

...Yes...

EGON

But, do you understand him? Do you understand me?

GABE

(Silent.)

EGON

You regret not being a better father? I had no father. My father himself a child during the War, died at thirty. A man, consumed by his father's crime...so it is...my father's dead but my grandfather lives...my children will not know their grandfather, and they certainly will not know their great-grandfather, he is not welcome in my home ...but what do I do Sir? Where do I go? Where do I seek my reparations if not in your heart? Am I not a son too?

GABE

...Yes, Egon, you are a son too...

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EGON

(Pause.) Sir, would you come to my home? I don't live far from here, and you could meet my wife and children.

GABE

(Silent.)

MICHAEL

Don't be stubborn Zaydee. If Bubbe Molly were here, she'd say "don't be stubborn Gabe," and you would listen. She'd say, "be a Mensch," right?...that's what a you always say to me...isn't it?...be a Mensch, be nice be a human being...

GABE

(Silent.)

MICHAEL

I don't know what else to say Zaydee...I know it's hard for you, and I wish I could make it easier and I thought I did when you told me I gave you hope...that's what a man does, right?...He gives someone hope...Would you help me do that for you?...Would you? I'm your Boytschick....

GABE

(Silent.)

EGON

Come to my home I will serve you...

GABE

(Stoic.) Of all the millions of Germans, they send me the one clean one.

EGON

I am not alone Sir.

GABE

Eh...Egon...you'll forgive me if I won't be a guest in your home, but I will walk with you. It's time for both of us to leave this sad place...

(Gabe stands, turns, and stops to look at his son sitting alone, fatigued, and lost. On the way over to Stuart, Gabe is kissed on the cheek by Diane. Gabe then removes his own Talis, drapes it around Stuart's shoulders, and signals for Michael's yarmulke placing it on Stuart's head. Stuart stands, looks at his father, and they embrace. As they come out of the embrace, Stuart begins chanting his Haftarah. Gabe puts his arm around Stuart's shoulder. Military music filters in, lights fade as they leave Bitburg Cemetery, arms around each other.)

CURTAIN

“THE GATHERING”

(Excerpt)

Arje Shaw

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

Use the following questions as a guide to your reading and discussion of the excerpt from *The Gathering*:

1. Explain what is meant by “The sins of my father’s are not my sins. They are only my responsibility, my burden...”
2. How does Egon explain and defend his position as a young German?
3. Why does Egon invite Gabe to his house?
4. Why does the playwright have Gabe politely decline this invitation?
5. If Gabe accepted the invitation, how would this alter the message of the play?
6. What issues, if any, were resolved at the conclusion of the play?
7. What issues remain? Why?
8. What does the playwright insinuate about the world and people today by doing this? What message do you take away from the play?
9. The play concludes with actions rather than dialogue. What is the symbolism or meaning of these actions?

915

I. G. FARBEN

Richard L. Rubenstein

I.G. Farben was a major German corporation. The company not only continued to prosper during the Nazi period but also directly profited from Nazi policy. I.G. Farben made a business decision to use slave labor by building plants near the death camp of Auschwitz. I.G. Buna and I.G. Monowitz were built in 1940 as Farben investments. Both installations paid off handsomely in profits.

In this selection from *The Cunning of History* Richard L. Rubenstein discusses I.G. Farben's wartime history. He also raises painful issues concerning the responsibility of a corporation that makes money from murder and the lenience with which we treated such policy after the Holocaust was over.

Some of Germany's largest and most advanced corporations, such as I.G. Farben, seized the opportunity to utilize the camp prisoners as a labor force. In 1933 I.G. Farben was not an anti-Semitic corporation. It employed many Jews. Jews had helped to build the huge corporate empire...However, as the process of eliminating Jews from German life intensified in the thirties, I.G. Farben naturally got rid of its Jewish officials...

By 1939 I.G. Farben was fully integrated into the new German order. During the war, it was faced with a severe labor shortage at a time when Germany's military and civilian needs for *Buna*, synthetic rubber, were expanding rapidly. It was decided to build a new plant for the manufacture of synthetic rubber. I. G. Farben officials met with officials of the Economy Ministry to decide on the location of the new factory. After several meetings, the corporation executives were convinced...of the advantages of constructing several plants at Auschwitz. The Auschwitz site had good supplies of water, coal, and other needed ingredients. The problem of an assured labor supply was solved by Himmler who promised that all available skilled workers at Auschwitz would be placed at the giant corporation's disposal...In February 1941, Auschwitz appeared to be an excellent corporate investment to some of Germany's most respectable business leaders. Their mentality was not very different from that of corporate executives who close down plants in such high labor cost areas as Stuttgart and Philadelphia and relocate them in Manila and Singapore. This should occasion neither surprise nor shock. I.G. Farben was one of the first great corporate conglomerates. Its executives merely carried the logic of corporate rationality to its ultimate conclusion...the perfect labor force for a corporation that seeks fully to minimize costs and

maximize profits is slave labor in a death camp...I.G. Farben's investment in I.G. Auschwitz ultimately reached \$1,000,000,000 in today's money. The construction work required 170 contractors...When the factories commenced operations, the SS provided guards to supervise the workers...

The diet of the inmates was the same starvation diet of watery turnip soup given to all Auschwitz inmates, save that the corporation added a ration of extra "*Buna* soup," not out of consideration for the workers' well-being but to maintain a precisely calculated level of productivity...

Given the almost inexhaustible supply of labor, the company adopted a deliberate policy of working the slaves to death. Nor was the policy hidden from the top echelons of I.G. Farben's managerial elite. They were very much involved in the operation and made frequent trips to Auschwitz to see how things were going...[On] one occasion, five of I.G. Farben's top directors made an inspection tour of I.G. Auschwitz. As one of the directors passed a slave scientist, Dr. Fritz Lohner-Beda, the Director remarked, "The Jewish swine could work a little faster." Another I. G. Farben director responded, "If they don't work, let them perish in the gas chamber." Dr. Lohner-Beda was then pulled out of his group and kicked to death.

One of the five directors present on that occasion was Dr. Fritz Ter Meer, I.G. Farben's executive in charge of synthetic rubber and petrochemical operations including I.G. Auschwitz... Dr. Ter Meer visited the United States on a number of occasions before America's entry into World War II. He had excellent relations with his American corporate counterparts, especially Mr. Frank Howard, chief executive officer of Standard Oil of New Jersey, as well as other top Standard Oil executives. (Jersey

Standard has been incorporated into the Exxon corporation)...

Dr. Ter Meer was equally at home as the executive officer responsible for I.G. Auschwitz...Nor did Dr. Ter Meer express any regret about I.G. Auschwitz after the war. When queried by a British officer...whether he regretted the experiments conducted upon concentration camp victims by I.G. Farben's pharmaceutical subsidiaries, such as Bayer, Dr. Ter Meer is reported to have replied that "no harm had been done to these KZ (concentration camp) inmates as they would have been killed anyway."

My point in stressing Dr. Ter Meer's American corporate connections is not to suggest that corporate executives are possessed of some distinctive quality of villainy. It is to emphasize the extent to which the same attitude of impersonal rationality is required to run successfully a large corporation, a death camp slave labor factory and an extermination center...At least in Germany, the top executives of all three enterprises often felt at home with each other...

About 35,000 slaves were used at I.G. Auschwitz. Over 25,000 died. The life expectancy of the average slave in the factory was estimated at between three and four months. Coal was a necessary ingredient in the manufacture of Buna. In the nearby coal mines of I.G. Auschwitz, the life expectancy of the average slave was about one month. Only one incentive was necessary to keep the slaves working at maximum capacity, terror...If the slaves did not keep up with the schedule, they were gassed; if they did keep up with it, the work itself killed them within a few months...One wonders what refinements might have been added, had the SS possessed computers...I.G. Farben also derived handsome profits from the manufacture by its subsidiaries of Zyklon B, the gas used in Auschwitz's chambers.

Zyklon B was the commercial name for a gas used to exterminate rodents and vermin. It had been developed by...DEGESH (German Vermin Combating Corporation)...In March 1944 the Dessau plant was damaged in an air raid. At the time Auschwitz was the only remaining murder center in operation, and the SS was trying to finish off 750,000 Hungarian Jews before it was too late. Because of the bombing, it was impossible to produce Zyklon B with its characteristic odor. The SS was less concerned with the odor than with the effect of the gas. One of its officials requested that five tons of Zyklon B be delivered without the odor-producing element. This troubled a DEGESH official who expressed concern that, without the telltale odor, the company might somehow be in danger of losing its monopoly! There

was no concern that the gas was being used to kill millions of men and women; there was concern that the company's monopoly in the production of the lethal substance might be compromised...

To repeat, the business of mass murder was both a highly complex and successful corporate venture. The men who carried out the business part of the venture were not uniformed thugs or hoodlums. They were highly competent, respectable corporate executives who were only doing what they had been trained to do—run large corporations successfully. As long as their institutions functioned efficiently, they had no qualms whatsoever concerning the uses to which they were put...

Thousands participated in the society of total domination and the murder process. The vast majority of those *directly* involved were never punished. Most of those still alive hold positions of responsibility and influence in both Germanies... These men did "solve" Germany's Jewish problem. This fact was clearly understood by German society which rewarded them and found places of responsibility for them after the war.

Every so often some SS guard who was a participant in one of the mobile killing units that cold-bloodedly shot to death tens of thousands of Jews or who performed some particularly vile task in one of the camps is identified in West Germany and brought to trial...A few may receive token sentences, such as three or four years for killing ten thousand people, with time off for the period already spent in jail before sentencing. However, as we have seen, almost all of those involved in the corporate enterprises at Auschwitz were speedily restored to places of leadership in the West German business elite. The tendency towards greater leniency for the business executives reflects an almost universal bias in advanced technological societies. "White-collar crimes," such as large-scale embezzlement and corporate fraud, may result in the actual loss of far greater sums of money than the average bank robber or petty thief, yet the "white-collar criminal" is almost always the recipient of greater leniency in the courts.

If there were in reality any *credible* moral standard binding on all human beings...it would be possible to inquire whether the SS guards who received heavier sentences, as they sometimes did, were not unfairly treated in comparison with the business executives. Is there not the suspicion that it is easier to sentence an SS guard than a corporate manager, although the "clean" violence of the latter did the greater damage?

Unit VII: READING #9

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What is your reaction to I.G. Farben's early policy toward Jewish employees during the Third Reich? What should they have done?
2. Why was Auschwitz selected as a site for investment?
3. What was Fritz Ter Meer's excuse for using slave labor in the I.G. Farben plants? What is your view of this argument?
4. Who do you think would be more responsible for what happened during the Holocaust: an SS camp guard or an I.G. Farben executive?
5. Do corporations have any ethical responsibilities? How harshly should "white collar" participants like I.G. Farben be judged?
6. Should ethical responsibilities ever take precedence over business responsibilities?
7. Why does Rubenstein mention Ter Meer's "American corporate connections?" Discuss.
8. Who was responsible for the production of Zyklon B?

DEFINITIONS

Buna: synthetic rubber factory at Auschwitz

KZ: concentration camps

IG: Interessen Gemeinschaft—Community of Interests. Used in relation to cartels and monopolies.

SENATE THROWS WEIGHT BEHIND RESTITUTION BILL

A vote last week in the Senate [in Poland], capped weeks of intense national debate on the property restitution issue.

Warsaw Business Journal, January 30, 2001

Juliet D. Golden

The government scored a key victory last week when the Senate threw its support behind the highly controversial draft of the property restitution bill.

The contested bill provides mechanisms for compensating Poles and their families for losses due to illegal expropriation of properties from 1944-1962.

In the weeks ahead, attention will be on President Aleksander Kwasniewski who has the last say over the bill's fate. The final version of the law will most likely land on the president's desk sometime next month. Once there, the president has 21 days to sign or veto the bill.

Despite recent parliamentary successes, restitution activists said last week that they doubt Kwasniewski will ultimately sign the bill into law.

"All signs on heaven and earth are that the president will veto the bill," said Mirosław Szykowski, chairman of the National Coalition of Revindication Organizations (OPOR).

The vote held late last Friday capped weeks of intense national debate on the property restitution issue.

Opposition leaders from the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) and the Peasants Party (PSL) argued that assets set aside to cover restitution claims would best be used to cover budgetary expenditures related to education and health reforms, servicing Poland's foreign debt or upgrading the military as required under NATO agreements.

Kwasniewski echoed similar concerns earlier this month during an interview on public television. "The question is – can we afford this?", he said.

Under the bill that was voted on last week, former owners will get back 50% of the value of their seized property. When possible, property will be returned in-kind. However, if the property has already been sold or is in private hands, former owners will receive compensation coupons worth the

estimated value of their assets. Coupons can be used to buy state-owned real estate or they can be invested in a specially created investment fund.

The Treasury Ministry has estimated that the introduction of the law will cost the state zł. 47 billion (\$11.46 billion). However, government officials last week said that failure to pass the restitution law could lead to individual settlements totaling as much as zł. 270 billion (\$66 billion).

Prior to the final vote on Friday, the Senate introduced key changes that significantly broaden the number of property owners eligible to receive compensation. Under the law passed by the Sejm earlier this month, in order for property owners or their heirs to be eligible for restitution, they had to be Polish citizens at the time property was confiscated. In addition, they had to be registered as Polish citizens as of Dec. 31, 1999.

However, the senate last week voted to lift the Dec. 31, 1999 citizenship requirement. The move brought cheers from restitution activists.

"That's what we wanted," said Szykowski from OPOR.

The citizenship-restrictive requirements proposed in earlier versions of the bill had been criticized for excluding large numbers of Jews and other Poles now living in diaspora who lost property not only during the communist era, but also under the Nazis during World War II.

Before the bill lands on the president's desk any amendments introduced by the Senate will have to first be accepted by the Sejm.

During the past decade a comprehensive restitution law has eluded government after government in Poland. The unresolved restitution issue has not only been the topic of heated domestic debates, the lack of a law has earned Poland harsh international criticism.

The filing of a class action suit against Poland in a U.S. federal court in Brooklyn, New York by 11 Jews

Unit VII: READING #10

seeking the return of property in Poland placed the unresolved restitution issue on the country's international agenda. Lawyers representing Poland have argued that the country is protected by sovereign immunity and cannot be tried in a U.S. court. The federal judge presiding over the case is due to rule on whether U.S. jurisdiction will be granted in the case later this year.

With the bill about to be sealed by Parliament, the spotlight and pressure will now be focused on

Kwasniewski to take his stand on the issue. Despite signals that the president will most likely veto the bill, early this month he plans to make a careful decision based on the merit and not on political pressure.

"This decision will be one of the most important decisions before me in this second term," Kwasniewski told Polish television earlier this month.

BYSTANDERS AT MAUTHAUSEN

*Bystanders, people who witness but are not directly affected
by the actions of perpetrators, help shape society by their reactions.*

Professor Ervin Staub believes that bystanders play a far more critical role in society than people realize.

Bystanders, people who witness but are not directly affected by the actions of perpetrators, help shape society by their reactions....

Bystanders can exert powerful influences. They can define the meaning of events and move others toward empathy or indifference. They can promote values, and norms of caring, or by their passivity of participation in the system, they can affirm the perpetrators.

Events in Mauthausen, a small town ninety miles from Vienna support Staub's argument. After Austria became part of the Third Reich, the Nazis built a labor camp for political prisoners there. As the camp's operation expanded, the Nazis took over buildings in a number of nearby villages. One of those buildings was Hartheim Castle. Until the Nazis closed it for remodeling in 1939, it was a home for children labeled as "retarded." In the 1980s, historian Gordon I. Horwitz asked townspeople about the castle renovation. A man he identifies as Karl S. wrote to the chairman of a euthanasia trial held in 1969. That letter stated in part:

[The] house of my parents was one of the few houses in Hartheim from which one could observe several occurrences. After Castle Hartheim was cleared of its inhabitants (around 180 to 200 patients) in the year 1939, mysterious renovations began which, to an outsider, however, one could hardly divine, since no [local] labor was used and the approaches to the castle were hermetically sealed. Following completion of the renovations, we saw the first transports come and could even recognize some of the earlier residents who showed joy at returning to their former home.

Karl watched the buses arrive from a window in his father's barn. He recalled that transports of two to three buses came as frequently as twice a day. Soon after they arrived, "enormous clouds of smoke streamed out a certain chimney and spread a penetrating stench. This stench was so disgusting that sometimes when we returned home from work in the field we couldn't hold down a single bite."

Sister Felicitas, a former employee, has similar memories:

My brother Michael, who at the time was at home, came to me very quickly and confidentially informed me that in the castle the former patients were burned. The frightful facts which the people of the vicinity had to experience at first hand, and the terrible stench of the burning gases, robbed them of speech. The people suffered dreadfully from the stench. My own father collapsed unconscious several times, since in the night he had forgotten to seal up the windows completely tight.

Horwitz notes, "It was not just the smoke and stench that drew the attention of bystanders. At times human remains littered parts of the vicinity. In the words of Sister Felicitas, 'when there was intense activity, it smoked day and night. Tufts of hair flew through the chimney onto the street. The remains of bones were stored on the east side of the castle and in ton trucks driven first to the Danube, later also to the Traun.'"

As evidence of mass murders mounted, Christopher Wirth, the director of the operation, met with local residents. He told them that his men were burning shoes and other "belongings." The strong smell? "A device had been installed in which old oil and oil by-products underwent a special treatment through distillation and chemical treatment in order to gain a water-clear, oily fluid from it which was of great importance to U-boats [German submarines]."

Wirth ended the meeting by threatening to send anyone who spread "absurd rumors of burning persons" to a concentration camp. The townspeople

Unit VII: READING #11

took him at his word. They did not break their silence.

CONNECTIONS

Why do you think the townspeople chose to believe Wirth despite evidence that he was lying? If they had acknowledged the truth, what would they have had to do? Would they have agreed with Visser't Hooft (Reading 2) when he argued that it takes courage to face the truth?

Who was a part of the town's "universe of obligation"?

According to Staub, what choices do bystanders have? What choices did people in Mauthausen make? What were the consequences?

How do the people of Mauthausen support Albert Einstein's observation: "The world is too dangerous to live in—not because of the people who do evil, but because of the people who sit and let it happen"? What arguments might they offer in their own defense?

A concentration camp was located in Ravensbruck, Germany. The townspeople knew about the camp; some local shopkeepers even used prisoners as slave labor. Yet very few people in the town expressed concern for the inmates until the war was over. Only then did local women aid prisoners dying of typhus. How do you account for efforts to help the sick prisoners only after the war had ended? Was it terror that kept people from helping earlier? Or is there another explanation?

Ervin Staub presented his study on the behavior of perpetrators, victims, bystanders, and rescuers at a Facing History Summer Institute. A video of his lecture is available from the Resource Center.

WHY ME?

Ernst Papanek

Dr. Ernst Papanek was born in Vienna in 1900. He was an eminent teacher and child psychologist who fled from Austria. In 1938, he was asked to become the director of homes that were being established in Southern France as shelters for refugee children. Many of these children were Jewish, and their parents had been sent to the camps or killed. Papanek's foremost goal was to help these children not only to survive but also to survive whole. From 1943 to 1945, he worked as a social worker at the Children's Aid Society in New York. Later, he served as executive director of the Brooklyn Training School for Girls and the Wiltwyck School for Boys in the United States. Well known and highly respected throughout the world for his work with juvenile delinquents, his lectures, and his publications, Papanek died in 1973. He is the author of *Out of the Fire*, from which the following excerpt is taken. Many of the children who survived the Holocaust were left with unanswered questions and conflicting emotions that persisted for many years. In this selection, Papanek describes their experiences.

The guilt of the survivor. I saw it unfold before my eyes in classic form soon after the war had ended. By that time, I was the executive director of American Youth for World Youth, an organization which eventually involved ten million students in this country. (The program called for young people to make direct contact with their counterparts abroad; i.e., adopt schools, organize their own money-raising events, grow and can food, assemble kits and generally find their own ways to be helpful.)

One of the men working with us was Paul Goldberg, a Polish refugee who had been delegated to us by the World Jewish Congress, one of the many agencies cooperating with us. Like so many refugees, Goldberg had his own tragedy to live with. The war had broken out while he was in Switzerland attending an international congress and he had been forced to go to London, leaving behind a wife, an eleven-year-old daughter named Sue and a seven-year-old daughter with the unforgettable name of Aurora. At his request we made constant inquiries to every agency in the field, private and governmental. What little information we were able to get clearly indicated that they had been wiped out during the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto.

And then, one morning while I was leafing through the mail I flipped over a routine thank-you letter from an orphanage in Russian-occupied Poland and felt my heart skip a beat. The letter had been signed by five of the children representatives, and one of the signatures leaped right off the paper at me. Aurora Goldberg. Immediately, I called Paul. How

many Aurora Goldbergs, after all, could there be in the world?

Any number, as far as the Polish authorities were concerned. The countries of Europe, bled white by the war, were fighting to hold onto every unattached child they could lay their hands on. Since Paul had no papers, the authorities maintained over a period of months that he could offer no real proof that he was the girl's father. At length, with great difficulty, we were able to arrange for Aurora to be sent to a recuperation camp in Sweden, and once she was there it became an easy matter to whisk her onto a ship for England and on to the United States.

By that time, we knew that her mother and sister had indeed been killed during the Warsaw Uprising. Aurora had survived only because she had been among the rather large group of younger children who had been smuggled out of the ghetto and placed with Polish farmers.

After all that waiting, Paul was almost destroyed by the reunion. For by this time Aurora was thirteen years old and not at all reluctant to accuse her father of saving himself and leaving her mother and sister to die. They would come to the office, first one and then the other, to complain about each other. The relationship between them deteriorated so badly that she would insult him in the presence of others.

For five or six months I took those accusations of hers at face value. Until... well, I had been invited to their apartment for dinner, and after we had eaten I was out in the kitchen helping Aurora with the dishes. Exactly what was it, I asked her, that she

thought her father could have done. "He didn't know where any of you were. How could he? Even you—did you know where your mother and sister were?"

The dish fell from her hand and shattered against the floor. "You don't like me anymore," she cried.

Of course I liked her. Why shouldn't I like her?

"No, you think it should have been them that were saved. Them, not me! You think Sue was better than me, don't you? He told you how good she was."

She was trembling worse than I had ever seen anybody tremble in my life. "It should have been me that was killed," she moaned. "It should have been me." Over and over. "It should have been me."

And there it was. It wasn't anything that had to be interpreted. She had said it all.

I had survived too, I reminded her. So had millions of others. And most of them hadn't suffered the losses or undergone the hardships she had. "What right do we have to hate millions of people because they stayed alive while others died?" I asked her. No more right, as she should have been able to see, than they had to hate us.

Intellectually, she could accept that. Emotionally, she couldn't.

For Aurora, it has been a long walk down an endless road. She came to work with American Youth for World Youth, doing contact work with Polish children, particularly with her former friends at the orphanage. Since she spoke very limited English, she entered a private school where she could get special help. Three years later, she was graduated as valedictorian of her class.

She had also become a leader of a Zionist youth group in high school. Upon graduation she went to Israel to live in a kibbutz, discovered very quickly that it wasn't the life for her and returned to America to enter college. Gradually, her attitude toward her father improved, although their relationship didn't become cordial until she moved into her own apartment and consulted a psychiatrist.

The sense of guilt was never completely eradicated. She found she was able to function best while she was helping other people, and so she went back to college to get her degree in social work. She manages. She copes. She functions. But to this day, she finds it necessary to pay an occasional visit to a psychiatrist.

I am not suggesting that everybody emerged with this sense of guilt or, even, that it so completely overpowered those who did. Most of them understood, emotionally as well as intellectually, that survival was a matter of luck. And had a story they could tell to prove it. I had an aunt who was at Ravensbrueck, the notorious concentration camp for women in which the inmates were used as guinea

pigs for medical experiments. One night, shortly after she arrived, there was an alarm. "Everybody out of bed and out into the yard!"

The count came up one short. Unbelievable! While the SS commander was raging and threatening and bullying, out walked my aunt, a handsome, tiny lady of about sixty.

Where had she been? screamed the SS leader. How dare she come out late!

"I do not go out to meet people, no matter how late," said my aunt, regally, until after I have washed myself and put up my hair."

The SS man's mouth fell open. Nobody had ever dared to speak up like that before. Or, need it be said, to confront him with a logic so far removed from the logic of a concentration camp. In the long, trembling silence that followed, everybody in the yard was aware that her life was on a razor's edge. And then the SS commander scowled ferociously. Not at my aunt. At the other prisoners. "I want you all to follow this little lady's example," he shouted. "She knows how to behave properly. I don't want to see any of you people fall in again unless you have washed up and combed your hair and made yourself presentable."

It made absolutely no sense. It was grotesque. Any woman who had dared to ask for permission to put up her hair would not have lived to ask another question. How do you explain it? Maybe the SS commander had hesitated too long; maybe she reminded him of somebody in his own family. Maybe he had yelled himself out in those last few seconds before the decision had to be made or maybe it had just been a long day for him, too. Who knows?

Having allowed her to get away with it, he had to go all the way. My aunt was made the capo of her barracks charged, presumably, with keeping everybody else in line. Once the SS commander had shown such respect for her, the guards were afraid not to. And so it was that one old Jewish woman survived.

There were also those who set out to survive, refused to consider the possibility of not surviving and therefore accepted survival as no more than their due. A friend of mine named Hugo Price would boast how he had worked like a buffalo in the concentration camps. Hugo, who was very Jewish-looking, would labor until his hands were bloody, and then work even harder while he made jokes about his bloody hands. "This impressed the Nazis very much," he would laugh. "I was their star performer." For people such as Hugo, survival became exactly that, a personal triumph.

Abraham, a Polish Jewish boy I met at a camp for displaced persons, had come home one afternoon to find that the Nazis had taken away his whole family;

his father, mother, three brothers and sister. For two months he was hidden by a Christian family who shared their meager provisions with him. At the end of those two months, he came to the decision that he had no right to allow them to risk their lives for him. So he walked out of the house and went to the Karzyso Work Camp, which was run by the Nazis. "I am a Jew," he announced at the gate. "I have come to report for work."

At first, they didn't know what to make of him. "You are volunteering to work here?" And then they began to laugh. "Sure, we have plenty of work for an ambitious young man. Come on in, we can use you."

He became the camp joke, and when the joke began to pall they shipped him around from one camp to another, always billed as The Volunteer. By the time he landed in Mauthausen, a work quarry which was also used as an extermination camp, the war was almost over.

In his own eyes, Abraham—unlike Hugo—was no hero. He had merely calculated the odds for prolonging his own life, he said, without risking the lives of his friends. If he was discovered in hiding, he would be treated as an enemy; if he surrendered, he might be viewed more like a prisoner of war.

In my eyes, this boy had a powerful instinct for survival although I'm aware that others might disagree. A contrary case could be made that his act revealed a distinct ambivalence about survival. That perhaps he had simply decided to get it over with, one way or another, and was able to console himself that if he was indeed rushing to his death he was at least holding his fate in his own hands.

Because our children were in a protected position their fate, by and large, was not in their own hands. And if that wasn't true of all of them it was certainly true of those who were brought to the United States.

The question asked of me again and again as these children married, settled down and began to raise families of their own was: "Why did you bring me over and not someone else?"

Many years after I had come to New York I received a call from a girl who identified herself as Sarah Cohen and wanted to know if I remembered her?

Of course I did. "I'll be over in half an hour," she said. She didn't ask whether I wanted to see her; she didn't even ask whether I was free. She would be over. Period. As it turned out, she was married, had four children and was teaching school in Canada. It also turned out that although she had identified herself by the name by which I knew her, she now called herself Nora. Quite a few of the girls changed their first name, a phenomenon I wouldn't want to overinterpret. In some cases, it was no more than a

free-style anglicizing of their German names; in other cases, they preferred the name they had been given on their false passports. With most of them, I suppose, starting a new life in a new country had offered them a chance to drop a name they didn't like and adopt one they did.

The first thing she said after our greeting was: "Why was I chosen to come over, and what happened to those who were not?"

That was easy. She had come over because she had been among the first to be processed in Marseilles. The only criteria for that, as far as I knew, were good health and random chance. Of those who had not been brought over, about a hundred had been killed.

That wasn't good enough for her. "You did not save me because I was such a good student?"

"I did not know whether you were a good student or a bad one."

"Did you save me because my uncle was a professor and told you I was an intelligent girl?"

"I did not know you had an uncle. As far as I know neither did anybody else."

She jumped up and kissed me. "Thank you! Oh, thank you! I was afraid you might have become one of those snobs who only wanted to save the intelligent children who would have the best chance of making good."

The question persists. Twenty-seven years after the children had reached the shores of this country it came up again in a letter from a Cuban girl who had married one of the Cuban boys. "Both Hank and I think of our arrival in the U.S. as coming into the promised land in spite of Congress's earlier refusal. We still feel that way. We also feel an obligation to justify our survival somehow because of the recurring question, 'Why us?' This obligation calls for service to others, but it will never really answer the question."

It is not an obligation, I must hasten to add, which was felt by everybody. There are, for instance, two brothers. The older one went into business for himself, worked very hard and has done very well. The younger one has always sponged off him. "I'm worried about my brother," the successful one told me during a visit. "He simply refuses to apply himself to anything long enough to hold a decent job." It wasn't that he begrudged him the money. "I'm only glad I'm able to give it to him. But I'm afraid for him. I'm afraid that something was destroyed in him over there. He thinks his experiences in the war entitle him to ask the world for anything. I can't even talk to him about it. Everything irritates him, and the hell of it is that he believes he's entitled to be irritated, too."

HEIR OF THE HOLOCAUST: A CHILD'S LESSON

Harry Furman

A study of the Holocaust will not matter unless it has some effect on our everyday behavior. Any student of the Holocaust must ask the basic question, "What does this event teach me about how I should lead my life?"

That question has been difficult, especially for children of survivors. Helen Epstein has speculated about the possible influence of parent survivors on their children in *Children of the Holocaust*. Yet, whether the Holocaust has influenced the real behavior of these children remains a question for debate.

In this selection, Harry Furman, the son of an Auschwitz survivor, speculates about the lessons of the Holocaust. He argues that the Holocaust must teach us to care more about our world and each other. Regardless of who we are, the Holocaust raises profound moral questions that are at the center of human experience. Disputing the old saying, "Silence is golden," Furman contends the penalty for society's silence toward each other's suffering is a spiritual death.

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As the son of an Auschwitz survivor, I grew up in the shadow of the Holocaust, and my life was and is intertwined with its mystery. A part of me was left behind in the black smoke over Auschwitz and I carry much of the living spirit of that fire: I know that my grandfather's legacy to me, someone I know only from a photograph, was to carry his name and his tradition.

Vineland, New Jersey was a refuge for hundreds of survivors of the Holocaust. I can remember very well the conversations that took place, during the 1950's in the kitchen of our house—where people would come and, in Yiddish, Polish, Russian, and broken English, exchange stories and argue with each other about what happened. That was my first introduction to the mystery. I was a very small boy and I'm sure that nobody realized I was listening as I sat in the hallway. But even then, it was hard to turn your face to not listen.

Like many who were the first children of survivors, I grew up with a cautious attitude toward people. Our parents loved, protected, and cared for us almost too much. Scarred by those who tried to snuff out every spark of Jewish life, these survivors took their children's lives seriously. We were the living proof that they had endured the test of fire with death and could still touch life. How else could our parents have thought?

While the Germans marched the Jews into ghettos in Poland, the majority of the Polish people did little to stop them. Some Poles, Ukrainians, and other Eastern Europeans even collaborated with the Germans in killing thousands of Jews. It is no accident that the major death camps—*Auschwitz, Treblinka, Maidanek, Chelmno, Sobibor, Belzec*—were not in Germany, but in Poland. I am reminded of Elie Wiesel's description of the indifferent man in *The Town Beyond The Wall*. This was the man who watched impassively as Wiesel and his family were driven from their home in Hungary and brought to the *Umschlagplatz* for the train ride to death. As Wiesel wondered, "How can anyone remain a spectator indefinitely? How can anyone continue to embrace the woman he loves, to pray to God with fervor and even faith, to dream of a better world—after having seen that?"

The death camps provide a moral problem for all mankind. In his first book, Wiesel related the contrasting advice of two prisoners at Auschwitz. The first said, "We are all brothers, and we are suffering the same fate. The same smoke floats over all our heads. Help one another. It is the only way to survive." But another man disagreed: "Listen to me, boy. Don't forget that you're in a concentration camp. Here every man has to fight for himself and not think of anyone else. Even of his father. Here there are no

fathers, no brothers, no friends. Everyone lives and dies for himself alone.” Which of the prisoners was right? I warn you that your answer applies to our own situation even today. More than anything else, the Holocaust has destroyed our illusion of divine justice. The Holocaust proved that civilization and progress and science do not necessarily result in greater humanity. The Holocaust teaches us, for better or worse, that the earth is *ours* and that people have the choice to create what they wish—that we can be on the side of those who serve life or those who bring death.

In many cases, such as the ex-Nazis who live in the United States, those who committed genocide were not always punished; few indeed were. For many, the Holocaust represented a deepening of the mystery of God’s role in the affairs of humankind; for some, the Holocaust deadened their faith, for others it was strengthened. One thinks of the old legend of the chalice that sits next to the Celestial Throne into which all of the tears of Mankind are placed. When the cup is filled, the legend tells us, the Messiah will come. The Holocaust begs us to ask, “Has the cup no bottom?”

And so, as I have grown older and gone through many stages, I now teach about this mystery of the Holocaust. When I went to high school the subject was never talked about. Today, young people need to be presented with moral issues. The Holocaust serves as an explosive symbol of the choices that await them. The young must explore questions relating to the nature of humanity, the psychology of violence, of duty, of mass control, the painful problem of responsibility.

I am worried about those who, in the name of education, would have us emphasize “basic skills” in the schools. One might be reminded of this letter written by an interested parent:

Dear Teacher:

I am a survivor of a concentration camp. My eyes saw what no man should witness.

Gas chambers built by LEARNED engineers.

Children poisoned by EDUCATED physicians.

Infants killed by TRAINED nurses.

Women and babies shot and burned by HIGH SCHOOL and COLLEGE GRADUATES.

So I am suspicious of education.

My request is: Help your students become human. Your efforts must never produce learned monsters, skilled psychopaths, educated Eichmanns.

Reading, writing, and arithmetic are important only if they serve to make our children more humane.

As history shows us, knowledge of reading and

writing and figuring does not guarantee decent behavior or even freedom from atrocity. Greater “intelligence” does not necessarily lead to greater humanity. *Intelligent* men served as Nazi judges; *intelligent* men participated in Nazi scientific experiments; *intelligent* men designed the gas chambers; *intelligent* men supported the Nazis with their *silence*. We must always ask the painful question: Does the nature of *our* society lead us closer to or farther from Holocaust?

Perhaps we live in too comfortable a society, hidden from the constant reality of atrocity. But our children do not understand the Holocaust and they do not, as yet, see it as something that can be part of their own lives. Too many young people and adults live without values of their own choice. We are either more dependent on our leaders to make our moral choices or unwilling to make those choices at all. Today, the most serious challenge in the schools and in society concerns how we can help people to be more aware of injustice and moral choice when our society emphasizes above all else the acquisition of material things and the need to obey orders.

If we want children to understand the Holocaust, we must challenge one dangerous idea that many have held about the Nazis. That is the view that Hitler and the Nazi leaders were crazy. This view tends to separate us from them and thus deny the possibility of our own participation in such murder. But the reality is that genocide was the work of rational, efficient, businesslike people who went home to their families in the evening to lead normal lives. Out of an enlightened German society of Goethe and Schiller and Beethoven emerged the Holocaust. Do not assume that we, simply as an enlightened people, are not capable of participating in and condoning murder. There is bitter historical evidence in our treatment of native Americans, of Blacks, and recently, the Vietnamese...

How, then, after the war, should we Americans deal with the Holocaust? This problem can best be expressed by a contrast of two film characters. *The Pawnbroker* concerns a Jew in Harlem, Sol Nazerman, whose wife and child had been murdered in the death camps. Nazerman, like many others, had been seriously affected by his painful past. He is withdrawn, aloof, and constantly relives his camp experiences. His customers are largely poor, Black or Spanish, he is unable to relate to their misery, to their absolute helplessness. He has shut himself off from that possibility. He is cold to the Spanish boy who helps him in his shop. We find out that Nazerman serves as a front for a Black gangster. Like some Germans, he found it difficult to resist the pressure; he is unable to act. At the film’s conclusion,

there is an attempted robbery, and gun shots fired at Nazerman hit the Spanish boy who shields him. As the boy lies dying in the Harlem street, Nazerman realizes what he has become. And in an emotional climax of self-hatred, he jams his hand on the needle meant for the pawnbroker's cash receipts. Sol Nazerman could not free himself of his pain to reach out to others.

In contrast, "Harold and Maude" concerns a 17 year old boy who cannot find any reason to live; he cannot find people who provide him with any reason for living—a problem many young people experience today. Harold is constantly playing at suicide and going to funerals. He is as conscious of death as Sol Nazerman. He meets Maude, a 79-year-old woman who gives Harold the gift of life. She lives for the moment and fights for the big issues. She sings about freedom, plants trees in the forest, shows off her paintings. She is warm and sensitive, and expresses individualism, spontaneity and rebellion. She replaces respect for laws with her commitment to people and conscience. Not surprisingly, Harold falls in love with Maude and proposes marriage. As he places the engagement ring on Maude's finger, the camera shows her left forearm. On Maude's arm were the *numbers*—the unmistakable mark of the death camps. Maude teaches us that it is possible to suffer an entire lifetime and still not give up the art of laughter. She is that rare combination of conscience and the Hasidic joy of just being alive.

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The responses of both Nazerman and Maude are understandable, yet it is *she* who met the challenge: the willingness to give even after having been denied one's own right to life. If the meaning of the Holocaust is translated into the non-values of Sol Nazerman, into his silence, our tragedy of the Holocaust will have served no purpose but to symbolize the death of human spirit. The great French writer, Albert Camus, said that there were only two choices for men after the war: to be smiling pessimists or weeping optimists. Precisely because the Holocaust teaches us that there is no eternal hope, we must create our own.

Even out of the ashen experience of the Holocaust, we *can* create a testament of hope. The human spirit, the desire for life, is not so easily broken as the Nazis imagined. I think of the Partisan's Hymn which first became popular in the

Vilna Ghetto and served as the supreme challenge to despair. Remember? "*Zog nit Keyn mol as du geyst dem letstn veg*": "Never say you walk the final road." Even the death camps were filled with countless examples of open and secret acts of help and kindness. My father could not have survived without that help. The lesson is clear—we are capable of kindness even in the worst of conditions. And although too many were silent, a very conscious and dedicated minority of non-Jews resisted, as best they could, the work of the Nazis.

It will not be long, as I found out all too quickly, that we will not have the survivors as living reminders of the Holocaust to instruct us. If we are not careful, we will allow those who wish to rewrite history, who would even deny the reality of the Holocaust, to do their work. They have already begun, and if we do not speak out, they will falsify history before our eyes. You must understand something that Pastor Niemoller in Germany learned far too late—that injustice must be everyone's business; that we are at once alone *and* interdependent; that we are responsible to and for ourselves and each other.

I must think again of my own father who was like many survivors: good, simple people who were hurt by their past and yet continued to live. My father and I would talk about the wisdom of protest. Always cautious, my father feared that those who speak out take a severe risk; such was his experience. He, like other fathers, was only trying to protect us. And yet, I know that my father would not want me or any of his children to retreat into the silence of those who watched him suffer.

The young have no easy task. Each generation has its own trial, its own challenge. Our trial will come with our willingness to seek truth, to reject injustice, to refuse to be silent. One of the great Hasidic rabbis, the Rabbi Menachem Mendl of Kotzk, said, "It may not be within man's powers to find truth, but it is up to him to reject lies, hypocrisy and cheating...The purpose of man is to raise the sky. To raise it until it becomes unattainable. Rather look at the sky, way up high, lost in the clouds, than see it in the mud, at your feet."

I ask you again—to which of Elie Wiesel's two death camp prisoners will we listen? Will we and our children say yes or no to the silence?

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What point is made by the letter written to a teacher? Do you agree? Explain.
2. What comparison is made between the characters in "The Pawnbroker" and "Harold and Maude?"
3. What is the task of "Man," according to Rabbi Menachem Mendl of Kotzk?
4. A character in one of Elie Wiesel's novels states, "So you hope to defeat evil? Fine. Begin by helping your fellow man. Triumph over death? Excellent. Begin by saving your brother." How do you react to this challenge?

EXODUS 47

Ben Wicks

Many of those who had miraculously escaped the gas chambers of the concentration camps sought any means possible of getting to the one country which had opened its arms to receive them. Those who had already made their way to France faced the difficult next step of finding a ship to take them to Palestine.

Hanna Zimnowitz had survived the camps and was about to start life with her husband in a DP camp in France when she discovered that they had been lucky enough to secure passages on a ship:

She was called the *Exodus* and she already had children on board whom the Haganah had picked up throughout Poland—their parents had been left behind, but the hope was that they would join them later. We were told that we'd be in Palestine six days later. Unfortunately, it didn't work out like that.

The *Exodus* had started life as a Mississippi steamer, but she had been stripped clean to make room for as many people as possible and only her beautiful golden staircase remained. Otherwise there were rows and rows of bunks where the cabins had once been. She'd been designed to carry 120 passengers in luxury; now she was carrying 4,500 of us in conditions that were pretty basic!

Yossi Harel, commander, had intended to pick up refugees in Italy as well as France, but British influence had seen to it that the Italian ports there were closed to him. His ship, originally named the *President Warfield*, was an 1,800-ton four-decker. With full fuel tanks she lay in the French port of Sete as the passengers came aboard. There would be 4,515 of them, men, women and children, all of whom had gone through the hell of the Nazi camps. Six hundred of the children on board were orphans whose parents had died in the gas chambers.

Harel's crew were Jewish Americans, most of them members of the Palmach, and they carried a grave responsibility. Theirs would be the biggest

single number of immigrants ever taken by ship to Palestine — the biggest since the Exodus from Egypt. The crew were not experienced seamen, but the Palestine Jews could not afford such a luxury: experience was something one had to make for oneself. Outside the bay, a British destroyer was lurking. The British couldn't touch the *Exodus* in French territorial waters, but the plan was to sail at night in an attempt to give the Royal Navy the slip in any case.

At last they were ready to depart — the pilot they had commissioned hadn't turned up, but they had to go now or they would miss the night tide. Harel decided to do without a pilot. Slowly the ship gathered momentum, but soon afterwards a steel cable snagged one of the propellers and Harel had to reverse engines to clear it: he succeeded, but the manoeuvre had taken thirty precious minutes. Hardly had they got under way again than the ship suddenly shuddered and came to a stop: they had veered too far to the right and had struck a sandbar. Ahead lay the open sea, but they were immobile and the darkness they depended on to make good their escape would soon give way to dawn. Harel ordered the powerful engines full ahead: the *Exodus* strained frighteningly, but at last shook herself free.

As she headed out to sea on an eastward course, the feeling on board was one of exhilaration. The mid-July weather was good, and although they had not been able to duck the attention of the Royal Navy, a strange sense of confidence began to grow in everyone on board. Two babies were born on the first night at sea, and they took this as a good omen. The calm waters soon grew choppy, however, as the wind rose, and many, aboard ship for the first time, were sick. To make matters worse, the destroyer was shadowing them had now been joined two others and by the cruiser *Ajax*, which lost no time in signalling to the *Exodus*: "If you are carrying immigrants, you are acting illegally. We will imprison you as soon as you reach British territorial waters." It seemed that Ernest Bevin, perhaps under pressure from his military advisors, was determined to take an example of this latest attempt by the Zionists to bypass the quota.

On the fourth day another child was born, but its mother died plunging the passengers into gloom. The poor woman, who had survived a living hell only to die on the threshold of the homeland, was wrapped in the blue and white flag of Israel and buried at sea.

The Royal Navy continued to dog them and by the time she passed the Egyptian coast the *Exodus* had an escort of five destroyers and the Ajax. Boarding seemed inevitable, but the refugees prepared themselves to repel any attack.

As the *Exodus* approached Tel Aviv the spirits of those aboard rose again: two Palmach brigades were waiting on shore to aid them, and as the ship had been built for river work, she had a far shallower draught than the warships, which could not follow her close inshore. But the commander of the destroyer *Chequers* took the decision to lie alongside the refugee ship while there was still time, and to board her at sea. At 7:30 p.m. on 17 July, the British warships began to deploy. The Ajax was to cut off any route to the shore, while the others would catch the *Exodus* in their searchlights as she was boarded.

The rendezvous with the Palmach forces on shore had been scheduled for 9 a.m. on 18 July; now it looked as if that rendezvous could not be kept. The question was, would the rest of the world care about the plight of the refugees on the *Exodus*? There was nothing to be lost in letting it know. A message was sent in Hebrew, French and English from the ship's radio and broadcast via the Haganah transmitter in Palestine:

"Listen to the immigrant ship *Exodus*, a ship of the Hebrew Haganah, now nearing the shores of Eretz Israel. We are about sixty miles away, and each moment brings us closer to the coast we yearn for. Five British destroyers and one cruiser have us tightly encircled . . ."

The news spread through Palestine and outwards to the rest of the world as the British closed in. By now the entire group of ships was very near the shore. On board the *Exodus*, the women and children were moved to the relative safety of the upper decks. The ship sounded her siren, and at the signal 1,000 young refugees appeared on deck, ready to defend her even though the only weapons they had were sticks or cans of tinned food. It was just before dawn on 18 July when the *Exodus* was flooded with light from the warships and a voice rang out from unseen loudspeakers: "Heave to. You are under arrest!" Hanna Zimnowitz watched:

As we approached the waters of Palestine, they came so close to us that they started to shout. They said that the women

and children would be transferred to their ship, and that they would then tow our ship into harbour.

None of us wanted to move. They became angry and started to yell at us then. Soon afterwards, they threw ropes across and pulled alongside. When the British soldiers began to board, the Haganah told us to try to get their weapons from them and throw them into the sea.

It was growing light by now and the people on the shore could see clearly what was happening. The British ships rammed us and holed us. Water began to pour in. People were panicking but we kept going and we finally made it into the harbour at Haifa. They didn't let us land.

In fact the battle had been even more violent. The British had strafed the *Exodus* with machine-guns, and in the general melee three refugees were killed and at least twenty-eight others seriously wounded. The refugees defended themselves fiercely, and even some of the children hurled tin cans at the heads of the soldiers trying to take over their ship. The British responded with tear-gas.

It was inevitable that the British would win, and by the time they had control of the bridge of the *Exodus* the battle was as good as over. As an exercise, however, the British had used far more force than was necessary, and in diplomatic terms the whole episode was a disaster. The battle had taken place in full view of the shore and had been observed by, among others, delegates of UNSCOP. The refugees, who enjoyed the sympathy of virtually the whole non-Arab world, were transferred to three British ships and held prisoner on them. Some of the *Exodus*' crew managed to escape and make contact with the Haganah on shore. The *Exodus* herself, battered but still proud, lay in the port at Haifa as a reproach to Britain and an inspiration to Palestine Jews.

Ernest Bevin, however, seemed bent on compounding the mess. He decided that these refugees would not be sent to Cyprus, but returned to France – the three ships with the would-be immigrants on board were ordered to sail to Port-de-Bouc. The immigrants were not even allowed to retrieve their belongings. Hanna Zimnowitz remembers:

We had nothing – just what we were wearing. They'd erected chicken-wire fences around us to keep us prisoner. In protest, we started a hunger strike and threw their food overboard. Only the children ate.

There were so many people on our boat. No place to sleep – there was fighting at night for a small space to lie down. No water, either. It was horrible. And we had 600 children with us.

They arrived back in French waters on 29 July. The French offered the refugees asylum if they wished to land, but the Jews wanted to go to Palestine and they refused to disembark. Bevin tried to persuade the French authorities to force the refugees to go ashore, but this the French angrily refused to do. Meanwhile, anti-British feeling was rising by the day. The battle off Haifa was being shown on newsreels all over Europe and the USA. There had been a huge demonstration in New York. The British embassies in Washington and Paris were sending urgent communiques to the Foreign Office to limit the damage that had already been done. But Bevin was inflexible. The ships carrying the refugees were ordered to sail to Germany, of all places, and there the passengers were indeed forcibly disembarked and taken to a DP camp at Poppendorf, near Lubeck. Not only were these survivors of the concentration camps in Germany, but they had been

put into a DP camp which was, as Hanna Zimnowitz recalled, a former concentration camp itself!

Of course the whole horrible sequence of events had been closely followed by the world press. One report for 8 September 1947 ran: "British troops today landed 1,400 screaming, kicking and weeping Jewish refugees from the transport *Ocean Vigour*, using physical force to compel recalcitrant passengers to set foot on German soil. Truncheons were employed unsparingly."

If the story of the *Exodus* can be said to have a happy ending, it lies in the endurance and determination of her passengers, whose plight won them sympathy worldwide. In the end, they all found their way to Palestine, though some did not get there until after the State of Israel had been founded. By their actions during the two-month saga of the *Exodus*, the British might have been working hand-in-glove with the Zionist propaganda machine.

Hanna Zimnowitz escaped from Poppendorf with her husband and, with the help of the Haganah, made her way back to the homeland again – this time successfully. The voyage on the *Exodus*, by the way, had been her honeymoon – and she had never before been on a ship, or even seen the sea!

NOVEMBER 29, 1947

Uri Dan

THE NIGHT best remembered by the Jews in Palestine was that of November 29, 1947. Throughout that entire Saturday, the Jews had closely followed the news from U.N. headquarters in Lake Success. For the previous three days, the General Assembly had been debating the proposed partition of Palestine between the Jews and the Arabs.

As midnight approached, most residents of Tel Aviv went off to sleep. Full of disappointment and disillusionment after the thirty-year British rule in Palestine, many Jews had grave doubts that their supporters would surmount the obstacles and obtain approval for partition.

Toward midnight, the radio broadcast the sensational news: the counting of votes had just been completed. Partition had been approved by the required two thirds majority. "The British mandate over Palestine will terminate as soon as possible and in any event by no later than August 1, 1948," the resolution laid down.

The news swept through Eretz Yisrael like wildfire. In Tel Aviv, people left their homes in pajamas to shout the good news: "We have a state!" Thousands thronged the streets and squares in the heart of the city. Young men and women began dancing the hora, others climbed atop buses chanting "Jewish state!" or "Free immigration!" As if by some act of magic, blue and white flags appeared from nowhere and young Jews ran through the streets, waving them jubilantly. Older people stood in groups singing the national anthem, "Hatikvah," tears of joy running down their faces. "Mazel tov! Mazel tov!" they congratulated each other. "The state has been born!"

That night, for the first time, the Jews of Eretz Yisrael felt that the vision of a reborn Judea, of a renewed Jewish nation like any other nation, had been realized. The Jewish community had become a sovereign state with the approval and recognition of most other nations. This feeling swept through the Jewish communities of the world, from New York to Paris. A miracle had occurred.

In Tel Aviv, cafés and stores opened in the early morning hours of November 30 to provide people who were normally used to drinking orange juice with alcoholic beverages. At the Piltz coffee house on the seashore, three thousand people drank cognac "on the house." At Hamozeg, another cafe known for



U.N. Partition Plan, Adopted November 29, 1947

its excellent beer, the celebrants emptied sixty barrels. Wine and beer flowed like water all over Tel Aviv. The first Jewish city had never seen so many drunk people.

The naïveté of most of the reveling Jews was so great that they believed that simply by virtue of a resolution of that eminent organization called the United Nations they already had a state. There were even those who liked to believe that the Arabs would honor the U.N. decision. At the time, there was still a great deal of respect for the United Nations. The Jews wanted to believe that an end to their suffering had



Women fighters in the kibbutzim and the Irgun.

come after the pogroms in Russia, the Holocaust perpetrated by the Germans, and the hangings at the hands of the British. Many saw a symbolic significance in the fact that the U.N. resolution came only a few days after the Jewish holiday of Hanukkah, which commemorates the victory of Judah Maccabee and his Hasmonean family over the Greeks.

The rude awakening from this heady drunkenness came fast. One day after the U.N. resolution, the border areas between the Jewish and Arab communities in Eretz Yisrael were in flames. On November 30, the Arabs took the initiative and attacked Jewish vehicles on the roads in the center of the country. From Jaffa, the large and powerful Arab port city, they began sniping at south Tel-Aviv. It was clear to all that the Arabs were intent on rejecting the Partition Plan and would try to prevent it by force. The seven Jews killed in an ambush on that Sunday were the first casualties in Israel's War of Independence. That same day, an Arab mob set fire to the Jewish business sector of Jerusalem. In Tel Aviv, our parents warned us about Arab snipers firing from Jaffa.

The War of Independence actually started that November 30. These were the first 7 of more than 6,000 Jews dead by the end of the war which finally ended with the liberation of Eilat in March 1949. The 650,000 Jews living in Eretz Yisrael at the time never dreamed they would pay the price for their independence with 1 percent of the total population.

Proportionally, it was an enormous price. It was as though the present-day United States were to suffer 2,500,000 casualties all in a period of only sixteen months. A national catastrophe by any standards.

The Jews, though sensitive to human life, were nevertheless ready and willing to make any sacrifice to defend their state. The seven Jews murdered by the Arabs on Sunday, November 30, were a small part of the huge price Israel was to pay. The many thousands of deaths and injuries suffered by the Jews in the next forty years are the bitter proof of this.

Whereas the Arabs rejected the Partition Plan, Ben-Gurion and most of the Jews were willing to accept what had been given to them as if it were the greatest gift since Moses received the Ten Commandments on Mount Sinai. Ben-Gurion was willing to reach an accord with the Arabs, even though the Partition Plan stated that Jerusalem would become a "Corpus Separatum"—an entity kept separate from the Jewish and Arab states to be established in Eretz Yisrael. The boundaries of



Jerusalem were to include Bethlehem in the south, Ein Karern and Moza in the west, and Shuafat in the north. The city of Jaffa was to be an Arab enclave outside the Jewish state. The way in which the population would be spread meant that the territory of the Jewish state was to include 415,000 Arab inhabitants and an additional 90,000 Bedouins. Even so, the Jews were happy with their lot.

Ben-Gurion explained this in a speech on December 3 to the Central Committee of his party, Mapai (the workers' party), then the strongest political force in Eretz Yisrael:

"The wonder has arisen and has come into being; the nations of the world have resolved to re-establish the State of Israel. The Jewish people have



December 1947: violent clashes between Arabs and Jews in Tel Aviv.

always believed in this phenomenon and have waited two thousand years for it to come. This belief itself is one of the unprecedented historic wonders of the world. We know no other people that was exiled from its land and dispersed among the nations, hated, humiliated, and oppressed without respite for hundreds of years, but has nonetheless persevered in its special existence and persisted in its belief that the day would come when it would restore its independence in its own state."

In referring to the Partition, Ben-Gurion said:

"We have not been given all we wanted, and the territory of the State of Israel has been cut back...It is clear that the territory covered by the Balfour Declaration thirty years ago was four times larger. Even the territory of the "Homeland" under the 1922 Mandate was almost twice as large as that which has now been allotted to the Jewish State. Jerusalem, the heart of the Jewish people and of its history, has been placed under international domination and is surrounded on all sides by areas given to the Arab State. The mountainous areas in the Galilee have been taken from us almost in their entirety, and we have, therefore, lost not only areas of settlement, but also sources of health and stability. Over thirty [Jewish] agricultural settlements have been placed outside the area of our State, which has been given strange, weird borders. All the same, I know of no other accomplishment in the long history of our people greater than that achieved at this time. Most of the valleys of western Eretz Yisrael and most of the coastal shore have been retained by us, and these are valuable assets. A large and important portion of the sources of water in the north have been restored to

us and most of the barren territory in the south. The new State of Israel will extend from Dan to Eilat, about 200 kilometers (125 miles) south of Beersheba, and will lie between the two seas: the Mediterranean in the west and the Red Sea in the south. We stand before a new destiny. We will now stand as masters of our own destiny."

Ben-Gurion was even willing to reconcile himself to the internationalization of Jerusalem, but he specifically stated:

"With the establishment of international rule in Jerusalem and its environs, and the separation from the Jewish state, Jerusalem will not cease being what it has always been to the Jewish people—from the days of King David right up to the present—'the heart of the Jewish people.' It has not been made the capital of the Jewish state—but it was and will continue for all time to be the spiritual capital of the Jewish people—the center of the entire Jewish people—both that in Eretz Yisrael and that in the Diaspora. Jerusalem must be the heart and soul of the Jews of the world."

In short, Ben-Gurion was willing to make do with the bare minimum granted the Jews in Eretz Yisrael by the U.N. He was even willing to forego control of Jerusalem, the important thing being that Jews would gain a country of their own, small as it might be. He explained this in the same speech:

"The borders of the State under Jewish rule—beginning with the days of the judges and extending all the way to Bar Kochba—changed unceasingly, and there are few terms that are less clear than the term "historic" borders. From the early days, the borders of Jewish independence would retreat and advance in accordance with constant political changes and even the degree of independence was not always permanent..."

Ben-Gurion hoped, and his supporters hoped even more, that this minimum which the United Nations had decreed as the territory of the State of Israel would, in the end be the basis for an agreement with its Arab neighbors and peace treaties with the adjacent Arab states. Sadly, this hope was not to be realized.

But Ben-Gurion's observation that the borders of the Jewish state "changed unceasingly" indeed proved to be true in the following years. He himself determined later on despite the opposition of the superpowers that Jerusalem would be under Israeli rule. In 1967, Ben-Gurion had the good fortune to see Israel liberate the Old City of Jerusalem, conquered by the Arab Legion in 1948. Ever since the Six-Day War in 1967, Israel has also controlled Judea and Samaria and the Golan Heights, and no one knows whether these will be Israel's final borders—or

whether she will have to withdraw from these territories. The State of Israel twice held the Sinai Desert up to the Suez Canal: once in 1956, as a result of the Suez Campaign, and a second time from 1967 to 1982, when Sinai was returned to Egypt in exchange for a peace agreement.

It is doubtful whether there is another example in modern history of a state whose territorial borders have changed as many times in so brief a period, as have the State of Israel's. It is possible that this is the outcome of a very unusual historic case—the case of people who returned to their land after many hundreds of years, only to find that other occupants had laid claim to the same territory.

But the Arabs made a fatal error; they decided that the Jews were entitled to nothing at all. This was a resolve they would seek to ensure by force of arms and terror. On December 11, eleven Jews were murdered and, on the fourteenth, fourteen more were killed. Thousands of Jews left their destroyed homes in the suburbs of Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, and Haifa. The British Army did not intervene to prevent the Arabs from perpetrating their acts of terror. On the contrary, the British encouraged the chaos which reigned, presumably with the intention of sabotaging the Partition. In any event it appeared they wished to secure Arab superiority. The flames spread throughout Eretz Yisrael. Since the British still ruled the country, Ben-Gurion secretly ordered that everyone possible enlist in the ranks of the Haganah. By the end of December, the total number conscripted by the Haganah reached 7,500.

Ben-Gurion issued a decree: "Not a single Jewish position or settlement is to be evacuated. We shall hold them to the last man!"



Fighters of the Haganah in 1948 wearing civilian dress, equipped with small arms.

THE ARAB FLIGHT

Uri Dan

EVEN BEFORE the proclamation of the State of Israel, hundreds of thousands of Arabs abandoned their homes, fields, shops, and orchards and fled. Between January and May of 1948, the problem that has since weighed like a dark cloud over the whole of the Middle East—that of the Arab refugees—was created, a problem that still remains to be solved.

To this day the experts have difficulty in explaining this flight. For the Arabs fled not only from towns and villages in areas allotted the Jewish state, but also from territory allocated by the U.N. to the Palestinian Arab state.

Leaders of the Arab population in Palestine had no doubts that they could defeat the Jews. Thus invasion of the regular Arab armies on May 15 was preceded by a lengthy period of sporadic individual incursions by Arab bands across the borders, vowing “to throw out the Jews and annihilate them.”

On January 9, 1948, an Arab force of several hundred invaded Galilee from Syria. Their aim was to capture at least one Jewish settlement, preferably Kibbutz Kfar Szold. The Lebanese Defense Minister himself closely observed this offensive.

On the twentieth of the same month, 500 heavily armed Syrians attacked Yehiam in western Galilee.

Four days later the Palestine Liberation Army invaded with a force of 750 men, arriving on machine-gun trucks on the outskirts of Nablus. The British declared that they were no longer in control of the situation. Three weeks later this force attacked Tirat Zevi in the Beit Shean valley.

On February 25, Fawzi al-Kaukji, commander of the Arab Redemption Army, invaded Eretz Yisrael with one thousand men equipped with cannon, and set up his headquarters in Nablus. Over two hundred British Army deserters stationed in Palestine joined these Arab groups.

The invading forces boosted the morale of the local Arabs, leading them to believe that the day of victory was at hand. The British did nothing to prevent the incursion, which had been armed and backed by Jordan, Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon. Yet these attacks usually ended in failure, though the Jews suffered scores of casualties almost daily. The Arabs



A British Army Deserter amid Arab fighters.

thus proved from the start that they would do everything they could to destroy the Jewish community in Eretz Yisrael even before it had the opportunity of declaring its statehood.

Arab leaders instilled in their Palestinian brethren the belief that the Arab invasion would be a two-week pleasure trip. In Arab headquarters, it was said that King Abdullah’s Legion could get to Tel Aviv within one week and that Haifa could be taken within two. Senior British officers hoped and believed this would be the case. In keeping with the best tradition of Middle Eastern imagination stories were spread of how Egypt’s King Farouk was preparing a white horse on which to ride for his victorious entrance to Tel Aviv, where “the Arabs would take blond Jewish girls clad in shorts for themselves.”

I remember these rumors of the “Arab plans” in Tel Aviv, some of them even appearing in the Hebrew press. To some extent, they help explain the flight of the Arabs: convinced that they would soon be returning, they had no doubt they were leaving homes for a few days, perhaps a few weeks, at most a few months. They believed that within a short time

they would come back together with the victorious Arab armies, not only to their own homes, but to plunder and take Jewish homes for themselves.

The Arab leadership explicitly encouraged this hope. In each case where the Arabs faced Jewish counterattacks, principally by the Haganah and also by Irgun and the Stern Group, Arab leaders advised the inhabitants to flee, because "you will soon return and avenge yourselves."

In contrast with regular acts of cruelty perpetrated by the Arabs, there was only one instance in which Jews were accused of a massacre of civilians. On April 9 Irgun and Lehi units attacked the village of Deir Yassin, which lies west of Jerusalem, and killed 240 Arabs, half of them women. The Haganah immediately condemned the act as a "massacre." This event is still the subject of heated and bitter debates among Israelis to this day.

There are those who attribute the Arab flight to stories of the atrocities which were bandied about by the Arabs in greatly exaggerated form following Deir Yassin. However, it is hard to believe that Arab residents of Haifa and Jaffa left these big cities only because of the story of one village.

These two key cities, the most important in Eretz Yisrael after Jerusalem, fell into Jewish hands only a few days apart, during the last days of April 1948. Haifa was the most important port in Palestine and one of the most important in the entire eastern Mediterranean basin. The Arabs controlled the port and the trade that passed through it, although the British held the port until their final evacuation of Palestine. On April 21, however, the British announced that they were leaving their positions in the city itself. The Haganah, prepared for this, began shelling Arab positions and stormed key positions in the city. This was the first true test of power between the Jews and Arabs: to determine who would control the strategic seaport.

Within twenty-four hours, tens of thousands of Haifa's Arabs began fleeing their homes in the downtown area, traveling by car, on foot, and by sea. They left for nearby Acre and distant Beirut—the same Beirut that would later become the capital of Yasser Arafat's PLO until he was expelled by the Israelis on August 21, 1982, with ten thousand terrorists.

The Arab community of Palestine was severely jolted by the fall of Haifa. Three days after it fell, the Irgun, which was already operating in the open although the British Army still controlled Jaffa and Tel Aviv, mounted an attack on Jaffa. Until then, the Arabs had threatened Tel Aviv incessantly for several months. Not a day went by without firing and shelling in the southern suburbs of the largest Jewish city. I remember my father, as a member of the

Haganah, taking his post in one of the positions defending the front line between Jaffa and Tel Aviv. The whine of bullets in flight in the streets of south Tel Aviv and the little pings when they hit the walls of our home still ring in my ear.

The British tried to save Jaffa by opening fire on the Jews. But the battle was decided by the fact that tens of thousands of Arabs fled from Jaffa. They abandoned the city in which they and their forefathers had lived for hundreds of years; Jaffa is one of the oldest cities in the world, from the shores of which the biblical prophet Jonah left on the journey in which he was said to be swallowed by a whale. The Arabs boarded boats and ships and made off for Lebanon and the Gaza Strip.

The largest Arab city in Eretz Yisrael officially signed a deed of surrender on May 13, six and a half months after it had opened hostilities on Tel Aviv. Together with other children, I hurried to Jaffa a few days later. We were shocked by the signs of destruction everywhere. The beautiful city, with its tree-lined boulevards, its houses with their massive heavy doors and arched windows, was almost totally deserted, a ghost town. Only a few thousand Arabs remained in Jaffa. Under the Partition Plan, the city was to remain an independent Arab enclave within the Jewish state. Now the Arabs had lost Jaffa completely.

The Arab flight disturbed and bothered Ben-Gurion. Not that he was sorry—but he wanted to know what had caused them to flee from Jaffa and Haifa. On May 1 he went on an inspection of Haifa and learned from the local Haganah commanders that of the thirty-five thousand Arabs in Haifa on the eve of the Jewish offensive, only about ten thousand remained. "They continue to flee," Ben-Gurion was told, leaving behind huge stores of food that the Haganah immediately took control of.

"Toward evening," Ben-Gurion wrote in his diary, "I went through the Arab neighborhoods once again. It was a shocking but fantastic sight. A dead city, an urban corpse. Only in one place did we see two old people sitting in a half-empty store. . . . there was not a soul around, apart from a few stray cats. . . . Why did tens of thousands of people leave their city, their homes and their worldly possessions in such panic, without sufficient cause? What caused this flight? Could it have been simply an order from above? It does not seem possible that the immensely rich—and some of the richest people in the country lived here—would abandon all their material assets just because somebody gave them an order. Was it really fear?"

Ben-Gurion's questions prove that the issue perplexed him. But no answer is forthcoming. There



1947: the call for a Holy War.

Jewish city. War is war. We didn't want the war. Tel Aviv didn't make war on Jaffa. Jaffa made war on Tel Aviv. . . . Those who declared war on us must take full responsibility for their folly and their failure.

Only in isolated cases did the Haganah encourage Arabs to leave their villages and towns, and only after the example set by the Arabs of Jaffa and Haifa.



Arab guerrilla armed with grenades.

is room to assume that the Arabs of Eretz Yisrael believed the promises made by their leaders that victory over the Jews was certain. Never in their worst nightmares did they consider the possibility that they would not return as victors.

On June 5 Ben-Gurion received a report on the magnitude of the Arab flight. The numbers were astounding. A total of 123,000 Arabs had deserted 155 villages within the original territory of the State; 22,000 Arabs left 35 villages outside the State of Israel.

In the five cities within the territory of the state—Haifa, Beit Shean, Tiberias, Safed, and Tzemach—77,000 fled. Another 73,000 left Jaffa and Acre, two cities that were to have remained outside the Jewish state. And 40,000 Arabs fled Jerusalem. In all, 335,000 Arabs left their homes, 200,000 from the territory which the United Nations had assigned to the Jewish state. At the end of the war the total number of Arab refugees amounted to approximately 800,000.

There were many who advised Ben-Gurion to discuss the matter with the Arab states to arrange for resettlement of the refugees in those states. This idea has been raised repeatedly over the last forty years, but the Arab governments never seemed to want to resolve the problem. And many of the thousands of Jewish refugees who left Arab states in the years that followed were resettled in the abandoned Arab homes of Jaffa, Haifa, Acre, and other towns. One and a half months after the conquest of Jaffa, Ben-Gurion clearly stated his opinion in a cabinet meeting: "I believe that their [the Arabs'] return must be prevented. We must settle Jaffa. Jaffa will become a

HOME AT LAST

Edited by

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**Stubborn Son of a Stubborn People:
Saul's Story**

Lena Kichler

The years 1945-48 were known as the period of "illegal" immigration. At that time the only hope of the refugees from the Nazi holocaust was Palestine and that was barricaded by the British. World Jewish organizations acquired barges, coastal freighters, ships that had long been pronounced unseaworthy that would float—in which to bring this destitute remnant to Israel. Unfortunately, they did not always succeed in saving their human cargo. In "Saul" we have an example of the refugees' clinging to life and the daring and bravery of those who made every effort to save them.

Saul's rescue was made possible, among others, by the Vaadat Ezra'h Hatzalah organized by Hungarian Jews and financed by the Joint Distribution Committee to rescue their brother Jews from deportation and death. It had a wide network of undercover agents, couriers and contacts with diplomatic offices. It smuggled Jewish refugees from many European countries to havens of shelter and safety. While it succeeded in saving tens of thousands of souls, hundreds of thousands were exterminated by the Nazis.

This story was told in 1946 by Saul, who was in a Jewish orphanage in Belleville, France, to the woman in charge, Lena Kichler. Saul was born in Lvov and was fourteen years old when he told the story.

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I invite Saul to my office. He comes in uncertainly. His face is scarred. He has a sharp, serious, searching look. When his eyes meet mine, he softens a little.

I ask him to sit in the armchair. Saul hesitates—he is not quite sure why he was asked to my office. When I sit down, he also takes a seat.

I tell him why I asked him here, and ask him to tell me his experiences during the war. Saul thinks for a while, and then begins his story.

From my childhood, I can remember our large courtyard. I can still see the forest, the lakes and the pastures where our horses used to graze. We owned a herd of horses. My father loved horses very much and I do too.

Even when I was still a small child, my father used to seat me in the saddle, and the two of us used to gallop furiously on the horse. My mother used to scream in fright and beg him to be careful of me. She did not agree to my being on the horse. But I was not afraid and I often used to ask my father to put me in the saddle.

For some reason—I do not know why—we moved to Lvov. Things were good then. I was the youngest of the children. I did three years of school—one year of Polish school before the war and two years in a Russian school during the Russian occupation.

As soon as the Germans conquered the city, they carried out a pogrom. They used to seize Jews in the street and torture them to death. They seized my brother in the street and no one knows what happened to him.

I went to look for my brother. I did not care any more—I was not frightened or anything but I was very sad. I wanted to find my brother—no matter what the cost. He was my oldest brother and we loved him very much. I did not want to hide as my father told me to do: I thought I should be able to find my brother.

I was in Zhilkewsk's Street and I saw how the Germans collected the Jews. The Jews were in a state of shock and panic and asked each other "What will happen now? What will they do to us now?" There were many men and women there, some or them in

beautiful suits, some of them poor, and many small children. They were seized haphazardly while they were innocently walking in the streets. None of them expected anything of the sort.

It was the day after the conquest of Lvov, and the Germans had posted up placards calling on the population to return quietly to work. The Jews did as the Germans said and went to work—but the Ukrainians arrested them. The Jews demanded to be allowed to go to work. They argued that their employers were waiting for them; but the Ukrainians only mocked them. They answered, “Don’t worry. Let them wait for you for a while.”

Then they took iron bars and began to beat the Jews with them with all their strength, without worrying which part of the body they struck. The people screamed terribly and begged them to stop. It was particularly bad for the women—the blows were more than they could stand. But amongst the men there were some who could not stand it either.

They beat and tortured them terribly. The Germans stood aside and watched the show. Now and again they called. “Hit that one! Hit him there!” etc. The Ukrainians obeyed their orders.

I was in the street and saw it with my own eyes. I looked for my brother, but I could not find him. I continued to walk on and on. Similar things were taking place everywhere. They were hitting and torturing Jews. One woman stood by and watched them beating up the Jews. She fainted.

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I reached the barricade and could go no farther. I returned home, but said nothing of what I had seen. They killed Jews in the street like that for three days. No Jew dared to leave his hiding place. My brother did not return.

Two weeks later our family was removed from our house. It was the first German “action.” Apart from myself, there was another brother, my sister, my mother and my father. They made us run to one of the squares where we had to sit down, and placed an armed guard over us. We were guarded by a Gestapo man with a rifle and by many armed Ukrainians as well.

We were about two hundred Jews there. We sat on the ground and waited. The Ukrainians went wild and did anything they felt like. They would go up to the people and torture them. If they felt like shooting someone, they would shoot him. They amused themselves with us.

A Ukrainian came up to me and hit my arm with the butt of his rifle. I saw stars and I thought my arm had been broken. I could not move it for two weeks, and it continued to hurt me even after that. He hit me for nothing. I was sitting quietly, as I had been told. Suddenly he came at me from the side and hit

me with all his strength. Then he beat someone else on the head until his skull was smashed. The Jew fell over dead. Afterwards he was taken away somewhere.

When the Germans had collected a large number of people, lorries arrived, and we were put into them. The old were put into one lorry and the women and children into another. I was in the second lorry with the children. The lorries travelled slowly, because the crowds were in their way.

I took the opportunity and jumped from the lorry. My brother wanted to jump down too, but he could not, because he sat in the forward part of the lorry where there was a Ukrainian. I quietly moved my sister to the side of the lorry so that she could jump too but she was too frightened.

Our parents were in the other lorry with the old people. It continued to move forward until it disappeared.

I hid myself in the crowd and did not look behind. I was not sure whether the Germans had noticed my escape. But I was not afraid. I said to myself: “I do not care—either they will shoot me or I shall manage to escape. Everybody is being taken to his death anyway.” The lorries went on to Piaski and no one returned from there.

If I had had a revolver, as I did later on in the forest, I should have shown them that I could not be taken easily. I would have smashed their skulls first. Those murderers were only brave when they were dealing with the weak—children and old, defenseless people. In other cases, they were real cowards.

Saul ceased to talk for a moment, from excitement. Then he continued:

I went to one of our neighbours, who had a woodshed near his home. His name was Viniarski and he was an acquaintance of my father. I wanted to stay there so that I could see my uncle, who had hidden in a Ukrainian’s house. But Viniarski did not agree—he was frightened. I went on my way. I had no choice, had I? My home had been plundered. Everything had been removed—even bedding and furniture. Within half an hour the whole house had been emptied and not a thing had been left behind. There was nothing to which to return.

I turned to another neighbour. She gave me a slice of bread, and I continued on my way. I had no papers (i.e. “Aryan” and I did not know what to do. I wandered around like that till two in the morning. Then I entered a peasant’s hut and asked him to let me stay there for the night. He refused and said that he was afraid to do so, since I had no papers.

I continued to walk in the forest alone at night.

Even though I was only ten years old. I was not at all frightened. I did not care whether I lived or died.

I still had ten zloty in my pocket. I walked to the railway station and bought a ticket to Wradzychow. I did not know to whom I was going, but that was unimportant. I thought things were quieter there and that the Germans were not behaving as they were in Lvov.

In fact, it was worse. They were taking the Jews out in the street and killing them on the spot. People were scared to walk in the street, because passers-by were being shot at.

I continued walking until I reached the village of Nemitov twenty-five kilometres away. I wanted to work for a farmer. I knew how to look after horses and I was prepared to learn the other kinds of work.

But I lacked papers. I went to the head of the village and told him that my name was Yanek Komorniczki, and that I was all alone, because the Germans had taken my parents to do forced labour: I had no papers because my parents had not left them behind for me. I told him I was born in Lvov.

He hesitated at first and examined me a little, but in the end he gave me a certificate of identity and confirmed it with a large seal. With that certificate in my hand, I went to a peasant and asked him if he needed a worker, and he accepted me.

He had a medium-sized farm of about thirty acres, a few cows, a few horses, rabbits and chickens, and it was good quality land. The farm supplied him with bread, potatoes and milk. But the documents testifying that the bearer is a Christian used to get drunk very often and then would be away frequently. When he returned home, he would sing, neglect the livestock, and try to find an excuse for a fight. Only when he finally curled up in a corner and snored away was I able to breathe freely. Every week he used to distill rye-whisky because whisky was expensive. But he sold only a small portion, because he used to drink most of it himself or was sober.

He was single and had no family. He was quite easy-going. There was not much cooking in his house because there was no woman there. We used to drink milk and eat potatoes and bake bread for the holidays. But I was never hungry while I was with him. While I was pasturing the cows. I used to bake potatoes in the ashes of the fire.

At first I used only to take the cows out to pasture afterwards, I used to do any work there was; I used to plough, reap and thresh. I fed the cows, took manure out of the cowshed, cleaned the house and even used to help to make the whiskey, etc. At the beginning, I was not used to work and he used to scold me all the time—I did not know how to thresh grain, nor how to milk cows. But I learned quickly,

and satisfied him. When the farmer was away. I was alone on the whole farm.

My hands were quite damaged from the hard work. My shoes wore out. I was forced to go barefoot so that I could keep them for Sunday, when we went to church.

I used to rise early, before the sun was up, and take the cattle out to Pasture. It was still dark outside and mist covered the ground. My hands and feet were frozen from the cold, and I did not want to get up. I had no warm clothes. But the cows were already lowing in their stalls and the horses used to turn their heads towards me. I was forced to rise. In winter things were worse for me. I had no shoes or warm clothes but I became accustomed to frost.

Sometimes I used to sleep in the stable near the horses—it was warmer for me there. I have told you before that I used to go to church on Sundays. Once, just before Easter, the peasant asked me whether I had been to confession. I said that I had. I did not talk much to the boys from the village, because I did not have much time. But we were on good terms. Once I took a load of manure out to a field. One of the boys from the village came up to me and said. "You are so-and-so, a Jew without documents, who does not know the Paternoster." I said, "Clear off, or I shall knock your teeth out." He left me alone—but went and told the peasant. The peasant did not say a word to me but I saw that his behaviour towards me had changed. From the comments he made about my work, it was clear that he did not want me any more. On Sundays, and whenever I was not at home, the boys would come and incite him against me, and tell him not to keep a Jew in his house.

Once when I returned early from the field, I heard one lad tell the peasant that he was sure I was a Jew, since I did not know how to cross myself. I understood that I had lost the battle, and I did not bother to go inside. I finished my work, fed the cattle, prepared some potatoes for the day and lay down to sleep in the stable. Early next morning before the peasant was awake, I set out.

I had no place to go to. I could not return to Lvov, because they knew me there. If I had gone to another peasant, the same thing would have happened all over again. I decided to go to the forest. The forest was only a kilometre from the village, but it was not at all easy to penetrate into it.

At that time there were all sorts of people in the forest. There were ordinary robbers, who used to attack passers-by. There were "Bandrovtsi" (Ukrainian Fascists. under the leadership of Stefan Bandra). It was dangerous to go near them. Once, a woman went out to gather mushrooms and unintentionally approached their camp. They shot

and killed her. But there were Poles and Jews of all sorts in the forest as well. The farmers were frightened of the forest-dwellers, because if you did not satisfy their demands, they would kill you on the spot, and if you did then the Germans would take it out on you afterwards, or even burn the whole village.

I very much wanted to reach the Russians in the forest, because they had weapons and they were not afraid of the Germans—but how could I find them?

It was the beginning of spring. The forest soil was like a swamp. I wandered all through the forest: about five kilometres I must have walked, and as I did not meet anyone—neither the bad ones nor the good, began to despair. Suddenly I heard a voice behind me say in Russian. “Where are you going?” I realized that I had come upon the Russians, and I was extremely pleased. I told them (in Russian), who I was—a Jew who wanted to join them in order to fight the Germans. They accepted me, even though I was small.

I told them everything that had happened to me: how the Germans had taken my father and mother and how I had worked in the village, and how the boys had driven me away.

The Russians behaved well towards me. There were other young boys there but I was the youngest. They told me not to be afraid. If I stayed with them, no one would hurt me. They told me that there used to be a Jew among them. 26 years old, and they all liked him because he was a good comrade—but he was killed.

They were not frightened of the Germans, because they had weapons and the Germans did not enter the forest. They gave me vodka and cigarettes, but I refused to drink or smoke. They cooked for themselves, repaired their own clothes, cleaned their weapons and played cards. Those were the best days I had at that time. I felt that I was a free man. No one called me a “damned Jew.” I would not have returned to the village or the town for all the money in the world, even though in the forest we had no roof over our heads and we slept on the bare ground.

There were about 150 of them. There were no women. There were Russians, a few Poles who had escaped from the hands of the Germans and I was the only young Jew among them. The following day they began to ask me about the Germans: where I had seen them and on which side of the forest. I told them all I had seen. Then they wanted to know who the rich farmers in the village were. They were planning a “raid.”

In the evening, four of the men harnessed two horses to a cart and saddled two others. Two of them were with me in the cart and the other two rode

their horses. There was a Russian officer and an ordinary soldier with me. They took a sub-machine gun and grenades with them. They had revolvers in their pockets. They were dressed as civilians and no one would have imagined that they were soldiers. They looked for all the world like farmers returning from market. The sub-machine gun was covered with straw. There were sacks at the side. It was a pleasure to see how they could disguise themselves, or as we say now, camouflage themselves.

We left the forest after dark. One of the riders went on ahead. He preceded us in order to see if it was all clear in front of us. After that, he returned and we all moved off. We entered the village and stopped at one of the huts. One of the mounted men guarded us from a short distance away and the other one kept lookout. I remained in the cart. The two entered the house with their hands in their pockets. They stood in the doorway and demanded foodstuffs.

They did not even have to show their pistols. The farmer quickly understood what his position was and brought butter, a ham, bread, cheese and sausage. He gave us more than we had expected. We put it all in the sacks and quietly returned to the forest. We did not return via the road, but through the fields. That was how my first raid ended. After that, I often went with them, because 150 men had to be fed and it was not easy.

The following day, I was awakened by shots. The Germans had encircled part of the forest, but were afraid to enter it. Only their dogs rushed up to us, but we were not afraid of the dogs. If they came close, we put a bullet in them from a pistol and that was that. The dogs and the Germans’ bullets did not worry us too much.

The Russians packed up, put the sub-machine gun in the cart and, some getting on their horses, moved on into the depths of the forest. It was a large and dark forest and gave us excellent cover. We traveled for about half a day and set up camp in a wilder place which the Germans had not reached. We camped there (for about a month and a half. We used to go to the neighbouring village every three days to get food, and we always took weapons with us.

The Russians gave me a small horse. He was black and had a tendency to bite. I used to hold his head with both my hands so that he could not move his jaw. The Russians advised me to whip him whenever he tried to bite me, but I could not...I pitied him too much. I used to curry him and brush him every day until his coat glistened in the sun. I used to go a long way every day to bring him fresh hay. Often the Russians used to tease me and take his fodder for their horses. I never said a word: I just waited. After a moment they would slap me on the

shoulder, grin, and return the fodder. They treated me well and always gave me plenty to eat and drink: in fact, they looked after me very well indeed. In the evenings, I used to join them around the fire and listen to their stories about the war, about their homes and wives and children. They used to show me pictures of their children and tell me what they would do when they returned home.

I often used to get up at night and go to my horse. The horse stood and chewed silently and I used to caress him, crawl under his stomach and spread fresh straw under him or give him water to drink. I used to take him to the small spring, which was close by. The forest was silent then. People were all asleep. Only the fire smoked away, and the guards were walking around. They used to offer me "machorka" (crude tobacco) but I did not smoke. The horse grew accustomed to me and did not bite me any more. As soon as he heard my footsteps he would turn his head towards me. He was healthy, and had become really fat. In winter I used sometimes to lie down next to him so that I could warm myself a little, and when I used to whisper my secrets to him, he would quietly neigh in answer.

The war came to us again. The Russians came closer. Their planes were overhead and dropped weapons, mines and grenades for us. Sometimes they let down five parachutes at once. Our officer had rockets, which he used to fire into the air in order to show them where to drop the ammunition.

We were in the rear of the German Army, which was retreating before the Russians. We had lots of work on our hands. We mined every place where the Germans were likely to go—yards, paths, under bridges, the edges of the forest. We would dig a hole in the ground and place two mines joined by a copper wire in it. If we knew at what time the Germans would be at a particular spot we would plant time bombs. We used them especially when a train, which was bringing reinforcements to the front, was due. Once we blew up a very long train, which was taking gasoline to the front. The explosions were so loud that the forest creatures fled in fear. I always asked to go to such actions. They used to take me, and I did what they commanded without being frightened. When they would not allow me to go, I had to obey, just as in the army.

They used to send me on foot mainly to scout out the lay of the land. I often approached the Germans very closely and saw just what they were doing. It was very dangerous to enter or leave the forest. It was terribly easy to step on a mine and be blown to pieces. Apart from that the Germans kept careful watch, and if they saw someone, they would shoot him. I often had to crawl more than one

hundred yards, over stones or in ditches or along the edges of fields. In winter when the fields were covered with snow, it was impossible to leave the forest because our tracks would have given us away at once. We used to go out only when the snow was falling, so that our tracks would be covered up. It was cold then, we were starving and it was difficult to hold out. We had to light fires at night, so as not to freeze. Even the horses suffered from the cold.

Finally the Russians attacked. The "Katiushas" (batteries or rockets) began to sing and the whole forest shook. Bullets flew over our heads and grenades exploded all the time. The forest went up in flames. The dim forest was lighted like an open field.

The explosions went on the whole night: they approached and retreated, became louder and then softer. There was lightning and thunder; the forest was filled with sound and the ground shook. Everyone was tense and held rifles in his hands.

Two other boys and I were commanded to leave the forest in order to bring food. We had not tasted a thing for two days. My friends went before me and I followed in their tracks. They walked very fast, in order to pass quickly over the dangerous path, and I hardly kept up with them. We left the forest. Now we had to jump over one of the German trenches. The Germans were no longer there. They were retreating and the Russians were advancing. I followed them. I saw how they sprang over the trench. I was supposed to do as they did. Suddenly there was an immense explosion and I was knocked backwards as though by a fist. A pillar of smoke rose and hid everything. I do not know what happened then, because I lost consciousness. I do not know, either, how long I lay there.

When I awoke I felt that my fingers were wet and I could not move them at all. I could not move my head either—it hurt me. I felt that my hands and feet were not part of my body. Everything around me was black and red. I could not distinguish anything clearly. There were black and white patches before my eyes. My ears were ringing and my chest was wet with blood.

I do not know what happened after that. Everything went hazy. I heard voices of my friends and felt that I was being carried somewhere. I was badly wounded.

I was taken to a hut and lay there all night. I asked about the two boys who had gone before me. The Russians said that both of them had been killed. They had stepped on a German mine, which had blown them to pieces. I had been wounded by fragments from the same mine.

The Germans were no longer there. The Russians captured the village and continued to advance. They

gave me first aid and the following day sent me to a Russian hospital in Zapatin.

The doctor gave me an injection immediately. I do not remember very clearly what happened afterwards, because I was very ill. I lay in hospital for more than eight months. They performed operation after operation upon me. They extracted one eye. They took off three of my fingers. Pieces of metal entered my lungs. I was very weak and could barely breathe. There was little food and the patients starved. They used to pick green plums and stuff themselves with them—they were so hungry.

Then Jews began to visit me and brought me food and I was not so hungry after that. After eight months they let me out of the hospital and the Jews took me to Poland. I came to Cracow. But I did not want to live among strangers, even though they treated me well. I did not want to be a burden to them. I decided to go to an orphanage. Since I had lung trouble, I was sent to Zacopina.

I did not want to be in Poland for all the money in the world. It seemed to me that everything there was just as it was in the days when the Germans were there. At every turn I was called names and threatened: "You are a dirty Jew! Get out of here—no one needs you!"

As a Jew, the hunger, the cold and the constant danger did not worry him: those were his good days...because no one insulted him. None of the partisans ever called him a "dirty Jew." On the contrary, they loved him. They saw that he was no coward and even though he was a small boy he thought like an adult.

The ground collapsed beneath him when he was wounded, near the end of the war. He was incapacitated, weak, ill—he felt that he was useless and unwanted.

He wanted to leave Poland. He wanted to go home. "I want to travel to Eretz Yisrael...I want to be at home. I do not mind if I have to do the hardest work there is."

When he heard that he might travel to Eretz Yisrael, he began to have confidence in me. One morning he said to me, "I want to help you!" Then he

emphasized, "But only you." That was a great day for me. I saw that he had begun to recover. For once he had confidence in one person, he would soon believe in the good in all people.

After that, I began to give him responsibility. I let him supervise the small children, the ones he used to hit. The educational miracle took place. Saul grew attached to the children and they to him.

In one matter he did not change: he remained a fighter for freedom, a rebel.

One day he came to me with about twenty other 14-16-year old boys and girls: our oldest group.

"We are leaving the Home," he announced coldly.

"Why? Is it bad here?"

"We are not leaving because it is bad but because it is too good here. We do not want to live here in Paris and visit the theatre and the cinema while our people are suffering on their way to Eretz Yisrael in ghost ships. We want to fight for Israel too. We do not want to wait any longer. We are going."

None of my arguments helped—that we would all be going soon: that he should be careful of himself: that his old wounds were likely to open up.

Saul incited them all against me and they set out. They reached our country in the ship "Exodus, 1947" and in it they received their first baptism of fire in the struggle for freedom and for the establishment of Israel.

Shortly after they arrived in Eretz Yisrael, the war of Independence began. They all joined the army. Saul could not join the fighters because of his bad sight and his missing fingers. To this day it is not clear to me how he managed to persuade the military authorities to take him. He joined the Military Police and was even praised for exemplary conduct in battle.

A few years later he became seriously ill once more; his old wounds reappeared. The doctor did not deceive us as to the probable results.

But Saul won the battle and recovered. Today (1961) he is a sailor in the Israeli Navy. Saul—stubborn son of a stubborn people.

PROCLAMATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

*After the liberation, Israeli soldiers stand at the Wailing Wall,
or the Western Wall, of the Temple of Jerusalem*

Israel Is Born

Iyar, 5708 (15th May, 1948), until the establishment of the elected, regular authorities of the State in accordance with the Constitution which shall be adopted by the Elected Constituent Assembly not later than the 1st October, 1948, the People's Council shall act as a Provisional Council of State, and its executive organ, the People's Administration, shall be the Provisional Government of the Jewish State, to be called "Israel."

THE STATE OF ISRAEL will be open for Jewish immigration and for the Ingathering of the Exiles; it will foster the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants; it will be based on freedom, justice and peace as envisaged by the prophets of Israel; it will ensure complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, race, or sex; it will guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, language, education and culture; it will safeguard the Holy Places of all religions; and it will be faithful to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

THE STATE OF ISRAEL is prepared to cooperate with the agencies and representatives of the United Nations in implementing the resolution of the General Assembly of the 29th November, 1947, and will take steps to bring about the economic union of the whole of Eretz-Israel.

WE APPEAL to the United Nations to assist the Jewish people in the building-up of its State and to receive the State of Israel into the community of nations.

WE APPEAL—in the very midst of the onslaught launched against us now for months—to the Arab inhabitants of the State of Israel to preserve peace and participate in the upbuilding of the State on the basis of full and equal citizenship and due representation in all its provisional and permanent institutions.

WE EXTEND our hand to all neighboring States and their peoples in an offer of peace and good neighborliness, and appeal to them to establish bonds of cooperation and mutual help with the sovereign Jewish people settled in its own land. The State of Israel is prepared to do its share in common effort for the advancement of the entire Middle East.

WE APPEAL to the Jewish people throughout the Diaspora to rally round the Jews of Eretz-Israel in the tasks of immigration and upbuilding and to stand by them in the great struggle for the realization of the age-old dream—the redemption of Israel.

PLACING OUR TRUST IN THE ALMIGHTY, WE AFFIX OUR SIGNATURES TO THIS PROCLAMATION AT THIS SESSION OF THE PROVISIONAL COUNCIL OF STATE, ON THE SOIL OF THE HOMELAND, IN THE CITY OF TEL-AVIV, ON THIS SABBATH EVE, THE 5TH DAY OF IYAR, 5708 (14th MAY, 1948).

THE IMPORTANCE OF NOT COMING TOO LATE

Rabbi Abraham Heschel was seven years old when he encountered the biblical story of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac for the first time. Years later, he could still recall how his heart beat faster and faster as he read of Isaac making his way to Mount Moriah with his father. He remembered trembling as he imagined Isaac lying bound on the altar, waiting to be sacrificed. Then just as Abraham lifted the knife, the voice of an angel was heard: "Abraham, lay not thine hand upon the lad, for now I know thou fearest God." It was at this point in the story that young Heschel began to sob. When his teacher asked why he was crying, the child replied, "Suppose the angel had come a second too late." The rebbe comforted the boy by saying that an angel cannot come late. In retelling the story as an adult, Heschel would add, "An angel cannot come late, my friends, but we, made of flesh and blood, we may come late."

In 1994, the people of Billings, Montana, discovered the importance of not coming too late. The Associated Press reported:

When swastikas appeared here in Montana's largest city, Chief Wayne Inman was determined to halt the hatred early. As a police officer in Portland, Ore., in the late 1980s, he had watched skinhead racism and antisemitism mushroom and turn deadly.

"Hate crimes are not a police problem," Chief Inman said. "they're a community problem. Hate crimes and hate activity flourish only in communities that allow it to flourish."

So he and others stirred the city to a level of outrage that at least for now appears to have cowed the racist groups.

The first signs of bigotry came last year when fliers started showing up in mailboxes on doorsteps, under windshield wipers, vilifying Hispanic Americans, Indians, blacks, homosexuals, lesbians, and welfare recipients. The fliers reserved special venom for the 48 Jewish families among the city's 81,000 residents.

Then in January, people attending a Martin Luther King, Jr. Day observance returned to find their parked cars papered with Ku Klux Klan material.

In the spring, skinheads began showing up in twos and threes at Wayman Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church, glowering in the back pews.

In August, a black swastika painted on white poster board was nailed to the door of Beth Aaron Synagogue, and tombstones were toppled in its cemetery.

In October, swastikas and racial slurs were spray-painted on the home of a husband and wife of different races.

Chief Inman recognized an emerging pattern: hate literature to intimidation to vandalism to personal attacks. In Portland that evolution culminated in the November 1988 beating death of Mulugeta Seraw, a young Ethiopian, by three skinheads returning from a meeting with recruiters from a white supremacist group.

"I saw the emergence of the hate groups and a community's denial, and I saw a wake-up call that was the death of a black man ... because he was black," Chief Inman said. "That's what it took to wake up Portland. We didn't have to go through that here to get the wake-up call."

The 100,000 people living in the Billings area reacted swiftly in unison.

"There was not silence," Chief Inman said, "There was community outrage, saying, 'If you harass and intimidate one member of this community you are attacking all of us.'"

And the resistance was more than bluster. Within five days of the spray-painted vandalism, 27 volunteers from Painters Local 1922 swarmed over the defaced house and obliterated the slurs in 45 minutes.

Bigotry resurfaced the next month. On Nov. 27, a beer bottle was hurled through a glass door at the home of Uri Barnea, conductor of the Billings Symphony. Five nights later, a cinder block thrown through a window sent shards of glass flying over the bed of 5-year-old Isaac Schnitzer.

Both houses were decorated with Hanukkah menorahs, and in both houses baby sitters were watching children.

The city reacted immediately. Christian churches distributed photocopies of menorahs. The Billings Gazette published a black-and-white picture of a

menorah with an editorial, then a full-page version in color. Several businesses began providing paper menorahs.

Within days, the nine-canded symbol of Jewish perseverance and resistance was displayed in thousands of windows across the city.

The menorah idea started with Rev. Keith Torney of the First Congregational Church and Margie MacDonald of the Montana Association of Churches.

"This was just getting to be too much," Mr. Torney said. "First the gays, then the black community, but it seemed to me, they kind of hit their stride in the Jewish community. It's like they're searching around to get attention."

Civic leaders, churches and businesses declared their revulsion. The Universal Athletics Company replaced its billboard display on a busy thoroughfare with this message: "Not in Our Town! No Hate. No Violence."

But the hatemongers returned. In December, they broke windows at two Jewish homes and two churches that displayed menorahs, shot bullets through windows at Billings Central Catholic High School and stomped and battered six vehicles at homes displaying menorahs, telling two owners in phone calls, "Go look at your car, Jew lover."

The spasm of hate created more resistance. Many more people put menorahs in their windows.

"It became physically impossible for the hate groups to harass and intimidate thousands and thousands of Billings citizens," Chief Inman said.

On Dec. 10, about 100 people attended a Hanukkah service at Beth Aaron Synagogue. Outside, neighbors discreetly stood vigil in the dark.

The city is not proclaiming victory, but Chief Inman thinks the hate groups have backed off. No vandalism has occurred since the incidents in December, and the literature and the anonymous calls have diminished.

"I would hate to predict we have stopped the influence and impact of hate crimes, but something appears to be working," he said.

A grimmer outlook comes from Clinton Spies, a former skinhead who did time for assault, armed robbery and burglary, and now runs a program to help youngsters leave racist groups. He said, "A year from now, we're going to have racial assaults, vandalism, all kinds of violence."

But Sheriff Charles Maxwell of Yellowstone County remains optimistic. "It may happen again," he said. "But the reaction will remain the same."

Six months later, another reporter visited Billings to see how the town was faring. After interviewing a number of townspeople, he noted that

many in the community were reexamining their attitudes and beliefs as a result of the menorah campaign.

Wayne Inman admits that it took along, while for his own sense of social justice to develop. As a child in Plains [a small town in Montana], he saw no African Americans, no Jews and only a few Hispanic migrant workers. "We grew up calling blacks 'niggers.' It was as common as the sun coming up in the morning. Nobody ever confronted the issue. It was 'normal.' But when I got out into the larger world. I found that it wasn't normal, or if it was normal, it should be opposed. When you have a person present, not just a word, you see that you're talking about a being whose skin is black. I saw that once for myself. I saw the hurt and pain in his eyes. It became a very personal issue for me.

People are also wondering if the strong community response to the Schnitzers would have been accorded a black or Hispanic family. The Schnitzers are Jewish, but they are also respected white, middle-class citizens. Some people feel that it was relatively painless for the community to rally behind them. Others simply believe that the timing of the menorah movement was propitious and that people were lucky to have a dramatic visual symbol to substitute for more layered, and perhaps more contradictory, thoughts.

Others wonder among themselves if the town was opposing violence or hatred. ...In recent years, there have been more fights in bars and incidents of vandalism that have no connection with hate crimes. Like most cities, the town is fed up. Even a Gazette editorial titled "Violence Begets Violence" asked: "In the long run does it matter" whether the smashing of the high school "Happy Hanukkah" sign was a hate crime or vandalism?

And there is discussion as well, about the difference between encouraging diversity in the community and opposing bigotry. Several evangelical churches did not participate in the menorah movement because it was led by the Human Rights Coalition, whose support of homosexual rights they do not endorse... "Once there was a visual act of bigotry, it was easy to get people involved," [Kurt] Nelson says. "Personal tolerance is harder to achieve..."

Sarah Anthony, a member of the Human Rights Coalition, reflected on the struggle and why it matters to her. She told the reporter:

I believe in this community because of what it

Unit VII: READING #19

gives back to me. When someone tells a story of pain, a lot of people in Billings think, "Your pain is my pain." And when people decide to alleviate someone's pain, there's something very serious happening. I can't put my finger on it, but it's there.

I mean, what have we done so far? Come up with a plan. Make a few phone calls. Put up menorahs. That's all we did. Pretty simple stuff, actually. But you have to build the sentiment, to forge the real feeling that goes deep. We did something right here, and we will do it again if we have to. If we don't, there are people who would break every window in Billings, and we would look in those windows and see ourselves.

CONNECTIONS

What is the moral of the story retold in the introduction to this reading? How does it apply to events in Billings? How did Chief Inman learn the lesson Heschel preached? Look through newspapers or magazines for other examples of people who have discovered the importance of not coming too late.

How does Chief Inman define the term hate crime? How do you define the term? After a rock was thrown through the window of a Vietnamese family's home, Deputy Superintendent William Johnston of the Boston Police Department noted that the rock did more than shatter glass. It also shattered a family. What do you think he meant? How do his words apply to Billings?

Martin Niemoller was a Protestant minister in Germany. In 1933 he voted for the Nazi party. By 1938, he was in a concentration camp. After the war, he is believed to have said, "In Germany, the Nazis came for the Communists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Communist. Then they came for the Jews, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Jew. Then they came for the trade unionists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a trade unionist. Then they came for the Catholics, and I didn't speak up because I was a Protestant. Then they came for me, and by that time there was no one to speak for me." How do his remarks apply to Billings? To other communities you have read about or visited?

Since 1994, the people of Billings have participated in a video made to spread the word about the importance of speaking out against hate crimes. It is called *Not in Our Town* and is available from the Facing History Resource Center. The video has inspired several communities to speak out against racism and antisemitism. In 1997, *Parade Magazine* reported:

In Cedar Rapids, Iowa,...the Faith United Methodist Church has used the *Not in Our Town* video to encourage community groups to speak out against public events sponsored by the Iowa Militia. "We did not want the militia to be the only loud voices talking to our children," said Tom Mohan, who works through the Methodist church. "We watched the program so the people could talk about what happened in Billings and what we can do here. Doing something that you know others are doing all over the country makes you feel stronger."

In Bloomington, IL, "Not in Our Town" became the town motto: An official road sign was erected with a red circle containing a slash over the word "racism," followed by the phrase "Not in Our Town." Last year, nearly 1,000 people signed a pledge against intolerance. Police officers wore "Not in Our Town" buttons on their lapels as they joined the mayor in a protest against racial hatred and church burnings around the country.

What does the response to Billings suggest about the way people get involved in a movement? What does it suggest about the way one act leads to another and yet another?

What does Sarah Anthony mean when she says "We did something right here, and we will do it again if we have to. If we don't there are people who would break every window in Billings, and we would look in those windows and see ourselves"? Would she agree with the observation that the silence of good people can be as damaging as the actions of bad people? With the view that silence cannot only be damaging but also dangerous? Do you agree?

CHOICES

In 1991, Guido Calabresi, the dean of the Yale School of Law, gave a commencement address in which he told four stories involving choices made during World War II. The first focused on his father's decision leave Italy.

His father's decision "to leave an enormously comfortable life for the life of an activist, of a revolutionary, of a hunted person" puzzled Calabresi, and when he finally asked about it, his father told him of being beaten and jailed for not applauding after a speech at his university given by the fascist minister of education.

"After that," his father said, "it was all over. I was an activist. I couldn't hide any longer. The decision had been made. It wasn't my choice, it had just happened."

"That non-choice," said Calabresi, "if it be that, changed his life totally—and fortunately mine, too." The second story involved a cousin who, in the middle of the war, because he was Jewish, went into hiding with a Catholic family. The cousin's family took assumed names so that they would not be recognized.

The captain in charge of some occupying German troops abused the cousin, thinking he was a draft dodger. The captain "behaved in every way appallingly," said Calabresi. He was "a dreadful man in every way."

One day, the German captain called to his cousin's four-year-old son, by the assumed family name. The boy "forgot the assumed name and didn't answer...so the captain went up to him and grabbed him and said, 'That isn't your name, is it?' And the little boy, shaking, said, 'No.' And he said, 'That isn't your name because you're Jewish.' And the little boy said, 'Yes,' and broke away and ran into the house."

The frightened family waited to be picked up and taken away. But nothing happened. They noticed that the German captain was a little nicer to the cousin, perhaps because he didn't think that he was there as a draft dodger, Calabresi speculated.

"Somehow, this dreadful man made a choice, a decision that he was not going to turn these people in," Calabresi said. "Somehow this dreadful, dreadful man could not do this one thing...He made a choice...and it was an extraordinary one."

The third tale involved a farmer on some lands of Calabresi's family in Italy. "It was well known," Calabresi recalled, "that this illiterate farmer had, at

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an evil person, a wonderful
and troublesome choice by a
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good.*

the risk of his life, hidden Allied servicemen who had been caught behind German lines and were escaping; Jews who were escaping from the Nazis; [and]...when things had turned, he hid Germans who were running away...

"I thought that this was terrible—that he was somebody who didn't understand the difference between right and wrong; that he couldn't distinguish between hiding people who deserved to be hidden, and criminals. I was a young twit, and already sounded like a lawyer...I asked him what he had done, why he didn't know the difference between right and wrong."

The farmer replied, "Politics, politics. I don't know about those things. I don't care about them. When they came here, when they were running away, each of them was in trouble. *Eran tutti figli di mamma*—they were each the child of some mother somewhere—*tiriam a campar*—we all struggle to live."

"There was something," Calabresi mused, "about that humanity, that decision to look after the individual who was in trouble, and to care about the person before him which represented an attitude, a point of view which explained why so few people were taken away in Italy during the Nazi time, why so many were saved. An awful lot of people didn't worry about law, didn't worry about politics, didn't worry about rules which told them to turn people in, but just looked at the individual in need, the mothers' and fathers' sons and daughters before them, and

this led them to hide and protect that person at the risk of their own lives.”

“My last story is the only one which deals with famous people,” Calabresi said. “On our wedding trip, my wife and I were driving through the Vosges, in France...and we came to a town called Sainte-Marie-Aux-Mines [where] Private Eddie Slovak was shot during World War II.”

In 1944 the war was going well when the Germans made a counteroffensive—the Battle of the Bulge. The Germans came rushing through, and a lot of Allied soldiers, youngsters, green troops, sent in “because everything was over,” deserted. “The military,” Calabresi said, “decided that an example was needed in order to steel up the troops. But the trouble was there were too many deserters...so they decided to take a double deserter. I’m not sure what a double deserter is, I guess it’s somebody who deserted and got caught and got sent back and being scared out of his wits, deserted again.”

Calabresi said that Gen. Eisenhower reportedly said: “Get me some psychologists. Have them examine these people. I want a loser.”

“They came up with somebody, Eddie Slovak, who didn’t seem to have family, who’d been unemployed, may even have been a petty thief, didn’t seem to have anybody or anything going for him. And they shot him,” Calabresi said.

Actually, Slovak had a wife and the story came out when she tried to get insurance and was unable to because her husband had been shot as a deserter, Calabresi noted.

“This was a terrible choice, an awful decision, made by somebody who... I’m sure was a very decent person,” said Calabresi.

“I could name others, Hugo Black...Earl Warren...Franklin Roosevelt...the people who were as responsible in some ways as any for the exclusion of Japanese-Americans during the Second World War, for placing of these people in concentration camps. Appalling choice. Appalling choice. And yet the people who made those choices were decent people—Eisenhower, Black, Warren, Roosevelt.

“A non-choice by a good person, a dramatically good choice by an evil person, a wonderful and troublesome choice by a person who didn’t think it was a choice at all. And evil choices by people who are good. What can I tell you about these stories?” asked Calabresi.

“Not much, not much. In one sense I’d much rather let them speak for themselves. I cannot, for instance, tell you what made some choose well and some not.” . . .

“In one of these stories,” he concluded, “a bad person, a very bad person, made a dramatically good choice. And we should remember that, both when we see someone whom we think of as bad, and equally so, when we think of ourselves as bad. We should remember that the capacity to do good...unexpectedly to do something which is profoundly right, even if profoundly dangerous, is always there.

“But more important, some good people made catastrophically bad decisions. And it is on this that I would focus. It is not that we are wrong in viewing Eisenhower, or for that matter Black or Warren or Roosevelt, as good...All of us, I and you, are as subject to being careless, uncaring. We will all thoughtlessly applaud at times we shouldn’t. Or even dramatically at times, like Eisenhower, Black and the others, mislead ourselves into following what seem like good reasons—politically orthodox reasons...to a dreadful decision...

“I would like to leave with you the ease, the simplicity, of making mistakes. Not to dishearten you—far from it—but in the hope that it will both make you more careful, more full of care of others in need, and more understanding of those who do wrong because they can be, they are, you and me...I emphasize this to remind you that the choices which reoccur, do make a difference. If not always or even often to the world, they will make a difference to the children of some mothers and fathers around us as we all struggle to live.”

CONNECTIONS

Why do you think Calabresi focused on World War II? How did you expect each story to end? Did any end the way you expected it to?

What conclusions did Calabresi reach about the types of people who reach certain decisions? Are his conclusions optimistic or pessimistic?

How does Calabresi use the word good? Is good the opposite of evil? For example, did the German captain who failed to betray the frightened family commit a good act or did he just fail to commit an evil one? What is the difference?

RIDDLE

William Heyen

(b. 1940)

From Belsen a crate of gold teeth,
from Dachau a mountain of shoes,
from Auschwitz a skin lampshade.
Who killed the Jews?

Not I, cries the typist,
not I cries the engineer,
not I cries Adolf Eichmann,
not I, cries Albert Speer.

My friend Fritz Nova lost his father—
a petty official had to choose.
My friend Lou Abrahms lost his brother.
Who killed the Jews?

David Nova swallowed gas,
Hyman Abrahms was beaten and starved.
Some men signed their papers,
and some stood guard,

and some herded them in,
and some dropped the pellets,
and some spread the ashes,
and some hosed the walls,

and some planted the wheat,
and some poured the steel,
and some cleared the rails,
and some raised the cattle.

Some smelled the smoke,
some just heard the news.
Were they Germans? Were they Nazis?
Were they human? Who killed the Jews?

The stars will remember the gold,
the sun will remember the shoes,
the moon will remember the skin.
But who killed the Jews?

RIDDLE

William Heyen

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why the cry of “not I” from: the typist? the engineer? Adolf Eichmann? Albert Speer?
2. How much guilt may be applied to a petty official (line 10)?
3. How does one assign guilt to the following:
 - The men who signed their papers (line 15)?
 - some (who) stood guard (line 16)?
 - and some planted the wheat (line 21)?
 - and some poured the steel (line 22)?
 - and some cleared the rails (line 23)?
 - and some raised the cattle (line 24)?
 - some smelled the smoke (line 26)?
 - some just heard the news (line 26)?
4. What is meant by the references to the stars, the sun and the moon in lines 29-31?
5. Why is this poem called, *Riddle*?
6. What is the real riddle of this poem?

ON THE RIGHT PATH

*Speech of John Paul II
Visit to the Yad Vashem Museum
Jerusalem, Thursday, 23 March 2000*

Pope John Paul II began the new millennium by acknowledging and putting behind nearly two thousand years of Christian anti-Jewish sentiment, with the hope that both religions can exist peacefully and with mutual respect. He continues to emphasize the debt Christianity owes to Judaism, to repent for any wrongs done to Jews by Christians, and to, as he said, "Remember for a purpose."

His visit to Israel was the most notable event in Jewish-Christian history. The pontiff, though frail in body, displayed unprecedented courage, strength and tenacity of spirit. His pilgrimage was viewed by people throughout the world; people who, it is hoped, will model themselves after this great man and reach out to one another to heal old wounds and prevent new ones from occurring.

We include the text of the speech he delivered at Yad Vashem.

The words of the ancient Psalm rise from our hearts:

*"I have become like a broken vessel.
I hear the whispering of many—terror on
every side!—as they scheme together
against me, as they plot to take my life.
But I trust in you, O Lord; I say, 'You are
my God'."*

(Ps 31:13-15)

1. In this place of memories, the mind and heart and soul feel an extreme need for silence. Silence in which to remember. Silence in which to try to make some sense of the memories which come flooding back. Silence because there are no words strong enough to deplore the terrible tragedy of the Shoah. My own personal memories are of all that happened when the Nazis occupied Poland during the War. I remember my Jewish friends and neighbours, some of whom perished, while others survived.

I have come to Yad Vashem to pay homage to the millions of Jewish people who, stripped of everything, especially of their human dignity, were murdered in the Holocaust. More than half a century has passed, but the memories remain.

Here, as at Auschwitz and many other places in Europe, we are overcome by the echo of the

heart-rending laments of so many. Men, women and children cry out to us from the depths of the horror that they knew. How can we fail to heed their cry? No one can forget or ignore what happened. No one can diminish its scale.

2. We wish to remember. But we wish to remember for a purpose, namely to ensure that never again will evil prevail, as it did for the millions of innocent victims of Nazism.

How could man have such utter contempt for man? Because he had reached the point of contempt for God. Only a Godless ideology could plan and carry out the extermination of a whole people.

The honour given to the "just gentiles" by the State of Israel at Yad Vashem for having acted heroically to save Jews, sometimes to the point of giving their own lives, is a recognition that not even in the darkest hour is every light extinguished.

That is why the Psalms, and the entire Bible, though well aware of the human capacity for evil, also proclaim that evil will not have the last word. Out of the depths of pain and sorrow, the believer's heart cries out: "I trust in you, O Lord; I say, 'You are my God'." (Ps 31:14).

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3. Jews and Christians share an immense spiritual patrimony, flowing from God's self-revelation. Our religious teachings and our spiritual experience demand that we overcome evil with good. We remember, but not with any desire for vengeance or as an incentive to hatred. For us, to remember is to pray for peace and justice, and to commit ourselves to their cause. Only a world at peace, with justice for all, can avoid repeating the mistakes and terrible crimes of the past.

As Bishop of Rome and Successor of the Apostle Peter, I assure the Jewish people that the Catholic Church, motivated by the Gospel law of truth and love and by no political considerations, is deeply saddened by the hatred, acts of persecution and displays of anti-Semitism directed against the Jews by Christians at any time and in any place. The Church rejects racism in any form as a denial of the image of the Creator inherent in every human being (*cf Gen 1:26*).

4. In this place of solemn remembrance, I fervently pray that our sorrow for the tragedy which the Jewish people suffered in the twentieth century will lead to a new relationship between Christians and Jews. Let us build a new future in which there will be no more anti-Jewish feeling among Christians or anti-Christian feeling among Jews, but rather the mutual respect required of those who adore the one Creator and Lord, and look to Abraham as our common father in faith (*cf We Remember, V*).

The world must heed the warning that comes to us from the victims of the Holocaust and from the testimony of the survivors. Here at Yad Vashem the memory lives on, and burns itself onto our souls. It makes us cry out:

"I hear the whispering of many—terror on every side!—But I trust in you, O Lord; I say, 'You are my God'."

(*Ps 31:13-15*)

*Archbishop Weakland / Jubilee Year*ASKING THE JEWISH
COMMUNITY'S FORGIVENESS

"As we prepare to enter into this jubilee year, I want first of all to take this occasion to acknowledge before my fellow Jewish citizens of this city of Milwaukee the wrongs we Catholics have done," Archbishop Rembert Weakland of Milwaukee told a group of 400 gathered Nov. 7 at Congregation Shalom in Fox Point, Wis., to mark the 25th anniversary of the local Catholic-Jewish conference. "At the end of the jubilee year we cannot be the same people who began it. We Christians say that we need to be inwardly 'converted,' that is, turned around," the archbishop said. He used his speech to "walk through" conversion's three stages: to acknowledge wrongdoing, seek forgiveness and resolve to reform. Weakland invited the Catholics present "to act like good 'Baptists'" and say Amen—"if they feel in conscience they can do so"—to three affirmations acknowledging that "we Catholics have through centuries acted in a fashion contrary to God's law toward our Jewish brothers and sisters," that "such actions harmed the Jewish community throughout the ages" and that "we Catholics, by preaching a doctrine that the Jewish people were unfaithful, hypocritical and God-killers, reduced the human dignity of our Jewish brothers and sisters, and created attitudes that made reprisals against them seem like acts of conformity to God's will. By doing so, I confess that we Catholics contributed to the attitudes that made the Holocaust possible. "Weakland asked God for forgiveness "personally and in the name of the Roman Catholic community I represent" for statements that denigrated or threatened the Jewish people. He invited Catholics present to affirm "that the God we Catholics worship and that we worship together with the Jewish community will not be divided by our human hatreds. "He asked Jews and Catholics "to move forward together to try to heal this world. "His address follows.

During the jubilee year the land was to lie fallow. While that land was regaining its strength, those who tilled the land were to rest so that they too could start their lives over with new vigor, new vision, new zeal. The result was not to be a return to the old ways or to linger in the status quo, but truly to provide the possibility for a new beginning. The jubilee year was to make possible a creative, refreshing renewal that would be characterized by previously unheard of fervor. In other words, a jubilee year was to afford for the individual and for the community a fresh start.

In our day and age we know that for such freshness to take hold of us we have to change interiorly. At the end of the jubilee year we cannot be the same people who began it. We Christians say that we need to be inwardly "converted," that is, turned around. To describe that change the Greeks used the word *metanoia*. We have to change our attitudes if we want to change course—the course of our lives and of our society.

Our tradition tells us that such deeper and more profound conversions do not happen at once but seem to involve various stages. Spiritual writers often

talked of three stages in the conversion process. First, we must acknowledge the wrongs we have done. Second, we must seek forgiveness, just as we are willing to pardon others. Third, we must make a firm resolve or commitment to reform, to be and act differently as we move forward into the future. This evening I sense a need to walk through these three stages.

As we prepare to enter into this jubilee year, I want first of all to take this occasion to acknowledge before my fellow Jewish citizens of this city of Milwaukee the wrongs we Catholics have done. I do so as the appointed leader of the Roman Catholic community. I would ask the Catholics present this evening to act like good "Baptists," that is, if they feel in conscience they can do so, to say *Amen* to the three affirmations that I make.

—I acknowledge that we Catholics have through centuries acted in a fashion contrary to God's law toward our Jewish brothers and sisters. Amen.

—I acknowledge that such actions harmed the Jewish community throughout the ages in both physical and psychological ways. Amen.

—I acknowledge that we Catholics, by preaching

a doctrine that the Jewish people were unfaithful, hypocritical and God-killers, reduced the human dignity of our Jewish brothers and sisters, and created attitudes that made reprisals against them seem like acts of conformity to God's will. By doing so, I confess that we Catholics contributed to the attitudes that made the Holocaust possible. Amen.

"I ask for forgiveness if Catholics in any way here in the city of Milwaukee contributed in the past or in the present to those movements that denigrate Jews and threaten their well-being in our midst."

Mindful of the admonition that only the victims can impart absolution, I feel a need publicly to ask God for forgiveness at the beginning of this jubilee year. I do so personally and in the name of the Roman Catholic community I represent. If the Catholics here present feel they can do so in conscience, I ask them to say *Amen* to the affirmations I make. I ask for forgiveness for all the hurtful and harmful statements by Catholics against the Jewish people throughout the centuries. Amen.

—I ask for forgiveness for all the statements that implied that the Jewish people were no longer loved by God, that God had abandoned them, that they were guilty of deicide, that they were being, as a people, punished by God. Amen.

—I ask for forgiveness for all the statements that reduced the Jewish people to "nonpeople," that created contempt for them that reduced their human dignity. Amen.

—I ask for forgiveness for all the teaching and preaching in Catholic churches that may have led up to the Holocaust and that may have contributed to the horrors of that attempt at genocide. Amen.

—I ask for forgiveness if Catholics in any way here in the city of Milwaukee contributed in the past or in the present to those movements that denigrate Jews and threaten their well-being in our midst. Amen.

But I also realize that for such assertions to have any force they must be supported by a firm purpose of amendment. They must be based on that kind of sincerity that leads to trust. These affirmations must guide us Catholics in our future actions. I ask those Catholics here present, if in conscience they feel they

can do so, to say *Amen* to each of them. For this purpose I now say:

—I firmly believe that the God we Catholics worship and that we worship together with the Jewish community will not be divided by our human hatreds, that our God cannot be the source of hatred and harm to others. Amen.

—I firmly believe that the God we worship together cannot go back on his word. A covenant made by God will not be a covenant rejected by God. We will struggle to learn what that continued love of God for all of us, Jews and Christians alike, means in how we live together in the same society. We accept its demands that we change our attitudes toward one another and the world around us. We admit our openness to the new courses of action such attitudes demand. Amen.

—I believe that our faith compels us to see each other as created in the same unique image of God and that we both bear the image of that same God within us. I acknowledge that, because of that same image, we must stop seeing each other as rivals before the one God, because we are brothers and sisters in that one God's unique and living love. Amen.

My next words are addressed to all here present, Jews and Catholics alike. The jubilee year should then permit us to move forward together to try to heal this world. There are four points I would hope we could agree on. If all feel they can accept these points, I ask them to say *Amen*.

1. First of all, we must come to see that the intrinsic worth of all people on this globe is not dependent on their race or ethnic origin, their religious beliefs or their worldly achievements, but on the image of God they carry within them. We must come to see that our God, the one we both worship, loves the starving baby in the Sudan as much as the dieting middle class in the United States. All people, in God's eyes, are sacred. All life is sacred and never to be taken for granted. Amen.

2. We must work together to reverse the Cain syndrome that has haunted the human race from time immemorial but especially in these last centuries with their emphasis on the fights of the individual almost to the exclusion of the common good. We cannot say to the God who loves us all, "Am I my brother's keeper?" as if somehow the fate of the other is of no concern to us. We must accept that we are responsible for our brothers and sisters on this planet.

“Living differently than in the past will be harder. We must never again let words that diminish each other enter into our preaching, our teaching, our actions. That is not easy to accomplish since we all carry much historical baggage. We Catholics must know that the baggage of 2,000 years is not cast off in a decade.”

We are responsible for one another. Evil that harms one of us harms all of us. Violence toward one of us is violence against all of us. Exploitation of one of us is exploitation of all of us. We form a community with all others because they too were created in the image and likeness of the same God. The relationship of brothers and sisters that must characterize our mutuality as Catholics and Jews must also be the bond that ties us to the rest of humanity. Amen.

3. To heal the world we must also be willing to be prophets for the voiceless. If we want all to live in a just world, we must honor those who speak out on the injustices against some of our members. Some in our society simply do not get the same chances as others. Such inequities must be unearthed and corrected. It is the prophet’s role to speak God’s word to society, pointing out the value of each person regardless of class or race or achievements, uncovering the inequities that keep people in

subordinate roles, making us all feel uncomfortable till such disparities are healed. Being the voice of the voiceless is not a pleasant task, but who will do it if not the prophets in our midst? Amen.

4. Together we must also reach out to others in need with works of charity. When someone is hurting, we must not just form another committee. We must, as individuals and as a society, be present, not waiting till we are forced to do so, not anticipating that the state will do all, not expecting that others will reach out. Amen.

Finally, all of these words I have spoken today are easy to pronounce. Living differently than in the past will be harder. We must never again let words that diminish each other enter into our preaching, our teaching, our actions. That is not easy to accomplish since we all carry much historical baggage. We Catholics must know that the baggage of 2,000 years is not cast off in a decade.

But we have now made a beginning. If we continue to be concerned about what is best for the other, if we no longer continue to stereotype each other, if we can develop mutual respect and love as brothers and sisters in the same one God, we will be able to work together to bring a spirit of healing to this world and to all those who live here. Such healing must be our aim.

My prayer is that the one God who loves us all and in whose image we are all created keeps this spirit of unity among us alive and fruitful into the future. I pray for courage for all of us. I do so in the name of the God who loves us all equally, that God in whose image and likeness we are all created. I pray in God’s name. Amen.

RESTITUTION AND RESPONSIBILITY TO SURVIVORS OF THE HOLOCAUST: A TIMELINE

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, a number of efforts have been made to provide survivors of the Holocaust and their families with restitution for the loss of various forms of property they incurred due to the greed of the Nazis and others during World War II. Some of these losses included bank accounts, stock holdings, insurance policies, stolen land, houses, buildings, businesses, jewelry and artworks. Many of these efforts have come only after legal proceedings were initiated by survivors or those acting in their behalf and judicial rulings requiring the parties that were responsible to make such restitution. In addition to restitution, other gestures have been made to acknowledge responsibility and to offer apologies to the survivors.

Below, you will find a timeline of events that represents some of the steps in the process of obtaining various forms of restitution and acceptance of responsibility. Please review the items in the timeline and discuss with a small group of peers (1) the degree to which you believe each constitutes a significant form of restitution and assumption of responsibility for what happened to the victims, survivors and their families during the Holocaust and (2) the limitations of such efforts. (Note: The timeline ends with an entry for the Summer 1999. Consult current sources to update events from that time to the present.)

TIMELINE OF EVENTS*

1. **Winter 1995:** Bayer, a subsidiary of I.G. Farben, apologizes for the pain, suffering, and exploitation the company perpetrated. (I.G. Farben was the largest chemical company in Germany that paid the SS for Jewish and non-Jewish slave laborers.)
2. **May 1996:** Swiss bankers and the World Jewish Congress establish an investigative panel to look into probable Swiss misappropriation of Jewish funds during and after World War II. It also investigates wartime Switzerland's turning away of approximately 30,000 Jewish refugees from its borders.
3. **September 1996:** A report by London's Jewish Chronicle claims that \$4 billion (\$65 billion in 1996 dollars) looted by the Nazis from Jews and others during World War II was diverted to Swiss banks. The sum is about 20 times the amount previously acknowledged by the Swiss.
4. **October 23, 1996:** Swiss historian Peter Hug reveals documents proving that unclaimed bank accounts of Holocaust victims were used by the Swiss government to help settle Switzerland's postwar compensation disputes with Poland and Hungary. Swiss authorities announce the formation of two panels to investigate the allegations.
5. **October 29, 1996:** The government of Switzerland promises to address by December 4 allegations that it appropriated the wealth of Holocaust victims in order to compensate Swiss citizens for property seized by the Nazis in Eastern Europe. Art, coins, and other items looted by Nazis from the homes of Austrian Jews are sold at a benefit auction in Vienna. It is the intent of the auction organizers to keep the items in the Jewish community. By day's end, the auction grosses \$13.2 million, with proceeds going to aid Holocaust survivors and their heirs.
6. **November 1996:** Volkswagen AG is embarrassed by a 1055-page history commissioned by the company. The book reveals details of Volkswagen's wartime use of Russian POWs and Jewish concentration-camp, inmates as slave laborers.
7. **December 16, 1996:**
 - U.S., British and French officials agree to halt distribution of \$68 million in Nazi gold bars — much of it made from gold stolen from Jews

- (gold rings, watches and dental work) – that have been stored in the vaults of the Federal Reserve Bank in New York City and in the Bank of England.
- French art historians investigate claims that fine art looted by Germans from Jews and other owners is hanging in the Louvre and other French museums. Many U.S. fine-arts museums may also contain art stolen by the Germans.
 - Jewish leaders ask the Canadian government to investigate claims that former SS men are living in Canada and receiving German war pensions.
8. **February 1997:** The University of Vienna announces it will investigate allegations that bodies of Holocaust victims were used as sources for illustrations in a highly regarded medical book, *Topographical Anatomy of the Human Being*, compiled by Eduard Pernkopf, a Nazi who headed the university's medical facility after 1938.
 9. **February 12, 1997:** Switzerland, stung by allegations that the wartime government accepted and laundered funds from Nazi Germany that had been looted from Jews, agrees to create a \$71 million fund for Holocaust survivors and their heirs.
 10. **February 20, 1997:** The Polish Parliament votes to return Jewish communal property nationalized at the close of World War II. Property includes about 2000 synagogues, schools and other buildings, as well as about 1000 cemeteries.
 11. **March 1997:** Jewish and Polish leaders sign a \$93.5 million agreement to preserve and expand the Auschwitz Museum at the site of Nazi Germany's most notorious death camp.
 12. **July 1997:** Argentina establishes a government commission to determine the number of Nazi war criminals who fled to Argentina following the war, and what kinds of Nazi loot were brought into the country.
 13. **August 24, 1997:** The World Jewish Congress rejects Germany's offer of one-time reparations payments to Holocaust survivors living in Eastern Europe. WJC secretary general Israel Singer insists that these survivors be granted monthly pensions.
 14. **September 9, 1997:** The London-based Holocaust Educational Trust reports that British-based banks may be holding as much as \$1.1 billion in dormant accounts opened by victims of the Holocaust.
 15. **November 1, 1997:** Swiss documents are made public, showing that a U.S. bank, National City (later Citibank), knowingly accepted about \$30 million of looted Nazi gold as collateral for a loan to Spain. National City, working with the approval of the U.S. Treasury Department, accepted the gold after it had been laundered by Swiss banks.
 16. **November 13, 1997:** Spurred by Jewish protest, Germany's parliament votes to stop government disability checks for suspected Nazi war criminals. Some 50,000 German veterans suspected of war crimes, including members of the Waffen-SS, have been receiving benefits.
 17. **Late November 1997:** Two safe-deposit boxes opened at a bank in Sao Paulo, Brazil, contain documents suggesting that assets stolen by Nazis were secretly channeled to Brazilian banks.
 18. **December 1997:**
 - The Federal Reserve Bank of New York makes public secret documents showing that, early in 1952, the bank took possession of gold plates, buttons, coins and smoking-pipe ornaments that had been stolen from victims of Nazi persecution, and later melted them into gold bars that were given to European central banks.
 - The U.S. State Department sets a deadline of the end of the (20th) century for completion of German reparations payments to victims of Nazi looting during the Holocaust.
 19. **June 19, 1998:** A \$600 million settlement offer made by major Swiss banks to Holocaust victims whose assets had been stolen during the war after being deposited in Swiss banks is called "humiliating" by the World Jewish Restitution Organizations, and is widely derided by other Jewish groups and leaders. The three banks are Credit Suisse, Swiss Bank Corp., and Union Bank of Switzerland.

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20. **July 7, 1998:** Volkswagen AG announces plans to establish a fund to compensate workers who were forced into slave labor at VW factories during World War II.
21. **Early August 1998:** Major Swiss banks agree to pay a total of \$1.25 billion to Holocaust victims whose assets had been stolen from Swiss bank accounts during World War II.
22. **August 19, 1998:** Italy's Assicurazioni Generali insurance company agrees to pay \$100 million to compensate Holocaust victim whose insurance policies were never honored. The settlement also requires that Generali make public its policy records from the Nazi era.
23. **August 30, 1998:** Attorneys in the United States and Germany file class-action suits against Daimler-Benz, BMW, Volkswagen, Siemens, Krupp, Audi, and six other large German and Austrian corporations that benefited during World War II from slave labor provided by the Nazi government.
24. **December 3, 1998:** A 44-nation panel meeting in Washington, D.C., agrees to U.S.-drafted principles for the return of fine art looted from Holocaust victims by the Nazis. France announces the creation of a governmental body to handle individual claims by Holocaust victims for the return of artworks.
25. **February 16, 1999:** German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder announces the \$1.7 billion Remembrance, Responsibility and the Future fund. It is financed by 12 major German corporations to compensate people impressed by the Nazis into forced labor that benefited those companies during World War II. The corporations include Daimler-Benz, Volkswagen, BMW, Siemens, Krupp, and Audi.
26. **May 26, 1999:** Germany agrees that Nazi-era slave laborers from Poland should get the same compensation as those from other countries. More than 400,000 Poles are seeking a total of more than \$2 billion in compensation for their slave labor.
27. **Summer 1999:** Five hundred newspapers worldwide publish full-page ads with clip-out forms that will enable Holocaust survivors to apply for their share of a \$1.25 billion settlement with Swiss banks.

HOLOCAUST QUESTIONS

Yehuda Bauer

There are some people who wish to see the Holocaust as but another example of humanity's historic cruelty, "man's inhumanity to man." They see the Holocaust as no different than any other human event of suffering. And some people feel too much attention has been given to what happened to Jews during the Second World War. Such people feel that other groups were subjected to the same kind of Nazi cruelty and should be "equally recognized."

These arguments are not merely disturbing; they dangerously obscure the reality of what happened during the Holocaust. They also mistakenly set one victim's pain against another. As Professor Yehuda Bauer makes clear in the following essay, the uniqueness of the Holocaust in history and its universal implications for us today are not contradictory. To understand the Holocaust and the role of the Jews in the Holocaust as unique and not simply as another example of "man's inhumanity" does not mean that we cannot apply its lessons to the modern world and to our own lives. At the same time, we must recognize that every example of human suffering demands our attention. The person who calls for the world's attention to the Holocaust must also stand against all suffering."

In his recent State of the Union speech, President Jimmy Carter referred to the work of the President's Commission on the Holocaust, which reported its findings in September. A second body is now being set up, with the task of implementing the proposals submitted by the commission and approved by the President. According to Carter, this will involve an "appropriate memorial to the six million Jews and the millions of other victims of Nazism during World War II."

In this most disturbing statement, the Holocaust is redefined to include the sum total of all the atrocities committed by the Nazis during World War II—and there were many.

The Holocaust in this view is no longer a unique historical event, the result of a quasi-religious ideology which saw in the Jewish people a demonic force ruling the world and consequently tried to annihilate it, but a hold-all term for "the inhumanity of man to man," and similar meaningless generalizations. Not only were the six million Jews murdered by their enemies; they now stand in danger of having their unique martyrdom obliterated by their friends.

The trouble is that this is done with the best of intentions by the only country that now stands by the Jewish people on many vital fronts, and by an American President who is the first to have undertaken a number of important steps to memorialize the Holocaust.

The appointment of the commission and the acceptance of its report, as well as the growing recognition of Holocaust Remembrance Day (Nisan 27) by the American public, stand out as symbols of American identification with the Jewish contents of the Holocaust. The total misunderstanding of the event as evidenced by Carter's statement is therefore doubly painful.

The idea of widening the scope of the Holocaust did not originate in Carter's mind. When, on Holocaust Remembrance Day last year he spoke of the 11 million victims of the Holocaust—six million Jews and five million others—he was echoing Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal, among others. At that ceremony, candles were lit, one of them by an Armenian representative. Now, apparently, the Armenian tragedy is out, and all victims of Nazi brutality are in.

Between the spring of 1979 and his State of the Union speech, the five million non-Jewish "victims of the Holocaust" became the "millions of victims of Nazism." The change is cosmetic only; the content remains.

The Nazis did indeed murder millions of non Jews—considerably more, in fact, than five million. Their policy towards Poles, Czechs, Serbs and others has rightly been called genocide: the planned destruction of a nation's identity, the selective mass murder of its intellectual elite, the destruction of its religious life, its culture and economy and the

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enslavement of the rest. But there was no plan of total physical annihilation—Nazis needed the Slav nations to build the Third Reich's *Kultur*.

The Jews were a different matter: they were not considered subhuman Aryans, as were the Poles. They were not human at all. Rather, they were a satanic force that had to be utterly destroyed. Jews had no choice of resistance or submission as others had; they were killed for the crime of having been born. Their destruction was a sacral act.

Even the method of their murder after 1941—gassing was different: only a few thousand gypsies and a small number of Soviet prisoners of war shared the fate of the millions of Jews. The place of the Jews in the Nazi world was unique, and was related to the unique history of the Jewish people and their historical relationship to the non-Jewish world.

There is no contradiction between this uniqueness and the universal implications of the Holocaust. The Holocaust could be defined as the planned total, physical destruction by modern industrial means of an ethnic or national group. There are new parallels (such as the fate of Armenians and gypsies), and there is a general mass brutalization, now defined as genocide, to which it is related.

The importance of the Holocaust does not lie only in the fact that it could be repeated in one form or another—toward Jews or others—but that it stems

from a unique historical relationship of the Jewish people to the peoples of the world. The Holocaust has caused moral questions not only, perhaps not even primarily, for the Jews. It has brought out a major hiatus of moral issues for Christianity and the gentile world in general. Thus, uniqueness and universality are complementary rather than contradictory.

The fact that a U.S. Administration must necessarily be under political pressure from the many groups that make up the American nation who now, paradoxically, appear to envy the Jews “their” Holocaust, is tragic, or infuriating, or just sad. But that cannot be allowed to silence a very loud voice of protest that must, in all friendship and true gratitude for American good will, be raised.

During World War II, the Western powers were careful not to mention the Jews specifically in order not to be accused of singling them out for special favors—while the Nazis singled out the Jews for unique destruction. Carter is in grave danger of unconsciously repeating the procedure.

It is quite enough for the Jewish people to have been destined for obliteration by its enemies—there surely is no need to obliterate the murder of one-third of it by throwing it together with other kinds of evil. One does not have to confuse Holocaust with genocide in order to oppose the latter—or any other evil, for that matter.

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QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What does Bauer believe was the difference between the treatment of Jews and other oppressed people in the Holocaust?
2. The late Arthur Morse, author of *While Six Million Died*, said, “It is not necessary that the analogy be perfect for a young person to hurl himself into peaceful combat against what he regards as barbarism. For him that war in Vietnam or that instance of racial injustice is his Holocaust of the moment.” Comment.

DEFINITIONS

demonic: of or like a demon, an evil spirit.

sacral: of or for religious rites or observances.

hiatus: break or gap where a part is missing or lost.

LESSON 5: THE DENIAL OF HISTORY

Richard F. Flaim and Harry Furman

INTRODUCTION

One of the most damaging expressions of hate is the distortion of history. In the face of the growing consciousness of the history of the Holocaust and its centrality as a seminal event of the twentieth century, there are people who seek to undermine the fact that the Holocaust even happened. To deniers, the Holocaust is a conspiratorial hoax created by Zionist-Jewish groups. They believe Jews did not die in gas chambers in concentration camps and the Holocaust is merely a tool to promote Jewish interests in the world.

Thus, for Arthur Butz, a professor at Northwestern University, Jews were not killed by gas but by disease. Bradley Smith, founder of the Committee For Open Debate on the Holocaust, attempts to place ads in university newspapers and argues that Jews made up the Holocaust to gain sympathy.

In 2000, the issue of the denial of history was international news with the English libel trial involving David Irving and Deborah Lipstadt. Irving, a controversial British writer of a number of books that deny Hitler's leadership role in the Holocaust, sued Lipstadt, a historian and author of the 1993 book *Denying The Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*, and her publisher Penguin Books. Irving alleged that his reputation had been damaged by statements made by Lipstadt who described Irving as "one the most dangerous spokespersons for Holocaust denial" and that he was a denier and falsifier of history. Taking advantage of British libel law that places the burden of proof on the defendant to show that the claimant had not been libeled, Irving proceeded with a very expensive trial that, after months, ended with his total defeat as the Court concluded that he was exactly what Lipstadt said he was—a denier of history.

As you read the accounts below, consider the implications of the Irving trial on Holocaust denial in the future when there will be no Survivors alive to testify about their experiences.

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS AND ACTIVITIES

1. Read *The Holocaust On Trial and British Court Hands Victory to Holocaust Author*. What

exactly was Irving's charge against Lipstadt? What were the three Holocaust issues challenged by Irving? What was Judge Gray's finding? Do you agree with the judge's statement "that no objective, fair-minded historian would have serious cause to doubt that there were gas chambers at Auschwitz...?" In addition to Irving, identify five groups or persons who have been described as Holocaust deniers.

2. In October 1999, the college newspaper at Hofstra University in New York published an ad paid for by Bradley Smith in which the historical reality of the Holocaust was questioned. Smith had run such ads in other college newspapers. Should an editor of a college newspaper agree to publish a paid ad that denies the reality of the Holocaust or is openly anti-Semitic? What if the ad was openly anti-Asian?

3. View the documentary movie, *Mr. Death* by director Errol Morris. The film is about Fred Leuchter, who claims to be an engineer and believed he had scientific evidence to prove that gas chambers in concentration camps contained no residue of cyanide gas and, thus, could not have possibly been used to murder people. Morris subtly shows that Leuchter's theories are based on total error, although his theories have been accepted in the world of Holocaust denial. How do you explain the motivation to attempt to find scientific evidence to deny the reality of gas chambers in the death camps? Is Leuchter aware that he is wrong? Do you think he seeks to manipulate the public or does he really believe his theories?

4. In the novel (or the film) *QB VII* by Leon Uris, a doctor sues a writer for libel in the English courts. Abraham Cady is accused by Dr. Adam Kelno of damaging his reputation. Cady had written about Kelno's unnecessary surgeries on healthy people for experiments in Jadwiga concentration camp. The Court finds that he was libeled and awards one halfpenny as damages. What is Uris' point in this conclusion?

5. Robert Faurrison is a French writer who denies that there was a systematic plan of the Nazis

to murder Jews. His ideas were so despised that some persons believed that his right to make such statements should be restricted. Noam Chomsky, a prolific writer and professor at MIT, argued that despite his despicable ideas, Faurrison should be permitted to say and write what he wanted. How do you feel about this? Are there any limits on what a person should be permitted to say?

6. The French philosopher Voltaire wrote the following: "I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it." Do you agree with Voltaire?

7. Should professors, scientists or writers who work for a public institution be limited in what they can say? How would you react to a high school teacher who states that African-Americans are genetically inferior to whites, or that the Holocaust is a myth?

8. Research the recent case of Eustance Mullins, a Virginia writer of such works as *The Biological Jews* and *The Federal Conspiracy*, who sued three persons including a pastor for conspiring to stop a series of lectures to be given by Mullins. One of the defendants, Charles Proteous, admitted that he had threatened to organize the Jewish community in the Berkshires of Massachusetts to picket the speaking engagements. Once made aware of Mullins' real views, backers of the lectures canceled the speeches. Was there anything wrong in what Proteous did?

9. In 1991, David Irving made the following statement: "I say, quite tastelessly in fact, that more people died on the back seat of Edward Kennedy's car at Chappaquidick than ever died in a gas chamber at Auschwitz." Is this an example of hate speech? How do you react to this kind of comment?

10. How do you explain Irving's desire to suppress the right of Lipstadt to comment on Irving and his ideas? Where is the line to be drawn between freedom of speech and libeling someone's reputation?

11. Writer Ron Rosenbaum has argued that the first Holocaust denier was Adolf Hitler. What does he mean by that?

12. Philosopher and writer Berel Lang has argued that Holocaust denial is an artful level of evil designed to murder the dead all over again and in doing so, to both erase the victims from history and assassinate their character and memory afresh. Comment.

13. In June 2000, German historian Ernst Nolte won the prestigious Konrad Adenauer prize for literature, an honor reserved for works that "contribute to a better future." Nolte had been at the center of the mid-1980s controversy called the "historian's debate," in which he had argued that the gulags of Stalinist Russia were "more original" than Hitler's plans for racial extermination and that Jews were indebted to Hitler for explaining the need for an independent Jewish state. In accepting the prize, Nolte claimed that Hitler's anti-Semitism maintained a "rational core," that Nazism was fundamentally anti-Bolshevik and that Jews had supported Bolshevism. How do you respond to Nolte's comments and his winning of the prize?

14. Some countries have very different policies towards Holocaust denial. For example, in April 2000, Dariusz Ratajczak, a Polish history professor, was fired by his university and was banned from teaching elsewhere for publishing a book, *Dangerous Themes*, which included an assertion that gas chambers were really intended to kill lice on prisoners. Polish law makes it a crime to publicly deny Nazi and Communist-era crimes. How do you feel about Polish state policy towards denial?

15. Does an historian have a responsibility to portray history in a certain manner? Irving has been charged with manipulating history to serve the ends of an agenda of denial. How can a reader tell if a writer is manipulating the material he writes about? As an assignment, find a book or article by an historian that you believe attempts to manipulate the reader. Bring the material into class and discuss why you

believe this is the case.

16. In 1987, a French right-wing leader, Jean-Marie Le Pen, caused an uproar in France when he referred to the Holocaust as a "detail in history". In response, a French court fined him 1.2 million francs for the remark. In 1997, Le Pen made the same comment and stated that history books would relegate the gas chambers to a few lines. Le Pen had won 15% of the vote in a campaign for the Presidency of France in 1993. Research why someone like Le Pen was able to get that many votes in France.

17. Read *The Survivor's Dilemma* using the questions at the end of the story as a basis for your analysis and discussion of the issues.

THE HOLOCAUST ON TRIAL

SUMMARY

The Irving v Lipstadt and Penguin Books trial was a libel case in which David Irving accused Deborah Lipstadt of damaging his reputation.

Irving argued that because Lipstadt—in her book, *Denying the Holocaust*—had called him ‘one of the most dangerous spokespersons for Holocaust denial’, this had damaged his reputation as a historian, making it difficult for him to find a publisher for his books and to earn a living as a writer.

Irving decided to represent himself at the trial, and fought his case without legal support. By contrast, the defence team was led by Richard Rampton QC, and had worked for more than a year to assemble the evidence. But the defendant, Lipstadt, did not speak, refusing on principle to debate with Holocaust deniers.

The trial took three months, involved more than 6,000 pages of witness testimony and cost the defence more than \$5 million. Because of the complexities of the issues and evidence, there was no jury, and the case was heard by a judge alone, Mr Justice Charles Gray, who announced his verdict on 11 April 2000.

He found Lipstadt not guilty of libel and condemned Irving in outspoken terms, saying: ‘The charges which I have found to be substantially true include the charges that Irving has for his own ideological reasons persistently and deliberately misrepresented and manipulated historical evidence; that for the same reasons he portrayed Hitler in an unwarrantedly favourable light, principally in relation to his attitude towards and responsibility for the treatment of the Jews; that he is an active Holocaust denier; that he is antisemitic and racist and that he associates with right wing extremists who promote neo-Nazism...

‘In the result therefore the defence of justification succeeds.’

WHAT ARE THE ISSUES?

The case of David Irving v Deborah Lipstadt and Penguin Books is very complex and the trial has been full of technical and historical detail, but the issues can be summed up as follows:

Irving claimed that he had been libelled by being falsely accused of being a Holocaust denier.

Lipstadt and Penguin Books defended themselves in the only way possible, which was to say that what they had printed in Lipstadt’s book,

Denying the Holocaust, was true and factually accurate.

In *Denying the Holocaust*, Lipstadt called Irving ‘one of the most dangerous’ historical ‘revisionists’, who is ‘familiar with the historical evidence’ of the Holocaust but ‘bends it until it conforms to his ideological leanings and political agenda.

In other words, she argued that Irving consciously misused historical evidence for his own ideological ends.

Irving insisted that he did not deny the fact that the Holocaust happened but, based on his extensive knowledge of the archives, he challenged three vital aspects of the history of Hitler’s extermination of European Jews:

1. That Jews were killed in gas chambers at Auschwitz concentration camp in Poland;
2. That Hitler directly ordered the mass murder of the Jewish population of Europe;
3. That there was any systematic plan by the Nazis to destroy European Jewry.

During the trial, much of Irving’s case rested on whether the gas chambers at Auschwitz had been used to kill Jews. He claimed that they had simply been used to delouse the corpses of people who had died of typhus. After hearing extensive evidence from historians and experts, the judge disagreed and ruled that Irving’s questioning of the existence of gas chambers at Auschwitz constituted Holocaust denial.

OTHER HOLOCAUST DENIERS Institute for Historical Review (IHR)

The IHR is a pseudo-academic body based in the United States which is dedicated to denying that the Holocaust happened. It was set up in 1979 by the late Ulster-born Dave McCalden, a former National Front member, and Willis Carto, the founder of the Liberty Lobby, an antisemitic and racist neo-Nazi group in the United States.

The IHR disseminates material in a manner that purports to be academic, and hosts regular revisionist conferences. It produces the pseudo-scholarly *Journal for Historical Review*. During the 1980s and 1990s, David Irving became the IHR’s keynote speaker, along with other Holocaust deniers: Robert Faurisson (France), Fred Leuchter (USA), Arthur Butz (USA), Bradley Smith (USA), Carlo Mattogno (Italy) and Ahmed Rami (Sweden).

In 1993, Carto broke with the IHR, which is now run by Mark Weber, the editor of the *Journal for*

Historical Review. In recent years, the organisation has been split by internal feuds and financial difficulties.

In 1985, the IHR issued a \$50,000 offer to anyone who could prove that Jews had been gassed at Auschwitz by submitting evidence that members of their family had been killed. Mel Mermelstein, a Holocaust survivor, took up the challenge. When the IHR refused to pay, he filed a lawsuit and won \$40,000 damages plus \$50,000.

Ernst Zundel

Zundel is the most notorious Holocaust denier. Born in Germany in 1939, he has lived in Canada since 1958. In 1985, he was sentenced to 15 months imprisonment by an Ontario court for disseminating and publishing material denying the Holocaust. This included *Did Six Million Really Die?* written by Richard Harwood, a former leader of the British neo-Nazi group, the National Front.

Zundel also distributed his own books, *The Hitler We Loved and Why*, published by White Power Publications in West Virginia, and, more bizarrely, *UFOs: Nazi Secret Weapons*. Zundel set up his own publishing house, Samisdat Publications, to disseminate Holocaust denial material. He also hosts a prolific website, the Zundel site, which is dedicated to Holocaust revisionism and antisemitism.

Fred Leuchter

The American Leuchter is a self-styled 'scientific expert' on the use of gas chambers at Auschwitz. Despite having no professional qualifications, Leuchter travelled to Auschwitz and conducted tests on the site, concluding that its gas chambers could not possibly have been used to kill people.

From the findings of the trip, Leuchter wrote the *Leuchter Report*, which has no scientific validity. Leuchter was not allowed to testify at the Zundel trial because he has no relevant qualifications. Irving claims to have been converted to the idea that there were no gas chambers at Auschwitz after meeting Leuchter. He published the *Leuchter Report* in Britain through his own publishing company, Focal Point.

At the Irving v Lipstadt trial, the report was dismissed as 'bunk' and Irving's reliance on it was denounced by the judge, who concluded that no objective historian would use such material.

Leuchter is an expert in constructing and installing execution apparatus in the United States.

Robert Faurisson

Faurisson, a former professor of literature at the University of Lyons-2, is the main propagator of

Holocaust denial in France. One of the most prominent revisionists, Faurisson uses the idea of a Jewish conspiracy to account for the 'myth' of the Holocaust.

Faurisson's *Testimony in Defence: Against those who accuse me of falsifying history*, published in 1980, created more controversy than almost any other revisionist text, partly because his right to free speech was defended in a foreword by the left-wing campaigner and linguist Noam Chomsky.

Faurisson denies that gas chambers were used for mass extermination at Auschwitz, and claims instead that typhus was the real killer.

Arthur Butz

Butz occupies the post of Associate Professor of Electrical Engineering and Computer Sciences at Northwestern University, Illinois, and has been influential in the United States. He has been regarded as far more academic and rigorous in style than many of his predecessors or followers.

He is the author of the revisionist bible, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century: the case against the presumed extermination of European Jewry* (1976). Cloaked in the language of academia, the book argues that Zyklon-B gas was used not for extermination purposes, but for delousing.

Butz is now published by Noontide Press, a branch of the IHR. He regularly speaks on an IHR platform, as well as occupying a position on the editorial board for their regular journal, the *Journal for Historical Review*. Although his work has brought Butz notoriety, it has not affected his position at Northwestern University, where he has taught since 1966.

Paul Rassinier

Rassinier, a French historian, was one of the first revisionists. Himself a Holocaust survivor, he used his book, *The Drama of the European Jews* (1964), to minimise the numbers that had been killed. He also claimed that there was no Nazi policy of genocide against the Jews, and argued that no gassings took place.

Rassinier is the acknowledged pioneer of the revisionist movement and is revered for his unique position as a Holocaust survivor, having been imprisoned in Buchenwald and Dora for his socialist beliefs.

The notion that Rassinier speaks with the 'voice of experience' lends much authority to Holocaust denial as espoused by extremist right wing groups. So although his work appeared more than 30 years ago, it is still often cited by revisionists.

BRITISH COURT HANDS VICTORY TO HOLOCAUST AUTHOR

By Bert Roughton Jr. / Cox Washington Bureau

04-12-00

LONDON – Emory University professor Deborah Lipstadt on Tuesday said she had no illusions that her resounding court victory over maverick historical writer David Irving will have much influence with Holocaust deniers and other extremists.

“But that’s not who I’m writing for,” Lipstadt told a packed news conference at a London hotel after the verdict was delivered. “It’s to convince the people who might be influenced by people like David Irving.”

Lipstadt and her publisher Penguin Books won a nearly complete victory over Irving, who had sued them for libel over characterizations of him in Lipstadt’s 1994 book “Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory.”

In the book, Lipstadt described Irving as a dangerous leader of the movement to minimize the Holocaust. She portrayed him as a false academic who manipulates history to support his extremist political views. During the trial, her attorneys described Irving as dishonest and deeply anti-Semitic.

The judge ruled that this portrayal, while damaging to Irving, was substantiated by evidence presented during the three-month trial.

While it was argued that the case did not amount to a test of the accuracy of the traditional account of the Holocaust, the case turned on historical evidence and the testimony of experts.

By demonstrating that the weight of historical record overwhelmingly supports accepted understandings of the Holocaust, Lipstadt’s lawyers showed that Irving’s misrepresentations in books and speeches must have been deliberate.

In a 66-page, detailed ruling, Justice Charles Gray assailed Irving for his 30-year record of attacking long-held accounts of the Holocaust, which Irving often has dismissed as fiction.

Gray said the evidence showed that Irving “persistently and deliberately manipulated historical evidence” and that he portrayed Nazi leader Adolf Hitler in a favorable light that is unsupportable by the historical record.

“The picture of Irving which emerges from the evidence of his extra-curricular activities revealed him to be a right-wing pro-Nazi polemicist,” said Gray, who read much of his ruling in a calm, even voice. “It appears to me to be incontrovertible that Irving qualifies as a Holocaust denier.

“Not only has he denied the existence of gas chambers at Auschwitz and asserted that no Jew was gassed there, he has done so on frequent occasions and sometimes in the most offensive terms,” said the judge, wearing a periwig and robes.

The trial featured the testimony of several highly respected historians who presented reams of documentation about the Nazi campaign to exterminate the Jews.

“It is my conclusion that no objective, fair-minded historian would have serious cause to doubt that there were gas chambers at Auschwitz and that they were operated on a substantial scale to kill hundreds of thousands of Jews,” Gray said.

Lipstadt said her victory might help stem the tide of historical revision at a time when the ranks of people who remember the Holocaust is dwindling.

“Soon there won’t be people to tell the story in the first-person singular,” she said. “That’s why I think today’s judgment is so important.”

“Whatever steam they may have built up, I hope was dissipated by this judgment.”

Irving contended that Lipstadt’s portrayal was false and cost him his lucrative career as a historical writer and lecturer. He also said that he has been exposed to scorn and perhaps personal danger because of Lipstadt’s work.

Irving depicted himself as an unconventional researcher who is simply challenging conventional wisdom. Seeing himself as a David battling a Goliath, Irving has argued that he is the victim of an international Jewish conspiracy.

Although he waffled somewhat during the trial, Irving maintained for years that he didn’t believe the Nazis killed as many 6 million Jews in a systematic extermination effort. However, he accepts that the Nazis were responsible for the deaths of many Jews, maybe a million, most of whom died

Unit VII: READING #26

from malnutrition, disease or by firing squad.

Furthermore, he contended the scope of the Holocaust has been overblown by Jews seeking to boost reparations payments from Germany.

Irving sat silently, staring straight ahead as the judge read the ruling. He was in shirt-sleeves because he was hit by an egg as he entered the court house.

Before the ruling, Irving told reporters that he would be a winner regardless of the outcome. "My reputation is bound to be enhanced because of my ability to stand up to the experts – to take them all on single-handed," he said.

Irving's decision to sue turned out to be catastrophic for him, however. Not only did Gray say that the evidence supported the book's depiction of Irving, he also said it is likely that the English author will be asked to pay US\$3.2 million in court costs.

Gray also rejected Irving's request for an appeal. He nevertheless advised him that he was welcome to take his case to the court of appeals anyway.

During the news conference, Lipstadt singled out Emory University for standing by her through the five-year ordeal. "Emory has been exceptionally supportive in many ways," she said.

In a statement, Emory President William M. Chace said the university "celebrates Deborah Lipstadt's victory in this case as a victory for free inquiry."

The American Jewish Committee also applauded the verdict. Members of the Atlanta chapter were in the courtroom throughout the trial. "We were witnesses to the truth, lending our emotional support to Dr. Deborah Lipstadt, a revered member of our Atlanta community," said Sherry Frank, the committee's Southeast area director. "David Irving's distortion of historical facts and despicable hatred of Jews received full light of inspection in this courtroom. Justice, truth and free speech prevail."

Lipstadt never testified during the trial. She said this was the course advised by her attorneys. "They thought the book spoke for itself," she said.

While she believes the case was an important moment in her struggle against Holocaust deniers, she said that it was a conflict she would have happily avoided. "This has wreaked havoc on my life," she said. "There are books I haven't written, articles I haven't written and students I've neglected."

But she said it was worth it. "The most moving moment in the trial was when I walked out of the court and was enveloped by Holocaust survivors," she said, nearly breaking into tears. "Survivors who said, 'Thank you.'"

THE SURVIVOR'S DILEMMA

Harry Furman and Richard F. Flaim

Samuel Lublin and his wife Rachel reside in Teaneck, New Jersey. A prominent real estate developer, Lublin is nothing less than a self-made man. Active in the Teaneck community, Lublin immigrated to New Jersey after World War II. His entire family was shot or killed by the Nazis after transport to Auschwitz, a death camp in Poland. Undaunted, Lublin started anew in America and rebuilt his life while always remembering the ashes upon which his youth was sacrificed.

In the 1980's, Lublin became active in a Holocaust survivor group whose members speak on a regular basis in schools and other community events at which they describe their experiences in wartime Europe. Overall, the response to Lublin has been very positive as students are captivated by the personal experiences of a man who had actually seen life and death in a Nazi death camp.

On April 15, 2000, Lublin appears at the local high school for a Holocaust seminar to be conducted before students at an assembly. Lublin had previously been involved in such seminars in which a number of speakers, including survivors, veterans and other persons, explored their points of view.

However, on this day, Lublin is surprised to learn that on the Seminar panel is David Turner, a self-styled investigator and writer who is known in the North Jersey area as a Holocaust denier. Turner openly avows that six million Jews did not die in the Holocaust and that the assertion of the existence of gas chambers is a myth promoted by those who seek sympathy and support for Jews in Israel. Lublin is informed by the Social Studies Coordinator that Turner's presentation would provide an opportunity for students to see different points of view about the Holocaust and that Lublin would have his chance, like others on the panel, to express his position, including his opposition to Turner.

Lublin is shocked that the school has invited Turner to speak at the Seminar in which he was to participate. Thirty minutes before the Seminar is to begin, Lublin contemplates what action he should take in light of the apparent appearance of a Holocaust denier on the same stage.

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QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Should Lublin refuse to participate in the seminar? Why or why not?
2. How do you feel about a public school inviting a Holocaust denier to participate in a seminar on the Holocaust?
3. What is your reaction to the response of the Social Studies Coordinator?
4. If Lublin had been told one week before the planned appearance of Turner, would that change your opinion as to what he should do?
5. How do you think students should respond to a Holocaust denier? How would you respond?
6. Do you believe there can be any legitimate historical debate about the existence of Holocaust or of the use of gas chambers for the murder of millions of Jews? Some people would argue that there is no objective history but only a history based upon the frame of reference of the "storyteller." This is a historical relativism in which all history is "up for grabs" and based upon a debate about the motivation of the historian. Some would describe this as the influence of post-modernist thinking in which nothing in history is absolute or certain and that history is more a presentation of points view rather than a provision of truth. What do you make of this in relation to the debate about how to confront Holocaust denial?

Unit VII: READING #26

7. View the 1993 television movie *Never Again* about a Holocaust Survivor, Mel Mermelstein, who accepted a challenge from the Institute for Historical Review, a Holocaust denier group, that offered to pay \$50,000 if he could prove that Jews were gassed in gas chambers at Auschwitz. The Institute reneged and Mermelstein sued in United States District Court in Los Angeles for breach of contract. Ultimately, Mermelstein received \$90,000 and a written apology from the Institute.
8. Some believe that the best action we can take in response to Holocaust deniers like David Irving is to ignore them and not give them a respectable stage upon which they can express their hateful views. Others contend that Holocaust denial should be openly challenged and exposed. Explain why you either agree or disagree with this approach.

A WEB OF HATE: THE UNIVERSITY PRESIDENT'S DILEMMA

Harry Furman and Richard F. Flaim

Kenneth Moreland is the president of a nationally well-known and prestigious state university. He has been the head of the university for seventeen years. Moreland is proud of the growth of the school and the excellent reputation it maintains for academic excellence.

During his tenure, Moreland has overseen the hiring of many prominent Ph.D.'s who have contributed to the highly regarded staff of the university. One of these hires is Marvin Sandson, a Ph.D. in mechanical engineering who joins the university's Engineering School. Sandson is a competent teacher who is the instructor of three different courses at the university while maintaining time for his own research.

In-keeping with technological advances, the university maintains a web service upon which any university professor may create his or her own web site while using the university's considerable state resources. Sandson quietly initiates a web site without making any comment on its creation to his classes.

Moreland is dismayed when he learns from several students that there is material on the web site created by Sandson that is disturbing to them. Sandson provides hypertext links for the surfer to travel to other sites that are avowedly racist and anti-Semitic in nature. There are also posters and cartoons displayed as well as readings that are critical of affirmative action, flag burning, integration, busing and taxation by the federal government. The web site appears to be a combination of white supremacist and apocalyptic references.

The students also make it clear to Moreland that as far as they know, Sandson has made no comment about the web site in his class and he has not discussed his views with students. However, the statements made on the web site that show considerable animosity to immigrants, African-Americans and Jews, appall them. They ask Moreland to look into the issue and to take effective action.

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QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. As the President of the university, what should Moreland do? What should students do? What should members of the faculty do?
2. Should there be any restrictions on what can be displayed through a university sponsored web site?
3. This case is loosely based on Arthur Butz, a Holocaust denier and professor of electrical engineering at Northwestern University, who maintains a university web site which includes Holocaust denial material. What is your reaction to this?
4. Sheldon Epstein was a part time engineering design instructor at Northwestern who openly criticized Butz' views during one of his classes. He described Butz' site as libelous to Holocaust Survivors. The college dean warned Epstein not to stray from course subject matter in his class, which was called "Engineering Design and Entrepreneurship." Epstein planned a lesson on the engineer's ethical responsibility as to genocide. As a result of Epstein's remarks, he was fired. Was Northwestern right?
5. In October 2000, a government-funded commission in Australia ordered a web site operated by Dr. Frederick Toben to stop publishing material questioning the reality of the Holocaust. Toben's group, the Adelaide Institute questions whether there were gas chambers at Auschwitz. The commission asserted that "in public discourse there is a need to balance rights and responsibilities...It is never appropriate to victimize people of a certain race in the name of freedom of speech." Toben was also ordered to issue an apology. Comment.

HOLOCAUST DENIAL

Kenneth S. Stern

The Beginnings of Holocaust Denial

Holocaust denial began before the Holocaust ended.

"In 1944," explains Gerry Gable, editor of the London-based antifascist monthly *Searchlight*, "people who were SS, who were propagandists, who were involved in the camp system, knew they lost the war, and left Germany. Sweden was one of the places they went. Some went to the Arab states, and into some South American countries. There they began to work for the readjustment of history. Holocaust denial material first appeared very very early after the war."

One of the earliest European Holocaust deniers was Paul Rassinier, a French concentration camp survivor. A former socialist and anarchist, he first blamed the kapos for the suffering in the camps, then used every inconsistency he could find in statements about the Holocaust to cast doubt on both the Nazi intention to kill Jews and the numbers of Jews killed. His book, published in French as *Le Monsonge d'Ulysse* in 1949, was translated into English after his death in 1967. It is still widely promoted by neo-Nazis around the world.

Americans added to the early denial literature. Harry Elmer Barnes, an isolationist, was best known for his writings whitewashing the German role in World War I. In 1962, in a pamphlet called *Blasting the Historical Blackout*, Barnes claimed that Germans who were expelled from Poland and Czechoslovakia after World War II suffered a fate "obviously far more hideous and prolonged than those of the Jews said to have been exterminated in great numbers by the Nazis." According to Holocaust scholar Lucy Dawidowicz, Barnes had "already doubted that the Third Reich had committed any atrocities or murder" by 1962. In 1966, he published "Revisionism: A Key to Peace," in which he claimed that "it is almost alarmingly easy to demonstrate that the atrocities of the Allies in the same period were more numerous as to victims and were carried out for the most part by methods more brutal and painful than alleged extermination in gas ovens."

By the late 1960s, both Barnes and Rassinier had died. A new crop of deniers replaced them. David

Hoggan wrote *The Myth of the Six Million*, 13 published by Noontide Press, part of the network of anti-Semitic enterprises associated with America's leading antiSemite, Willis Carto 14 and his Liberty Lobby." This work attempted to disprove the German-eyewitness reports of the Holocaust, and otherwise rebut the evidence of the murder of European Jewry.

Denial literature was first noticed outside the neo-Nazi crowd in 1976, when Dr. Arthur R. Butz, an American professor at Northwestern University (who still teaches electrical engineering there), wrote *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. Butz admitted that Jews were persecuted, but denied they were exterminated. Any chambers were for delousing, he charged. "Jews," he insisted, "should be elated to discover that large numbers of their people were not deliberately destroyed." People who had never heard of Holocaust denial learned of it through the controversy surrounding Butz, whose right of academic freedom was supported by Northwestern's faculty.

Holocaust denial was launched as a serious enterprise by professional anti-Semites in 1979. Willis Carto, apparently not satisfied to promote denial through his other anti-Semitic outlets, opened the Institute for Historical Review.

Carto, according to Gerry Gable, is "a life-long anti-Semite." Carto and his colleagues "got a bit of money from the Middle East, and elsewhere, and started to recreate history. They give themselves spectacular titles. The Institute of This. The Institute of That. Professor this. Professor that. And you look at some of their professorships, and they've got nothing to do with the subjects they're writing about."

In 1979 the Institute had its first annual conference. Deniers from around the world attended, and exposed American white supremacists and neo-Nazis to this new idea. David Duke, then a Ku Klux Klan leader, attended an IHR meeting. He was apparently so enthralled that a 1980 edition of his Klan paper, the *Crusader*, was dubbed a "Special Holocaust Edition." "Germans and Southerners are invariably portrayed unfavorably by the Jewish-

dominated media...Photographs... of alleged gas chamber victims were fakes," he wrote. Another Nazi leader, Frank Colin, head of the National Socialist Party of America, also enthusiastically embraced this further ideological justification for his anti-Semitism. "There was no Holocaust," Colin said, "but they deserve one-and will get it."

Holocaust denial was attractive to the far right anti-Semitic crowd because it validated their belief that Jews were evil and conspiratorial. By ignoring all the facts and witnesses that belie denial, Holocaust denial can be given an air of truth, especially if this "truth" is written by people with Ph.D.'s. That is why Carto's lie-tank collected professors and began

publishing the *Journal of Historical Review*, designed to look like any other academic journal. Today, the IHR chums out not only scholarly looking journals, but also audio and videotapes of its conferences. IHR material—including books and pamphlets—is sent all over the world. The IHR is the spine of the international Holocaust denial movement, and, according to Leonard Zeskind, research director of the Center for Democratic Renewal, the IHR's influence now is only a fraction of what it will be. "It is getting a \$10 million bequest from one of the heirs of Thomas Edison," Zeskind notes, "solely for the purpose of promoting Holocaust denial."

DISILLUSIONMENT AND DEPARTURE

Harold Werner

Our Jewish partisan unit had spent years in the woods fighting the Germans, not only to survive but also with the ultimate goal of ridding the Germans from Poland. In our many missions and battles, we had fought alongside the Polish partisans of the Army Ludowa, who shared this common goal. Additionally, we had received the cooperation of most of the villagers in our area of operations, who also shared this common goal. With the liberation of our area, we expected to be greeted as heroes for having successfully fought the common enemy to help free Poland. Instead, our Jewish partisans were confronted with just the opposite reaction and were saddened to realize that Polish attitudes toward Jews remained the same after the war as they had been before the war.

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The newly created Polish government offered the Jewish partisans jobs in the government administration in Lublin. We were also given positions in local police forces. However, in these jobs, we quickly experienced resentment and hatred directed at us by our anti-Semitic Polish coworkers. In some cases, we were attacked in public by gangs of former Army Krajowa units.

At first, some Jewish people tried to fit into life under the new government. However, I was gradually persuaded that there was no longer any place for Jews in Poland. In the first year after liberation, hundreds of Jews who had come back from concentration camps, the woods, and various hiding places were killed, both individually and in mass pogroms, by the Polish population. One of the most dramatic pogroms occurred in July 1946 in the town of Kielce, where a large number of Jews were killed or wounded in a single day of mob violence. Pogroms against survivors broke out in many Polish cities and towns, such as Krakow, Cheini, and Rzeszow.

We were clearly made to feel that our coming back was a disappointment to the Polish people. They had hoped and assumed that the Germans had successfully wiped out all the Polish Jews. They resented the surviving Jews because they feared that the survivors would seek to reclaim their homes and

businesses. Polish anti-Semitism did not abate with the liberation from German occupation. The survivors who went back to their hometowns and villages were met by a very hostile local population.

Abram Bochian, together with some other Parczew Jews, decided to return to their hometown to live. They felt secure because they were familiar with members of the newly appointed left-wing government there and the local police chief. They felt that, as ex-partisans, they would be shown consideration and be allowed to get back some of their possessions. After a few days there, they were attacked by Polish anti-Semites. In the attack, Abram Bochian was shot and killed. Abram Bochian, the heroic partisan, who had fought so bravely against the Germans, who had lost his entire family in the woods, and who had made us laugh in the tightest situations, was not killed by a German bullet but by the Polish people in his own hometown.

Similar tragedies occurred in other cities and towns across Poland, when Jewish survivors went back to their hometowns to see what was left of their families, homes, and possessions. In Lublin, mobs of anti-Semitic Poles killed a number of Jewish survivors. Among those killed in Lublin was Leon Feldhendler, one of the two leaders and organizers of the revolt in the Sobibor death camp. He was originally from Zolkiewka, a small town near my hometown of Gorzkow. Another survivor who was killed was a young man, named Blank, from the town of Izbica, also near Gorzkow. He had moved back into his prewar home. Anti-Semitic Poles broke into his house at night and shot him.

Even Chiel Grynszpan was the target of this type of violence. He had taken a job as a policeman in Hrubieszow, a city southeast of Lublin near the Bug River. An Army Krajowa group sent him a package of flowers containing a bomb. When he opened the package, the bomb was triggered and exploded in his hands. He suffered injuries from the blast but luckily survived.

The combination of having no family members left alive, together with the hostile and often deadly

reception given by the Poles in their hometowns, led to a migration of many of the remaining Polish Jews. As soon as the rest of Poland was liberated, the Jewish survivors began moving into the cities closer to the German-Polish border, like Lodz, Wroclaw, and Szczecin. The goal was to get into Germany and then into the American-occupied sector of Berlin, where the American government through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (UNRRA) had established refugee camps, referred to as displaced persons camps, or simply "DP camps." We hoped to be able to emigrate from there either to Palestine or to other Western countries. We could not see ourselves starting a new life in Poland, after the Poles had helped kill all our families.

I and many of my partisan friends joined in this westward migration. We crossed the German border without incident. Then we reached the American Zone in Berlin and registered ourselves in the local UNRRA DP camp. In a short period, the camp had filled up with survivors, and we and many others were moved farther west into Germany. I and many of my partisan friends tried to keep together. We were sent to a DP camp named Garbazai outside the town of Wassenberg, about thirty miles west of Dusseldorf.

I found out through the camp grapevine that my two brothers Meyer and Irving had survived, and two months later they joined me at the camp. Our meeting was very emotional. I had not seen them since before the war. In September 1939, Meyer had accepted the offer the Russians had extended to Polish Jews in the Russian-occupied area west of the Bug River. Those Jews were allowed to pull back with the Russians withdrawing from that portion of Polish territory which they had occupied in the just-ended German-Polish-Russian war and which, by the terms

of the 1939 German-Russian pact, belonged to Germany. Shortly afterward, Stalin decided to transport those Polish Jews who had accepted this offer away from the militarily sensitive German-Russian border. They first were sent to an area of Siberia, east of Novosibirsk, and later to Tashkent in Soviet Central Asia. There they were safe from the war zone and, once hostilities had ended, they returned to Poland to find that their families had been killed. Irving had survived the war by hiding in caves in the Lublin area, obtaining food from local friendly farmers.

Some people in our DP camp who left for Palestine were intercepted by the British navy and interned in camps behind barbed wire in Cyprus. Many, with the help of HIAS, tried to immigrate to the United States and other Western countries. In February 1947, my two brothers, the Honigsmans, and I took a small troopship leaving Hamburg for the United States. It was a very rough, stormy crossing, and it took us ten days to reach the United States.

Living in a free country like the United States may be taken for granted by many, but not by the survivors of the Holocaust. We were met here with friendship and given opportunities to start a new life that we could not have previously imagined. Many of my partisan friends came here too, and now live in cities all over the United States. Many also settled in Israel, Canada, Brazil, Argentina, Australia, and France, but none remained in Poland. We keep in touch, attend one another's family celebrations, and always reminisce when we are together about our miraculous survival during the war. Although it causes us pain, we do it every time we meet. For me personally, my wartime experience is permanently stamped in my memory. I know I will carry that experience in my mind as long as I live.

THE LEGACY OF THE HOLOCAUST SURVIVORS

SOURCE: "The Legacy." written by Elie Wiesel, an oath taken at the World Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors, Jerusalem, Israel, June 1981. Reprinted with permission by American Gathering/Federation of Jewish Holocaust Survivors.

We take this oath! We take it in the shadow of flames whose tongues scar the soul of our people. We vow in the name of dead parents and children; We vow, with our sadness hidden, our faith renewed; We vow, we shall never let the sacred memory of our perished six million be scorned or erased.

We saw them hungry, in fear, we saw them rush to battle, we saw them in the loneliness of night – true to their faith. At the threshold of death, we saw them. We received their silence in silence, merged their tears with ours.

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Deportations, executions, mass graves, death camps; mute prayers, cries of revolt, desperation, torn scrolls; cities and towns, villages and hamlets; the young, the old, the rich, the poor, ghetto fighters and partisans, scholars and messianic dreamers, ravaged faces, fists raised, like clouds of fire, all have vanished.

We take this oath! Vision becomes WORD ... to be handed down from father to son, from mother to daughter, from generation to generation.

Remember what the German killers and their accomplices did to our people. Remember them with rage and contempt. Remember what an indifferent world did to us and to itself. Remember the victims with pride and with sorrow. Remember also the deeds of the righteous Gentiles.

We shall also remember the miracle of the Jewish rebirth in the land of our ancestors, in the independent State of Israel. Here pioneers and fighters restored to our people the dignity and majesty of nationhood. From ruin of their lives, orphans and widows built homes and old-new fortresses on our redeemed land. To the end of our days we shall remember all those who realized and raised their dream – our dream – of redemption to the loftiest heights

We take this oath here in Jerusalem, our eternal spiritual sanctuary. Let our legacy endure as a stone on the Temple Wall. For here prayers and memories burn. They burn and burn and will not be consumed.

THE PLEDGE OF ACCEPTANCE OF THE SECOND GENERATION

Source: "The Acceptance," presented at the World Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors, Jerusalem, Israel, June 1981. Read by six survivors and accepted by six children of survivors in Hebrew, English, Yiddish, French, Russian, and Ladine languages. Reprinted by permission of American Gathering Federation of Jewish Holocaust Survivors.

June 18, 1981

We accept the obligation of this legacy.

We are the first generation born after the darkness. Through our parents' memories, words and silence we are linked to that annihilated Jewish existence whose echoes permeate our consciousness.

We dedicate this pledge to you, our parents, who suffered and survived; to our grandparents who perished in the flames; to our vanished brothers and sisters, more than one million Jewish children, so brutally murdered; to all Six Million whose unyielding spiritual and physical resistance, even in the camps and ghettos, exemplifies to our people's commitment to life.

We pledge to remember!

We shall teach our children to preserve forever that uprooted Jewish spirit which could not be destroyed.

We shall tell the world of the depths to which humanity can sink and the heights which were attained, even in Hell itself.

We shall fight anti-semitism and all forms of racial hatred by our dedication to freedom throughout the world.

We affirm our commitment to the State of Israel and the furtherance of Jewish life in our homeland.

We pledge ourselves to the oneness of the Jewish people.

We are your children!

We are here!

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LESSONS OF THE HOLOCAUST

Dennis Prager

Between 1939 and 1945, the Nazi German regime, with help from millions of other Europeans, murdered almost every Jew in Europe.

The dehumanization (for example, most of the six million Jews were stripped naked before being killed), torture (as in the description below of a typical day in a Nazi death camp), and murder of Europe's Jews is known as the Holocaust. It was not but one more example of human evil. It was not even a holocaust. It was the Holocaust.

But for all its notoriety, for all the words devoted to narrating its inexpressibly horrible details, for all the references to it in modern moral and theological discourse, it seems that nothing has actually been learned from the Holocaust.

There are at least two reasons for this. One is that just about everyone who writes or speaks about the Holocaust describes it as "incomprehensible" (an "eruption of the irrational" by "a nation gone mad") – and it is not possible to derive any lessons from the incomprehensible.

The other reason is that the lessons of the Holocaust are too frightening, too disturbing to confront.

These reasons are related: an easy way to avoid confronting evil is to label it incomprehensible.

I shall tell the story of one day, an ordinary day, much like any other. That day I worked at cleaning a shed...An umbrella had gotten stuck in a roof beam, and the SS man Paul Grath ordered a boy to get it down. The boy climbed up, fell from the roof and was injured. Grath punished him with 25 lashes. He was pleased with what had happened and called over another Gorman and told him he had found "parachutists" among the Jews. We were ordered to climb up to the roof one after another...The majority did not succeed; they fell down, broke logs, were whipped, bitten by Barry (the German shepherd), and shot.

This game was not enough for Grath.

There were many mice around, and each of us was ordered to catch two mice. He selected five prisoners, ordered them to

pull down their trousers, and we dropped the mice inside. The people were ordered to remain at attention, but they could not without moving. They were whipped.

But this was not enough for Grath. He called over a Jew, forced him to drink alcohol until he fell dead...We were ordered to lay the man on a board, pick him up and slowly march while singing a funeral march.

This is a description of one ordinary day. And many of them were even worse.

(Testimony of Dov Freiberg, cited in Yitzchak Arad, *Belzoc, Sobibor, Troblinka: The Operation Reinhard Death Camps*, Indiana University Press, p. 200)

The Holocaust is comprehensible

Historians, theologians, and others who call the Holocaust incomprehensible do so for a variety of reasons. One is that most of those who write about the Holocaust are essentially secular and humanist in their approach to understanding human nature. Such individuals tend to have a relatively optimistic view of human nature (humanists believe in humans). They see good as normal and rational, and evil as mad or irrational. If this is their view regarding daily evil, it is infinitely more so regarding the systematic torture and murder of millions of innocent men, women and children.

Another reason is that these writers regard the motivation for the Holocaust – antisemitism – as irrational. Therefore, for most observers, something irrational (antisemitism) caused something incomprehensible (the Holocaust).

But what if these two suppositions are wrong? What if evil is neither irrational nor incomprehensible? And what if antisemitism is neither irrational nor incomprehensible? In such cases, the Holocaust may be quite comprehensible.

And so it is.

Since evil is part of human nature – evil may be as "normal" as good – eruptions of evil are hardly incomprehensible. The questions historians and thinkers need to ask is not why men do evil, but

under what circumstances is evil likely to express itself, how can we work to prevent it, and why do the evil so often focus first on Jews?

As for antisemitism, throughout their history, Jews have regarded it as a quite comprehensible reaction against a people that brought God and universal moral law into the world. The Talmud explained Jew-hatred nearly 2,000 years ago by noting how similar the Hebrew words for hatred (*seenah*) and Sinai (*seena*) sound. The great hatred of the Jews emanates from Sinai, where the Jews received God-based ethical laws to which all mankind is held accountable.

The Catholic historian of antisemitism, Father Edward Flannery also understood this. "It was Judaism," he wrote, "that brought the concept of a God-given universal moral law into the world.... The Jew carries the burden of God in history, [and] for this has never been forgiven." In *The Jewish Mystique*, Ernest van den Haag similarly summarized the root of antisemitism: "[The Jews'] invisible God not only insisted on being the one and only and all-powerful God... he also developed into a moral God.... The Jews have suffered from their own invention ever since."

Even antisemites have acknowledged this. The father of German racial theory, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, wrote, "The Jew came into our gay world and spoiled everything with his ominous concept of sin, his law, and his cross." He was echoing Richard Wagner's words: "Emancipation from the yoke of Judaism appears to us the foremost necessity." And Hitler defined his mission as the destruction of the "tyrannical God of the Jews [and His] life-denying Ten Commandments."

The Nazi attempt to murder all the Jews was precisely what the Nazis called it: "The Final Solution to the Jewish Problem." Hitler concluded that all previous solutions – assimilation, conversion, persecution, and expulsion – had failed to rid the world of the Jewish problem. Only the actual killing of every Jew would work. Consequently, as historian Lucy Dawidowicz showed in *The War Against the Jews*, the Nazis were more interested in killing Jews than in winning World War II.

Thus, evil, which permanently lurks within human nature, has a long record of detesting the people and religion that first declared war – divine war – against it. Understanding this, neither evil nor antisemitism is incomprehensible.

ON HUMAN NATURE

The most obvious, and perhaps the most important, lesson to be derived from the Holocaust is that the human being is not basically good.

To me, this is so obvious that I feel foolish noting it. Yet, few people – Jews included – have incorporated this basic principle into their views on life.

It is this lingering belief in human goodness that has led to the contemporary predilection for blaming anything except human nature – society, socioeconomic forces, class warfare, weapons, parents, television – for the evil that people do.

Jews who are estranged from Judaism and its view of the human being locked in a permanent battle between his good and evil inclinations are among the most delinquent in this area. That is why the question I most frequently hear from Jews about the Holocaust is, How can I believe in God after the Holocaust? That question is surely worthy of a response (see "God and the Holocaust", *ULTIMATE ISSUES*, Vol. 3, No.4), but it is a question that lets the real culprits – people – off the hook. God did not throw children onto pyres of fire; God did not build the gas chambers, or man the death camps, or conduct freezing experiments on fully conscious men and women. People did.

Whenever I meet someone who claims to find faith in God impossible, but who persists in believing in the essential goodness of humanity, I know that I have met a person for whom evidence is irrelevant. Yet, those who continue to believe in humanity – after the Holocaust, Communist genocides in the Ukraine, Cambodia and elsewhere, black slavery and so much more evil – are considered rational, while those of us who believe in God are dismissed as elevating faith over reason.

One wonders what human beings would have to do in order to shake people's faith in humanity. How many innocent people have to be murdered and tortured? How many women need to be raped?

We have developed elaborate alibis for people who inflict the most horrible cruelties on other people. The most common is that such people are "sick." But Hitler and his followers were not necessarily sick. They were all evil.

ON WHAT IS IMPORTANT

Given the Holocaust and all the genocide-like mass murders of this century – in Armenia, the Ukraine and many other parts of the Soviet Union, Uganda, Cambodia – only faith in man's innate goodness can explain why people are not obsessed with one issue – how to make good people. This is not simply some abstract moral question – it is an issue of pure self interest: if we do not make good people, we or our children will be hurt. On purely selfish grounds, this ought to be our greatest concern.

All our other social preoccupations – better education, conquering poverty, fighting drugs – are less important than raising the next generation to be good people. Yet, instilling goodness in young people is for most individuals and societies, including our own, a lower priority than instilling brightness, talent, patriotism, happiness, religious faith, or some other value independent of goodness.

As absurd as most people's reluctance to learn this lesson is, the Jews' inability to learn it is beyond belief. If any group should be preoccupied – no, obsessed – with instilling good in people it ought to be the Jews, the targets of the Holocaust, and the most consistent targets of evil in history. Yet in America today, Jews, more than any other group, support *value-free* education; Jews, more than any other group (polls consistently indicate that Jews are the most secular group in America), believe that people need not feel morally accountable to God and religion; Jews, in short, more than any other group, believe in humanity.

ON EDUCATION AND ART

Another unsettling conclusion from the Holocaust is that two of the most esteemed Western values – education and art – are morally irrelevant. The only education that can make people more moral is moral education (preferably on a religious foundation). There is no correlation between any other education and human decency. Two major studies of Nazis during the Holocaust confirm this observation.

Professor Peter Merkl of the University of California at Santa Barbara studied 581 Nazis and found that Germans with a high school education “or even university study” were more likely to be antisemitic than those with less education (*Political Violence Under the Swastika*, Princeton University Press, p. 503).

A study of the makeup of 24 leaders of Einsatzgruppen, the mobile killing units that killed nearly 2 million Jews prior to the use of the gas chambers, showed that the great majority were well educated: “One of the most striking things about the Einsatzgruppen leadership makeup is the prevalence of educated people, professionals, especially lawyers, Ph.D.'s...” (Irving Greenberg in *Auschwitz: Beginning of a New Era?* Ktav, p. 17).

These findings should not surprise us. Almost the only support for the other great butcher – Joseph Stalin – also came from the well educated.

For the many in our society who link Ph.D.'s and university education with human decency, these lessons are important indeed. And, again, if there is one group that needs to learn this lesson, it is the

Jews. No group venerates education, degrees, titles and elite universities more than Jews – despite the fact, moreover, that some of the greatest hostility to Jews, today in the guise of anti-Zionism, is found at these universities.

The same holds true for art. It is very sobering that the most artistically cultivated society in Europe unleashed the Holocaust. The commandant of Auschwitz was an accomplished pianist who played Schubert *Lieder* on the piano each day after supervising the day's gassing of thousands of Jewish families and the indescribable medical experiments on Jews and Russian prisoners of war.

One of the greatest conductors of this century was the Berlin Philharmonic's Herbert Von Karajan. His interpretations are noted for their beauty. Yet, Von Karajan had joined the Nazi Party in 1932, even before the Nazi Party came into power, and rose to *Kapellmeister* under Hitler.

To cite one of many other possible examples, Norway, which suffered terribly at the hands of the Nazis, had almost no Nazi supporters. One of the very few who did support Nazism, even while the Nazis ruled over Norway, was that country's most gifted writer, Knut Hamsun, winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature.

For those in our society who associate artistic greatness with human greatness, or who crave board membership on an art museum but would never sit on the board of a Jewish or other religious day school, the Holocaust teaches an extremely important lesson.

ON RELIGIOUS EVIL AND SECULAR EVIL

The most common argument against religion is that it has been used to commit much evil, e.g., the Crusades, the Inquisition, Khomeini, and religious conflicts in Northern Ireland and Lebanon.

This is true, and religious people cannot explain it away by claiming that all these people were not really religious. People can be both religious and evil. Moreover, many religious people who are not evil do not regard fighting evil and promoting goodness as important as promoting right faith. And while all major religions seek the good, not all are equally concerned with good and evil. -Salvation, faith, surrender to God, ego denial, attaining truth are some other, more important, concerns.

On the other hand, another lesson of the Holocaust is that the amount of evil committed by secular ideologies dwarfs religion-inspired evil. In this century alone, more innocent people have been murdered, tortured, and enslaved by secular ideologies – Nazism and Communism – than by all religions in history.

Yes, Christianity laid the foundations of Western Jew-hatred – foundations that were used well by Hitler and the Nazis. But it was Nazism, a secular and and Christian ideology, not Christianity, that built the gas chambers. That many Christians were either evil enough to actively support Nazism or merely foolish enough not to appreciate how anti-Christian – not to mention evil – Nazism tells us much about those Christians, but it does not negate the secular and and-Christian nature of Nazism. (Even today, after all the revelations about Communist evils, including repeated attempts to destroy Christianity and other religions, there are Christians who refuse to see the evil and anti-Christian nature of Communism.)

Thus, centuries of Christian antisemitism on the one hand and the Nazi hostility to Jewish and Christian values on the other proved lethal to Jews. God without ethics and ethics without God are both dangerous to Jews – and to the world.

ON CHRISTIANITY

The Holocaust is far more a challenge to Christianity than to Judaism. The Holocaust was catastrophic for the Jews, but not for Judaism. To be the chosen victims of the greatest eruption of evil in history is a vindication of the moral truth of Judaism, and corroborates the Jewish role in history as bearing witness to God and His Commandments. As a Jew, I am proud to know that Hitler hated the Jews, just as I am proud to know that the Soviet Union hated the Jews, and that the Ayatollah Khomeini and the Muslims who follow his teachings hate the Jews before all others.

On the other hand, while the Holocaust was not catastrophic for Christians, it was for Christianity. Nazism was, in its essence, anti-Christian, but tens of millions of European Christians and their leaders – *after 1,500 years of Christianity* – did not see it that way.

The ability of millions of Protestant and Catholic Christians, with some blessed exceptions (whom Jews and Christians must study and forever recall), to view Nazism as a Christian ally; the rise of Nazism in the heart of Christendom; and the silence of the church during the Holocaust are serious problems for a serious Christian, and one reason why so few post-war West Europeans take Christianity seriously.

Moreover, the moral tragedy of Christianity during the Holocaust may signify more than apathy or hostility to Jews. The Christian world has generally been silent in the face of evil even when fellow *Christians* have suffered. While just a few million Jews made the world aware of the plight of Soviet Jews, nearly a billion Christians left the world ignorant of the plight of Soviet Christians. Worse,

while Soviet Christians were denied the right to teach their children Christianity, and other Christians languished in the gulag, the National Council of Churches *defended* the Soviets (see, for example, "U.S. Visitors Praise Church in Soviet," *New York Times*, June 21, 1984) and the Rev. Billy Graham's public reactions to Soviet oppression of fellow Baptists in the Soviet Union were worse than non-supportive; they were callous. Liberal Christians have supported the Sandinista repressors of *Christianity* in Nicaragua. And only in the last months has the Vatican finally come out vigorously in opposition to the decimation of the Maronite *Catholic* community in Lebanon. Recognizing evil and crying out against it do not seem to be as primary a Christian instinct as personal kindness or concern with salvation. (See "Judaism, Christianity and the Problem of Cruelty," *UI Vol. 3, No. 3*.)

All this notwithstanding, both the Jews and the world need a vibrant and morally concerned Christianity. When Christianity fails, we get Nazism, Communism, secular emptiness, hedonism, cults, and conversion to religions far less sympathetic to Judaism and its values. Indeed, Christians remain the primary communicators of our Bible to the world. Jews do not spread the Ten Commandments nearly as much as Christians do (the American Jewish Congress actually supported the U.S. Supreme Court decision banning the posting of the Ten Commandments in public schools).

Moreover, the secular, democratic, liberal democracies were not one iota better than European Christendom. Had they opened their borders or bombed Auschwitz's gas chambers (they did bomb Auschwitz's manufacturing plant!), innumerable Jews would have been saved. Hitler had every right to believe that the democracies didn't care about the Jews. Therefore Jews who cite Pope Pius XII's silence, but do not cite the horrible record of their hero, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, are selective indeed in their condemnations, and open themselves to charges of preferring to attack the Catholics' leader rather than the liberals' leader.

Finally, while remembering Christian sins during the Holocaust, Jews should also remember much else about Christians. First, among those who did rescue Jews, believing Christians were disproportionately represented. Second, while nine out of ten Jews were murdered in Catholic Poland, five out of six Jews were saved in Catholic Italy. Third, epochal changes have taken place both within the Catholic church and in much of Protestantism regarding Jews and Judaism. Christians, especially in the United States, are among the Jews' greatest allies today. And, finally, it was an ideology that opposed

Jewish and Christian values, not Christianity, that made the death camps.

ON PACIFISM

I have never understood how a person could know the horrors of Auschwitz and yet embrace pacifism, the belief that all killing is wrong. The Allied soldiers who killed Nazis saved millions of innocent people from being murdered and from fates even worse than murder. Those soldiers engaged in the holiest, most moral behavior that men could have engaged in between 1939 and 1945. So long as there is evil that can only be stopped by killing, the Holocaust must forever banish pacifism from the vocabulary of moral people.

Of course, it is tragic that nations spend precious funds on armaments, but armaments are not the moral problem. Nations that do evil are the moral problem. The tanks, grenades, and bombers that liberated Auschwitz were instruments of mercy as surely as bandages and medicines. (Please see "The Immorality of Pacifist Thinking," UI, Vol. 1, No. 2.)

ON ISRAEL

Had there been an Israel in the 1930s, the Holocaust could not have taken place. One reason is that Hitler first wanted only to expel the Jews; only later did he decide on slaughtering them. From the beginning of the Holocaust, the world was divided into two types of countries – countries that expelled or murdered Jews and countries that rejected Jews who were expelled or escaped. Had there been an Israel, there would have one place that welcomed Jews.

A second reason is that unlike the Allies who could not find it in their power to spare a few airplanes to bomb the tracks to Auschwitz, Israel would have.

The century of Nazi death camps and Communist Gulags has horribly treated weak and exposed peoples. Thus, while military strength does not guarantee national survival, weakness in the face of a strong and evil enemy has guaranteed national destruction. Ask the Tatars, the Kurds and the Tibetans.

Non Jews therefore need to recognize the need for a strong Jewish state. And Jews must never forget what their situation was and could easily become again without a strong Israel.

Jews on the far left and Jews on the far right, however, have not learned this lesson. On the far left, Jews such as Noam Chomsky, William Kunstler, the ACLU's Henry Schwarzchild and others oppose a strong Israel, and many of them oppose any Israel, for political, and I suspect, mostly psychopathologic reasons.

Jews on the far right, such as the Neturei Karta, oppose Israel for religious reasons, claiming that only the Messiah can found a Jewish state.

But while it is only this extreme right within Judaism that opposes Israel's existence, there are also those religious Jews in Israel – and their supporters in the Diaspora – who support Israel but who believe that the study of Torah is more important than fighting in the Israeli army. Leaving aside questions of the effect of such attitudes on Israelis who do participate in the military defense of their country, the theology is religiously indefensible. One of the basic tenets of Judaism is *Al tismokh al haness*, Do not rely on a miracle. The notion that rampaging Arab armies can be deflected by a Torah studying population is rationally and Jewishly preposterous, and after the Holocaust which saw Torah-rich communities slaughtered, it is dangerous nonsense.

The Holocaust itself provides no rational reason for a Jew to identify as a Jew. But it does provide all the rational reasons an identifying Jew will ever need to ensure that the Jewish state is forever strong.

Dennis Prager writes and publishes the quarterly journal *ULTIMATE ISSUES*, from which this article was excerpted. A full-length reprint can be obtained by mailing four first-class stamps to *ULTIMATE ISSUES*, 10573 West Pico Boulevard, No. 167, Los Angeles, California 90064. For subscription information, please call 800-225-8584.

THE WORLD MUST KNOW

Michael Berenbaum

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

Washington, D.C.

June 16, 1992

The central theme of the story of the Holocaust is not regeneration and rebirth, goodness or resistance, liberation or justice, but death and destruction, dehumanization and devastation, and, above all, loss.

Millions were murdered, worlds were shattered, cities were without Jews and soon even without the memory of Jews. The center of Jewish life had shifted from Europe to the United States and Israel. For those who speak a Jewish language, the language had changed from Yiddish to Hebrew. The main body of Jewish scholarship was written in English and no longer in German. And throughout Europe, the ashes of the dead were all that remained of the past. The losses were overwhelming in number – two out of three European Jews were dead; nine out of ten in Poland. Lithuania, Latvia, Czechoslovakia.

Behind each loss was a person whose life was ended tragically and prematurely. And for those who survived, there were the burdens of memory, haunting memories, nonheroic memories of worlds shattered and destroyed, of defeat, and of life in its aftermath.

The killers were civilized men and women of an advanced culture. They were both ordinary and extraordinary, a cross section of the men and women of Germany, its allies, and their collaborators as well as the best and the brightest. Their deeds were a paradigmatic manifestation of human evil intensified by the power of the state, fueled by technological and scientific achievement, and unchecked by moral, social, religious, or political constraints.

Whether restricted to the past or a harbinger of the future, the killers demonstrated that systematic mass destruction is possible. Under contemporary conditions, the execution of such a policy would only be easier.

But what of those of us who were not there? The Holocaust cannot be reduced to order, or even to a sense of overriding meaning. The event defies meaning and negates hope. How, then, are we to approach it?

Our first task is comprehension, understanding

what at first seems incomprehensible. The philosopher Hannah Arendt, herself a refugee from Nazi Germany, called the Holocaust the burden of our century. Arendt wrote of the challenge of coming to an understanding of the Holocaust, the need to face the reality without closing ourselves off to the sorrow that comes with knowledge:

Comprehension does not mean denying the outrageous, deducing the unprecedented from precedence, or explaining phenomena by such analogies and generalities that the impact of reality and the shock of experience are no longer felt.

Comprehension is an act of involvement:

It means, rather, examining and bearing consciously the burden which our century has placed on us—neither denying its existence nor submitting meekly to its weight.

Our second task is to deal with the meaning of the Holocaust and the absence of meaning: to confront the fact that mass murder was a self-justifying goal of state policy. There is a natural tendency to seek simple answers and assign a singular meaning to these events in order to cushion the horror and shield us from its assault on the mind and the emotions. Some have sought solace in the creation of Israel and the return of the Jewish people to their ancient homeland. Others have sought to find a sense of meaning in the tenacity of the human spirit. The eminent literary critic Terrence Des Pres closed his moving study of life in the death camps with the words of a survivor: “It wasn’t the ruthlessness that enabled an individual to survive. It was an intangible quality...an overriding thirst – perhaps, too, a talent for life, and a faith in life.”

Some commentators, among them Rabbi Harold Schulweis and sociologist Samuel Oliner, find even in

the evil of the Holocaust some redeeming goodness. They point to the altruistic person and the power of men and women to do good, to resist evil, to save and to rescue. Yet however great the nobility, no matter how significant the gestures of solidarity, the Holocaust is a bleak story, an unrelenting tale of evil and woe. It leads to anger, to rage, and to a feeling of impotence. So many died, so little was done, so few were saved.

We tend to back away from the real story, to shield ourselves from the darkness as a way to preserve our self-esteem as human beings, to fortify our confidence in humanity itself. Thus the Israelis speak of Holocaust and Resistance Day, as if the one somehow balanced the other. Germans and Austrians seek to recover instances of resistance, moments of decency amid the evil. Americans speak of survivors and not of victims; we want to know about the righteous, but not the collaborators, the cowards, or those who were indifferent. Yet truth is orphaned when we try to mitigate the awesome evil of the Holocaust.

According to Lawrence Langer, the apparent meaninglessness of the Holocaust defies our need to make sense of the past:

History assures us that man is superior to time when he can explain the unexpected, account in this instance for the extermination of a people, uncover a system for surviving and thus reduce the event to a partial intellectual order that somehow theoretically balances the price in human lives paid for that order.

But because “the disorder of meaningless death contradicts the ordering impulses of time,” we cannot close the account. “Those who died for nothing during the Holocaust,” Langer writes, “left the living with a perpetually present grief” He suggests that we are increasingly haunted by the Holocaust “as the event recedes into the past,” because “there is no inner space or time to bury it in.” In my own work, I have repeatedly used the image of a void – emptiness and absence – where presence had been. We must face that void.

Our third task is to live in the aftermath of the Holocaust: to live authentically, creatively, meaningfully. But how?

Historian Yehuda Bauer enunciated three commandments as the human imperative of the Holocaust. “Thou shalt not be a victim. Thou shalt not be a perpetrator. Above all, thou shalt not be a bystander.”

Emil Fackenheim, a survivor of Sachsenhausen,

was permitted in 1939 to emigrate to Canada, where he became one of the preeminent Jewish philosophers of our time. His understanding of the Holocaust underwent change over time, a change that reflected the growing interest in the event by scholars and the general public alike. Fackenheim first attempted to prove that history must not change the content of faith. He confessed to failure in 1967. Fackenheim then set out to find a moral imperative in the ashes of Auschwitz. The “commanding voice of Auschwitz” said that Hitler must not be granted “posthumous victories,” Fackenheim wrote. But over time, even this magisterial response was not sufficient. For Fackenheim and his fellow post-Holocaust thinkers, the event has become a defining moment of twentieth-century humanity, a moment which all too starkly reveals what we can become.

In his recent writings, Fackenheim has concluded that the Holocaust was a rupture of philosophy, faith, history, and culture – a rent in the very fabric of society and civilization itself. The task of those who live in its aftermath is to mend, to patch together by creative deeds the fabric of our own humanity. Fackenheim knows the dictum of Rabbi Nachman of Bratzlav: “Nothing is as whole as a heart that has been broken.” He also understands that stitching by the seamstress makes the mended place the strongest part of the garment. Where there has been this kind of repair – such as the Vatican II proclamation on the Jews – we may find hope.

Elie Wiesel, the bard of the Holocaust, has also offered an image of how to live in its aftermath: “In a world of absurdity, we must invent reason, we must create beauty out of nothingness. And because there is murder in the world...and we know how helpless our battle may appear, we have to fight murder and absurdity and give meaning to the battle. If not to our hope.” Irving Greenberg, a leader of modern Jewish orthodox thought, has embraced Wiesel’s existential logic and given it a theological cast. In a world where the images of God and humanity have been shattered, he believes, we must recreate the divine image in the world and restore our sense that humanity is created in the divine image. God is shattered; so, too, creation.

Richard Rubenstein, whose pioneering work, *After Auschwitz*, first raised theological questions about the Holocaust and thus set the agenda for post-Holocaust thought, believes the ultimate question left by the Holocaust is how nations will treat those people who are superfluous, who have no rightful economic place in society. The mass murder of “superfluous” is the perennial temptation of the modern state. In the United States, we have such people – the old, who no longer work; the young,

who do not work, the unemployed, who cannot find work; the despairing poor, many of them minorities, who live from generation to generation without work. We have established a covenant of social justice where the working population educates the young, gives social security to the elderly, and provides minimum services for the needy, will the strains of economic dislocation, now even more stressful than when Rubenstein first wrote *The Cunning of History*, break the covenant?

The Holocaust transforms our understanding. It shatters faith – religious faith in God and secular faith in human goodness and progress. The memory of the Holocaust has been seared into our consciousness. Its truth has been told not to provide answers, but to raise questions. To live authentically in its aftermath, one must be aware of the reality of radical evil and its startling triumphs, and fight against that evil and that triumph.

How then do we build on the ashes? Slowly, tenderly, humanely. With humility, perhaps with hope. We must teach ourselves and our children by example and by deed about suffering. Suffering itself is not the key to greatness or accomplishment. It confers no honors, yields no virtue. Suffering demands confrontation and, above all, alleviation. To ennoble suffering is to condone it in some measure. It must never be rationalized. In a world where life is precarious, lives must become ever more precious. The Holocaust cannot be allowed to numb us to evil, but it must sensitize us and alarm us. It must sharpen our insights into the importance of human rights and human dignity everywhere.

For Israelis, confrontation with the Holocaust has led to a renewed understanding of their own national goals: a homeland for Jews seeking a haven, a place to recreate life and live in freedom, an end to Jewish vulnerability and the quest for national security through self-reliance and self-defense. It has also led to deep insecurity about the world. The Israelis take threats seriously and promises ever so lightly.

For some Germans and Austrians, the past is best forgotten, buried, or “normalized.” Thus, Kurt Waldheim and many of his countrymen developed amnesia about “those” years; Helmut Kohl as Chancellor of Germany sought to get on with the business of state-building, to look toward the future and not to the past. They were not alone. On November 9, 1989, when the Berlin Wall fell, the jubilant mayor of Berlin proclaimed that that date will live in German history, as if the ninth of November had not already entered German history fifty-one years earlier when the synagogues of Germany were set ablaze during *Kristallnacht*. For

other Germans, such as Gunther Grass and Richard von Weizacker, an authentic wrestling with the past is essential to any German future, to the rebuilding of German culture, values, literature, and philosophy. Von Weizacker wrote of the German people that “their forefathers have bequeathed them a heavy legacy.”

It is not a matter of overcoming the past. One can do no such thing. The past does not allow itself to be retrospectively altered or undone. But whoever closes his eyes to the past becomes blind to the present. Whoever does not wish to remember inhumanity becomes susceptible to the dangers of new infection.

The most profound change in Christian teaching toward the Jews was initiated by Vatican II, the convocation of bishops convened by Pope John XXIII on October 11, 1962. At the final session of the council three years later, a new teaching, the Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions. *Nostra Aetate*, was promulgated on October 28, the seventh anniversary of Pope John XXIII's election. In this document, proclaimed by Pope Paul VI the Roman Catholic Church revamped its teaching on the Jews. With the Holocaust as backdrop, it ended many centuries of teaching that the Jews were responsible for the crucifixion of Jesus:

What happened in His passion cannot be blamed upon all the Jews then living without distinction nor upon the Jews of today.

Vatican II denounced the teaching of contempt and called for a change in preaching and teaching regarding the Jews.

The Jews should not be presented as repudiated or cursed by God.... All should take pains, then, lest in catechetical instruction and in the preaching of God's word they teach anything out of harmony with the truth of the gospel and the spirit of Christ.

Antisemitism was condemned:

The Church repudiates all persecutions against any man. Moreover, mindful of her common patrimony with the Jews and motivated by no political considerations,

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she deplores the hatred, persecutions and displays of anti-Semitism at any time and from any source.

Though the teaching stopped short of affirming the ongoing life of the Jewish people and their integrity as a continuing religion, it did recognize the roots of Christianity in Judaism and “the spiritual bond linking the people of the New Covenant with Abraham’s stock.” The synod sought to foster and recommend that mutual understanding and respect which are the fruits of all biblical and theological studies, and of brotherly dialogues. Thus, centuries of Christian teaching were transformed and one of the major sources of antisemitism was removed at least from formal Church teaching.

For Americans, confronting this European event brings us a new recognition of the tenets of American constitutional democracy: a belief in equality and equal justice under law; a commitment to pluralism and toleration, particularly at a time when our society is becoming more diverse than ever before in our history; a determination to restrain government by checks and balances and by the constitutional protections of unalienable rights; and a struggle for human rights as a core national value and a foundation for foreign policy. The Holocaust must shatter the myth of innocence. It has implications for

the exercise of power. Those who wrestle with the darkness know it can happen again – even in the most advanced, most cultured, most civilized of societies – but if we are faithful to the best of American values, the most sterling of our national traditions, then we can have confidence that it won’t happen here.

The call from the victims – from the world of the dead – was to remember. From the survivors, initial silence his given way to testimony. The burden of memory has been transmitted, and thus shared. From scholars, philosophers, poets, and artists – those who were there and those who were not – we hear the urgency of memory, its agony and anguish, its meaning and the absence of meaning. To live in our age, one must face the void.

Israel Ba’al Shem Tov, the founder of Hasidism, once said: “In forgetfulness is the root of exile. In remembrance the seed of redemption.” Whether we can share his hope is uncertain. His fears, we understand all too well.

Let us return to Sachsenhausen once again and listen to the words of one who was there:

I have told you this story not to weaken you
But to strengthen you.
Now it is up to you.

THREE STATEMENTS ON THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBERATION OF AUSCHWITZ

Archbishop Oscar H. Lipscomb
Archbishop of Mobile

Chairman, Bishops Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs

National Conference of Catholic Bishops
January 27, 1995

The year 1995 marks the 50th Anniversary of the end of the Second World War. Both the Atlantic and the Pacific communities of nations will be commemorating the decisive events of the closing of the most violent and murderous war in human history. On May 8, 1945, Nazi Germany finally admitted its defeat. On September 2, 1945, Japan also surrendered unconditionally. But the remembrances of the victories of the Allies at such tremendous cost in human lives must not mask the evils perpetrated during the war itself, and the moral lessons still to be learned by the human community from those terrible events.

So it is most fitting that the first major anniversary of the year to be commemorated is the liberation on January 27, 1945 by Soviet troops of the infamous death camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau, the name of which has come to symbolize in our collective memory the worst evils of which humanity has shown itself capable. Pope John Paul II, who lived through that period in his native Poland, has called this "the Century of the Shoah (Holocaust)."

Although the full nature of the horrors of the Nazi death camps was not revealed until the liberation of the camps throughout occupied Europe by the Allied forces, those who fought the War did have a real sense of what was at stake in the struggle against Nazism and did raise their voices in strong moral protest. On November 14, 1942, while the systematic genocide of the Jewish people was at its most intense, the National Catholic Welfare Conference "in the name of the Bishops of the United States," declared:

"Our country has been forced into the most devastating war of all time. This war... involves unquestionably the most important moral issue of

today. Some nations are united in waging war to bring about a slave world—a world that would deprive man of his divinely conferred dignity, reject human freedom, and permit no religious liberty... Since the murderous assault on Poland, utterly devoid of any semblance of humanity, there has been a premeditated and systematic extermination of the people of this nation. The same satanic technique is being applied to many other peoples. We feel a deep sense of revulsion against the cruel indignities heaped upon the Jews in conquered countries and upon defenseless peoples not of our faith. We join with our brother bishops in subjugated France in a statement attributed to them: 'Deeply moved by the mass arrests and maltreatment of Jews, we cannot stifle the cry of our conscience. In the name of humanity and Christian principles our voice is raised in favor of imprescriptible rights of human nature.' We raise our voice in protest against despotic tyrants who have lost all sense of humanity by condemning thousands of innocent persons to death in subjugated countries as acts of reprisal (and) by placing thousands of innocent victims in concentration camps."

The context of this statement was the line of papal condemnations of antisemitism and Nazism beginning with Pope Pius XI's famous dictum that all Christians, as children of Abraham, are themselves "spiritual Semites." In 1937, Pius XI issued a German language encyclical which had to be smuggled into the Third Reich to be read in all pulpits. This stern encyclical, *Mit Brennender Sorge*, condemned the "racialism" of Nazi ideology as wholly opposed to essential Catholic doctrine, and condemned Nazism as a form of pagan idolatry. Pope Pius XII maintained this teaching of his predecessor throughout his

pontificate. In his Christmas message of 1942, he pleaded for “the hundreds of thousands who, through no fault of their own, only because of their nationality or descent, are condemned to death.” Observers at the time, including the editorial of *The New York Times* for December 25, 1942, understood this as a reference to the plight of the Jews. The American, French and other bishops of the world who joined the condemnations of Nazi genocide believed themselves to be following the lead of the Holy Father.

As we join this year with our fellow Americans, especially our Jewish sisters and brothers in prayerful commemorations of the millions of victims of the Holocaust, American Catholics will recall with profound gratitude the tremendous sacrifices made by the generation which defeated Hitler. But, as Americans and as Catholics, we also recall with humility and a sense of regret the opportunities that were lost to save lives. We recall the rejection by our government of the pleas from Jewish leaders to bomb the railroad lines leading to Auschwitz—a rejection that came at the very time that U. S. bombers were flying over the camp on their way to other targets!

We remember, too, the bitter enforcement of the draconian immigration laws of the period, restrictions which kept this country from becoming the asylum for Jews, Catholics and others that it should have been, and should now be. This is symbolized for us in the refusal of American authorities to allow the ship, the *St. Louis*, to disembark several hundred Jewish refugees as it sat in New York harbor within sight of the Statue of Liberty. Returned to Europe, most of these helpless men, women and children, were soon lost in the death camps. Today we see again bitter debates over immigration policy, including efforts to exclude persons who are undocumented—including children—from access to critical services such as health care and education. May our reflections on the tragedy of the passengers of the *St. Louis* help to bring about a generous response to immigrants seeking to contribute to this society.

Having fought the war against Hitler, Americans do not feel personal guilt for what the Nazis did. But American Christians do acknowledge a real sense of responsibility for what fellow members in the community of the baptized did not do to save lives. We take to heart the call to us of Pope John Paul II that all Catholics, as the turn of the millennium draws near, undertake an examination of conscience. “The church...cannot cross the threshold of the new millennium without encouraging her children to purify themselves, through repentance, of past errors and instances of infidelity, inconsistency and

slowness to act.”

In our examination also, we honor the memory of our fellow Catholics of the time, those who were themselves victims of Nazism and those who did speak out and act to save Jewish lives: women such as the Sisters of Sion who at great risk to their own lives hid hundreds of Jews in their convents throughout occupied Europe, and men such as Jan Karski who as a representative of the Polish Government in exile smuggled himself into the Warsaw Ghetto and a concentration camp in order to bring to the Allied governments first hand awareness of what was going on, and Archbishops Angelo Roncalli (later Pope John XXIII) and Angelo Rotta who as nuncios appointed by Pope Pius XII in Turkey and Hungary respectively, were responsible for saving thousands of Jewish lives. We remember such figures with profound humility, since we know that such “angels of mercy” were far too few, and since we do not know with certainty what we might do in similar dire circumstances. But it is they who should be educational models in the formation of our Catholic children today.

Our spirit in remembering the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz must be one of repentance and resolve to build a world where never again will such evil be possible. As Pope John Paul said on the occasion of a concert last April commemorating the Shoah: “We are gathered this evening to commemorate the Holocaust of millions of Jews...We have a commitment, the only one perhaps that can give meaning to every tear...to ensure that evil does not prevail over good as it did for millions of children of the Jewish nation.” (April 7, 1994).

This past year we rightly celebrated together the exchange of ambassadors between the Holy See and the State of Israel. But that celebration of light out of the darkness of the Holocaust, we know, was also on a deeper level a moral challenge. In the “Fundamental Agreement” of December 30, 1993, the Catholic Church and the Jewish people re-committed themselves to “cooperation in combating all forms of antisemitism and all kinds of racism and of religious intolerance, and in promoting mutual understanding among nations, tolerance among communities and respect for human life and dignity.”

The half century that has passed since the end of World War II should have taught us the dangers of turning away from violence, such as in the Balkans and Rwanda, and widespread suffering within the human family. Global leadership on the part of the United States requires a consistent defense of human life, respect for human dignity, and generous assistance to those in desperate need.

The end of World War II brought dilemmas and

opportunities for re-ordering global society. Today, fifty years later, the Cold War has ended and new possibilities for a better future beckon. In a statement anticipating the end of World War II our predecessors as bishops of the United States offered a vision and a challenge that are as pertinent today as they were then:

“If the responsibility faced by the victors is great, the opportunity is historical. Now there comes the chance not in hatred or vengeance but in justice and charity to base a social reconstruction on truth and right... The peoples of the world, the simple peoples, the fathers of families, the toilers and laborers, the people who have the same interests and the same ambitions which we cherish are looking to us, to this great land of freedom. We must not

disappoint them. It is our historic opportunity to do our full duty in the family of nations. The causes of war must be removed, the honest needs of people must be met, their rights recognized. This must be a good peace which our victory will achieve. But let us first make ourselves in very truth peacemakers. Let us recognize the problems in our own social life and courageously seek the solution of them. A first principle must be the recognition of the sovereignty of God and of the moral law in our national life and in the right ordering of a new world born of the sacrifices and hardships of war.” (Administrative Board, National Catholic Welfare Conference, in the name of the bishops of the United States, November 11, 1943.)

THE DECLARATION OF THE POLISH EPISCOPATE COMMISSION'S DIALOGUE WITH JUDAISM

*On the 50th Anniversary of the Liberation of
Auschwitz-Birkenau Death Camp at
Oswiecim, on January 27, 1995*

Half a century has passed since the liberation of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Concentration Camp on January 27th, 1945. Once again our attention is drawn to the painful reality and symbolism of this camp, where more than a million Jews, Poles (70-75,000), Gypsies (21,000), Russians (15,000) and other nationalities (10-15,000), found an atrocious death.

Only a few months into the War, in the spring of 1940, the Nazi Germans created the Auschwitz Concentration Camp on occupied Polish territory annexed to the Third Reich. At the beginning of its existence, the prisoners and victims were thousands of Poles, Mainly intelligentsia, members of the resistance movement, as well as clergy and people representing almost all walks of life. There probably isn't a Polish family that hasn't lost someone close at Auschwitz or at another camp. With great respect we bow our heads before the infinite suffering which was often accepted in a deep Christian Spirit. An eloquent example is the heroic figure of Father Maximilian Kolbe who sacrificed his life for a fellow prisoner, in August 1941. He was beatified by Pope Paul VI and canonized by Pope John Paul II. His victory, motivated by the Gospel of Jesus Christ, bears witness to the power of love and goodness in a world of outrage and violence.

Almost from the beginning, Polish Jews were sent to this camp, as part of Polish society to be destroyed. Since 1942, the KL Auschwitz-Birkenau complex, as well as other camps in occupied Poland, as a result of the Wannsee Conference, became extermination camps to realize the criminal ideology of the "Final Solution," in other words, the plan to murder all European Jews. The Nazis transported, to the death camps, Jews from all European countries occupied by Hitler. Not only Auschwitz, but also Majdanek, Treblinka, Belzec, Chelmno and others were located in occupied Poland by the Germans as

places to exterminate Jews, because this was where the majority of European Jews lived and, therefore, such a Nazi crime could be better hidden from world public opinion in a country totally occupied and even partly annexed to the Third Reich. It is estimated today, that more than a million Jews died only at Auschwitz-Birkenau. Consequently, even though members of other nations also perished at this camp, nevertheless, Jews consider this camp a symbol of the total extermination of their nation. "The very people, who received from God the Commandment Thou shalt not kill, itself experienced in a particular way what is meant by killing" (The words of Pope John Paul II in His homily during the Papal Mass at the KL Auschwitz-Birkenau Death Camp on June 7th, 1979).

Extermination, called Shoah, has weighed painfully not only in relations between Germans and Jews, but also to a great extent in relations between Jews and Poles, who together, though not to the same degree were the victims of Nazi ideology. Because they lived in close proximity, they became involuntary witnesses to the extermination of Jews. Regretfully, it has to be stated that for many years Auschwitz-Birkenau was treated, by the Communist regime, almost entirely in terms of an anti-Fascist struggle, that did not foster to convey the extent of the extermination of Jews. It must be underlined that Poles and Jews have lived in this country for centuries and although now and again conflicts did arise, they considered it their homeland. Driven out of Western Europe, Jews found refuge in Poland. Consequently, Poland often had the reputation of being "paradisus Judaerorum" ("a Jewish paradise"), because here they could live according to their customs, religion and culture. Contrary to many European countries, until the time of World War II, Jews were never driven out of Poland. About eighty percent of Jews living in the world today can trace their descent through their parents and/or

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grandparents to roots in Poland. The loss of Polish independence and lasting, for more than a hundred and twenty years, partition Poland – among Russia, Austria and Prussia – brought, in the midst of other dramatic consequences, a deterioration in Polish-Jewish relations, in the period of time, between the World War I and World War II, when Poland, after regaining her independence in 1918, sought to find forms of her own identity, now conflicts arose. Their underlying factors were of psychological, economic, political and of religious nature but never racist. Despite the anti-Semitism of some circles, shortly before the outbreak of World War II, when Hitler's repressions intensified, it was Poland that accepted thousands of Jews from Germany.

Seeing the Nazi extermination of Jews, many Poles reacted with heroic courage and sacrifice, risking their lives and that of their families. The virtues of the Gospel and solidarity with the suffering and the persecuted, motivated almost every convent in the General Government to give Jewish children refuge. Many Poles lost their lives, in defiance to threats of the death penalty with regard to themselves and their family members, because they dared to shelter Jews. It should be mentioned that, as a consequence of giving refuge to Jews, the rule of common responsibility was applied to Poles. Often whole families, from children to grandparents, were killed for harbouring Jews. In acknowledgement of this, thousands were awarded with medals "Righteous Among the Nations of the World." Nameless others also brought help. Unfortunately, there were also those who were capable of actions unworthy of being called Christian. There were those who not only blackmailed, but also gave away Jews in hiding into German hands. Nothing can justify such an attitude, though the inhumane time of war and the cruelty of the Nazis, caused at times that Jews, themselves tormented by the occupant, were forced to hand-over their brothers into the hands of the Germans. Once again, we recall the words of The Polish Bishops' Pastoral Letter that was read at all Catholic churches and chapels on January 20th, 1991, which stated: "in spite of numerous heroic examples of Polish Christians, there were those who remained indifferent to that inconceivable tragedy. In particular, we mourn the fact that there were also those among Catholics, who in some way had contributed to the death of Jews. They will forever remain a remorse in the social dimension."

The creators of Auschwitz, were the Nazi Germans, not Poles. Everything that symbolizes this Death Camp is a result of a National Socialist ideology that was not born in Poland. Another totalitarian system, similar to the Nazi, which was

Communism, gathered many millions in a harvest of death. Nazism also meant trampling on the dignity of the human being as an image of God. There existed a dramatic community of fate between Poles and Jews in constraint and ruthless extermination. However, it was the Jews who became the victims of the Nazi plan of systematic and total liquidation. "A mad ideology, in the name of contemporary racism, undertook this plan and carried it out with absolute consequence" (the words of Pope John Paul II during this pilgrimage to Germany – Cologne, May 1st, 1987).

The world, in which the cruelties of Auschwitz were carried out, was also a world redeemed and at the same time a world of challenge, even after the Shoah, from where arises the message to all Christians that they should reveal God in their actions and not contribute to the questioning of His Presence. God was and continues to be everywhere. What is satanic and represents hatred never originates from God but from Man, who submits himself to the influence to the Evil One and doesn't respect the dignity of the human being as well as God's Commandments. A half century, that has passed since the liberation of KL Auschwitz-Birkenau, obliges us to express a clear objection to all signs of disregard to human dignity, such as, racism, anti-Semitism, xenophobia and anti-Polish attitudes. Living in a country, marked with the burden of a horrible event called Shoah, with Edith Stain, who died at Auschwitz because she was a Jew, with faith and total confidence in God, the father of all humanity, we emphatically repeat Hatred will never have the last word in this world. (John Paul II's Message to the German Nation previous to the Papal Pilgrimage to the Federal Republic of Germany, Vatican - April 25th, 1987). The only guarantee of this is to educate future generations in the spirit of mutual respect, tolerance and love according to the recommendations contained guidelines to the proper representation of Jews and Judaism in the Proclamation of the Word of God and the Catechetical Instruction of the Catholic Church (June 27th, 1985)

On behalf of the Commission#

/s/ Bishop Stanislaw Gadecki
Chairman

STATEMENT OF THE GERMAN BISHOPS

*On the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the
Liberation of the Extermination Camp of Auschwitz
on January 17, 1995*

I.

On January 27, 1945 the concentration camps of Auschwitz and Auschwitz-Birkenau were liberated. Numerous people were murdered there in a terrible manner: Poles, Russians, Rom and Sinti people as well as members of other nations. The overwhelming majority of prisoners and victims in this camp consisted of Jews. Therefore Auschwitz has become the symbol of the extermination of European Jewry, which is called "Holocaust" or – using the Hebrew term – "Shoah."

The crime against the Jews was planned and put into action by the National Socialist rulers in Germany. The "unprecedented crime" which was the Shoah (Pope John Paul II on June 9, 1991) still raises many questions which we must not evade. The commemoration of the Shoah anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz gives German Catholics the opportunity to re-examine their relationship with the Jews. At the same time this day recalls the fact that Auschwitz is also part of the Polish history of suffering and burdens the relationship between Poles and Germans.

II.

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Already during earlier centuries, Jews were exposed to persecution, oppression, expulsion and even to mortal danger. Many looked for and found refuge in Poland. However, there were also places and regions in Germany where Jews could live relatively untroubled, since the 18th century, there was a new chance of a peaceful co-existence in Germany. Jews decisively contributed towards the development of German science and culture. Nevertheless an anti-Jewish attitude remained, also within the Church. This was one of the reasons why, during the years of the Third Reich, Christians did not offer due resistance to racial anti-Semitism.

Many times there was failure and guilt among Catholics. Not few of them got involved in the ideology of National Socialism and remained unmoved in the face of the crimes committed against Jewish-owned property and the life of the Jews. Others paved the way for crimes or even became criminals themselves. It is unknown how many people were horrified at the disappearance of their Jewish neighbors and yet were not strong enough to raise their voices in protest. Those who rendered aid to others, thereby risking their own lives, frequently did not receive support. Today the fact is weighing heavily on our minds that there were but individual initiatives to help persecuted Jews and that even the pogroms of November 1938 were not followed by public and express protest; i.e., when hundreds of synagogues were set on fire and vandalized, cemeteries were desecrated, thousands of Jewish-owned shops were demolished, innumerable dwellings of Jewish families were damaged and looted, people were ridiculed, ill-treated and even killed. The retrospect on the events of November 1938 and on the terror regime of the National Socialists during 12 years visualizes the heavy burden of history. It recalls "that the Church, which we proclaim as holy, and which we honor as a mystery, is also a sinful Church and in need of conversion" (Statement by the German and Austrian Bishops' Conferences on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the pogroms of November 1938).

Failure and guilt of that time have also a church dimension. We are reminded of that fact when quoting the witness given by the Joint Synod of Dioceses in the Federal Republic of Germany: "We are that country whose recent political history was darkened by the attempt to systematically exterminate the Jewish people.

And in this period of National Socialism—despite the exemplary behavior of some individuals and groups—we were nevertheless on a whole a church community who kept on living their life in turning their back too often on the fate of this persecuted Jewish people, who looked too fixedly at the threat to their own institutions and who remained silent about the crimes committed against the Jews and Judaism... The practical sincerity of our will of renewal is also linked to the confession of this guilt and the willingness to painfully learn from this history of guilt of our country and of our church as well" (Resolution "Our Hope," November 22, 1975). We request the Jewish people to hear this word of conversion and will of renewal.

III.

Auschwitz faces us Christians with the question of what relationship we have with the Jews and whether this relationship corresponds to the spirit of Jesus Christ. Anti-semitism is "a sin against God and humanity," as Pope John Paul II has said many times. In the church there must not be any room for, and consent to hostility towards Jews. Christians must not harbor aversion, dislike and even less feelings of hatred for Jews and Judaism. Wherever such an attitude comes to light, they have the duty to offer public and express resistance.

The Church respects the autonomy of Judaism. Simultaneously she has to learn anew that she is descended from Israel and remains linked to its patrimony concerning faith, ethos and liturgy. Wherever it is possible, Christian and Jewish communities should cultivate mutual contacts. We have to do everything in our power to enable Jews and Christians in our country to live together as good neighbors. In this way they will make their own distinctive contribution to a Europe whose past was darkened by the Shoah and which, in future, is to become a continent of solidarity.

Wurzburg, January 23, 1995

WE REMEMBER: A REFLECTION ON THE SHOAH

*Holy See's Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews
March 1998*

I. TRAGEDY OF THE SHOAH AND THE DUTY OF REMEMBRANCE

The twentieth century is fast coming to a close, and a new millennium of the Christian era is about to dawn. The 2000th anniversary of the birth of Jesus Christ calls all Christians, and indeed invites all men and women, to seek to discern in the passage of history the signs of divine providence at work as well as the ways in which the image of the Creator in man has been offended and disfigured.

This reflection concerns one of the main areas in which Catholics can seriously take to heart the summons which Pope John Paul II has addressed to them in his apostolic letter *Tertio Millennio Adveniente*:

It is appropriate that as the second millennium of Christianity draws to a close the Church should become more fully conscious of the sinfulness of her children, recalling all those times in history when they departed from the spirit of Christ and his Gospel and, instead of offering to the world the witness of a life inspired by the values of faith, indulged in ways of thinking and acting which were truly forms of counter-witness and scandal.¹

This century has witnessed an unspeakable tragedy which can never be forgotten: the attempt by the Nazi regime to exterminate the Jewish people, with the consequent killing of millions of Jews. Women and men, old and young, children and infants, for the sole reason of their Jewish origin, were persecuted and deported. Some were killed immediately, while others were degraded, ill-treated, tortured, and utterly robbed of their human dignity, and then murdered. Very few of those who entered the camps survived, and those who did remained scarred for life. This was the *Shoah*. It is a major fact of the history of this century, a fact which still concerns us today.

Before this horrible genocide, which the leaders

of nations and Jewish communities themselves found hard to believe at the very moment when it was being mercilessly put into effect, no one can remain indifferent, least of all the Church, by reason of her very close bonds of spiritual kinship with the Jewish people and her remembrance of the injustices of the past. The Church's relationship to the Jewish people is unlike the one she shares with any other religion. However, it is not only a question of recalling the past. The common future of Jews and Christians demands that we remember, for "there is no future without memory." History itself is *memoria futuri*.

In addressing this reflection to our brothers and sisters of the Catholic Church throughout the world, we ask all Christians to join us in meditating on the catastrophe which befell the Jewish people and on the moral imperative to ensure that never again will selfishness and hatred grow to the point of sowing such suffering and death. Most especially we ask our Jewish friends, "whose terrible fate has become a symbol of the aberrations of which man is capable when he turns against God," to hear us with open hearts.

II. WHAT WE MUST REMEMBER

While bearing their unique witness to the Holy One of Israel and to the Torah, the Jewish people have suffered much at different times and in many places. But the Shoah was certainly the worst suffering of all. The inhumanity with which the Jews were persecuted and massacred during this century is beyond the capacity of words to convey. All this was done to them for the sole reason that they were Jews.

The very magnitude of the crime raises many questions. Historians, sociologists, political philosophers, psychologists, and theologians are all trying to learn more about the reality of the Shoah and its causes. Much scholarly study still remains to be done. But such an event cannot be fully measured by the ordinary criteria of historical research alone. It calls for a "moral and religious memory" and, particularly among Christians, a very serious reflection on what gave rise to it.

The fact that the Shoah took place in Europe, that is, in countries of long-standing Christian civilization, raises the question of the relation between the Nazi persecution and the attitudes down the centuries of Christians toward the Jews.

III. RELATIONS BETWEEN JEWS AND CHRISTIANS

The history of relations between Jews and Christians is a tormented one. His Holiness Pope John Paul II has recognized this fact in his repeated appeals to Catholics to see where we stand with regard to our relations with the Jewish people. In effect, the balance of these relations over 2,000 years has been quite negative.

At the dawn of Christianity, after the crucifixion of Jesus, there arose disputes between the early Church and the Jewish leaders and people who, in their devotion to the law, on occasion violently opposed the preachers of the Gospel and the first Christians. In the pagan Roman Empire, Jews were legally protected by the privileges granted by the emperor, and the authorities at first made no distinction between Jewish and Christian communities. Soon, however, Christians incurred the persecution of the state. Later, when the emperors themselves converted to Christianity, they at first continued to guarantee Jewish privileges. But Christian mobs who attacked pagan temples sometimes did the same to synagogues, not without being influenced by certain interpretations of the New Testament regarding the Jewish people as a whole.

"In the Christian world—I do not say on the part of the Church as such—erroneous and unjust interpretations of the New Testament regarding the Jewish people and, their alleged culpability have circulated for too long, engendering feelings of hostility toward this people. "Such interpretations of the New Testament have been totally and definitively rejected by the Second Vatican Council.

Despite the Christian preaching of love for all, even for one's enemies, the prevailing mentality down the centuries penalized minorities and those who were in any way "different." Sentiments of anti-Judaism in some Christian quarters and the gap which existed between the Church and the Jewish people led to a generalized discrimination, which ended at times in expulsions or attempts at forced conversions. In a large part of the "Christian" world, until the end of the eighteenth century those who were not Christian did not always enjoy a fully guaranteed juridical status. Despite that fact, Jews throughout Christendom held on to their religious traditions and communal customs. They were

therefore looked upon with a certain suspicion and mistrust. In times of crisis such as famine, war, pestilence, or social tensions, the Jewish minority was sometimes taken as a scapegoat and became the victim of violence, looting, even massacres.

By the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, Jews generally had achieved an equal standing with other citizens in most states and a certain number of them held influential positions in society. But in that same historical context, notably in the nineteenth century, a false and exacerbated nationalism took hold. In a climate of eventful social change, Jews were often accused of exercising an influence disproportionate to their numbers. Thus there began to spread in varying degrees throughout most of Europe an anti-Judaism that was essentially more sociological and political than religious.

At the same time, theories began to appear which denied the unity of the human race, affirming an original diversity of races. In the twentieth century, National Socialism in Germany used these ideas as a pseudoscientific basis for a distinction between so-called Nordic-Aryan races and supposedly inferior races. Furthermore, an extremist form of nationalism was heightened in Germany by the defeat of 1918 and the demanding conditions imposed by the victors, with the consequence that many saw in National Socialism a solution to their country's problems and cooperated politically with this movement.

The Church in Germany replied by condemning racism. The condemnation first appeared in the preaching of some of the clergy, in the public teaching of the Catholic bishops, and in the writings of lay Catholic journalists. Already in February and March 1931, Cardinal Bertram of Breslau, Cardinal Faulhaber and the bishops of Bavaria, the bishops of the province of Cologne, and those of the province of Freiburg published pastoral letters condemning National Socialism, with its idolatry of race and of the state. The well-known Advent sermons of Cardinal Faulhaber in 1933, the very year in which National Socialism came to power, at which not just Catholics but also Protestants and Jews were present clearly expressed rejection of the Nazi antisemitic propaganda." In the wake of the Kristallnacht, Bernhard Lichtenberg, provost of Berlin cathedral, offered public prayers for the Jews. He was later to die at Dachau and has been declared blessed.

Pope Pius XI too condemned Nazi racism in a solemn way in his encyclical *letter Mit Brennender Sorge*, which was read in German churches on Passion Sunday 1937, a step which resulted in attacks and sanctions against members of the clergy.

Addressing a group of Belgian pilgrims on September 6, 1938, Pius XI asserted: "Antisemitism is unacceptable. Spiritually, we are all Semites. "I Pius XII, in his very first encyclical, *Summi Pontificatus* of October 20, 1939, warned against theories which denied the unity of the human race and against the deification of the state, all of which he saw as leading to a real "hour of darkness."

IV. NAZI ANTISEMITISM AND THE SHOAH

Thus we cannot ignore the difference which exists between *antisemitism*, based on theories contrary to the constant teaching of the Church on the unity of the human race and on the equal dignity of all races and peoples, and the longstanding sentiments of mistrust and hostility that we call *anti-Judaism*, of which, unfortunately, Christians also have been guilty.

The National Socialist ideology went even further, in the sense that it refused to acknowledge any transcendent reality as the source of life and the criterion of moral good. Consequently, a human group, and the state with which it was identified, arrogated to itself an absolute status and determined to remove the very existence of the Jewish people, a people called to witness to the one God and the law of the covenant. At the level of theological reflection we cannot ignore the fact that not a few in the Nazi Party not only showed aversion to the idea of divine providence at work in human affairs, but gave proof of a definite hatred directed at God himself. Logically such an attitude also led to a rejection of Christianity and a desire to see the Church destroyed or at least subjected to the interests of the Nazi state.

It was this extreme ideology which became the basis of the measures taken first to drive the Jews from their homes and then to exterminate them. The *Shoah* was the work of a thoroughly modern neopagan regime. Its antisemitism had its roots outside of Christianity, and in pursuing its aims, it did not hesitate to oppose the Church and persecute her members also.

But it may be asked whether the Nazi persecution of the Jews was not made easier by the anti-Jewish prejudices imbedded in some Christian minds and hearts. Did anti-Jewish sentiment among Christians make them less sensitive or even indifferent to the persecutions launched against the Jews by National Socialism when it reached power?

Any response to this question must take into account that we are dealing with the history of people's attitudes and ways of thinking, subject to multiple influences. Moreover, many people were altogether unaware of the "final solution" that was

being put into effect against a whole people; others were afraid for themselves and those near to them; some took advantage of the situation; and still others were moved by envy. A response would need to be given case by case. To do this, however, it is necessary to know what precisely motivated people in a particular situation.

At first the leaders of the Third Reich sought to expel the Jews. Unfortunately, the governments of some western countries of Christian tradition, including some in North and South America, were more than hesitant to open their borders to the persecuted Jews. Although they could not foresee how far the Nazi hierarchs would go in their criminal intentions, the leaders of those nations were aware of the hardships and dangers to which Jews living in the territories of the Third Reich were exposed. The closing of borders to Jewish emigration in those circumstances, whether due to anti-Jewish hostility or suspicion, political cowardice, or shortsightedness, or national selfishness, lays a heavy burden of conscience on the authorities in question.

In the lands where the Nazis undertook mass deportations, the brutality which surrounded these forced movements of helpless people should have led to suspect the worst. Did Christians give every possible assistance to those being persecuted and in particular to the persecuted Jews?

Many did, but others did not. Those who did help to save Jewish lives, as much as was in their power, even to the point of placing their own lives in danger, must not be forgotten. During and after the war, Jewish communities and Jewish leaders expressed their thanks for all that had been done for them, including what Pope Pius XII did personally or through his representatives to save hundreds of thousands of Jewish lives. Many Catholic bishops, priests, religious, and laity have been honored for this reason by the state of Israel.

Nevertheless, as Pope John Paul II has recognized, alongside such courageous men and women, the spiritual resistance and concrete action of other Christians was not that which might have been expected from Christ's followers. We cannot know how many Christians in countries occupied or ruled by the Nazi powers or their allies were horrified at the disappearance of their Jewish neighbors and yet were not strong enough to raise their voices in protest. For Christians, this heavy burden of conscience of their brothers and sisters during the Second World War must be a call to penitence.

We deeply regret the errors and failures of those sons and daughters of the Church. We make our own what is said in the Second Vatican Council's

declaration *Nostra Aetate*, which unequivocally affirms: "The Church ... mindful of her common patrimony with the Jews, and motivated by the gospel's spiritual love and by no political considerations, deplors the hatred, persecutions, and displays of antisemitism directed against the Jews at any time and from any source."

We recall and abide by what Pope John Paul II, addressing the leaders of the Jewish community in Strasbourg in 1988, stated: "I repeat again with you the strongest condemnation of antisemitism and racism, which are opposed to the principles of Christianity." The Catholic Church therefore repudiates every persecution against a people or human group anywhere, at any time. She absolutely condemns all forms of genocide as well as the racist ideologies which give rise to them. Looking back over this century, we are deeply saddened by the violence that has enveloped whole groups of peoples and nations. We recall in particular the massacre of the Armenians, the countless victims in Ukraine in the 1930s, the genocide of the Gypsies, which was also the result of racist ideas, and similar tragedies which have occurred in America, Africa, and the Balkans. Nor do we forget the millions of victims of totalitarian ideology in the Soviet Union, in China, Cambodia, and elsewhere. Nor can we forget the drama of the Middle East, the elements of which are well known. Even as we make this reflection, "many human beings are still their brothers' victims."

V. LOOKING TOGETHER TO A COMMON FUTURE

Looking to the future of relations between Jews and Christians, in the first place we appeal to our Catholic brothers and sisters to renew the awareness of the Hebrew roots of their faith. We ask them to keep in mind that Jesus was a descendant of David; that the Virgin Mary and the apostles belonged to the Jewish people; that the Church draws sustenance from the root of that good olive tree on to which have been grafted the wild olive branches of the gentiles (cf. Rom 11:17-24); that the Jews are our dearly beloved brothers, indeed in a certain sense they are "our elder brothers."

At the end of this millennium the Catholic Church desires to express her deep sorrow for the failures of her sons and daughters in every age. This is an act of repentance (*teshuvah*), since as members of the Church we are linked to the sins as well as the merits of all her children. The Church approaches with deep respect and great compassion the experience of extermination, the *Shoah* suffered by the Jewish people during World War II. It is not a matter of mere words, but indeed of binding

commitment. "We would risk causing the victims of the most atrocious deaths to die again if we do not have an ardent desire for justice, if we do not commit ourselves to ensure that evil does not prevail over good as it did for millions of the children of the Jewish people. ...Humanity cannot permit all that to happen again."

We pray that our sorrow for the tragedy which the Jewish people has suffered in our century will lead to a new relationship with the Jewish people. We wish to turn awareness of past sins into a firm resolve to build a new future in which there will be no more anti-Judaism among Christians or anti-Christian sentiment among Jews, but rather a shared mutual respect as befits those who adore the one Creator and Lord and have a common father in faith, Abraham.

Finally, we invite all men and women of good will to reflect deeply on the significance of the *Shoah*. The victims from their graves and the survivors through the vivid testimony of what they have suffered have become a loud voice calling the attention of all of humanity. To remember this terrible experience is to become fully conscious of the salutary warning it entails: The spoiled seeds of anti-Judaism and antisemitism must never again be allowed to take root in any human heart.

March 16, 1998

Cardinal Edward Idris Cassidy, President

Bishop Pierre Duprey, Vice President

Rev. Remi Hoekman, OP, Secretary

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Notes

1. John Paul II, apostolic letter *Tertio Millennio Adveniente. Acta Apostolicae Sedis* (AAS) 87 (1995): 25, no. 33.
2. Cf. John Paul II, speech at the Rome synagogue, April 13, 1986. AAS 78 (1986): 1120, no. 4.
3. John Paul II, Angelus prayer, June 11, 1995. *Insegnamenti* 18/1 (1995): 1712.
4. Cf. John Paul II, address to Jewish leaders in Budapest, August 18, 1991. *Insegnamenti* 14/7 (1991): 349, no. 4.
5. John Paul II, encyclical *Centesimus Annus*. AAS 83 (1991): 814-815, no. 17.
6. Cf. John Paul II, address to episcopal conferences' delegates for Catholic-Jewish relations, March 6, 1982. *Insegnamenti* 5/1 (1982): 743-747.
7. Cf. Holy See's Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews, *Notes on the Correct Way to Present the Jews and Judaism in Preaching and Catechesis in the Roman*

Catholic Church, June 24, 1985, VI, 1.
Enchiridion Vaticanum 9, 1656.

8. Cf. John Paul 11, speech to symposium on the roots of Anti-Judaism, October 31, 1997. *L'Osservatore Romano* (November 1, 1997): 6, no. 1.
9. Cf. Vatican Council 11, *Nostra Aetate*, no. 4.
10. Cf. B. Statiewski, ed., *Akten Deutscher Bischöfe Über die Lage der Kirche, 1933-1945*, Vol. 1, 1933-1934 (Mainz, 1968), Appendix.
11. Cf. L. Volk, *Der Bayerische Episkopat und der Nationalsozialismus 1930-1934* (Mainz, 1966), 170-174.
12. The encyclical is dated March 14, 1937. AAS 29 (1937): 145-167.
13. *La Documentation Catholique*, 29 (1938): col. 1460.
14. AAS 31 (1939): 413-453.
15. *Ibid.*, 449.
16. The wisdom of Pope Pius XII's diplomacy was publicly acknowledged on a number of occasions by representative Jewish organizations and personalities. For example, on September 7, 1945, Dr. Joseph Nathan, who represented the Italian Hebrew Commission, stated: "Above all, we acknowledge the supreme pontiff and the religious men and women who, executing the directives of the Holy Father, recognized the persecuted as their brothers and, with efforts and abnegation, hastened to help us, disregarding the terrible dangers to which they were exposed" (*L'Osservatore Romano* [September 8, 1945]: 2). On September 21 of that same year, Pius XII received in audience Dr. A. Leo Kubowitzki, secretary general of the World Jewish Congress, who came to present "to the Holy Father, in the name of the Union of Israelitic Communities, warmest thanks for the efforts of the Catholic Church on behalf of Jews throughout Europe during the war" (*L'Osservatore Romano* [September 23, 1945]: 1). On Thursday, November 29, 1945, the pope met about eighty representatives of Jewish refugees from various concentration camps in Germany, who expressed "their great honor at being able to thank the Holy Father personally for his generosity toward those persecuted during the Nazi-Fascist period" (*L'Osservatore Romano* [November 30, 1945]: 1). In 1958, at the death of Pope Pius XII, Golda Meir sent an eloquent message: "We share in the grief of humanity. When fearful martyrdom came to our people, the voice of the pope was raised for its victims. The life of our times was enriched by a voice speaking out about great moral truths above the tumult of daily conflict. We mourn a great servant of peace.
17. Cf. John Paul 11, address to the Federal German Republic's new ambassador to the Holy See, November 8, 1990. AAS 83 (1991): 587-588, no. 2.
18. *Nostra Aetate*, no. 4. Translation by Walter M. Abbott, SJ, in *The Documents of Vatican II*.
19. John Paul 11, address to Jewish leaders in Strasbourg, October 9, 1988. *Insegnamenti 11/3* (1988): 1134, no. 8.
20. John Paul 11, address to the diplomatic corps, January 15, 1994. AAS 86 (1994): 816, no. 9.
21. John Paul 11, Rome synagogue speech, no. 4.
22. John Paul 11, address at a commemoration of the *Shoah*, April 7, 1994. *Insegnamenti 17/1* (1994): 897 and 893, no. 3.

“IT’S REALLY TRUE”

Joni Rabiner
Ari Kaufmann
Jordan Barry
Philip Paul

SCENE I (In a classroom)

Teacher: Ok class. Today you will be receiving your history assignments. For your project, you will be talking to your parents and grandparents about some world event that affected them. I would like you to take these reports seriously because I feel it is important that you understand more about your past.

Student #1: May we do a report on the bombing of Hiroshima?

Teacher: If it affected your family you may.

Student #2: May we do something on the Vietnam War?

Teacher: Did your relatives fight in it?

Student #2: Yes, my uncle died in the fighting.

Teacher: Yes, you may then. Anyone else have any questions?

David: What about the Holocaust? May we write our reports on that?

Teacher: Yes, David. I think that would work out fine.

Frans: How can he write a report on something that never occurred?

David: (Stand up) How can you say that? It certainly did happen. I have living proof of it! My grandparents and great-aunt barely survived 3 years under control of the Nazi’s! The rest of my family was ruthlessly murdered by the Nazi’s in the gas chambers! How can you possibly think it never occurred?

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SCENE II (At home)

Grandfather: How was school today?

David: Good. We got our history project today.

Grandfather: What is it on?

David: Some world event that our family has endured. I immediately thought of the Holocaust. I asked about it. Then some kid had the nerve to say to my face that it never happened.

Grandfather: But you know it did, right?

David: Yes. I was so angry, and I told him that the Holocaust certainly did occur.

Grandfather: Well, I’m very proud of you, David.

David: Would you mind telling me about some of those horrible times?

Grandfather: No, go and get your grandmother and aunt. And don’t forget anything we are about to tell you, ever!

SCENE III (At home)

Grandfather: The year was 1938. Our family was very prosperous. I owned a grocery store in Warsaw. I was 25, and your grandmother was 20. We were not yet married.

Grandmother: Yes, I remember quite well. We felt that we couldn’t be happier, and there was nothing that could affect our happiness. We never wanted the good times to end.

Unit VII: READING #36

Song: Those were the days my friend.
We thought they'd never end.
We celebrated every holiday.
Those days were filled with fun
And joy for everyone.
Oh I am sad those days, they had to end.

Aunt Devorah: Unfortunately the good times for all Jews were soon to end. The Nazi's came into our towns. They made all Jews wear yellow stars to distinguish us from "pure Aryans".

Grandfather: They first wrote "Jew" in large letters on my store window. Then they organized a boycott of all the Jewish stores, and if you walked into one, you were shot. Then they made me close my store completely! Next came the worst part. They forced us out of our homes.

David: Where did you go?

Grandmother: All the Jews were forced into a small part of Warsaw called a ghetto. The ghettos were enclosed and restricted areas where Jews were required to live. We had strict rules about when you could be out on the streets and where you could go.

Aunt Devorah: It was just like being in a prison, but we hadn't committed any crimes! Suddenly we were wondering if we had done something to deserve this. You can't keep this many people locked up without just cause, can you?

Grandfather: If a Jew did something the Nazi's didn't like, he or she was often shot. Without any warning-people started being taken, out of the ghettos by the hundreds. Radios were banned, so we didn't know what was happening. Then it was our turn.

David: Oh no! What did they do? Where did they send you?

Aunt Devorah: The camp was so dark and dreary, it almost smelled of death. The sky was filled with ashes that came out of the chimney from the crematoria where the Nazi's cremated the bodies of the Jews.

David: Cremated their bodies? Even the children? How could they?

Grandmother: There's no way to describe the thoughts or actions of this sick man named Adolf Hitler. There is also no excuse for anything that he did.

David: Did you see anyone burned alive, or know anyone that was?

Aunt Devorah: Well, not in the crematoria, but it was not uncommon to see people shot in the streets.

Grandmother: Many people we knew died by being tortured by the Nazi's.

David: What happened at Auschwitz? What was it like there?

Grandfather: Considering some of the treacherous stories I have heard, your Aunt Devorah, your grandmother and I got off extremely lucky, I was with my uncle all the time. Thank God he was there, he gave me my will to survive. He told me that we would make it, because the Jews as a people were stronger than the German's. Uncle Chaim gave me the hope that one day soon we would again be free. I truly owe him my life for never letting me lose faith. After 11 months in a death camp, my uncle died because he was severely beaten by a Nazi for having a button missing from his blue and white striped uniform! And only three weeks before liberation!

David: What a tragic story.

Aunt Devorah: And that's only one out of six million, not including the Gypsies, and the many other groups of people almost totally eliminated by Hitler.

Grandfather: Anyway, after sharing a barrack with hundreds of other men in the dirty conditions, I fell very ill. I was scared to death to go to roll call because the sick were always the first to be called to "take a shower" in the gas chambers. That night I was thinking of all possible escapes when the Americans came in! I had never been so happy in my life. I couldn't wait for the day when the Nazi's would be on trial for their horrendous crimes.

Grandmother: After throwing countless bodies into pits with fires in them, shooting dozens of people because one person, one person, stole a slice of bread, and saying things to us Jews that I will never repeat out loud, they were running from us!

Aunt Devorah: We had survived!

David: You must have been so happy. I'm so glad you all survived. What happened next? Where did you go after you were freed from your prison?

Grandfather: First I went to the hospital. I found out that it wasn't serious, and that all I needed was a little medicine. A week later, I took a train back to Warsaw. Your grandmother and I were split up, so we agreed to meet back in Warsaw. I met her outside her old apartment building, and do you know what I did next?

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David: What? What did you do, Grandpa?

Grandfather: I married her.

David: Did you stay in Poland after that?

Grandmother: Of course not. As soon as we could, we left for Jerusalem in Palestine, or what is now Israel. To us it really was “the “Promised Land”.

Song: Yerushalayim shel zahav
Ve’shel nechoshet ve’shel or
Ha’loh le’chol shirayich
Ani kinor

David: And then you came to America, right?

Grandfather: Right. That’s what happened to us. Your grandmother, Aunt Devorah, and I were the only ones in our families that survived.

Aunt Devorah: It’s only a miracle that we endured so much for so long. David: So that’s what happened. Thank you for teaching me about the Holocaust. Now I know what really happened, firsthand. I never realized it was so bad. How did you make it? How come other countries didn’t help out more before all this happened? Why didn’t they bomb the camps or try to stop the German’s earlier? How did Hitler manage to get everyone to support him? Why did they support them? How could we have let this happen?

Grandfather: These questions will never be answered.

Grandmother: Besides, it is not good to dwell on the past and keep asking “why” or “what if.” What happened happened, and it proved that we can and we will survive.

Aunt Devorah: The only thing we can do now is remember. Remember and educate future generations so nothing like this will ever happen again.

Grandfather: David, whatever you do, remember.

(Grandparents walk off stage. David stands up)

David: How could I ever forget?

Song:
Oseh Shalom bimromay
Hu ya’aseh shalom aleinu
Ve’al kol Yisrael
Ve’imru Amen

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SCENE IV

(Back in the classroom)

David: *(Stands up reading report)* So from doing this report, I have learned a lot about myself and my past. I learned that the Jews are strong, and their belief and hope is what has kept them alive all of these years. I would also like to thank my grandparents for giving me something that no book can ever give accurately—a personal and touching view of the Holocaust. *(Sit down)*

Teacher: Thank you David. That was touching and well written. I can tell you put a lot of effort into it. I’m going to give you an A+!

Frans: Was all of that true? My parents never told me anything about that! All they said was that the Jews wanted to blame their problems on someone, and they decided on the Germans! Oh, how could a country like Germany have ever done anything so cruel to anybody? I could never possibly do that! *(Turns to David)* I’m so sorry, David.

David: It’s ok now. I really wrote this to show you what happened, because if you don’t know about it, then it could happen again. I’m just glad that you finally understand.

Teacher: Class, I hope you have learned something valuable today, because David is right. History has shown us that. If people don’t know about an event like the Holocaust, then it could happen again. Since David taught one person, he did his job, *(Turn to audience)* Now it’s time to do yours. Educate so nothing like this will ever happen again.

Song: Anthem of the Zionist movement and the State of Israel, based on a poem by Naphtali Hertz Imber.
Hatikvah means
“The Hope.”

WHAT THE LESSONS OF THE HOLOCAUST MEAN TO ME

Jessica Brooke Steier

At the time of the writing of this poem in February 1997, Jessica Brooke Steier was a fifth grade student at Elementary School P.S. 195 in New York City. She is the granddaughter of Holocaust survivors. The poem was submitted to her teacher, Mrs. Broslaw. Jessica was the recipient of numerous prestigious awards including one from B'nai B'rith for "The Broken Tree." Her poem was published in the *Exceptional Parent* magazine, May 1997 edition. The poem appears here with the permission of Jessica and her parents, Dorothy and Jeffrey Jay Steier.

INTRODUCTION /DEDICATION

It took weeks for me to write the following poem. It is based upon true stories from my Grandma Olga, a Holocaust survivor. I would like to give thanks to my mother, a first generation American, who helped me organize my thoughts and pull it all together. We cried more than once. I dedicate this poem to my grandma who I love, my grandpa who I never met, to everyone else like myself who was robbed of a part of their heritage, and to those in my family who I never met.

The Broken Tree

There once was a branch of my family tree
ripped apart with a page out of history.
It spoke of a time of brutality
but it was in fact a reality.

Did those I wish I could have cherished
have to die?
have to perish?
To camps and chambers and their graves
until the end they were so brave.

It's in the hopes that we won't see
repeated mass atrocity
Let's look within to find the key
whose evil root appears to be
some need to turn you into me
out of ignorant hostility.

Against a few who did nothing wrong
except that as Jews, that's how they were born.

They had no time to prepare or fight back
against an unrelenting attack
that happened so fast it was hard to believe
that men could commit such atrocities.

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Source: Steier, Jessica Brooke. "The Broken Tree." *What The Lessons of the Holocaust Mean to Me...* Submitted as a fifth grade assignment to her teacher, Mrs. Broslaw, at Elementary School P.S. 195 in New York City, February 1997.

"All alike, the same and pure"
were words a leader used to lure
those looking for an easy cure
for problems they could not explain
and so on scapegoats put the blame.

Their troubles they could not forgive
so they just crushed the right to live.

Can there be an explanation
for such mass extermination?

All those awful executions
all that senseless persecution
that was called "*Final Solution*"
how could man spread such pollution?

Reveal for us your ugly face
you called yourselves "*The Master Race.*"

A man whose selfish vanity
turned out to be *insanity*
because of his depravity
and crimes against humanity.

The lesson learned, or so it seems
would be to find another means
than placing blame upon a race
religion, or another face.

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We may differ but we can't brand
or we walk with unclean hands.

Those persecuted of all religions
should always get help to escape from their prisons.

Prevent those people who dictate
from evil deeds that grow from hate.

We can't just wave a magic wand
but must work at the human bond.

So our children get to see
all members of their family
we must promote democracy
to guarantee that we stay free.

So never trust a single hand
allowing evil men to stand
or put one's faith in just one man
to hold the power of a land.

Equality we must promote
all groups that hate we must expose
and from our outer skins must peel
discrimination and reveal
a starting point from which to heal
prevent our fates from being sealed!

It's to that branch of family
whose limb was torn so ruthlessly
I dedicate this poem to thee
to free us from our history.

Though lessons from the Holocaust
cannot bring back the lives we lost
to move along we must prevent
a repeat of those past events.

I share the grief
the million tears
of those that lived their lives in fear.

Now only Grandma's left to tell
about a life that seemed like hell
and this serves as a legacy
for that branch of my family.

To those of you I never met
I love you
and I **WON'T FORGET!!!**

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ACTIVITIES AND QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Read the dedication of the poem in the Introduction. Read the poem silently, then aloud. Have an open forum on reactions of your class to the age (11 years old) of the student and the poem's meaning to her, her grandmother and mother. How does this affect all of us when a culture (a people) has been destroyed?
2. Write a response letter to Jessica and her family.
3. Create a family tree (mural). Develop community family tree mural depicting effects of lost members (limbs). Show how the growth and development of a tree is stunted when its limbs are "brutally removed."

Source: Steier, Jessica Brooke. "The Broken Tree." *What The Lessons of the Holocaust Mean to Me...* Submitted as a fifth grade assignment to her teacher, Mrs. Broslaw, at Elementary School P.S. 195 in New York City, February 1997.

“AND YOU?”

Religious leaders are not the only ones who have reflected on questions of guilt and responsibility, the duty to remember and the longing to forget, and, most of all, pretention. Ordinary citizens also think about such questions.

James Carroll is a Catholic who was born in the United States during World War II. A few years ago, he inherited a clock that his mother bought in Germany after the war. He writes:

I love the clock for the carved mahogany case, the rhythm of the ticking, the dependable consolation of the musical strokes—and the reminder of my stalwart mother.

But lately the clock has come to mean something else as well. I have found it impossible to keep from wondering whose clock it was before my mother found it in a tough warehouse near the Rhine River in Wiesbaden. Recent news stories have systematically revealed how the possessions of Europe’s annihilated Jews found their way into the homes of respectable people; their savings accounts in the general funds of impeccably credentialed Swiss banks; their gold and jewels into the vaults of prestigious institutions from Spain to Argentina; their art onto the walls of great museums, including the Louvre—all without compensation to anyone.

In Paris, apartments and houses that once belonged to Jews are now known to have been efficiently appropriated by others, again without purchase. These revelations underscore the great but still largely unaddressed fact of the Holocaust—that while small minorities of Europeans either actively cooperated in the anti-Jewish genocide or actively resisted it, the vast majority not only looked the other way, but in subtle ways benefited from the disappearance of the Jews.

Now I find myself staring at my mother’s clock, half hypnotized by the swinging pendulum, the metronome click of which seems to ask a question: And you? Who are you to assume complete innocence?

I was born in 1943, the year the jurist Raphael Lemkin coined the word “genocide.” Already, by then, most of the murders of Jews had been carried out. People of my generation have viewed the Holocaust from the moral high ground as a crime for which we bear no responsibility.

Yet the Holocaust was not simply what happened to Jews between 1933 and 1945. It involved not only the 6 million, but the tens of millions of their lost progeny. Imagine the music they would be composing, the science they would be discovering, the books they would be writing, the neighbors they would make. It is the absence of that Jewish legion that the world has come increasingly to feel as a real presence.

History must name forever the perpetrators of the Final Solution, and the particular crime of Nazis must never be generalized. I am not asserting the properly derided theory of “corporate guilt,” because it is true that if all are guilty, no one is. Nevertheless, the broader culture within which the genocide occurred is morally polluted by what happened. That is what the endless revelations of at least passive complicity are telling us.

Who benefited? The Holocaust must continue to put its question to individuals, institutions, and nations. What about the unclaimed money in Switzerland, not in 1945, but now? What about Picasso’s “Head of a Woman,” known to have been in the private collection of one Alphonse Kann, but now hanging in the Pompidou Center? What about the unfinished moral legacies of universities, churches, and nations?

And, yes, what about my mother’s clock? Unlike meticulously recorded bank accounts, famous art works, or real estate, the provenance of this lovely but finally ordinary timepiece can never be established. That means that I can never know that it was stolen from a Jewish family, and, equally, that I can never know that it wasn’t. In that way, my mother’s clock has taken on a new character as a chiming icon—“And you?”—of this century’s final question.

In an era of mass murder massively exploited and massively denied, why shouldn’t the conscience of the West still be uneasy?

CONNECTIONS

Carroll writes that “it is the absence of that Jewish legion that the world has come increasingly to feel as a real presence.” What does he mean? In what sense can people, who are absent be “a presence”?

Why does Carroll believe that this century’s final question is “And you?” What did that question mean during the Holocaust? In the 1970s, three million Bangladeshis and over a million Khmers in Cambodia were victims of mass murder. In the 1980s the Chinese were accused of genocide in Tibet. The same charge was leveled in both the Balkans and Rwanda in the 1990s. What did the question mean then? What does it mean today?

Why does Carroll sees his mother’s clock as a legacy of the Holocaust? What kind of legacy is it? How would you answer the question he asks in his closing paragraph? How might the religious leaders described in the previous reading answer it?

**I
Want**
To Destroy
Your Live,
because
of your
Jewish Fath.
Nazi Germany



**I
Want**



**I
Want**
To Live
and Survive,
despite
my
Jewish Faith.
David Bergman

From the moment that I stepped off the train in Auschwitz, on April 1944, **I want**, became the hallmark of my survival. For example, after a long day's work, I would be so exhausted that I virtually had no strength left to make the five mile march back to the camp. One part of me would say that I am not going to make it, but then another part of me, would urge me to say that **I want to return to my hometown and open the door to my home**. I followed the silent voice within me that inspired me to survive. Instead of seeing myself marching back to the concentration camp, I would now see myself walking home and without even being aware of it, suddenly I was back in the camp. Each day, it was the same thing again, until I was finally liberated.

This concept of I want, gave me the vision of seeing myself returning home, thus helping me to survive from the five Nazi death camps, where millions of others perished. Later on, I will share with you how my vision of opening the door to my home actually became reality.

THE LONG SEARCH FOR THE SOURCE OF MY SURVIVAL

In captivity, there was no time to think or question who was the source within me, who was guiding me safely through all of those horrific experiences, day after day, month after month and from one death camp to another camp.

My main concern was to focus upon survival and to make it through another day. The **I want** words became the hallmark of my survival. Everyday, I would say to myself, "I want to be free again and I want to return home."

When I would say those words **I want**, I would actually get a vision within my mind of returning home. I did not question how that vision within me was generated, except to follow it. Had I not been able to generate that vision, I know that I would not

have survived because of the treacherous conditions I was exposed to. After I was liberated and after many years of healing, I became very curious and wanted to find out how that vision of returning home along with the two words of **I want** were generated within me. I also wanted to find out who within me gave me the strength and stamina and made the decisions for me about not giving up hope for survival. Basically, what it came down to was, that I wanted to find out who I really was. I had many questions, without any answers. Initially, I consulted with others knowledgeable in the field of human behavior, but was unable to get any meaningful answers as to the sources of my survival. Not wanting to give up, I embarked upon an intensive study of the functioning of the mind and brain. I learned that our mind and brain is made up of different types of elements. For example, the Limbic system plays a pivotal role in survival, depression and the control of our emotions. In captivity, I certainly made extensive use of the **emotional control** element. Many times at work, I would get a very strong desire to cry, because of the hurt and pain of the heavy physical work. But, I had to restrain myself from crying, because if I had cried, the Nazi guards would have discovered my real age and I would have been then removed from the work group and shipped out to an extermination camp for certain death. I was thirteen at the time and the minimum age to remain in a work group was sixteen. Instead of crying out loud, as I wanted to, I learned how to cry silently without showing any emotions or shedding any tears. To the eyes of the Nazi guards I was an adult carrying out adult functions.

But, within me though, there was that thirteen year old teenager who just wanted to cry out loud and ask anyone why I was being punished so severely, when I always obeyed all of God's Commandments.

Unit VII: READING #39

There was no one to turn to for answers, because all of us victims faced the same dilemmas. Obviously, asking the Nazi guards for answers, would certainly not have been a solution either.

I further learned that the Cerebral Cortex within the brain is responsible for making our decisions. I certainly made extensive use of that element, because daily I had to make the decision about not giving up hope of survival, no matter how closely and how imminent or how often death appeared.

Also, somewhere within that same Cerebral Cortex, was the source that transformed the brutalities that my eyes saw, to visions of seeing myself coming home.

I also learned that the Temporal Lobe within our brains acts as the reservoir where memories are stored. This element played a pivotal role in my survival, because it provided me with the memories of my family and home, thereby giving me the reasons to strive for survival. I personally called all of those various elements within me my Survival Tools, because they all played pivotal roles in my survival. While I learned of the key elements within the brain which were responsible for my survival, I could not find the most important element that I was looking for. And that was the **I want**, element. The **I want** element was the one that initiated and activated all of the other survival elements within

me. And yet, not a word was ever mentioned in the neuroscience books about their existence. The only statements that neuroscientists were willing to make concerning the various elements involved, is that they can understand how the various elements function independently, but not how they interact with each other collectively to create a unified life system. That is still a mystery. In other words, what they were saying is that they don't know yet what makes some people smart and others not so smart. Having learned of the limited capabilities within us to understand how all of the various elements within us interact with each other, I thus came to the realization that the reason that the I want element cannot be found within us, is because it is not just one element. The **I want** element represents the embodiment of all of the other elements combined. In other words, what I learned was that my survival was not just due to just one element alone, but to a combination of all of the other elements, each functioning as an independent instrument created by a higher power known as God. The **I want** element, I concluded, is actually the soul and spirit of our being and the pipeline connecting us to God. In captivity when I said the words, "I want to survive," I was actually reaching out to God, asking him to give me whatever it will take to help me survive.

DESTINY

*"Destiny is not
a matter of chance*

*But a matter
of choice*

A CHAMPION'S CREED

IF YOU THINK YOU ARE BEATEN, YOU ARE.
IF YOU THINK YOU DARE NOT, YOU DON'T.
IF YOU'D LIKE TO WIN BUT THINK YOU CAN'T,
IT'S ALMOST A CINCH YOU WON'T.

IF YOU THINK YOU'LL LOSE, YOU'RE LOST.
FOR OUT IN THE WORLD YOU'LL FIND
SUCCESS BEGINS WITH THE FELLOW'S WILL,
IT'S ALL IN THE STATE OF MIND.

IF YOU THINK YOU'RE OUTCLASSED, YOU ARE.
YOU'VE GOT TO THINK TO RISE.
YOU'VE GOT TO BE SURE OF YOURSELF BEFORE
YOU CAN EVEN WIN A PRIZE.

LIFE'S BATTLES DON'T ALWAYS GO
TO THE STRONGER OR FASTER MAN.
BUT SOONER OR LATER THE MAN WHO WINS
IS THE ONE WHO THINKS HE CAN.

1010

The Man in the Glass

*When you get what you want in your struggle for self
And the world makes you King for a day
Just go to a mirror and look at yourself
And see what that man has to say.*

*For it isn't your father or mother or wife
Whose judgment upon you must pass
The fellow whose verdict counts most in your life
Is the one staring back from the glass.*

*You may be like Jack Horner and chisel a plum
And think you're a wonderful guy
But the man in the glass says you're only a bum
If you can't look him straight in the eye.*

*He's the fellow to please — never mind the rest,
For He's with you clear up to the end
And you've passed your most dangerous difficult test
If the man in the glass is your friend.*

*You may fool the whole world down the pathway of years
And get pats on the back as you pass
But your final reward will be heartache and tears,
If you've cheated the man in the glass.*

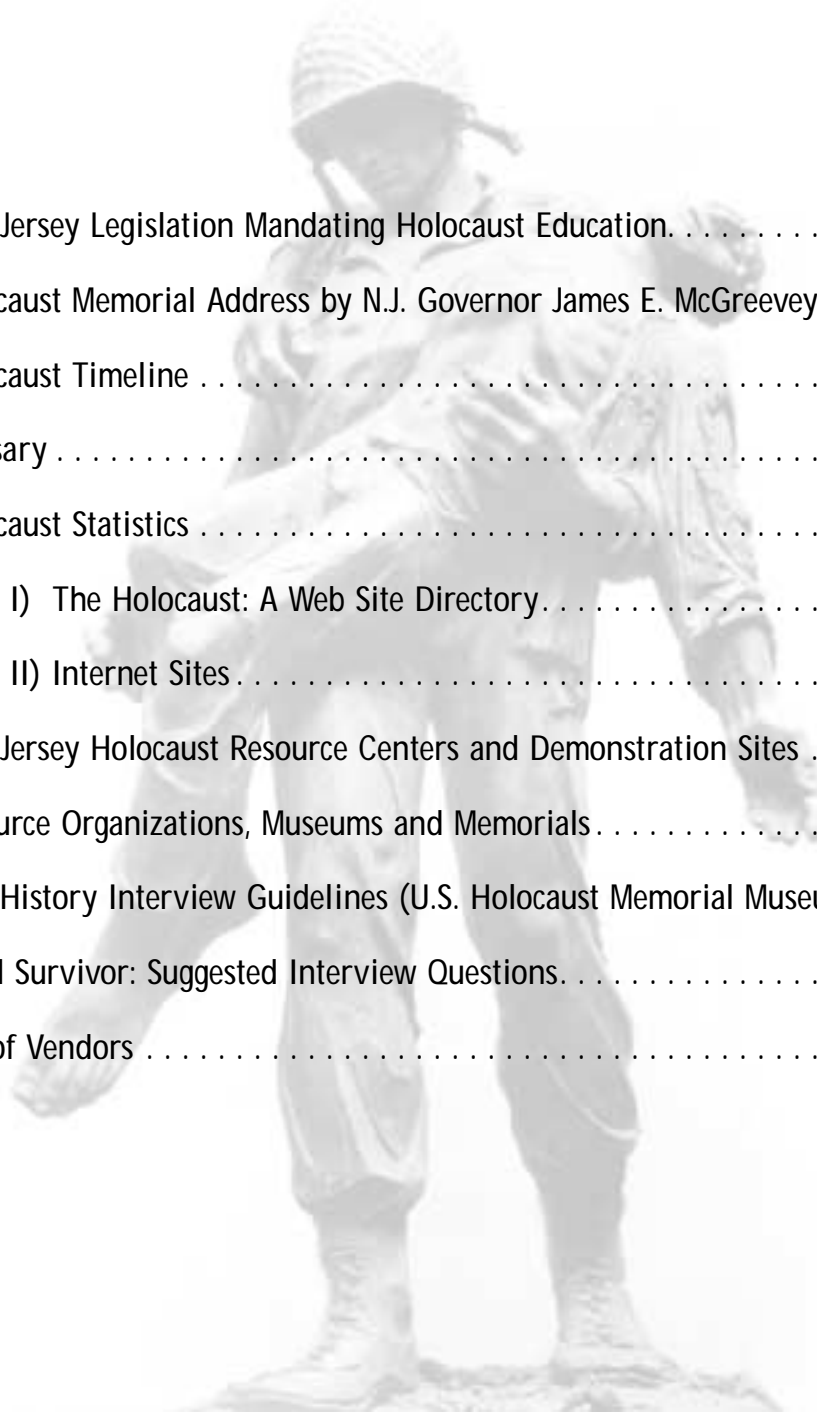
*I shall pass through this life but once.
Any good, therefore, that I can do
Or any kindness I can show to any fellow
creature,
Let me do it now.
Let me not defer or neglect it.
For I shall not pass this way again.*

1012

Etienne de Grellet

APPENDICES

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APPENDIX A

NEW JERSEY LEGISLATION MANDATING HOLOCAUST EDUCATION STATE OF NEW JERSEY

Adopted March 10, 1994

Sponsored by Senators EWING, McGREEVEY and SINAGRA

AN ACT regarding genocide education in the public schools and supplementing chapter 35 of Title 18A of the New Jersey Statutes.

BE IT ENACTED by the Senate and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey:

1. The Legislature finds and declares that:
 - a. New Jersey has recently become the focal point of national attention for the most venomous and vile of ethnic hate speeches.
 - b. There is an inescapable link between violence and vandalism and ethnic and racial intolerance. The New Jersey Department of Education itself has formally recognized the existence of the magnitude of this problem in New Jersey schools by formation of a Commissioner's Task Force on Violence and Vandalism.
 - c. New Jersey is proud of its enormous cultural diversity. The teaching of tolerance must be made a priority if that cultural diversity is to remain one of the State's strengths.
 - d. National studies indicate that fewer than 25% of students have an understanding of organized attempts throughout history to eliminate various ethnic groups through a systematic program of mass killing or genocide.
 - e. The New Jersey Commission on Holocaust Education, created pursuant to P.L/ 1991. c.193 (C.18A:4A-1 et seq.), several years ago expanded its mission to study and recommend curricular material on a wide range of genocides. The Holocaust Commission is an ideal agency to recommend curricular materials to local districts.
2.
 - a. Every board of education shall include instruction on the Holocaust and genocides in an appropriate place in the curriculum of all elementary and secondary school pupils.
 - b. The instruction shall enable pupils to identify and analyze applicable theories concerning human nature and behavior; to understand that genocide is a consequence of prejudice and discrimination; and to understand that issues of moral dilemma and conscience have a profound impact on life. The instruction shall further emphasize the personal responsibility that each citizen bears to fight racism and hatred whenever and wherever it happens.
3. This act shall take effect immediately and shall first apply to curriculum offerings in the 1994-95 school year.

1015

(Stamped)
Donald T. Di Francesco
President
March 15, 1994

(Stamped)
Garabed "Chuck" Haytaian
Speaker
March 28, 1994

Attest:

Peter Verniero (signed)
Chief Counsel to the Governor

APPROVED

7th DAY OF APRIL, 1994
Christine Todd Whitman (Signed)
Governor

APPENDIX B

Governor James E. McGreevey Holocaust Memorial State Museum

Trenton, NJ

April 15, 1995

Out of the horrors of the Holocaust, the term “crime against humanity” was established. For, man’s malice against his fellow man was never so ruthless in scope, so methodical in execution or so calculated in its devastation as it was during that dark era. The evil born from bigotry and cruelty remains simply unimaginable. The lessons of the Holocaust—and of our own recent experiences with the evil of September 11th—serve as stark historical reminders for future generations that our moral obligation is to ensure that such atrocities never again occur.

Today, as we wrestle with new challenges confronting our society and address new threats to our security and way of life, we are undoubtedly reminded of the harsh lessons learned from the Holocaust. The indescribable horrors of that era will forever remind us of the destructive brutality that is sowed from the seeds of hatred and bigotry. These unfathomable events have the seemingly safe distance of sixty years of history and miles of ocean. Yet, we need only look back a little over a year ago—to a dark time in this nation’s history—to witness terror still being wrought from hatred and prejudice.

The Holocaust and September 11th attacks both were a crime against humanity and a terrible affront to the values of a civilized existence. Our collective response to 9/11—just as it was to the Shoah—must be “Never Again.” For the same despicable ingredients which allowed for the rise of Nazi tyranny are found in the motives and actions of the September 11th attack.

We all have a moral responsibility to ensure that the actions of the wicked are brought to light. As such, our charge is to always speak out and raise our voices against evil. In doing so, we keep alive the memories of those innocents who perished. Upon receiving the Nobel Prize in 1986, Elie Wiesel explained, “(We must) never be silent when and whenever human beings endure suffering and humiliation. We must always take sides. Neutrality helps the oppressor, never the victim. Silence encourages the tormentor, never the tormented.”

The recognition of evil—as painful and frightening as that notion may be—is essential to combating its ill effects. For knowing that there is evil in the world compels us to identify with those who suffer under the specter of its tyranny. Education is the best weapon in our arsenal to ensure that future generations remember and learn from the sins of the past. Constant teaching and eternal vigilance are the only assurances that our children will learn to value love over hate, compassion over indifference.

We must continue to honor the memory of those who perished and reaffirm our commitment to always persevere in the face of evil. There is an old Hasidic Saying that goes: “If you look for the spark, you will find it in the ashes.” Following the horrors of the Holocaust, hope flickered in the wave of immigrants who came to our shores through Ellis Island to build a new life. These remarkable individuals quickly became a vibrant and integral part of our community here in New Jersey.

A poem written on another ominous September day—September 1, 1939 during the Nazi invasion of Poland—reads, “May I, in the darkness and dust, show an affirming flame.” The Holocaust is not merely a reminder of the six million Jews who were murdered. It is also the triumph of the human spirit and a yearning for a better tomorrow. It is the flame of both remembrance and hope. And—to paraphrase President John F. Kennedy—“The glow from that fire can truly light the world.”

APPENDIX C

Holocaust Timeline

- Jan. 30, 1933 **Adolf Hitler** becomes Chancellor of Germany, the most powerful position in the German government. Hitler was the leader of the **Nazis**, the right-wing National Socialist German Workers Party.
- March 22, 1933 **Dachau** becomes the first concentration camp in Germany.
- April 1, 1933 **Boycott** of Jewish stores officially instituted by the German government.
- May 10, 1933 **Book burnings** are staged by the Nazis throughout Germany. Books destroyed include those by Ernest Hemingway, Sigmund Freud, Helen Keller and Jack London, among many others.
- July 14, 1933 **Nazi Party** becomes the only legal party in Germany.
- Forced Sterilization** for “undesirables” becomes government policy in Germany for those people who are considered mentally deficient and for those with hereditary diseases.
- Euthanasia Program** begins for people in Germany who are mentally or physically handicapped or are considered “asocial.”
- Sept. 15, 1935 **Nuremberg Laws** are passed, dividing the German nation into German “citizens” and Jewish “subjects,” without civil rights.
- March 3, 1936 Jewish doctors prohibited from practicing in German public hospitals.
- March 7, 1936 Nazi troops occupy the Rhineland, located west of the Rhine River in Northern France, in violation of the Treaty of Versailles.
- Aug. 1936 The **1936 Summer Olympics** are held in Berlin. Anti-Semitic signs are taken down, but no German Jews are allowed to be on the German team.
- March 12, 1938 Germany annexes Austria; the **Anschluss**. Austrian Jews humiliated, tortured and arrested.
- April 26, 1938 German government begins confiscating property of German Jews.
- July 1938 The **Evian Conference** is called by **President Roosevelt** and is attended by representatives from 32 countries who plan to discuss the “Jewish Question.” Only the Dominican Republic agreed to accept Jewish refugees.
- Sept. 29, 1938 The **Munich Agreement** is signed by Britain, France, Germany, and Italy. Britain and France accept the German demand that the Sudetenland be ceded to Germany. British Prime Minister Chamberlain returns to London declaring that he had secured “peace in our time.”
- Oct. 15, 1938 German troops occupy the Sudetenland, a German-speaking region of Czechoslovakia.
- Nov. 9, 1938 **Kristallnacht** “The Night of Broken Glass,” takes place after the assassination of a German diplomat in Paris, France, by a Jew whose parents, like thousands of other Jews, had been deported from Germany to Poland. 91 Jews are murdered, 30,000 Jews are arrested, 267 synagogues destroyed and 7,500 stores looted in Germany and Austria.

APPENDIX C

- Nov. 15, 1938 All Jewish children are expelled from German schools.
- Jan. 30, 1939 Hitler tells the German Reichstag that war will bring “the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe.”
- March 15, 1939 Nazi troops occupy Czechoslovakia.
- June 1939 The **St. Louis** with 939 Jewish refugees aboard is turned away from Cuba and the United States.
- Aug. 23, 1939 The **Non-Aggression Pact**, dividing Poland between Germany and the Soviet Union, who pledge not to attack each other, is signed.
- Sept. 1, 1939 Germany invades Poland and World War II begins.
- Oct. 8, 1939 First ghetto established in the Lodz district of Poland.
- Oct. 12, 1939 First deportation of Jews from Austria and Czechoslovakia to Poland takes place.
- April 27, 1940 Nazis decide to build **Auschwitz** concentration camp.
- Oct. 3, 1940 Vichy France passes anti-Semitic laws modeled on the Nuremberg Laws.
- Oct. 12, 1940 In Poland, the **Warsaw Ghetto** is established; some 500,000 Jews are forced inside the walled-off area, which comprised 3.5 square miles.
- June 22, 1941 Germany attacks the Soviet Union in Operation Barbarossa in a war of annihilation. **EINSATZGRUPPEN (mobile killing squads)** are sent to the Russian Front to execute Jews, Communists and Roma and Sinti (Gypsies). More than 1 million Jews are killed by these squads, almost all through mass shootings.
- 1018 Sept. 23, 1941 Gassing tests are conducted at Auschwitz.
- Sept. 29-30, 1941 More than 33,000 Ukrainian Jews shot at **BabiYar**, a ravine near Kiev.
- Oct. 1, 1941 All Jewish emigration from Germany is stopped.
- Dec. 7, 1941 Japan attacks **Pearl Harbor**.
- Dec. 8, 1941 **Chelmno** death camp is constructed and the first gassing, using mobile vans, takes place.
- Dec. 11, 1941 Germany declares war on the United States.
- Jan. 30, 1942 The **WANNSEE CONFERENCE** takes place with **SS Chief Heydrich** instructed to formulate a plan for the “**Final Solution**” of the 11 million Jews in Europe. Fifteen highly educated men decide to implement the destruction of European Jewry.
- Feb. 15, 1942 Mass gassings of Jews begin in **Auschwitz** and its adjoining camp, **Birkenau**.
- March 1942 Gassings begin in **Sobibor** and **Belzec** death camps.
- June 1942 **Treblinka** death camp opens.
- Aug. 1942 Gassings begin in **Majdanek**.
- Feb. 2, 1943 The Soviets defeat the Germans at the battle of Stalingrad, marking the turning point of the war.

- April 19, 1943 The **Warsaw Ghetto Uprising** takes place with **SS Commander Himmler** promising the Fuhrer a birthday present – a 3-day battle to liquidate the Ghetto. The battle will last over a month because of the strong Jewish resistance under the leadership of **Mordechai Anielewicz**.
- June 11, 1943 Himmler orders the total “liquidation” of all Polish ghettos.
- Aug. 2, 1943 A revolt at the **Treblinka** death camp involving 200 prisoners takes place with twelve escaping and the rest shot.
- Oct. 14, 1943 The revolt at the **Sobibor** death camp takes place; 600 prisoners try to escape, with 300 making it to the woods and 48 surviving World War II.
- June 6, 1944 **D-Day** takes place on the beaches of Normandy, France.
- July 1944 **Theresienstadt Ghetto/Camp** outside of Prague, Czechoslovakia, is showcased for a Nazi propaganda documentary. The camp was a “Model camp” visited by the International Red Cross, which failed to comprehend the true nature of the camp.
- Oct. 6, 1944 At **Auschwitz-Birkenau**, twelve **Sonderkommandos**, Jewish prisoners who are forced to facilitate the operation of the gas chambers and crematoria, blow up one of the four gas chambers, killing seventy guards.
- Jan. 17, 1945 In the face of the advancing Soviet Army, a “**Death March**” begins in the middle of winter from Auschwitz-Birkenau. Out of the 58,000 who begin the march, 20,000 die. This is only one of many death marches that take place at this time.
- Jan. 27, 1945 Soviet troops liberate Auschwitz.
- April 1945 American troops liberate Ohrdruf, Nordhausen, Buchenwald, Dachau and Mauthausen concentration camps.
- April 30, 1945 Adolf Hitler commits suicide.
- May 7/8, 1945 The war in Europe ends with **V-E Day**.
- Aug. 15, 1945 The war in the Pacific ends with **V-J Day**.
- Nov. 20, 1945 The **Nuremberg Trials** begin in Germany with 22 defendants indicted for War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity.
- May 14, 1948 The **State of Israel** becomes a sovereign and independent country, giving the Jewish people a homeland.
- April 11, 1961 **Adolf Eichmann**, director of the “Final Solution” and author of the Wannsee Conference minutes, is placed on trial in Israel and convicted of crimes against humanity; he was hanged on May 31, 1962. He had been captured in Argentina in 1960.
- November 4, 1988 United States becomes the ninety-eighth country to ratify a United Nations Treaty outlawing genocide.
- April 22, 1993 The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum is dedicated. Sixteen million people visit the Museum in its first eight years.

APPENDIX D

Glossary

Abwehr (G. Self-Defense)—The German armed forces' foreign and counter-intelligence service, headed by Admiral Wilhelm Canaris. Started in 1933, it became the center of an anti-Hitler conspiracy.

Aktion (G. operation, pl. *Aktionen*)—Murderous campaigns against Jews for the purposes of deportation or execution. Most viciously employed in the Eastern Territories.

aliya (Heb. immigration)— Individuals or groups who immigrated to Palestine and, later, Israel.

aliya bet (Heb. "illegal" immigration)— Organized "illegal" immigration by clandestine Jewish organizations for example, *Hagana or Irgun*—to British-controlled Palestine, 1930s to 1946.

Angriff, Der (G. *The Assault*)—Nazi newspaper founded by Joseph Goebbels in 1927. Mostly a political pamphlet, the paper served as a vehicle for his venom until 1945.

Anschluss (G. linkage)—Term used by Germans for Nazi Germany's annexation of Austria on March 13, 1938.

"Arbeit macht frei" (G. "work will set you free") Slogan above entrance gates of a number of concentration and death camps, including Auschwitz, Dachau, and Theresienstadt. It was deceptive, since all Jews had indefinite sentences.

Arrow Cross Party (Hungarian Nyilas Party)—Pro-Nazi Fascist party that assumed power in October 1944 in Hungary. It was responsible for mass murder and deportations.

Aryan—A language grouping referring to Indo-European tongues. It was perverted by Nazis to mean a non-Jewish Nordic racial grouping.

Aryanization—The Nazi term to cover outright stealing, plundering, or takeovers of Jewish property.

Auschwitz I (Pol. Oswięcim)— Original and main Auschwitz camp in southwest Poland. Served first as Polish military barracks, then as a concentration camp largely for gentiles.

Auschwitz II (also called Birkenau, Pol. Brzezinka) Opened in October 1941, particularly for the extermination of Jews and Roma (Gypsies). It was the site of four gas chambers.

Auschwitz III (also known as Buna-Monowitz)—Set aside as a labor camp for chemical giant I.G. Farben. It refers also to 36 subcamps.

Axis—The political, military, and ideological alliance of Nazi Germany with Italy, Japan, Finland, Hungary, Slovakia, Romania, and Bulgaria during World War II.

badge, Jewish—A six-pointed yellow Star of David, often with the word “Jude,” that had to be sewn by Jews on visible garments.

Barbarossa—Hitler coined this code name (after a medieval German king) for the massive German attack on the Soviet Union, which began on June 22, 1941.

Beer Hall Putsch (G. coup)—A revolutionary attempt in Munich, Germany, on November 8, 1923, by Hitler and his followers to topple the Bavarian government. It failed and led to Hitler’s arrest and brief imprisonment.

blood libel—A vicious antisemitic lie accusing Jews of killing Christian children to use their blood to make Passover matzo.

Bund (G. and Yiddish. league)—Jewish Socialist, non-Zionist organization and union founded in Vilna, Lithuania, in 1897. It prompted Jewish cultural autonomy.

death marches—With the collapse of the Eastern Front in the late fall of 1944 to 1945, the SS marched concentration-camp inmates on long, often pointless treks into the heart of Germany and Austria.

DEGESCH (acronym for German Vermin-Combating Corporation)—This subsidiary of I.G. Farben produced and distributed Zyklon B to extermination camps.

displaced persons (DPs)—Jews and others who did not wish, at war’s end, to be repatriated to their former communities/countries of origin, and who were placed in DP camps.

Einsatzgruppen (G. Special Action Groups)—SS murder units that were assisted by auxiliary units from Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, and Latvia. They were made up of 3000 troops divided into four groups.

Einsatzkommando (G. Special Squad)—Fifteen subgroups of an *Einsatzgruppe*. They organized the mass murder of Jews in the Soviet Union by shooting.

“Final Solution” (*Endlösung*)—Term used by Hermann Göring in a letter to Reinhard Heydrich that was discussed at the Wannsee Conference. It became a code term for complete murder of all Jews.

Freikorps (G. Free Corps)—A right-wing volunteer military force, comprised of former World War I veterans and unemployed youth. Started in 1919, the *Freikorps* crushed the Communist revolutionaries in Berlin and Bavaria. Later, many members joined the Nazis.

Freiwillige (G. volunteers)—Non-German collaborators who aided the SS in the mass murder of Jews.

APPENDIX D

Führer (G. leader)—Adolf Hitler was "*Der Führer*," or dictator, of Nazi Germany. Hitler created the title after the death of President Paul von Hindenburg in August 1934.

Gau (G. district)—One of 32 regional districts, called *Gaugebiete*, set up by the Nazi Party in the Third Reich. Similar to the old *Reichstag* electoral districts.

Gauleiter (G. district leader)—Governor of a *Gau*, appointed by Hitler. Responsible for political, economic, and labor activities; civil defense; and some police duties.

Generalgouvernement—The part of eastern Poland not incorporated into Germany. It included Galicia, Radom, Warsaw, Lublin, and Kraków. Poland's 3.3 million Jews were forced into this area.

Gestapo (acronym for *Geheime Staatspolizei*; G. Secret State Police)—The political police. Had powers of incarceration without judicial review. It became the most feared entity in Nazi-controlled areas.

haavara (Heb. transfer)—An arrangement between Germany, the German Zionist Federation, and the Anglo-Palestine Bank (1932-1939) to allow the export of Jewish capital from Germany to Jewish Palestine.

Hagana (Heb. Defense Force)—An underground military group founded in 1920 by the Palestine Jewish settlement to fend off Arab attacks.

Hitlerjugend (G. Hitler Youth)—Nazi youth organization for boys 14 to 18, founded in 1922. Membership in this paramilitary indoctrination body was made compulsory in 1939.

Hlinka Guard—Militia organized by the Slovak People's Party that reigned from 1938 to 1945. It was named after Slovakian Fascist Andrej Hlinka.

Iron Guard—Romanian Fascist party. A paramilitary and political antisemitic organization, founded by Corneliu Codreanu in 1927.

Judenfrei (G. free of Jews)—Nazi euphemism for ethnic cleansing of an area by deportation or murder. An alternate term was *Judenrein*.

Judenrat (G. Jewish council, pl. *Judenräte*)—Ghetto Jewish councils set up by Nazis and under their strict control. Jewish leaders, called Elders, collaborated in Nazi plans for Jewish ghetto life.

Judenrein (G. cleansed of Jews)— See *Judenfrei*.

Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst (G. Jewish Order Service)—Jewish police in ghettos. They caused resentment among other Jews since they aided in roundups and deportations.

Kapo (It. chief or head)—An inmate in a concentration camp who assisted in the administration of the camp in return for additional rations and better living conditions.

Kriminalpolizei (Kripo; G. Criminal Police)—German police organization with duties related mainly to nonpolitical crimes, although they joined with the Gestapo and the SS against the Jews. They eventually came under the control of the SD as the Sicherheitspolizei.

Kristallnacht (G. Night of Broken Glass)— A violent, orchestrated pogrom against Jewish stores and synagogues on November 9-10, 1938, in Germany, Austria, and Sudetenland, Czechoslovakia.

Lebensborn (G. Fountain of Life)— SS program aimed at selective breeding to turn the German people into a “super race.” There were a number of maternity centers. In 1942 Lebensborn was a cover for kidnapping Polish children possessed of “Aryan” traits.

Lebensraum (G. living space)— A guiding principle of German foreign policy expressed in Hitler’s *Mein Kampf*. The Nazis believed they were entitled to conquer huge portions of eastern territories.

Luftwaffe (G. Air Force)— This was the title given to the German air force in World War II. Headed by Hermann Göring

“Madagascar Plan”—A Nazi Plan, approved by Hitler in 1940, to ship four million European Jews to the French island off Africa’s southeast coast. It ultimately was abandoned.

Mein Kampf (G. My Struggle)— Adolf Hitler’s autobiography and philosophical/political creed, written in 1924 with the aid of his secretary, Rudolf Hess, in Landsberg Prison. It spelled out his plans for the Jews.

Mischlinge (G. mixed breed)— Nazi term defined in the 1935 Nuremberg Laws for those having one or two Jewish grandparents.

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Muselmann (G. Muslim)— A physically and emotionally run-down concentration-camp inmate who was so weak he could not walk, work, or stand erect; he looked like a praying Muslim.

Nacht und Nebel (G. Night and Fog)—Hitler’s second order, issued on December 7, 1941, which mandated the arrest and disappearance of anyone suspected of underground activities against the Reich.

Night of the Long Knives—A June 30, 1934, blood purge of top SA officers, including Ernst Röhm and Gregor Strasser, that took place due to the efforts of selected SS troops.

Nuremberg Laws—Nazi laws passed in September 1935, which took German citizenship from Jews, defined Jews racially, and prohibited Jewish-Aryan sexual relations.

Nuremberg Trial—Main trial at Nuremberg, Germany, of 22 top Nazis (November 20, 1945, to October 1, 1946) by an international tribunal of U.S., British, French, and Soviet judges.

Odessa—Secret escape organization of the SS, founded after Germany’s defeat in 1945. High-level Nazis used it to escape justice.

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Organization Todt—Administered by Dr. Fritz Todt, this governmental unit was set up in 1938 to construct military installations. It later employed slave labor.

Ostland (G. Eastern Territories)—These Nazi-occupied territories included Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and western Belorussia. They were headed by a Reichskommissar (German governor).

partisans—Underground resistance fighters against Nazi occupiers, particularly in rural areas.

Rassenschande (G. race defilement)—Forbidden sexual contact between German Aryans and either Jews or Slavic Eastern workers.

Rasse-und Siedlungshauptamt (G. Race and Resettlement Main Office; RuSHA)—At first, this office authenticated the Aryan ancestry of SS members. Later, it organized the settlement and welfare of the Germans' colonizing of Poland.

Reichsbahn (G. state railways)—The German state railways, which were complicit in the Holocaust by transporting Jewish victims to ghettos and concentration camps under horrendous conditions.

Reichsführer-SS (G. Reich leader of the SS)—State supreme leader of the SS. Title given to Heinrich Himmler.

Reichskommissariat (G. Reich Commissioners)—A governing division of an occupied territory of the Soviet Union headed by a Nazi official during World War II.

Reichssicherheitshauptamt (G. Reich Security Main Office)—The RSHA was set up in 1939 to combine all existing police forces: criminal police, Gestapo, SD, and SS. A sub-branch, AM VI, managed the "Final Solution."

Reichstag (G. parliament)—This central German legislative body was retained by Hitler, but it granted most of its powers in 1933 to the chancellor and became Hitler's rubber stamp.

"Righteous Among the Nations"—Gentiles who risked their lives to save Jews and who are honored at the Yad Vashem, the Holocaust museum in Jerusalem.

SA (*Sturmabteilungen*; Storm Troopers)—Led by Ernst Röhm, the "Brown Shirts" were a battling street force from 1922 to 1934. The organization faded when its leaders were executed in the Night of the Long Knives.

SD (*Sicherheitsdienst*; Security Service)—An intelligence service for the Nazi Party and SS. Headed by Reinhard Heydrich, it became a terror instrument against "enemies of the state."

Selektion (G. selection)—In ghettos, the SS selected which Jews would be deported. In camps, the SS weeded out exhausted and sick inmates for murder.

Sho'ah (Heb. mass slaughter)—This Hebrew word is preferred over "Holocaust" in Israel. It is found in *Isaiah 10:3* and means destruction, complete ruination.

Sicherheitspolizei (SIPO; G. Security Police)—A police unit made up of Gestapo members and *Kriminalpolizei*.

Sonderkommando (G. Special Squads)—An *Einsatzgruppe* detachment or a Jewish forced-labor unit that cleared gas chambers or assisted in the cremation process.

SS (Schutzstaffel)—Started in 1925. By 1936, under Heinrich Himmler, it controlled all German police agencies. It was the major criminal organization for persecution and murder of Jews. A military arm, the *Waffen-SS*, was organized for combat duty.

Stürmer, Der (G. *The Stormer*)—highly antisemitic, crude, virtually pornographic paper published and edited by Julius Streicher from 1923 to 1945.

subsequent Nuremberg proceedings—Twelve trials of Nazi war criminals held from 1946 to 1949, and administered by American judges in Nuremberg, Germany. The trials focused on physicians, judges, and industrialists.

swastika—Taken by Hitler as a symbol of Aryans, this “twisted cross” became the symbol of Nazi Germany and the centerpiece of the flag of the Third Reich.

Third Reich—Term given by Hitler to his regime (1933-1945). The first Reich was the Holy Roman Empire; the second was the Kaiser Reich.

Umschlagplatz (G. transfer place)—A loading area, often a railway siding, used as an assembly staging point as Jews were placed in freight cars for deportation.

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United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA)—Refugee relief agency formed by the Allies in 1943, mainly with American funds. After World War II, under the direction of American politician Fiorello La Guardia, it aided displaced persons.

Ustasa—Croatian ultranationalist Fascist party that came to power in April 1941 with Nazi support. It was responsible for the mass murder of Serbs, Jews, and Gypsies.

Vernichtung durch Arbeit (G. destruction through work)—Concentration camps that had a deliberate policy of killing inmate laborers by starvation, brutality, and overwork.

Vichy—A spa town in central France and the site of the collaborationist French government after the defeat of Republican France in 1940.

Völkisch (G. of the people)—An inherently benign term appropriated by the Nazis in the 1920s and turned into a nationalistic, antidemocratic concept with powerful antisemitic overtones. It motivated violent Nazi outbursts in the party’s early years.

Volksdeutsche (G. ethnic Germans)—Germans living outside Greater Germany who were given favored treatment in Nazi-occupied areas.

APPENDIX D

Waffen-SS (G. Armed SS)—The Waffen, the largest branch of the SS (39 divisions), often fought at the front like regular soldiers. Many were implicated in the Holocaust.

Wannsee Conference—An 87-minute meeting held on January 20, 1942, at a villa in a Berlin suburb, attended by 15 leading Nazi bureaucrats. Reinhard Heydrich, its chairman, discussed plans to coordinate the “Final Solution.”

Wehrmacht (G. defense might)—The name of Nazi Germany’s army after 1935. The Wehrmacht assisted the SS in the “Final Solution.”

Weimar Republic—The German democratic government from 1919 to 1933, located in Weimar. A severe economic depression (1929-1932) paved the way for Hitler.

Yad Vashem—The Holocaust Martyrs and Heroes Remembrance Authority. This center for Holocaust archives, museum, and memorial in Jerusalem was established in 1962 by the Israeli government.

Yellow Star—Jews were forced to wear a yellow Star of David in Nazi-controlled Europe. The patch had to be sewn on all visible clothing.

Zyklon B (hydrogen cyanide)—A poisonous gas used in the gas chambers of the Nazi extermination camps.

APPENDIX E

Holocaust Statistics

TOTAL DEATHS FROM NAZI GENOCIDAL POLICIES

Group	Deaths
European Jews	5,600,000 to 6,250,000
Soviet prisoners of war	3,000,000
Polish Catholics	3,000,000
Serbians	700,000 (Croat <i>Ustasa</i> persecution)
Roma, Sinti, and Lalleri	222,000 to 250,000
Germans (political, religious, and Resistance)	80,000
Germans (handicapped)	70,000
Homosexuals	12,000
Jehovah's Witnesses	2500

DEATH CAMPS (POLAND)

Death Camps	Jewish Deaths	Commandant
Auschwitz-Birkenau	1.1 to 1.6 million	Lothar Hatjenstein, Rudolf Höss, Josef Kramer, Arthur Liebehenschel, Heinrich Schwarz
Belzec	601,500	Odilo Globocnik
Chelmno	255,000	Hans Bothmann
Majdanek	360,000	Arthur Liebehenschel
Sobibor	250,000	Franz Reichleitner, Franz Stangl, Richard Thomalla
Treblinka	750,000 to 870,000	Kurt Franz, Franz Stangel

INTERMENT AND TRANSIT CAMPS IN WESTERN EUROPE UNDER NAZI OCCUPATION

Belgium

- Breendonck (internment): Belgian and "stateless" Jews deported to Mechelen.
- Mechelen (transit): 26,000 Jews sent to concentration camps.

France

- Beaune-la-Rolnade (internment)
- Compiègne (transit): 12,000 Jews deported to Buchenwald and Dachau.
- Drancy (transit): 74,000 indigenous and non-French Jews, and 5000 Belgian Jews, deported to Auschwitz, Majdanek, and Sobibor.
- Gurs (collection camp): 6000 non-French Jews, mostly German, deported to Drancy.
- Les Milles (transfer camp): 2000 inmates deported to Drancy and then on to Auschwitz.
- Pithiviers (internment and transit): 3700 Jewish men deported to Auschwitz.
- Rivesaltes (internment): German Jews, Roma, and Spanish Republicans deported to death camps.
- Vittel (internment): 300 Jews sent to Drancy.

Luxembourg

- Funfbrunnen (transit): Approximately 2000 Jews from Luxembourg and Jewish refugees were deported to death and concentration camps.

Netherlands

- Vught (transit and punishment camp): 12,000 Jews deported to Westerbork.
- Westerbork (internment): 89,000 Jews and 500 Roma deported to concentration and death camps in Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

MAJOR CONCENTRATION AND LABOR CAMPS

Camp	Location	Jewish Deaths
Auschwitz I	Oswiecim, Poland	1.6 million
Bergen-Belsen	Hanover, Germany	50,000
Buchenwald	Weimar, Germany	60,000 to 65,000
Dachau	Munich, Germany	35,000
Dora-Nordhausen	Harz Mountains, Germany	8125
	Mittelbau/Mittelwerk	20,000
Flossenburg	Upper Palatine, Bavaria	27,000
Gross-Rosen	Lower Silesia, Germany	105,000
Janowska	Lvov, Ukraine	40,000
Jasenovac	Zagreb, Croatia	20,000
Kaiserwald	Riga, Latvia	10,000
Klooga	Tallinn, Estonia	2400
Mauthausen	Linz, Austria	120,000
Natzweiler-Struthof	Strasbourg, France	17,000
Neuengamme	Hamburg, Germany	55,000
Ninth Fort	Kovno, Lithuania	10,000
Pawiak Prison	Warsaw, Poland	37,000
Plaszow	Krakow, Poland	8000
Poniatowa	Lublin, Poland	15,000
Ravensbruck	Berlin, Germany	92,000
Sachsenhausen/Oranienburg	Berlin, Germany	105,000
Sajmiste/Semlin	Serbia	50,000
Sered	Slovakia	13,500 (deported to Theresienstadt)
Stutthof	Poland	65,000 to 85,000
Theresienstadt	Prague, Czechoslovakia	33,430
Trawniki	Lublin, Poland	10,000

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Source: Hogan, David J. "Appendices." *The Holocaust Chronicle: A History in Words and Pictures*. Lincolnwood, IL: Publications International, 2000. 699-700.

APPENDIX F (PART I)

The Holocaust: A Web Site Directory

1. Museums and Memorials

UNITED STATES

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

<http://www.ushmm.org/>

Located in Washington, DC, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum is America's national institution for the documentation, study, and interpretation of Holocaust history and serves as this country's memorial to the millions of people murdered during the Holocaust. This site includes:

- General information about the memorial museum, how to plan a visit, and how to become a member.
- Schedules and announcements of museum programs, special events, conferences, and workshops.
- Teaching materials – Guidelines for teaching about the Holocaust, Historical summaries, and more.
- Directory of member organizations in the Association of Holocaust Organizations.
- Searchable database of photographs from the Museum's Photo Archives.
- Searchable database of Archive and Library catalogues.
- On-line exhibitions and transcriptions of events and presentations at the Museum.
- A University of Virginia student's analysis of the USHMM is available at *Memory Made Manifest: The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum* – <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~CAP/HOLO/holo.html>.

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Simon Wiesenthal Center

<http://www.wiesenthal.com/>

Headquartered in Los Angeles, the Simon Wiesenthal Center is an international center for Holocaust remembrance, and the defense of human rights and the Jewish people. This site includes:

- Answers to thirty-six frequently asked questions about the Holocaust.
- Biographies of children who experienced the Holocaust.
- Updates on current events and excerpts from the Center's magazine, *Response*.
- Information about hate groups on the Net.
- Information about the Center, the Museum of Tolerance, and their programs.
- Much of this site is translated into several languages including Spanish, German and Italian.
- *The Simon Wiesenthal Center* also hosts the *Museum of Tolerance On-Line Multimedia Learning Center* at <http://motlc.wiesenthal.com>>. Aside from a large on-line multimedia "learning center" resource on the Holocaust, this site provides answers to frequently asked questions about the Holocaust, on-line exhibitions, many specialized bibliographies, a glossary and timeline, and an impressive collection of publications including a book about Kristallnacht and several scholarly essays from the Simon Wiesenthal Center Annual Volumes and other publications.

APPENDIX F (Part I)

Note: There are numerous local Holocaust memorials, museums, and resource centers around the United States that have created their own web sites. You can use a search engine to find them. Some of them are: *C.A.N.D.L.E.S. Holocaust Museum, Metropolitan Detroit Holocaust Memorial Center, Holocaust Museum Houston, El Paso Holocaust Museum and Study Center, Virginia Holocaust Museum, The Holocaust Memorial (Miami,) Tampa Bay Holocaust Memorial Museum and Educational Center, Desert Holocaust Memorial (Palm Springs), Holocaust Education Foundation, Inc. / Holocaust Teacher Resource Center, The Hopesite Homepage of the Centre for Holocaust Education, Holocaust Studies Center: Bronx School of Science, Vancouver Holocaust Education Centre, and Holocaust Human Rights Center of Maine.*

ISRAEL

Yad Vashem: The Holocaust Martyrs and Heroes Remembrance Authority
<http://www.yad-vashem.org.il/>

Located in Jerusalem, Yad Vashem is Israel's national museum and memorial dedicated to the victims of the Holocaust. This site includes:

- General information about the memorial and museum, the Information and Research Centers, the School for Holocaust Education, Resource Center for teachers, and current issues at Yad Vashem.
- Photographs and excerpts from survivor testimony transcripts are available as part of an on-line exhibition on the liberation of camps.
- Educational materials are available in Hebrew.

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The Ghetto Fighters' House: Museum of the Holocaust and Resistance
<http://www.gfh.org.il/>

Located on Kibbutz Lochamei Haghetat in the northern Galilee region of Israel, the Ghetto Fighters' House is dedicated to telling the story of the Holocaust and the endurance of the Jewish people. This site includes:

- General information about the museum, programs, and resources
- On-line exhibitions – one art gallery and one on the topic of resistance
- Information about educational publications available for order
- *The American Friends of the Ghetto Fighters' House* also maintains a web site at – <http://www.amfriendsgfh.org>. Their site includes an on-line art gallery as well as information about ordering educational resources.

EUROPE***Memorial Museums the Victims of National Socialism in Germany***

http://www.dhm.de/ausstellungen/ns_gedenk/e/index.html

This web site, created and maintained by the Topography of Terror museum and memorial in Berlin, provides an overview and directory of memorials and museums to the victims of National Socialism in Germany.

- Includes general information and historical summaries/timelines about Holocaust-related memorials and museums in Germany.
- Lists books and other materials about memorial sites.

The Mechelen Museum of Deportation and Resistance

<http://www.cicb.be/shoah/welcome.html>

Belgium's Holocaust Museum, located in the barracks of a former deportation center in Malines. It is a museum about the deportation of Belgian Jews as well as the anti-Nazi resistance. This site includes:

- A brief historical exhibition about Jewish life in Belgium before the Holocaust, antisemitism and the rise of Nazism, Belgium under German occupation, round ups and deportations in Belgium, resistance, liberation, personal testimonies, and rescuers in Belgium.

Musee Memorial des Enfants d'Izieu (Memorial Museum of the Children of Izieu)

<http://www.izieu.alma.fr/>

The Memorial Museum of the Children of Izieu keeps alive the memory of the children of Izieu, France who fell victim to the Nazi Holocaust. The site includes:

- General information about the Museum, its exhibitions and resources.
- A historical summary about the Holocaust in Izieu, France and the trial of Klaus Barbie.
- An annotated bibliography of texts on the Holocaust and France.

2. Major Web sites on the Holocaust

HOTLISTS: DIRECTORIES OF HOLOCAUST-RELATED WEB RESOURCES

David Dickerson's Homepage

<http://www.igc.apc.org/ddickerson/>

David Dickerson maintains this personal homepage as part of his collaboration with the folks at I*EARN. It includes:

- Comprehensive annotated list of links to Holocaust-related web sites as well as web sites on Antisemitism, and Jewish culture and history.

Holocaust and Jewish Studies

<http://vwc.edu/wwwpages/dgraf/holocaust.htm>

Dr. Dan Graf, a history professor at Virginia Wesleyan College, created this list of Holocaust-related links. It is not annotated, but it is fairly extensive and easy-to-use.

Remembering the Holocaust

<http://yarra.vicnet.net.au/~aragorn/holocaust.htm>

This is a personal web site created by Andrew Rajchera, a descendant of Polish Holocaust survivors in Australia. Rajchera created this page as memorial to those who perished and to honor those who survived. It includes:

- Links to major Holocaust-related web sites, most of which are found in this web directory; this site is quick and very easy to use.

Dr. Al Filreis's Literature of the Holocaust

<http://www.english.upenn.edu/~afilreis/Holocaust/holhome.html>

Dr. Filreis, an English teacher at the University of Pennsylvania, created this site as a reference list for students in his *Literature of the Holocaust* class. It includes:

- A lengthy list of Internet resources related to the Holocaust. Not as user-friendly as the hotlists mentioned above, but it provides an extensive set of relatively eclectic links.

Information about texts that Dr. Filreis uses in his class.

THE HOLOCAUST

Cybrary of the Holocaust

<http://www.remember.org>

The Cybrary of the Holocaust is continuously adding information to its web site, and is one of the largest Holocaust-related web sites geared toward educators and students. This site includes:

- An encyclopedic collection of historical information
- Answers to frequently asked questions
- Curriculum outlines (including a lesson plan on Anne Frank)

- Excerpts from survivor testimony, transcripts of Nazi speeches and official documents
- Artifact photos, historical photos
- Student artwork and poetry
- On-line survivor and liberator memoirs
- Links to other Holocaust sites, and more.
- Audio clips and transcripts of survivor testimony and interviews with scholars are available. Additions to this site include photo tours of Auschwitz, genealogy tracing information, liberator testimony and photographs, student work, and online chats with scholars

Ben Austin's Holocaust/Shoah

<http://mtsu.edu/~baustin/holo.html>

Ben Austin, a sociology professor at Middle Tennessee State University, constructed this web site to support his I class, "The Sociology of Genocide and the Holocaust." It includes:

- large amount of historical information, including sections specifically on The Nuremberg Laws, Kristallnacht, the "Euthanasia Program," The Final Solution, Solution, Children in the Holocaust, Gypsies, Homosexuals, and the International Military Tribunal and postwar trials.
- Nazi death camp documents from the Yad Vashem Archives.
- News and Current Events.
- A glossary and chronology.
- Information about Holocaust Denial.
- Professor Austin also maintains a site at

<http://www.mtsu.edu/~baustin/COURSES/SOC415/hologen.html> that includes his course syllabus, an extensive bibliography, and suggested **term paper topics**.

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Holocausto

<http://www.glue.umd.edu/%7Eaap/shoah.html>

This Spanish language web site was created by Alberto A. Pinkas and is hosted by the Glue Network at the University of Maryland. It includes:

- A historical summary, photographs, and statistics on Jewish dead.
- The Wiesenthal Center's FAQ list.
- Links to Holocaust and human rights-related web sites.

An Auschwitz Alphabet

<http://www.spectacle.org/695ausch.html>

Jonathan Blumen's personal web site is dedicated to Primo Levi, chemist, writer and survivor of Auschwitz. While Blumen does not try to be as comprehensive as the Cybrary or Nizkor, his site gives a general overview of the Holocaust through excerpts from memoirs and scholarly writings, primarily Levi's. The site also includes a rationale and philosophy written by the author who explains his personal and theological interpretations of the Holocaust, including his belief that "there is no god." Includes links to other Holocaust-related sites.

APPENDIX F (Part I)

The History Place. World War Two in Europe

<http://historyplace.com/worldwar2/>

The History Place – <http://www.historyplace.com/> – is a commercial organization whose web site is “dedicated to students, educators, and all who enjoy history!” The *World War Two in Europe* section includes:

- Extensive illustrated timelines about the rise of Adolf Hitler, World War II in Europe, and the Holocaust.
- Bibliographies of several Nazi leaders.
- Links to history books that are sold through the Amazon.com on-line bookstore.

CONCENTRATION CAMPS AND LIBERATION

Remembering the Holocaust

<http://www.ohionline.net/v01/i04/holocaust.html>

This article from the magazine, *Ohio Online*, tells the story of a German refugee turned American army liberator, and includes links to his photo exhibition, *In the Camps*, at the Goethe Institute of Cincinnati, Ohio –www.goethe.de/trans/.

Mauthausen Concentration Camp Memorial

<http://www.mauthausen-memorial.gv.at/engl/index.html>

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The official Mauthausen Concentration Camp Memorial web site of the Austrian Ministry of the Interior. This site includes:

- General information about the memorial.
- Detailed history and photographs of the camp.
- An extensive bibliography of literature about Mauthausen (many entries are German language)
- News about events at the memorial.

KZ Mauthausen-Gusen

<http://linz.orf.at/orf/gusen>

Sponsored by ORF, the Austrian Broadcasting Corporation, this site on the Mauthausen-Gusen concentration camp includes:

- Detailed history and documentary photographs.
- Bibliography on the Holocaust and Mauthausen-Gusen.
- Links to related sites.

The Forgotten Camps

<http://www.2.3dresearch.com/~june/Vincent/Camps/CampsEngl.html>

This site was developed by Vincent Chatel (the son of a survivor) and Chuck Ferrela (a liberator) to provide histories of several small Nazi concentration camps, labor camps, and transit camps. It includes:

- Historical summaries.
- Testimonies, documents, and photographs.
- An exhibitions of a survivor's drawings.
- A bibliography.

Gunskirchen, Austria – May 4, 1945

http://javanet.com/~jmooney/71st_html/index.html

This site was personally mounted by John Mooney. It includes:

- Text and graphics from a U.S. Army pamphlet called "The 71" came to the Gunskirchen Lager." The pamphlet reflects the details of the U.S. army's initial arrival at the camp.
- A veteran's letter to the Austrian embassy regarding his experiences during the camp's liberation.

Twelfth Armored Division and the Liberation of Death Camps

<http://nicanor.acu.edu/academics/history/12ad/campsx/cover.htm>

Created by students in the History Department of Abilene Christian University, this site includes:

- Numerous written accounts of liberation given by members of the 12th Armored Division.
- A few news reports about the liberation of Kaufering in Landsberg.
- Photographs taken by American GIs.
- Maps of the area.
- Links to other Holocaust-related sites.

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Mittelbau-Dora Concentration Camp

Members.aol.com/InfDiv104/CONCAMP.HTM

A subsection of the official homepage of the 104th Infantry Division National Timberwolf Association, this web site is portrays the history of the 104th Infantry Divisions liberation of Mittelbau-Dora. For more information about the 104th, visit the Members.aol.com/InfDiv104. This site includes:

- A brief history of the liberation.
- Written excerpts from liberator's testimony.
- Links to several other sites related to Mittelbau-Dora and its liberation.

L'Chaim: A Holocaust Web Project

<http://www.charm.net/~rbennett/l'chaim.html>

Developed and maintained by Robert J. Bennett, a graduate student at the University of Baltimore, this site highlights:

- A virtual tour of the Dachau concentration camp which incorporates photographs and primary source text.
 - Excerpts from a survivor's book and two photo essays (one of Dachau and one of Auschwitz).
 - A glossary and links to other Holocaust-related web sites.
-

GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS

The Netherlands in World War II. A Bibliography

<http://www-lib.usc.edu/~anthonya/dutbib.htm>

This site, hosted at the University of Southern California server, highlights two lectures presented by Anthony Anderson at USC on October 17, 1995 and October 24, 1995 respectively. The site also includes a bibliography. The lecture titles are:

- A Forgotten Chapter: Holland Under the Third Reich
- Anne Frank Was Not Alone: Holland and the Holocaust

Ghetto Bochnia 1941-1943

<http://connection.com/yizkor/INDEX.HTM>

A personal site created by I. Zelinkovsky. This site is the product of Zelinkovsky's personal research into his family's history during the Holocaust in the Bochnia ghetto. It includes:

- An extensive history of the Bochnia ghetto.
- Unpublished survivor testimonies from the Yad Vashem archives.
- Information about the Kant family.

DOCUMENTS AND PHOTOS

The Avalon Project at the Yak Law School. 20th Century Documents

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/20th.htm>

The Avalon Project at the Yale Law School, directed by William C. Fray and Lisa A. Spar, contains digital documents relevant to the fields of Law, History, Economics, Politics, Diplomacy and Government. The 20th century section of the site includes: Documents from the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, among others: the Hague Conventions, Munich Pact and Associated Documents, Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, Night and Fog Decree (Nacht und Nebel Erlass), Program of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP), The Stroop Report: The Warsaw Ghetto is No More, The Treaty of Versailles: June 28, 1919, and Tripartite Pact.

History of Germany: Primary Documents

<http://library.byu.edu/~rdh/eurodocs/germany.html>

Richard Hacken, the European Studies Bibliographer in the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University, maintains this site. It contains an extensive list of links to various websites containing on-line documents related to German history. There are links to several documents on Nazism and the Holocaust including:

- The Munich Pact Agreement, the Franco-German Armistice, documents and agreements reflecting Nazi-Soviet Relations, the Jager report documenting the mass murder of Lithuanian Jewry by the SS einsatzgruppen, the Wannsee Protocol, order from Hermann Goring to Reinhard Heydrich authorizing the "Final Solution," an eyewitness account of einsatz executions, Heinrich Himmler's speech to SS group leaders in Posen, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, texts including pronouncements, speeches and orders of Adolf Hitler, Walter von Reichenau and others, World War II treaties, agreements & instruments of surrender, excerpts from Nuremberg proceedings..

German Propaganda Archive: Nazi and East German Propaganda

<http://www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa>

Hosted through the Department of Communication Arts and Sciences of Calvin College in Grand Rapids, MI, this site highlights:

- Excerpts from speeches and articles by Goebbels, Hitler, and Hess.
- Nazi reports and writings on the use of propaganda.
- Examples of Nazi antisemitic propaganda, including cartoons from *Der Sturmer* and pictures and translations from *Der Giftpilz (The Poison Mushroom)*.
- German posters from the Nazi era and other miscellaneous propaganda.
- A bibliography on Nazi propaganda.
- **CAUTION:** This site includes powerful examples of Nazi propaganda. For a discussion on the topic of using Nazi propaganda with students, see *Using Nazi Propaganda for Teaching* by Stig Hornshoj-Moller at <ftp.nyct.net/pub/users/tallpaul/docs/anti-fa/afdoc008.txt>. Hornshoj-Moller also has another essay on propaganda and extermination available on-line at <ftp.nyct.net/pub/users/tallpaul/docs/anti-fa/afdoc009.txt>.

Electric Zen: The Einsatzgruppen

<http://www.pgonline.com/electriczen/index.html>

This personal page was created by Ken Lewis. It includes:

- Situational reports of the Einsatzgruppen and Nazi officials.
- Trial testimony of indicted officials.
- Other primary source documents and photographs.
- A message attacking Holocaust deniers.

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Court TV Casefiles on the Nuremberg Trials

<http://courttv.com/casefiles/nuremberg/>

Court TV hosts this web site on the Nuremberg Trials. Although visitors will notice many typos and misspellings, the site includes quite a bit of information:

- Background information about the trial and an interview with an American prosecutor from the trial.
- Partial transcripts of opening and closing statements, indictments, testimonies, and cross-examinations at the trial.

Holocaust Pictures Exhibition

<http://modb.oce.ulg.ac.be/schmitzholocaust.html>

François Schmitz created this photo gallery to provide easier access to Holocaust photographs that were originally gallery displayed on the Nysernet Holocaust gopher by Daniel Keren. This site includes:

- Photo exhibit of 37 "posters" containing a photograph, caption and source in both French and English.
-

SURVIVORS, VICTIMS, AND THEIR FAMILIES

Reach & Teach, Worldwide Holocaust Education

<http://home.att.net/~edsdanzig>

Founded by Ed Behrendt, *Reach & Teach* consists of several Holocaust survivors, their offspring, and educators located in various parts of the United States. They engage in educational outreach to schools in an effort to teach about the Holocaust, the *Kindertransport*, and related World War II history. Members of *Reach & Teach* work with classes both online and in-person. Their work is voluntary and there is no charge.

Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation

<http://www.vhf.org>

Founded by Steven Spielberg in 1994, Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation is a nonprofit organization dedicated to videotaping and archiving interviews of Holocaust survivors all over the world. The Foundation is compiling the most comprehensive library of survivor testimony ever assembled. This site presently contains general information.

Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies

<http://www.library.yale.edu/testimonies/homepage.html>

A collection of over 3,700 videotaped interviews with witnesses and survivors of the Holocaust, the Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies is part of Manuscripts and Archives, at Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University. Their web site includes:

- General information about the archive and how to order videotapes for classroom loans.
- Audio and video clips of several testimonies from survivors, liberators, rescuers and bystanders.

Holocaust Survivor Oral History Project

<http://www.umd.umich.edu/lib/holo/>

Dr. Sid Bolkosky, Professor of History at the University of Michigan-Dearborn, has interviewed over 150 survivors of the Holocaust. Recordings and transcriptions of his interviews are becoming available at the Mardigian Library of the University of Michigan-Dearborn through Interlibrary Loan. This web site highlights:

- Audio clips of several survivor testimonies.

Anne Frank Online

<http://www.annefrank.com/>

The Anne Frank Center USA was founded in 1977 to educate people about the causes, instruments and dangers of discrimination and violence through the story of Anne Frank. This site includes:

- General information about the Anne Frank Center USA and the travelling exhibit, *Anne Frank in the World, 1929-1945*.

- Historical summary and photographs about Anne and her diary.
- Expected additions to the site include: historical information about the Holocaust and educational materials for the classroom.

All Things Considered. Interview with Benjamin Wilkomirski

<http://www.realaudio.com/content/npr/nc6d02.html>

This site includes:

- An audio clip of the December 2, 1996 National Public Radio interview with Benjamin Wilkomirski, child survivor and author of *Fragments: Memories of a Wartime Childhood*.

An Interview with Primo Levi

<http://www.inch.com/~ari/levi1.html>

This personal site was created by an Israeli-born composer living in New York. It includes the transcript of an interview that was conducted between an Italian television crew and Primo Levi during his visit to Auschwitz in 1982, 40 years after his imprisonment there. The author of the site has spread the interview across 22 web pages, amongst book covers, portraits, and photographs. This site offers unique and personal recollections; it is especially worth a visit for fans of Levi's writings.

Women and the Holocaust: A Cyberspace of Their Own

<http://www.interlog.com/~mighty/>

A collection of materials compiled by Judy Cohen. This web site includes:

- Scholarly essays and reports on: women in the resistance and amongst partisans; interpreting female narratives; and female rescuers.
- Poetry, personal reflections, and tributes to individuals.
- A bibliography on women in the Holocaust.

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When Heaven's Vault Cracked: Zagreb Memories

<http://www.clarityconnect.com/webpages/novak/zdenka/table.htm>

Dani Novak has placed his mother Zdenka's memoir on-line. This personal web site provides the complete memoir of a Yugoslavian Jew during the Holocaust.

The Impact of the Holocaust on Survivors and Their Children

<http://ddi.digital.net/~billw/HOLOCAUST/holocaust.html>

An essay written by Sandra S. Williams in the Judaic Studies Program at the University of Central Florida. Also available on-line from Williams is a paper entitled The Origins of Christian Anti-semitism at **<http://ddi.digital.net/~billw/ANTI/anti-semitism.html>**. Both essays include footnotes and bibliographies.

NON-JEWISH VICTIMS OF THE NAZIS

Five Million Forgotten

<http://www.holocaustforgotten.com>

Five Million Forgotten is a project of the Holocaust Forgotten Memorial in Encino, CA. Terese Pencak Schwartz, a child of Christian Polish survivors, wrote the primary text of the site. Her primary sources of information were *The Forgotten Holocaust* by Richard C. Lukas and *The Jews and the Poles in World War II* by Stefan Korbonski. This site includes:

- Short summaries about Nazi treatment of non-Jewish victim groups.
- A small collection of photographs.
- Written excerpts of eyewitness testimonies.
- Links to other relevant sites.

Roma Homepage

<http://www.aloha.net/~bohem/roma.html>

This personal site is maintained by Peter Stuart of Hawaii. It includes information about Romani history, language, culture, persecution, and more.

Watchtower: Official Web site of Jehovah's Witnesses

<http://www.watchtower.org/>

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A publication of the *Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society of Pennsylvania*, this site includes information about:

- Jehovah's Witnesses Theological Beliefs and Activities
- Medical issues
- Current topics
- Publications, including a section on Watchtower/Awake publications about the Holocaust at http://www.watchtower.org/library/g/1995/8/22/one_voice.htm

The Pink Triangle Pages: The history of Nazi persecution of gay men and lesbians

<http://www.cs.cmu.edu/afs/cs/user/scotts/bulgarians/pink.html>

Maintained on the Carnegie Mellon University server by Scott Safier, this personal page provides a good, footnoted history of gays during the Holocaust. The background color of the screen is hot pink, which can make the site difficult to read. Includes:

- Information about paragraph 175, specific camps, and lesbians
- Written excerpts from survivor memoirs
- List of reference materials

RESCUE AND RESISTANCE*To Save a Life – Stories of Jewish Rescue*

<http://www.humboldt.edu/~rescuers/>

Written and maintained by Ellen Land-Weber, this site contains excerpts from an unpublished book about the rescue of Jews during the Holocaust. Ellen Land-Weber teaches photography and digital imaging in the Art Department of Humboldt State University in Arcata, CA. The inspiration for her book is the study of altruism by Humboldt State University Professors Samuel and Pearl Oliner. This site features:

- Extensive personal narratives of rescuers (and the people they rescued) with photographs.
- Links to related sites

Labor and the Holocaust: The Jewish Labor Committee and the Anti-Nazi Struggle

<http://www.bobst.nyu.edu/digicolls/tam/exhibits/JLC/opener.html>

Hosted by New York University, this web site highlights material both graphic and textual in the Jewish Labor Committee collection at NYU's Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives. Photographs and documents are integrated into chapters of text. The site includes information on:

- The origins of the Jewish Labor Committee.
- The JLC's anti-Nazi activities and rescue efforts.
- The Holocaust.
- The JLC's child adoption program.
- Postwar aid, reconstruction and politics.
- A bibliography on the Jewish Labor Committee and American labor and responses to the Holocaust.

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The White Rose

<http://members.aol.com/weiberose/index.html>

This personal site on the German resistance group, the White Rose, includes:

- An overview of the history of the White Rose.
- Biographies of the major personalities connected to the White Rose.
- German and English translations of the leaflets distributed by the White Rose.
- A well organized annotated bibliography, videography, and listings of other resources.
- A timeline of the White Rose.
- Links to articles and other sites about the White Rose in several other languages.

Raoul Wallenberg

<http://www.raoul-wallenberg.com/>

The Raoul Wallenberg homepage was written and designed by David J Metzler. The primary history sources for Mr. Metzler's research were *Swedish Portraits - Raoul Wallenberg* by Jan Larsson and published by the Swedish Institute 1996, and *With Raoul Wallenberg In Budapest* by Per Anger and published by the United States Holocaust Museum 1996. This site includes:

- Historical background on Wallenberg with photographs.

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- Contact information for Associations and Organizations that honor Raoul Wallenberg.
- Links to related sites on Wallenberg, rescuers, and the Holocaust. Among them are *The Raoul Wallenberg Project Interviews* site at <http://rwa.bibks.uu.se/>, which contains written transcripts of interviews with 60 people rescued by Wallenberg, and *The Per Anger: A Swedish Hero* site at <http://www.raol-wallenberg.com/peranger/>, which includes a history of Per Anger's rescue operations, with Wallenberg and links to various articles.

Oswego: The Safe Haven

<http://syracuse.com/safehaven/story.html>

Based out of Oswego, NY, Safe Haven Inc. is a non-profit volunteer organization dedicated to telling the story of the American shelter for refugees fleeing the Nazis – the Fort Ontario Emergency Refugee Shelter. This site was developed with the assistance of the Syracuse Newspapers and New World Media. In addition, Safe Haven Inc. has developed a curriculum to be used in high schools and colleges. Their site includes:

- Extensive excerpts from testimonies of survivors and other eyewitnesses who were present at Fort Ontario.
- General information and a photo gallery.

Archive of Materials on Bulgarian Jewry During WWII

<http://ASUdesign.eas.asu.edu/places/Bulgaria/Jewish/>

Plamen Bliznakov, a 1996 PhD graduate of the Department of Mechanical and Aerospace Engineering at Arizona State University, maintains this personal site. It includes:

- Materials relating to the little-known rescue of Bulgarian Jewry during the Holocaust.
- Links to web sites relating to Bulgarian and Jewish history.

Rescuers During the Holocaust: Bibliography/Videography

Books – <http://www.cs.cmu.edu/afs/cs.cmu.edu/user/mmbt/www/rescuers.html>

Articles – <http://www.cs.cmu.edu/afs/cs.cmu.edu/user/mmbt/www/re-articles.html>

Videos – <http://www.cs.cmu.edu/afs/cs.cmu.edu/user/mmbt/www/re-videos.html>

Maintained by Mary A. Mark, M.Sc., a research programmer at Carnegie Mellon University, these sites include:

- Non-annotated listings of books, articles and videos about rescuers during the Holocaust.

3. Educational Resources and Programs: Teacher Training Resources, Cooperative Learning and Discussion Lists (Listservs)

Southern Institute for Education and Research at Tulane University

<http://www.tulane.edu/~so-inst/>

Located on the Tulane University campus and governed by an independent, volunteer board of directors, the Southern Institute for Education and Research is a non-profit race and ethnic relations center dedicated to promoting tolerance through education and training. Their web site highlights antibias education training resources for combating prejudice that includes:

- Information about diversity training workshops, Holocaust education and civil rights workshops.
- Lesson plans including excerpts from an on-line lesson plan on **Schindler's List** and one on "everyday people" during the Holocaust.
- Transcripts of Holocaust survivor testimony.
- Links to other sites on civil rights, human rights, the Holocaust, Judaism/Jewish history, and African-American history/culture.

H-HOLOCAUST

<http://h-net.msu.edu/~holoweb/>

H-HOLOCAUST is a member of the H-NET Humanities & Social Sciences On-Line initiative sponsored by Michigan State University. ***H-HOLOCAUST*** exists so scholars of the Holocaust can communicate with each other using internet technology, and makes available diverse bibliographical, research and teaching aids. This web site corresponds to an electronic discussion list of the same name serving scholars of the Holocaust. Three other discussion lists maintained under H-Net are H-ANTIS (History of Antisemitism), H-JUDAIC (Jewish Studies), and H-GERMAN (German History). Their corresponding homepages are found at <http://hnet2.msu.edu/~judaic/>, and <http://h-net.msu.edu/~german/>. The ***H-HOLOCAUST*** *Homepage* includes:

- Information about subscribing to the H-HOLOCAUST discussion list.
- Scholarly book reviews.
- Logs of previous discussion threads from the H-HOLOCAUST discussion list, archived course syllabi, and professional papers.
- Links to Holocaust-related web sites.

I*EARN: Holocaust and Genocide Project

<http://www.iearn.org/hgp/>

I*EARN is a non-profit service that facilitates international cooperative distance learning for secondary school students using the Web and other media. ***I*EARN*** includes a project specifically on the Holocaust and genocide. The *Holocaust and Genocide Project (HGP)* involves schools (Grades 7-12) living in countries including the United States, Israel, Australia, Poland, Germany, Argentina, Romania, Russia, and Cambodia. The ***HGP*** web site includes:

- General information about ***I*EARN's*** Holocaust and Genocide Project.
- Articles from previous editions of the student generated magazine, *An End to Intolerance*.
- Bibliographies and an historical timeline stored on the ***I*EARN*** gopher site.
- Information about the HGP study tour in Europe and Israel.
- Links to related web sites.

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Facing History and Ourselves

<http://www.facing.org/>

Facing History and Ourselves is a national educational and professional development organization whose mission is to engage students of diverse backgrounds in an examination of racism, prejudice, and antisemitism in order to promote the development of a more humane and informed citizenry. This site includes:

- General information about educator workshops, resources, and research projects.
- Links to a student generated site highlighting student writing and artwork.
- Links to regional office websites.

Social Studies School Service Catalogue of Holocaust Resources & Materials

<http://socialstudies.com/holo.html>

Social Studies School Service searches out, evaluates and sells educational materials through over 30 different catalogues. This web site highlights books, videos, posters, and other materials that are available in their Holocaust resources & materials catalogue. It includes:

- Short descriptions and ordering information for curriculum materials on the Holocaust in general, Hitler and Nazism, resistance, righteous ones, children & teens, moral issues, and prejudice.
- Internet Lesson Plans and Classroom Activities on using Holocaust photographs and drawings, rescuers, and on encountering Holocaust denial.
- An annotated list of Holocaust-related web sites with ideas for integration into classwork.

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A Teacher Is Guide to the Holocaust

<http://fcit.coedu.usf.edu/holocaust/default.htm>

This site was produced and maintained by the Florida Center for Instructional Technology located in the College of Education at the University of South Florida in Tampa. It includes:

- A timeline, documents, photographs, glossary terms, and links to related web sites integrated into a single multimedia project.
- Historical information categorized under the titles – “victims, perpetrators, bystanders, resisters, rescuers, liberators, survivors” – also integrated with photographs, documents, glossary terms, and links to related web sites.
- Information about art, literature, and music related to the Holocaust.
- A collection of student activities for use in the classroom.
- A collection of teacher resources, including: abstracts of articles from the ERIC database, annotated bibliography and videography, links to Holocaust-related primary source documents on the web, glossary, a gallery of photographs, artwork and maps’ information about professional development, Holocaust-related educational software, and links to Holocaust Museums in Florida and other related web sites.

The Holocaust: A Guide to Pennsylvania Teachers

<http://www.virtual.co.il/education/holocaust/guide/>

Written by Gary Grobman for the state of Pennsylvania, this curriculum is available on-line through the Virtual Jerusalem web site <<http://www.virtualjerusalem.com/>> The curriculum includes sections on:

- Stereotypes and Prejudices; Who Are The Jews?; Classical and Christian Anti-Semitism; Modern Anti-Semitism; Adolf Hitler; Nazi Fascism and the Modern Totalitarian State; The First Steps Leading to the "Final Solution"; The Seeds of War and World Conquest; The "Final Solution"; Resisters, Rescuers, and Bystanders; The Aftermath .

4. Jews and Judaism: Culture, Religion, and Current Events*Shamash: The Jewish Internet Consortium*

<http://shamash.org/>

Shamash is a worldwide consortium of Jewish organizations and enterprises which collaborate to provide an open Jewish network on the Internet. Their site contains a massive annotated hotlist of web sites about Judaism and Jewish resources. The Holocaust section of this site

(<http://shamash.org/holocaust/>) includes:

- Excerpts from Nazi documents.
- Archive of historical photographs.
- Rebuttals of Holocaust deniers' arguments.
- A short statistical survey on gassing installations.
- Excerpts from testimonies of SS men, with sources.
- Excerpts from ruling and verdicts of German courts regarding Treblinka.
- A source bibliography.
- Historical discussion about the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion."

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Jewishnet: Global Jewish Information Network

<http://jewishnet.net/>

Established by Dov Winer, Jewishnet is a massive collection of Jewish-related links categorized under various topic headings. Aside from links relating to the Holocaust and antisemitism, this site provides a jumping off point to information including:

- Israel, zionism, and aliyah
- Talmud, torah, and observance
- Jewish education, scholarship, and universities
- Culture: museums, music, and dance
- International and national organizations and denominations
- Media: newspapers, radio, and tv
- Jewish genealogy
- Hebrew and yiddish languages
- Web Servers; IRC, Chat, MOO; Discussion Groups; Usenet News; Libraries; FTP and Gopher

The Virtual Shied: Yiddish Language and Culture

http://sunsite.unc.edu/yiddish_shtel.html

Heralded as a “virtual community,” by its creator – Iosif Vaisman, Director of Computational Resource for Molecular Sciences and Biotechnology and Research Assistant Professor in the School of Pharmacy at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill – *Shtel* includes:

- A library of books, articles, newspapers, and other Yiddish language or Yiddish-oriented print media on-line.
- Links to information on chasidim and religion and Jewish education.
- The Holocaust and genealogy.
- Yiddish mailing lists.
- Yiddish culture: art, music, theater, film, and events.
- Links to sites featuring historically yiddish neighborhoods around the world.
- Eastern European Jewish cooking and recipes.

Skeptic Magazine

<http://www.skeptic.com/>

The Skeptics Society is a non-profit, scientific and educational organization of scholars, scientists, historians, magicians, professors and teachers, and anyone curious about controversial ideas, extraordinary claims, revolutionary ideas and the promotion of science. Its publication, *Skeptic Magazine*, serves as a platform from which the Society debunks numerous bizarre theories including those of Holocaust deniers. The *Skeptic* site contains several articles on the topic of Holocaust denial including:

- A rebuttal of Holocaust deniers’ claims in the form of an open letter from the magazine’s publisher to “Holocaust revisionists” (<http://www.skeptic.com/shermer-to-revisionists.txt>).
- An article about Holocaust denial and a review of Deborah Lipstadt’s book, *Denying the Holocaust* found in the *Pseudohistory* issue [Volume 2, Number 4 (June 1994)] of the magazine (<http://www.skeptic.com/02.4.miele-holocaust.html>) and (<http://www.skeptic.com/02.4.siano-holocaust.html>) respectively.

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H-ANTISEMITISM (See also H-HOLOCAUST in the Educational Resources and Programs section)

<http://h-net.msu.edu/~antis/>

H-Antisemitism is a member of the H-NET Humanities & Social Sciences OnLine initiative. It encourages scholarly discussion of antisemitic history and makes available diverse bibliographical, research and teaching aids. The site includes:

- General subscription information.
- Logs of previous discussion threads.
- Academic announcements.
- *SICSA: The Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism*
- http://www2.huji.ac.il/www_jcd/top.html
- This site is connected to a bibliography entitled *Demonization of the Jew and the Jew as “Other”:* *A Selected Bibliography* (http://www3.huji.ac.il/www_jcd/dem.html). The bibliography was

prepared for the International Conference, *The "Other" as Threat: Demonization and Antisemitism*, convened by The Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of the Holocaust at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. It includes: An extensive and annotated list of titles on historical antisemitism from the ancient world to the present arranged geographically and chronologically.

HateWatch

<http://hatewatch.org>

HateWatch was originally a Harvard University library guide called "A Guide to Hate Groups on the Internet". Soon the scope of this guide grew from a library web page into an activist orientated organization. HateWatch is presently a private organization and has no affiliation with Harvard University. Its director is David Goldman. HateWatch monitors the on-line activity of organized hate groups. **CAUTION:** This web site includes links to large numbers of racist and militant groups, including those of the Ku Klux Klan, Nazis, skinheads, and Holocaust deniers.

Buchenwald

195.145.20.2/www/buchenwald.de

www.commentarymagazine.com

GermNews

<http://mathematik.uni-ulm.de/de-news>

This site offers:

- Up to date news from Germany in English. Today's news is available and previous data can be searched by month and year going back to 1995.

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5. Countering Hate, Antisemitism, and Holocaust Denial

The Nizkor Project

<http://www.nizkor.org/>

Under the direction of Ken McVay, the volunteers who contribute to the *Nizkor Project* monitor and refute the distortions and lies that Holocaust deniers present as truth. This is an enormous project that draws material from a variety of sources, including numerous primary sources. As such, Nizkor is not a single collection of Web pages, but a collage of projects that includes:

- FTP archive: a massive collection of text files containing information related to the Holocaust and its denial.
- FAQs: Laymen's guides on Auschwitz, Action Reinhard, and Holocaust deniers.
- Feature material refuting the claims of Holocaust deniers.
- Holocaust Web Project featuring information about the camps, people, documents, statistics, and more.
- links to other web sites on the Holocaust (www.almanac.bc.ca/other-sites/holocaust-information.html).

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- **CAUTION:** The philosophy of this site's managers is to defeat the deniers by exposing the distortions, lies, and inherent antisemitism in their arguments; their philosophy is one of open and skeptical confrontation, And their site includes numerous links to sites maintained by Holocaust denial and racial hate organizations.

Anti-Defamation League On-Line

<http://www.adl.org/>

The Anti-Defamation League, founded in 1913, is "the world's leading organization fighting antisemitism through programs and services that counteract hatred, prejudice and bigotry." Its mission is "to stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure justice and fair treatment to all citizens alike." Aside from regular press releases and other information, the ADL web site includes:

- On-line articles from current and past issues of *The Hidden Child*, many of them written by survivors.
- *Holocaust Denial: An Online Guide*, a resource for learning about the denial movement.
- Resources for teachers and students (a short historical summary, timeline, glossary, and bibliography).
- An *On-line Report on Hate Crime Laws*.

Documentary Resources on the Nazi Genocide and its Denial

<http://www/anti-rev.org>

This site, dedicated to combating Holocaust denial, is the personal project of Michael Fingerhut and an army of volunteers. Most of the site is in French; however, several of the essays, poems and bibliographic entries are also available in English. The site includes: Essays, poems, a bibliography, and a list of related web sites.

APPENDIX F (PART II)

Internet Sites

To the Educator: The following list was compiled by the N.J. Commission on Holocaust Education's K-8 Curriculum Review Committee, and is included here since many of the web sites have relevance to secondary curriculum as well. It is included here as an additional resource. *Please preview any Internet sites before assigning them to students, as some sights may have graphic photos.*

PREJUDICE, DISCRIMINATION AND STEREOTYPING

Prejudice and Stereotyping (Guide to Videos)

http://www.holocaust-trc.org/video_res.htm#2202

Films with description

Stereotypes and Prejudice

<http://remember.org/History.root.Stereotypes.html>

Hate, Prejudice and Stereotyping

http://www.wcupa.edu/_academies/holocaust.htm

Examples of Prejudice and Stereotyping

Resources, games, vocabulary, why, links, children's Literature list related to Diversity

[http://www.brown.edu/Departments/IESE/Projects/](http://www.brown.edu/Departments/IESE/Projects/Fortes/example.html)

Fortes/example.html

Stop the Hate

<http://www.Stop-the-Hate.org>

This site has other links

Southern Poverty Law Center

<http://www.SPLCenter.org>

Issues Tolerance Magazine, creates educational materials and literature

Simon Wiesenthal Center

<http://www.wiesenthal.com>

Lessons and educational materials on tolerance and the Holocaust

Hatewatch

<http://hatewatch.com>

Contains Histories on hate groups

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Anti-Defamation League

<http://www.adl.org>

Tracks Anti-Semitism and Hate groups

BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS

Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island

<http://www.ellisland.org>

<http://www.nps.gov/stli/maimenu.htm>

Statue of Liberty Facts

<http://www.endex.com/gf/building/liberty/libertyfacts.htm>

This site includes the poem by Emma Lazarus- The New Colossus

Shtetl (Frontline)

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shtetl>

Do a search on the Shtetl

Jews in Eastern Europe

Klezmer Music

Fiddler on the Roof by Sholom Aleichem

Yiddish Theater

Jewish Genealogy

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SEEDS OF THE HOLOCAUST AND ANTI-SEMITISM

The Nazi Holocaust 1938-1945

<http://www.historyplace.com/worldhistory/genocide/holocaust.htm>

An overview of the Holocaust (Site is known as the History Place)

Holocaust and Anti-Semitism

<http://www.maven.co.il>

This site has many other subjects

Hitler Youth- The History Place

<http://www.historyplace.com/worldwar2/hitleryouth/index.html>

"Under the Blood Banner" by Eric Kreye- Story of Hitler Youth

<http://www.amazingjoy.com/banner.htm>

Eleanor's Story: An American Girl in Hitler's Germany

Lesson Plans for Teachers and Librarians Grade 5-12th

http://www.holocaust-trc.org/Eleanor_story_1p.htm

South Carolina Voice: Lessons from the Holocaust

Deals with the poem the Hangman-Nazi policy- Two experiences from Hitler's Germany

<http://www.scetv.org/HolocaustForum/les2.html>

THE CHILDREN (can also be found in other categories)

The Children including many web sites

<http://fcit.coedu.usf/Holocaust/people/children>

Hidden Children

<http://history1900s.about.com/homework/history1900s/library/holocaust/aa02598.htm>

The Children

<http://wlc.ushmm.org/wlc/article.jsp?Moduled=1000542>

Children's Holocaust Stories

<http://www.amazon.com> or www.barnesnoble.com

The Children and the Holocaust

<http://www.mtsu.edu/~baustin/children.html>

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Hidden Children

<http://history1900s.about.com/homework/history.1900s/library/holocaust/aa02598.htm>

Anne Frank Internet Guide

<http://www.th.phys.rug.nl/~ma/annefrank.html>

Listing of Anne Frank organizations, life, diary and background, Educational exhibits, articles and books

Anne Frank On Line

<http://www.annefrank.com>

Anne Frank in the World, 1929-1945- Teacher's Workbook

Grades 5-8th and 7-12th

<http://www.uen.org/utahlink/lpres/AnneFrank.html>

For Resistance and other Holocaust Materials (56 page booklet)

<http://www.ushmm.org/education/Resistance.pdf>

Chapter 10-Jewish Resistance –From Understanding the Holocaust by Weston Walch, Publisher

http://www.socialstudies.com/c@cc6HgBy_7iaME/Pages/article.html?article@JWW255a

Righteous Conduct during the Holocaust

http://www.chambon.org/righteous_conduct.htm

APPENDIX F (Part II)

Dimitar Peshev

<http://web.tin.it/Peshev/story.htm>

Vice President of Bulgarian Parliament in 1943 helped save 43,000 Jews

Belgian Rescue

Joseph Andre (1908-1973)

<http://motic.wiensenthal.org/text/x00/x0085.html>

Belgium – Information before the war and during
The Mechelen Museum of Deportation and Resistance

<http://www.cicb.be.shoah/righteous.html>

To Save One Life – The Stories of the Righteous Gentiles-20 pages

<http://fcit.coedu.usf/Holocaust/people/save/lif.pdf>

To Save a Life: Stories of Jewish Rescuers

<http://sorrel.humboldt.edu/~rescuers/>

Six rescuers from Poland, 2 from Holland, one from Czechoslovakia

Resister, Rescuers, and Bystanders

<http://remember.org/guide/wit.root.wit.res.html>

Sugihara, Chiune-

<http://library.ushmm.org/sugihara.htm>

Life and rescue, film and video and added resources

Raoul Wallenberg

<http://www.raoul-wallenberg.com>

Swedish Diplomat who saved 100 thousand Jews and was captured by the Soviets in 1945

GHETTOS

<http://fcit.coedu.usf.edu/Holocaust/timeline/ghettos.htm>

LVOV GHETTO

<http://motic.wiensenthal.org/pages047/t0478.html>

Ghetto Fighter's House Museum in Kibbutz Lochamei Hagetaot in Israel
And a Children's Museum

<http://www.gfh.org.il/english>

Trapped in Darkness

<http://ghetto.actiweb.com/>

Minsk, Riga, Vilna and Babi Yar, maps and other topics

The Warsaw Ghetto

<http://www.us~israel/jsource/Holocaust/warsawtoc.html>

Large site covers to arms, to life, reports both from Jews and Germans, the Revolt, resistance, diaries and maps

Jewish Students on Line Research Center

<http://www.us~israel.org/jsource/Holocaust/ghetto.html>

Ghettos in occupied Europe, maps, Bialistok, Kovna, Vilna and Warsaw Ghetto

THE CAMPS

Abe's Story – Tells the story of Abe Korn from Poland from the beginning of the war until liberation with maps

<http://www.remember.org/abe/>

Survivors

Life in hiding, death factories, forced labor, rescue and risk, lessons plans

<http://fcit.coedu.isf/edu/holocaust/people/survivor.htm>

Night by Elie Wiesel- CyberGuide by Barbara Jania-Smith

<http://www.sdcoe.k12.us/score/night/nighttg.html>

This site has a Teacher's Guide for the Holocaust, timelines, summaries. Victims, photos, student activities and much more

An Auschwitz Alphabet

<http://www.spectacle.org/jacobs>

Each letter of the alphabet stood for part of life that existed in Auschwitz written by an American Jew whose grandparents came to the US before the Holocaust

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Alan Jacobs Photos of Auschwitz and the Camps

<http://remember.org/jacobs/>

C.A.N.D.L.E.S.

Children of Auschwitz site about twins, books and lessons plans

<http://www.candles-museum.com/>

I Saw the Walking Dead: A Black Sergeant Remembers Buchenwald

<http://historymatters.gmuedu/text/964e-bass.html>

Terezin

<http://www.photo.net/bp/terezin>

Visit the camp and comments of visitors that went there

Holocaust Oral Histories

<http://holocaust.umd.umich.edu/>

The Forgotten Camps

<http://www.Jewishgen.org>

List of camps, language, companies that were involved with camps, extermination and concentration camps, survivors, liberators, general information and art

APPENDIX F (Part II)

Polish Artist Jan Kowski Survives Auschwitz
<http://www.remember.org/kowski/Index.html>

LITERATURE OF THE HOLOCAUST

Children's Books on the Holocaust
http://holocaust_trc.org/bibliography.htm
Holocaust Centers and Archives-Queensborough Community College, NY

Children Stories about the Holocaust
<http://www.amazon.com>

Literature of the Holocaust
<http://www.english.upenn.edu/%7Eafilreis/Holocaust/holhome.html>

An On Line Magazine for Post-Holocaust Issues
<http://users.systemec.com/kimel/>

Bibliography prepared by Ned Shulman
<http://remember.org/guide/biblio.root.html>

Children's Literature Related To Diversity
<http://www.brown.edu/Departments/IESE/Projects/Fortes/kidbooks.htm>

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MUSIC, POETRY, ART AND PLAYS

ART WORK OF THE HOLOCAUST
<http://motic.wienthenthal.org/albums/palbum/poc/a0021p3.html>

THE ARTS
<http://fcit.coedu.usf.edu/holocaust/people/people.html>

Roundup of the Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto
To the Little Polish Boy Standing with His Arms Up by Peter L. Fischl
<http://www.holocaust-trc.org/FischlPoem.htm>

Witness and Legacy Contemporary Art About the Holocaust
http://www.Educator_/Educator_Resource_Packet-Cieducators-resourcespacket-c.html

Holocaust Poetry and Art
<http://www.datasync.com/~david959/holo.art.html>

The Music of the Holocaust
<http://www.org/hist.root.music.html>

Opera –Brundibar

<http://yahoo.com>

type in Brundibar Opera –It has many sites

<http://www.brundibar.net/web/templates/webbruuk.asp?RM=5>

ARTS AND PICTURES

<http://www.hum.huji.ac.il/Dinur/internetresources/holocauststudies.htm>

Plays about the Holocaust

Dr. Yanush Korczak by Alina Kentof

Based on the book: *A Field of Yellow Buttercups*

<http://fcit.coedu.usf.edu/Holocaust/resource/plays?Korczak2.htm>

LIBERATION AND THE AFTERMATH

Rescue and Liberation

<http://fcit.coedu.usf.edu/holocaust/timeline/RESCUE2.htm>

The Aftermath

<http://fcit.coedu.usf.edu/holocaust/timeline/after.htm>

The Nuremberg Trials

<http://www.historyplace.com/worldwar2/holocaust/h-nurem.htm>

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Nuremberg Trial Proceedings: The Avalon Project at Yale Law School

Whole trial is posted

<http://www.yale.edu/laweb/avalon/imt/proc/12-07-45.htm>

Nuremberg Trial Series

<http://www.lib.uconn.edu/DoddCenter/ASC/dodnurem.htm>

Statistics of the Holocaust

<http://www.historyplace.com/worldwar2/holocaust/h-statistics.htm>

America and the Holocaust

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/holocaust/>

Interviews, transcripts, primary sources, bibliographies, maps, people, events teacher guides for films.

Genocide

Armenian, Rape of Nanking, Stalin's Forced Famine, Pol Pot in Cambodia, Rwanda, Bosnia Herzegovina

<http://www.historyplace.com/worldhistory/genocide/index.html>

Genocide: Resources for Teaching and Research

<http://www.people.menphis.edu/~genocide/>

APPENDIX F (Part II)

Armenian Genocide

<http://www.genocide.am/index0.htm>

Includes Armenian history, bibliography, article, on line text

Bosnia and Kosovo- Ethnic Cleansing

Kosovo: News, Background and Resources

<http://www.kosovo.mod.uk/>

US Department of State: Kosovo Humanitarian

http://www.state.gov/www/region/eur/kosovo_hp.html

Human Rights Watch

<http://www.hrw.org>

Holocaust: A Tragic Legacy

<http://library-advanced.org/tq-admin/day.cgi>

A Think Quest site designed by students-information on Bosnia-Herzegovina, Rwanda, Burundi and the Nuremberg Trials and much more

Genocide of the Roma in the Holocaust by Ian Hancock

<http://www.geocities.com/Paris/5121/genocide.htm>

History, culture and tradition of the Gypsies and their extermination

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PHOTOGRAPHS AND VIDEOGRAHY OF THE HOLOCAUST

Photographs of the Holocaust

<http://history1900s.about.com/cs/photographs/Index.htm>

Videography of the Holocaust

<http://fcit.coedu.usf.edu/Holocaust/resources/films.htm>

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum- Washington, DC

<http://www.ushmm.org>

Extensive photo archive

Alan Jacobs Photos of Auschwitz and the Camps

<http://remember.org/jacobs/>

Holocaust Picture Exhibit

<http://www.fmv.ulg.ac.be/schmitz/holocaust.html>

Holocaust Album

<http://www.rongreene.com/holo.html>

A survivor collected photos of other holocaust survivors

Holocaust Photographs

<http://www.us-israel.org/jsource/Holocaust/photo.toc.html>

HOW TO TEACH THE HOLOCAUST

HOLOCAUST STUDY RESOURCES

<http://www.hum.huji.ac.il/>

Dinur/Internetresources/holocauststudies.htm

Art and photos, bibliography, books, general history, maps, links, museums,
89 sites

50 Educational Web Sites

<http://www.jr.co.il/hotsites/j-holec.htm>

A Teacher's Guide to the Holocaust

<http://fcit.coedu.usf/Holocaust>

600 photos, movies, survivors, complete site index

Education – A Legacy for Teaching the Holocaust

<http://remember.org/educate/Index.html>

Holocaust Related Websites

<http://fcit.edu.usf/Holocaust/resources/websites.htm>

Teaching about the Holocaust Guide (136 pages)

<http://www.ushmm.org/education/guide.htm>

The Holocaust – A Guide for Teachers

Created by Gary Grobman

<http://remember.org/guide/Index.html>

Database for Teaching the Holocaust through Stamps

<http://web.macam98.ac.il/~ochayo/linkem.htm>

Six subjects, the executioner, the victim, the silent bystander, the Righteous and a stamp gallery

Jewish Net

<http://jewishnet.net>

Look for Holocaust Education

Search and Find- Arts and Humanities- History in the 20th Century

http://www.jewish.com/cgi-bin/links_2.0/jump.cgi?D=13272

Eyewitness accounts, second generation, Holocaust genealogical research, oral histories, tracing programs
(American Red Cross), bearing witness, 3,800 Fortunoff Video archives

Holocaust Mediagraphy – Internet School Library Media Center

<http://falcon.jmu.edu/~ramscuil/holomed.htm>

Bibliography, films, resources, children CD rom, liberators, rescuers, recommended readings

Cybrary of the Holocaust

<http://remember.org>

Vast source of information

APPENDIX F (Part II)

Holocaust Resources for Teachers

<http://fcit.coedu.usf.edu/Holocaust/resources/resources.htm>

Bibliographies, movies, documents, museums, videography, galleries, music, plays, quizzes, maps and much more

United States Memorial Museum, Washington, DC

Teaching materials and photos

<http://www.ushmm.org/Index.html>

Get Guidelines for Teaching About the Holocaust-12pages

Simon Wiesenthal Multi Media Learning Center

<http://www.wiesenthal.com>

Shanash: The Jewish Internet Consortium Holocaust Page

<http://www.shamash.org/holocaust/>

Site refutes efforts of Holocaust deniers

Facing History and Ourselves

<http://www.facing.org>

Educational materials

Teaching Materials – Westchester University

Holocaust, The American Indian, Genocide of Asia, American Slavery, Genocides of Europe, Africa, Hate-Prejudice- and Stereotyping

http://www.wcupa.edu/_academies/holocaust/teach.htm

Tree of Life

<http://www.shore.net/shalombk/holo.htm>

List of Literature and teaching materials

The Holocaust: An Historical Summary

<http://www.ushmm.org/education/history.html>

Holocaust in chronological order, focusing on the rise of Nazism and the Final Solution

Holocaust Curriculum K-12

<http://falcon.jmu.edu/schoollibrary/hologues.htm>

Lesson Plans – Teaching Holocaust Themes in Elementary School

<http://holocaust-trc.org/lesson.htm>

Lesson Plans – Anne Frank

My Story: We Remember Anne Frank

<http://teacher.scholastic.com/frank/Index.htm>

Meet Hanneli Pick Gosslar her friend

Teacher Guide Grade 3-8th plus stories of Courage

The Shoah Foundation

<http://www.vhf.org/>

Visual history from Steven Spielberg

Holocaust Glossary

<http://www.wiesenthal.com/resources/gloss.htm>

Holocaust Glossary

<http://library.thinkquest.org/12663/glossary.html>

The Holocaust – °Questions and Activities for Thoughts and Discussion

<http://www.fred.net/nhhs/html/hologues.htm>

Questions to ask upon visiting Washington, DC Holocaust Museum

Holocaust

<http://holocaust.about.com>

Timeline, glossary, films, books, poetry and propaganda

The Holocaust: A Tragic Legacy

<http://library.advanced.org/12663/>

Period 1938-1945, Neo-Nazism, survivors and more

Maps of the Holocaust

<http://fcit.coedu.usf.edu/holocaust/resource/gallery/maps.htm>

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ORGANIZATIONS

Many additional organizations are listed in other sites

Social Studies School Service

<http://www.socialstudies.com>

Holocaust Resources and Materials

Lessons on the Internet

Teaching Holocaust Studies on the Internet

Multicultural Materials, catalogue on Teaching Holocaust

Films (Zenger Media)

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC

<http://www.ushmm.org>

Simon Wiesenthal Multi Media Learning Center

<http://www.wiesenthal.org>

Cybrary of the Holocaust

<http://www.remember.org>

APPENDIX F (Part II)

Anti-Defamation League

<http://www.adl.org>

Yad Vashem: The Holocaust Martyr's and Heroes' Remembrance

<http://www.yad.vashem.org.il/>

Israel's Memorial to the 6 million, library, educational materials and documents

Scholastic Magazine and Educational Materials

<http://www.scholastic.com>

Anne Frank, Rescuers, Survivors and WWII events

New Jersey Commission on Holocaust Education

<http://remember.org>

APPENDIX G

New Jersey Holocaust Resource Centers and Demonstration Sites

HOLOCAUST COMMISSION RESOURCE CENTERS

Brookdale Community College, Lincroft 732-224-2535

Raritan Community College, Somerville 908-526-1200-ext. 8312

Camden County Community College, Blackwood 609-227-7200 ext.432

Kean University, Union 908-527-2222

College of St. Elizabeth, Morristown 973-290-4351

Rider University, Lawrenceville 609-896-5345

Drew University, Madison 973-408-3600

Richard Stockton College, Pomona 609-652-4699

Seton Hall University, South Orange 973-378-9119

William Paterson University, Wayne 973-320-3184 / 973-720-3456

Middlesex County College, Edison 732-906-7733

Ramapo College, Mahwah 201-684-7409

Hudson Valley Community College, Jersey City 201-656-2020

Rutgers University, Jewish Life Ctr., New Brunswick 732-932-2033

Montclair State University, Upper Montclair 973-655-7311

Mercer County Community College, Lawrenceville Vera Goodkin (H) 609-882-4763

Fairleigh Dickinson University, Teaneck 201-692-2447

Burlington County College, Justice Center, Pemberton 609-894-6223

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UJF Metro West, Whippany 973-884-4800-Ext. 178

Jewish Fed of Clifton/ Passaic, Clifton 973-777-7031

Katz JCC, Holocaust Education Center, Cherry Hill 856-751-9500 Ext.249

HOLOCAUST COMMISSION DEMO SITES

Hammonton Middle School, Hammonton 609-567-7000-Ext. 326

Oakcrest High School, Mays Landing 609-909-2600

Egg Harbor Township Middle School, Egg Harbor 609-927-1314, Ext.29

Atlantic City High School, Atlantic City 609-343-7300-Ext. 209

Midland Park High School/Bergen, Midland Park 201-444-8882

Ridgefield Park, Junior-Senior High, Ridgefield Park 201-44-1440

George G. White Middle School, Hillsdale 201-664-0286

Teaneck High School, Teaneck 201-853-5444

Ramapo High School, Franklin Lakes 210-891-1500

Indian Mills Memorial, Shamong 609-268-0440

Lenape, Medford 609-654-5111-Ext. 3312

Millbridge, Delran 609-461-2900

William Allen Middle School, Moorestown 609-778-6620

Moorestown High School, Moorestown 609-778-6610

Cinnaminson High School, Cinnaminson 609-829-7770

Hopkins Middle School, Burlington Township 609-387-3774

H.B. Wilson, Camden 609-966-8940

Mary E. Voltz School, Runnemede 609-931-5353

Thomas Richards School, Atco 856-767-2421

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Voorhees Middle School, Voorhees 609-795-2045

Phifer Middle School, Pennsauken 609-662-8511

Chews Elementary, Blackwood 609-783-6607

Haddenfield Memorial, Haddenfield 609-429-3960

Charles E. Lewis Middle School, Blackwood 609-227-8400

Waterford Elementary, Waterford Township 856-767-8293

Ocean City Intermediate School, Ocean City 609-399-5611

Upper Township Primary, El. Middle, Petersberg 699-628-3510

Vineland Public Schools, Vineland 856-794-6700, Ext. 2016

School Three, Belleville 973-450-3530

West Essex Senior High, North Caldwell 973-228-1200, Ext. 259

Discovery Charter School, Newark 973-623-0222

Montville High School, Montville 973-331-7100-Ext. 252

Millburn High School, Millburn 973-376-3600

Clearview, Mullica Hill 609-478-4400

Paulsboro High School, Paulsboro 609-423-2222

Hunterdon Regional High School, Flemington 908-284-7147

Franklin Township School, Quakertown 908-735-7929

Community Park Elementary School, Princeton 609-924-3330

Upper Elementary School, Plainsboro 609-716-5500

Johnson Park School, Princeton 609-497-2820

John Adams Middle School, Edison 732-548-9257

Campbell School, Metuchen 732-321-8777

North Brunswick Township High School, North Brunswick 732-289-3748

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Spotswood High School, Spotswood 732-723-5107

Monmouth Regional High School, Tinton Falls 732-542-1170-Ext. 151

Navesink School, Atlantic Highlands 732-291-0289

West Morris Central High School, Chester 908-879-5212

Memorial Junior High, Whippany 973-515-2427

Carl W. Goetz Middle School, Jackson 732-928-5112-Ext.28

Seaside Park, Seaside Park 732-793-0177

Pinelands Regional High School, Tuckerton 609-296-3106

Lakewood High School, Lakewood 732-905-3,549

Clifton High School, Clifton 973-470-2333

Mannington Township, Salem 609-769-2631

Crim School, Bridgewater 908-231-1022

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Hillsborough High School, Belle Mead 908-874-4200

Bryam Intermediate, Stanhope 973-347-1019

Vernon Township Public School/Glen Meadow Middle School/c.o. Dawn Lawson, Vernon 973-764-4200

Sparta High School, Sparta 973-729-6191

Abram P. Harris, Hillside 908-352-5662

Warren County Technical School, Washington 908-689-0122

APPENDIX H

Resource Organizations, Museums, and Memorials

American Friends of the Ghetto Fighters House Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies

P.O. Box 2153
765 Queen Anne Road
Teaneck, NJ 07666
Tel: 201-836-1910
Fax: 201-801-0768
Web site: <http://www.amfriendsgfh.org>

American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors

122 West 30th Street
New York, NY 10001
Tel: 212-239-4230
Fax: 212-279-2926
E-mail: mail@americangathering.org

Anne Frank Center, USA

584 Broadway
New York, NY 10012
Tel: 212-431-7993
Fax: 212-431-8375
E-mail: afc@annefrank.com
Web site: <http://www.annefrank.com/>

Braun Center for Holocaust Studies Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

823 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017
Tel: 212-885-7722
Fax: 212-867-0779
E-mail: ptw@pipeline.com
Web site: <http://www.adl.org>

CANDLES Holocaust Museum

1532 S. Third Street
Terre Haute, IN 47802
Tel: 812-234-7881
E-mail: Candles@abcs.com
Web site: <http://candles-museum.com/>

Center for Holocaust Studies University of Vermont

Burlington, VT 05405
Tel: 802-656-1492
Fax: 802-656-8028
E-mail: kqjohnso@zoo.uvm.edu
Web site: <http://www.uvm.edu/~grdept/holocaust.htm>

University of Minnesota

105 James Hall
27 Pleasant Street
Minneapolis, MN 55455-0125
Tel: 612-624-0256
Fax: 612-624-4894
E-mail: feinsoo1@tc.umn.edu
Web site: <http://www.chgs.umn.edu>

Dallas Memorial Center for Holocaust Studies

7900 Northaven Road
Dallas, TX 75230
Tel: 214-750-4654
Fax: 214-750-4672
E-mail: dmchs@mail.swbell.net
Web site: <http://www.dvjc.org/education/jec/holocaust.shtml>

Facing History and Ourselves National Foundation, Inc.

16 Hurd Road
Brookline, MA 02146
Tel: 617-232-1595
Fax: 617-232-0281
Web site: <http://www.facing.org>

The Florida Holocaust Museum

55 Fifth Street South
St. Petersburg, FL 33701
Tel: 727-820-0100
Fax: 727-821-8435
Web site: <http://www.flholocaustmuseum.org/>

APPENDIX H

Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust

Testimonies

P.O. Box 802840
Sterling Memorial Library
Yale University
New Haven, CT 06520-8240
Tel: 203-432-1879
Fax: 203-432-1879
E-mail: fortunoff.archive@yale.edu
Web site: <http://www.library.yale.edu/testimonies>

The Holocaust Educational Foundation

3130 Big Tree Lane
Wilmette, IL 60091
Tel: 847-676-3700
Fax: 847-676-3706
E-mail: HEF3@aol.com
Web site: <http://www2.dsu.nodak.edu/users/dmeier/hef/hef.html>

Holocaust Education and Memorial Center

4600 Bathurst Street
Toronto, Ontario
Canada M2R3V2
Tel: 416-635-2883
Fax: 416-635-0925
E-mail: holmem@ujafed.org
Web site: <http://www.feduja.org>

Holocaust/Genocide Project

International Education and Resource Network

475 Riverside Drive, Room 540
New York, NY 10115
Tel: 212-870-2693
Fax: 212-870-2672
E-mail: hgp@copenfund.igc.apc.org
Web site: <http://www.iearn.org/hgp/>

Holocaust Museum Houston Education Center and Memorial

5401 Caroline Street
Houston, TX 77004-6804
Tel: 713-942-8000, ext. 107
Fax: 713-942-7953
E-mail: glendar@hnh.org
Web site: <http://www.hnh.org>

Holocaust Oral History Project

P.O. Box 1597
Burlingame, CA 94111-1597
Tel: 650-570-6382
Fax: 650-570-6382
E-mail: hohp@mailexcite.com
Web site: <http://www.members.tripod.com/~HOHP/index-2.html>

Leo Baeck Institute

129 East 73rd Street
New York, NY 10021
Tel: 212-744-6400
Fax: 212-988-1305
E-mail: lbin@lbi.com
Web site: <http://www.lbi.org>

The Montreal Holocaust Memorial Centre

1 Carre Cummings
Montreal, PQ
Canada H3W1M6
Tel: 514-345-2605
Fax: 514-344-2651
E-mail: mhmc@total.net

Museum of Jewish Heritage – A Living Memorial to the Holocaust

18 First Place, Battery Park City
1 Battery Park Plaza (mailing Address)
New York, NY 10004-1484
Tel: 212-968-1800
Fax: 212-573-9847
E-mail: webmaster@mjhny.org
Web site: <http://www.mjhny.org>

The National Center for Jewish Film

Mailstop 053
Brandeis University
Waltham, MA 02454-9110
Tel: 781-736-8600
Fax: 781-736-2070
E-mail: ncjf@brandeis.edu
Web site: <http://www.brandeis.edu/jewishfilm/index.html>

**Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies
Yeshiva University**

9769 W. Pico Blvd.
Los Angeles, CA 90035-4792
Tel: 310-553-9036
Fax: 310-277-5558
E-mail: info@wiesenthal.com
Web site: <http://www.wiesenthal.com>

**Spertus Institute of Jewish Studies
Zell Center for Holocaust Studies**

618 S. Michigan Ave.
Chicago, IL 60605
Tel: 312-922-9012
Fax: 312-922-3934
E-mail: musm@spertus.edu
Web site: <http://www.spertus.edu>

Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation

P.O. Box 3168
Los Angeles, CA 90078-3168
Tel: 818-777-4673
Web site: <http://www.vhf.org>

Terezin Chamber Music Foundation

Astor Station
P.O. Box 206
Boston, MA 02123-0206
Tel: 617-730-8998
Fax: 617-738-1212
E-mail: info@terezinmusic.org
Web site: <http://www.terezinmusic.org>

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

100 Raoul Wallenberg Place, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20024-2150
Tel: 202-488-0400
Fax: 202-488-2690
E-mail: education@ushmm.org
Web site: <http://www.ushmm.org/>

**The William E. Wiener Oral History Library
Dorot Jewish Division**

New York Public Library
5th Avenue and 42nd Street
Room 84
New York, NY 10018
Tel: 212-930-0603
Fax: 212-642-0141
E-mail: ngechlik@nypl.org

YIVO Institute for Jewish Research

555 West 57th Street
New York, NY 10019
Tel: 212-246-6080
Fax: 212-292-1892
Web site: <http://www.baruch.cuny.edu/yivo>

APPENDIX I

Oral History Interview Guidelines

Following is a reprint of a portion of the 140-page booklet *Oral History Interview Guidelines* written by the Department of Oral History Staff of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. in 1998. It is intended for those who plan to record Holocaust survivors and liberators. However, teachers and others who plan to bring firsthand eyewitnesses to students would benefit from its main guidelines and suggestions. While the following segment of the *Guidelines* should be helpful, educators are encouraged to obtain a free copy of the entire document from the Museum at the address below.

The *Guidelines* provides a teacher with questions and areas of content that should be covered in an interview of survivors and liberators—areas of pre-war and wartime experiences and post-war recollections. It also contains a model summary. The segment included here provides a step-by-step process for the planning and conducting of an interview, including preliminary steps, note taking, checking geography, place sites, events and people. It encourages research on the part of the interviewer and suggests where to find information including sources at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. The *Guidelines* also gives technical information in the development of both video and audio tapes. Ways for checking transcripts, authenticating them and writing summaries are also treated. The summary is most important. The preliminary summary provides the teacher with the scope and highlights of the interviewee's narrative and can be used to draw the survivor or witness out so that the students receive the benefit of a clear and relevant presentation.

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For a free copy of *Oral History Interview Guidelines*, contact United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Program Assistant, Department of Oral History, 100 Raoul Wallenberg Place, S.W., Washington, D.C. 20024-2126. Telephone: 202-488-0400. E-mail: Kquinn@ushmm.org

Oral History Interview Guidelines

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

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When interviewing Holocaust survivors, the structure of the recorded Holocaust testimony is typically divided into three sections: prewar life, the Holocaust and wartime experiences, and postwar experiences. Therefore, we have organized our suggested questions according to these three broad categories. Questions for interviewees with other Holocaust-related experiences, such as liberators, rescuers, bystanders, or postwar relief agency workers, will require a different set of questions than those outlined in this chapter. However, these questions may help you create appropriate questions for other interviewee categories.

PREWAR LIFE

This section of the interview deals with the interviewee's childhood and upbringing—family life, friends, relationships, schooling, and prewar life in general. Especially when speaking with survivors, this part of the interview should demonstrate the kind of life and culture that was interrupted or destroyed by National Socialism. It is important to get some sense of the person's interests and hobbies, along with the events that marked his or her life prior to the Nazi rise to power or occupation. It also is important to draw out the interviewee's earliest recollections of the Nazis—especially what he or she heard or read or experienced, such as the escalation of restrictions and legal measures, and how they affected family, school, friends.

The First Questions

1. What was your name at birth? (Sometimes people have changed their names, thus it is important to get this information at the outset. Throughout the interview, when it is relevant, be sure to ask about nicknames or other name changes, including changes at the time of liberation and emigration.)
2. Where were you born?
3. What was your date of birth?

Childhood Recollections

1. Describe your family, including the role of your mother and father in the household and their occupations. Describe your family life and your daily life.
2. Describe school, friends, hobbies, affiliations with organizations.
3. Describe the nature of religious life in your family and community.
4. What were your family's political affiliations?
5. What are your recollections of your city or town before the war, including relationships between Jews and non-Jews? Any recollections of anti-semitism or racism of any kind?
6. If the interviewee is older, ask him or her to describe job/occupation, relationships, marriage, children.

Nazi Rise to Power

1. What did you know about Hitler or Nazism? How was the Nazi rise to power or Nazi policy understood in your family/community?
2. How did you become aware of the Nazi presence? Do you remember the first day of occupation? Any recollections of seeing the Nazis? Experiences? Feelings? Discussions? If you were a child, how did your parents or other adults respond to the Nazi presence?
3. Describe recollections of escalation of Nazi power. How did the Nazi presence change your life? Were you persecuted? Any plans or attempts to leave?
4. If in Germany—Ask about the April 1933 boycott, book burnings, Nuremberg race laws, Kristallnacht (“Night of Broken Glass”), etc.
5. Elsewhere—Ask about the imposition of the Star of David on clothes, Jews prohibited from public places, confiscation or destruction of Jewish property, forced labor, movement out of homes.
6. Describe ability or inability to run business or maintain occupation.
7. If not Jewish, what did you know about the circumstances of Jews? Did you know any Jews? Did you try to help them?

HOLOCAUST/WARTIME EXPERIENCES

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It is essential to know about the particular ghetto, transit camp, labor camp, prison, concentration or extermination camp where an interviewee was interned. Specific questions must be constructed according to that interviewee's particular experiences. There is no “typical” Holocaust experience, although there are some categories of experiences into which many people fit. Alternately, there are instances where one person's experiences fit into multiple categories.

Ghettos and Transit Camps

Most often, incarceration in a ghetto or transit camp preceded deportation to labor, concentration, and/or extermination camps. Most Jews spent time in a ghetto or transit camp; most non-Jews did not.

1. When and how were you notified that you were to leave for the ghetto? (For some people, a ghetto was formed where they already lived; consequently, some of these questions may not be applicable.) How old were you? How did you get to the ghetto? Was the “trip” organized? What did you bring? What did you think about this “move?” What did you know? What were your recollections of arrival at the new site? Describe your first impressions. What did the ghetto look like? Was there a wall? If so, what kind?
 2. What are your recollections about getting adjusted? Were you alone? Where did you live? Where did you sleep? Did you sleep well? Did you have dreams? Nightmares?
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3. What are your recollections about living conditions—food, sanitation, medical facilities, housing? Describe relationships among family members and in the larger community. Describe daily life, including play and school for children. Describe social services—soup kitchens, hospitals, orphanages, schools, facilities for the disabled. Did you have any mobility or freedom of movement? Was the ghetto closed at a certain time? What sort of transportation was there in the ghetto? Were there any non-Jews in the ghetto? Any relationships between Jews and non-Jews?
4. If non-Jewish and in a ghetto, discuss your arrival, adjustment, living circumstances, work, relations to Jews and to Nazi authorities.
5. What sort of work did you do? Did other family members work? How did you get this “Job?”
6. Describe any cultural, religious, or social activities—concerts, lectures, parties, religious observances. What about friends and recreation? Were intimate relationships important?
7. Did you hear any news of what was happening outside the ghetto? What did you understand about your situation? About the situation of Jews? Did you know about killings? Labor camps? Extermination camps? What rumors were in the ghetto? What did you believe? Did you or anyone you knew think of escaping or actually escape?
8. Were the lives of men and women similar or different? Different tasks? Different positions in the community? Were men and women treated differently? If so, how? Did you even notice that you were a man or a woman? In other words, did gender matter to you? In what ways? What about sexuality in the ghetto—relationships, menstruation, pregnancy, abortions, prostitution, rape?
9. How did people around you treat each other?
10. Describe the structure of the ghetto—*Judenrat* (Jewish Council), police, work, food and clothing distribution, housing, medical care, etc. Evaluate the work of the *Judenrat* and Jewish police: Were they corrupt? Helpful? Trying to help in an impossible situation?
11. Were you involved in resistance activities? What did you do? Were you a member of a group? Was the group primarily men or both men and women? Roles? Activities?
12. What kept you going? Discuss your motivations and inspirations, if they existed. Were you ever depressed? Did you ever not want to keep going? Describe your situation.
13. Describe the Nazi presence in your ghetto or transit camp. Give names of Germans or collaborators if possible. Describe relationships or experiences.

Labor Camps, Prisons, Concentration/Extermination Camps

1. Describe deportation to camp—What were the circumstances of selection of those to be transported? Who did the selecting? Were you arrested? Rounded up in selection? What was the method of transport? Approximately how many people were transported? Conditions during the trip? Any idea of the length of the trip? What were you told of the purpose of the trip? Did you believe what you were told?
2. Describe your arrival and first impressions. Did you even know where you were? With whom did you arrive? If with family, what happened? What happened to your belongings? Describe any thoughts, feelings, hopes, fears. What did you see, hear, smell? What was your condition on arrival? Time of year? Time of day? Were there prisoners at your arrival point? Describe any interactions. Describe your impressions of the camp personnel.
3. Describe your registration into the camp—Shaving? Showers? Tattoo? Delousing? Uniform? Barrack assignment? (Be sure to get the tattoo number or other identification used in the camp-number and/or letter on uniform, etc.) Bunk? Who was with you? From where? Were all the people in your barrack Jewish? If not, why were they there? Language problems?
4. Specific living conditions—food, sanitation, medical facilities.
5. Work—In which *Kommando* (work detail) were you? How were you chosen? Were you engaged in different kinds of work at different times? Were there privileged prisoners? What did you know about their situation? Was Sunday a day off? What did you know about the structure of the camp?
6. Daily existence—Roll call? Breakfast? Lunch? Dinner? Was there stealing of food? Brutality? Punishment? Latrines? Selections for the gas chambers? How did you sleep? Recollections of noises, smells, discussions, humor? Any cultural activities? Explain. If religious, did you try to retain some religious traditions? Explain what and how. Were there any religious observances? Did anyone receive mail? Was there a canteen in your camp? What was the method of currency? What was available? To whom was it available?
7. Illness or physical problems—Diseases? Dental problems? How did women deal with menstruation? Pregnancy? Babies and killing newborns Medical treatment?
8. What were the relationships between people? Did you have any good friends? Did anyone ever help you? Did you help anyone? Were people affectionate with one another? Were there sexual relationships in the camp? Sexual brutality? Was there a brothel in the camp? Did you know anyone in the brothel? Who could go to the brothel? What were your relationships, if any, with non-Jewish prisoners? If non-Jewish, what were your relationships with Jews?
9. What are your recollections of the guards? Nazi personnel? Prisoner functionaries? Do you remember names?
10. Explain any involvement in resistance activities or the underground.
11. What were your experiences of witnessing killings and deaths?
12. What was your emotional state? What kept you going?

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13. What did you know about the "Outside world?" How did you learn?
14. Describe your evacuation and "death march," if applicable.

Hiding/Passing and Escaping

It should be understood that escaping and hiding were interrelated. Often, people had to escape before they could hide or pass as someone they were not by assuming a false identity. These areas of inquiry are divided here only for organizational purposes.

Hiding/Passing

1. How was the decision made to hide? With whom did you hide? What do you recollect about going into hiding? How old were you? What did you take with you? Did you know where you were going?
2. Who hid you, and what was your relationship with them?
3. What kind of hiding? A hiding place with no outside contact? Did you have a false identity? If so, explain how you acquired or assumed the particular identity. Explain the problems of maintaining that identity. For example, did you have to pretend you were not Jewish? Was that difficult? How? Who knew about your real identity? When did you resume your real identity? Or did you? Did you ever try to help Jews by using your false identity? Describe any important relationships you had while in hiding or in passing. Did you ever engage in resistance activities? How? Doing what? With whom, if anyone, in the resistance movement did you have contact?
4. Describe the hiding place(s). Size? Kind of place? Conditions? Movement? What did you do all day? Work? Food? Sanitation? (If a woman, what about menstruation?) Sexual abuse or threats?
5. Feelings during this situation? Fears, dreams, hopes, questions?
6. Were you ever discovered? Did you ever have any close calls? How did you know whom to trust? Did you have contingency plans? Did you stay in one place? Was there a Nazi or German presence in your situation?
7. What kept you going?
8. How did you emerge from hiding?

Escaping

1. Describe your decision to escape. Were you alone, or with others? If alone, why? If you were not involved in the decision, describe how the decision was made by those with whom you escaped.
2. Describe others who escaped with you.
3. Describe preparations for the escape.
4. Describe the specific circumstances of the escape. Did it go as planned? Where did you go? Who helped?
5. What happened after the escape?

6. Dangers? Close calls?
7. What kept you going?

Resistance

Resistance activities might have been organized in ghettos, camps, prisons, cities and towns, or in the forest. They might entail individuals acting alone or in groups, spontaneously or with calculation. Thus, as usual, questions will have to be geared to the particular situation of the interviewee. Generic questions can only serve as a guide to create questions specific to a particular interviewee's experiences.

1. Describe how you got involved in the resistance. Were there entrance requirements?
2. Describe the kind of group(s) and the kind of resistance activities. What were your tasks? Were there rules within the group? What was the group's goal?
3. Give names and recollections of those with whom you worked.
4. Name of the resistance group? Jewish or non-Jewish? If you were with the Soviet partisans, how did you make contact? Did they welcome Jews? Did you ever have contact with other resistance groups? What were those relationships, if any?
5. How was the group organized? Who were the leaders? How were decisions made? How did you get assignments? Were there women as well as men? Children? Were tasks assigned by gender?
6. Did you receive training? Describe. Did you have weapons?
7. Where did you live? What sort of work did you do in the group?
8. Was there support (money, food) from the local population? Did they give the support voluntarily, or were they forced to provide it?
9. Describe friendships in the group. Difficulties arising from personality differences? Political or strategic differences? Any cultural activities? Telling stories? Singing? Religious observance?
10. Were most people in the group married or were there sexual liaisons formed for reasons of protection and/or love? Did married individuals also have lovers in the group? Was there sexual violence of any kind? Were there pregnancies? Abortions? Any babies born in the group?
11. What sort of medical care was available? What sort of medical problems? How were sanitary issues handled? Did women menstruate? Was that a problem?
12. Specific events? Activities? Smuggling? False papers? Bombing? Stealing? Fighting? Sabotage?
13. If you were not in any organized resistance group, did you know about resistance in any form? How did you individually resist? Why did you decide to resist? How often did you engage in resistance activities?
14. What kept you going?

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POSTWAR EXPERIENCES

Again, specific questions must be developed for the individual and the particular circumstances of the interviewee-liberation site, displaced persons camp experience(s), and/or emigration experiences. Obviously, if people went back to their former homes, to the United States, to Palestine (and after 1948, Israel), or to all of these places and/or any other country, the interview should reflect these specific experiences and provide some historical context.

Liberation

1. Describe your circumstances leading up to liberation. What was your physical and mental state?
2. What do you recall about the moment when you realized you were “free?” When and where were you liberated? By whom? What was your reaction to your liberation?
3. Describe the first few days of liberation. Describe the conditions of your environment. What did you do? What was your physical state? What was done to you? Was there any physical or sexual abuse that you witnessed or experienced during this period? How did your liberators treat you? Describe the medical help and the food supply.
4. What happened to perpetrators? Prisoner functionaries? Any retaliation from prisoners to their former captors?
5. Describe how you tried to put your life together. (Years of mending could be discussed.) Where did you go? With whom? What did you do? Did you look for family?

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Displaced Persons Camps

1. When and how did you get to a displaced persons camp?
2. What happened in the displaced persons camp? Food? Sanitation? Sleeping quarters? Illness? Fears? Nightmares? Hopes? What was the organization of the camp? Leaders? Police? Political and religious organizations? Cultural activities? What about education? Training? Food? Health? Clothes? Shelter? Black Market? Relationships? Marriage? Work?
3. Did you find members of your family? Old friends? If yes, were there problems adjusting to each other? If no, how did you adjust to others and the situation?
4. Did you talk about your experiences? Who listened?
5. How long were you in the displaced persons camp? When did you leave and how? Where did you go?

Emigration/Immigration

1. Where did you want to live after the war?
2. To where did you emigrate? When, why, and how?
3. Describe your early experiences as an emigre. How did you adjust to your new country of residence? Did you face any discrimination? Language barriers?
4. Describe living conditions, work, and/or family in your new home.

See "Concluding the Interview" in Chapter VII before devoting extensive attention to an interviewee's postwar experiences.

Beyond the War/Life After the Holocaust

1. How did you adjust to "normal" life after the Holocaust? What problems did you face? What gave you strength to go on? Did religion play a role? The arts? Political ideology? Any belief system?
2. What did you do in this new situation? Was it easy to make new friends? Did you talk about your wartime experiences with anyone? Did you identify with the people in the country to which you emigrated?

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APPENDIX I

Sample Preliminary Interview Survivor Questionnaire

INTERVIEWER NAME _____ DATE _____

General Information

Name: _____
(Last) (First) (Middle and/or Maiden)

See the second to last page of questionnaire address and phone information (CONFIDENTIAL).

Occupation: _____ Date of birth: _____

Category of experience *(Check as many as apply):*

- Survivor
- Rescuer
- Liberator
- Witness
- Other _____

Category of survivor *(Check as many as apply):*

- Jewish
- Sinti/Roma (Gypsy)
- POW
- Political Prisoner
- Handicapped
- Jehovah's Witness
- Homosexual
- Other _____

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Have you ever been interviewed about your experiences during the Holocaust? Yes No

Was your testimony ever recorded? Yes No

Recorded on: Audio Video

Date of interview(s): _____

Organization(s) that conducted interview(s) (Include address [es], if possible):

Do you wish to be included in the Benjamin and Vladka Meed Registry of Jewish Holocaust Survivors?

- Yes
- No

May this preliminary interview questionnaire and the summary to be written based on it be used for research purposes?

- Yes
- No

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Prewar Life *(continued)*

Family Background

Father's name: _____

Place of birth: _____ Date of birth: _____
(City/Town) (Country)

Did he survive? Yes No

Mother's name: _____

Place of birth: _____ Date of birth: _____
(City/Town) (Country)

Did she survive? Yes No

Names of siblings, if any: _____

Names and addresses of family members who survived the Holocaust:

Name: _____ Relationship: _____

Address: _____ Phone: _____

Name: _____ Relationship: _____

Address: _____ Phone: _____

Name: _____ Relationship: _____

Address: _____ Phone: _____

Notes:

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Holocaust/Wartime Experiences

Ghettos and Transit Camps

1. _____
 (Ghetto/Camp) (Location) (Dates) (Work Group)
2. _____
 (Ghetto/Camp) (Location) (Dates) (Work Group)
3. _____
 (Ghetto/Camp) (Location) (Dates) (Work Group)
4. _____
 (Ghetto/Camp) (Location) (Dates) (Work Group)
5. _____
 (Ghetto/Camp) (Location) (Dates) (Work Group)

Suggested questions/topics of discussion:

1. Deportation to ghetto/transit camp:
 - a. How were you notified that you would be leaving?
 - b. What did you bring? What do you remember feeling about leaving?
 - c. Describe deportation; how did you travel?
 - d. Recollections of arrival in the new place; first impressions.
2. Recollections about getting adjusted; did you find people from your town?
3. Living conditions, food, how many people living together?
4. Work, daily life.
5. Any cultural or social activities; friends, recreation.
6. Was deportation out of ghetto/camp a threat? Did you hear about it? How?
7. Communication with loved ones outside of ghetto/camp, with people in ghetto/camp.
8. News of the outside world.

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Notes:

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Holocaust/Wartime Experiences *(continued)*

Labor Camps, Prisons, Concentration/Extermination Camps

1.	_____	_____	_____	_____
	(Ghetto/Camp)	(Location)	(Dates)	(Work Group)
2.	_____	_____	_____	_____
	(Ghetto/Camp)	(Location)	(Dates)	(Work Group)
3.	_____	_____	_____	_____
	(Ghetto/Camp)	(Location)	(Dates)	(Work Group)
4.	_____	_____	_____	_____
	(Ghetto/Camp)	(Location)	(Dates)	(Work Group)
5.	_____	_____	_____	_____
	(Ghetto/Camp)	(Location)	(Dates)	(Work Group)

Suggested questions/topics of discussion:

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1. Deportation to camp:
 - a. How did you get to camp?
 - b. Conditions during travel; specific recollections.
2. Describe arrival, first impressions of camp/prison (Did you know where you were?).
3. Specific living conditions, food, sanitation.
4. Slave labor, work, daily life.
5. Illness, physical problems.
6. Contact with family, friends, people from home, from ghetto.
7. Recollections of SS officers, Nazi perpetrators.
8. Specific events that stand out in memory.

Notes:

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Holocaust/Wartime Experiences *(continued)*

Escape

Escape from: _____

Escape to: _____

Date of escape: _____

If multiple escapes.

Escape from: _____

Escape to: _____

Date of escape: _____

Suggested questions/topics of discussion:

1. Describe preparations, if any, for escape.
2. How did you decide to escape?
3. Describe others who escaped with you; if alone, how did you decide to go on your own?
4. Describe specific circumstances of escape; did it go as planned?
5. What happened after escape?
6. Emotions? Did you think about getting caught, what made you do it?

Notes:

APPENDIX I

Holocaust/Wartime Experiences *(continued)*

Liberation

Location: _____

Date: _____ By whom: _____

Suggested questions/topics of discussion:

1. Describe circumstances leading up to and just prior to liberation.
2. First impressions of liberators.
3. What do you recall about the moment when you realized you were "free?"
4. What did you do during first few days after liberation?
5. What was condition of camp and prisoners at the time of liberation?
6. What happened to perpetrators?
7. Recollections of cleanup of camp (ghetto or town if applicable); Allied presence.
8. Emotions, thoughts during this time.

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Notes:

APPENDIX I

Postwar Experiences *(continued)*

Emigration

To: _____
(City) (Country) (Date)

To: _____
(City) (Country) (Date)

To: _____
(City) (Country) (Date)

Suggested questions/topics of discussion:

1. When, how, why did you decide to emigrate?
2. How did you choose where to go?
3. What were actual circumstances of emigration?
4. How did you adjust to life in the new country?
5. Describe living conditions, work, family in the new country.

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Notes:

*Sample of summary written for an interview with a survivor***CAROLA STEINHARDT****RG-50.030*368****(SUMMARY IN PROGRESS)***Place names not yet verified*

Carola Steinhardt (nee Stern) was born on March 8, 1925, in Nieder Ohmen, Germany. Carola remembers that before 1933 non-Jews and Jews interacted together in her village. Once Hitler rose to power, Carola's non-Jewish friends ceased speaking to her. Carola was sent to attend and be a boarder at a Jewish school in Bad Nauheim, Germany. Carola vividly recalls *Kristallnacht* in November 1938. At her school, storm troopers burst in, cut feather beds, harassed students and others. Meanwhile, Carola's father was sent to Buchenwald, a concentration camp in Germany. Her mother and sister fled to Bad Nauheim and the three were reunited there. Carola's father was able to leave Buchenwald and the family moved to Frankfurt, Germany. Soon her Father was taken away again to a labor camp. Carola herself was taken away in early 1941 to do hard labor in Berlin, Germany. She worked at an airplane factory in Berlin until early 1943 when she was removed for "resettlement" in the east.

Carola arrived in the first week of March 1943 at Auschwitz, a concentration camp in Poland. She remembers her clothes being taken away, her hair being cut, and dogs barking. She was given old clothes that were too small. Carola was allowed to keep her shoes, but when they broke she went barefoot. Seven "beauticians" were selected from among the female prisoners. Another prisoner volunteered Carola as one of the seven. The job was to cut off the hair of incoming female prisoners. She was then sent to clean the clothes taken from prisoners. Carola knew her parents had been taken to the Lodz ghetto in Poland and asked to look in the transports arriving at Auschwitz for her family. In August 1944, she was reunited with her sister in Auschwitz, but soon they were separated again. From her sister, Carola learned her parents were dead.

In January of 1945, Carola was taken on a march to Ravensbruck, a concentration camp in Germany. She stayed in Ravensbruck for four weeks, then she was sent on a march to Malchow, a subcamp of Ravensbruck in Germany. On the way, Carola had to go to the bathroom and risked leaving the line to run into a barn and relieve herself. As she was entering the barn, her sister emerged from it. She too had run in there to use it as a bathroom. From then on, the two stayed together. At Malchow, a subcamp of Ravensbruck in Germany, Carola worked in the kitchen. In May of 1945, Malchow was liberated by Americans. Carola and her sister made their way first to Czechoslovakia and then to Austria. They were interned in Kammer Schorfling, a displaced persons camp in Austria, until July 1946 when they took an army transport to the United States.

APPENDIX J

Child Survivor: Suggested Interview Questions

The following list of suggested questions are meant as a guide and reference for the types of questions to ask child survivors and how to phrase them. They are not intended as an exhaustive list. **DO NOT BRING THEM WITH YOU TO THE INTERVIEW.**

Prewar

1. When you think about your childhood home, what images come to mind (sights, sounds, smells)?
2. When you think about your mother, what images come to mind?
3. Can you describe your mother?
4. When you think about your father, what images come to mind?
5. Can you describe your father?
6. What was your position in the family? (Oldest child, middle child, or youngest child)
7. Did anyone else live in your home? Who?
8. Were there grandparents, aunts, uncles, or cousins living with you or nearby?
9. To whom in your family were you closest?
10. What language did you speak at home? Was this your mother tongue?
11. Would you please tell me about your earliest memory?
12. What were your favorite games?
13. Do you recall a favorite toy, game, or activity?
14. Was there a childhood song or lullaby someone sang to you? Can you sing or say any of it now?
15. Do you recall a favorite food from your home? Please tell me about this memory.
16. Do you recall celebrating a Sabbath or other Jewish holidays? If yes: Would you tell what you can recall about it?
17. Do you recall any other celebrations or special occasions? If yes: Please tell us what you recall.
18. Can you describe a dinner at your house? Who sat where? Who was served or ate first?

Questions 19, 20, and 21 are for survivors over the age of 4 at the start of the war:

19. Were you old enough to go to school or did a teacher come to your home?
20. Do you recall anything about school?
21. Do you recall any religious instruction that you can share?

Questions 22, 23, and 24 are for survivors over the age of 9 at the start of the war:

22. How would you describe yourself as a child at that time?
23. Did you help out by working in your home or elsewhere? If yes, please tell me about that.
24. Do you recall a particular birthday celebration?

Question 25 is for all Survivors

25. Is there anything further you would like to say right now about your pre-war life?

Themes of Change, Danger, and Fear

1. Can you tell when you first sensed trouble or danger and what caused it? How did you sense this change?
2. How old were you when you felt the effects of the war or of anti-Jewish measures? How were you affected?
3. How did your daily life change? Was your home life affected? What did you see happening at home? At school? On the street?
4. Did your friends, classmates, or teachers act differently towards you? How?
5. Do you recall your parents instructing you to behave a certain way?
6. Do you remember anything about wearing the Yellow Star?
7. Did you sense a change in your parents or others in the household?
8. Do you recall any of your fears or worries? Do you recall any nightmares?
9. Do you recall whether or how you reacted to the stress (e.g., crying, sleeplessness, bedwetting)?
10. Was there anyone who comforted you? How?
11. Was there a most frightening moment?
12. Did you find a way to comfort yourself? How?
13. Do you have any recollection of trying to comfort anyone else?

Periods of Transition

1. Do you recall leaving your home?
2. What was that like for you?
3. Can you recall who was with you?
4. Can you remember if you took anything with you? What?
5. Were you part of a big group of people?
6. What sights, sounds, or smells do you recall?
7. Do you know where you were?
8. Do you recall how you went to the next place (foot, bicycle, train)?

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Ghettos

1. How old were you when you arrived in the ghetto?
 2. Do you recall whether you were with anybody from your family?
 3. Who was taking care of you?
 4. Please describe, if you can, your living quarters (including sights, sounds, and smells)?
 5. What do you remember about that time?
 6. Did you go to school in the ghetto?
 7. Did you have any books or toys?
 8. Do you recall the building or room where school was held?
 9. Is there any more you can tell me about life in the school?
 10. Do you recall any particular teacher?
 11. Do you recall any schoolmates?
 12. Do you recall school activities?
 13. Do you remember what games you played? What songs you sang? Could you sing any of them now (on camera)?
 14. Can you recall particular food in the ghetto?
 15. Did you eat where you lived or in a soup kitchen?
 16. Were you or your caretaker in contact with someone living outside the ghetto? If yes, can you tell me more about it?
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17. Do you recall any pleasant memories from the ghetto period?
18. Can you remember anything about seeing German soldiers or Ghetto Police? Do you have any memory of contact with them?
19. Were you ever treated badly? By whom? Please explain.
20. Do you remember experiencing or witnessing an act of kindness?

Questions 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, and 27 are for children over the age of six

21. Do you recall how you obtained food?
22. Were you ever sent to get food for anyone?
23. Did you have any responsibility in the ghetto?
24. Did you feel responsible for taking care of anyone? If yes: Whom?
25. Did you work? What did you do and where?
26. Do you have any idea how many hours per day/days per week?
27. Would you please try to describe your day from the moment you woke up to the moment you went to bed.

All child survivors

28. Do you recall celebrating holidays? If yes: please tell me about them.
29. Do you remember experiencing any *Aktionen* in the ghetto? What was that like?
30. Do you recall ever hiding in the ghetto? If yes: Where? With whom?
31. Were you ever sick while in the ghetto? What do you recall about it?
32. Do you recall the most frightening time for you in the ghetto?
33. Did you ever see anyone hurt or killed? Describe what you saw, if you can.
34. Can you recall any dreams or nightmares you had while in the ghetto? If yes: Have there been times when these have returned? Please tell me about that?
35. Was there anyone to comfort you? Who (ask for name)? If yes: For how long were you with this person?
36. Did you lose anyone close to you in the ghetto? If yes: Please tell me what happened. Did you have the opportunity to say good-bye?
37. How did you leave the ghetto?
38. When you left the ghetto, were you separated from your family? If yes: Did you have the opportunity to say good-bye? To whom?
39. Was there anyone to whom you wanted to say good-bye, but could not? Who?
40. Is there anything more about life in the ghetto that you would like to say at this point?

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Transition from Ghettos

1. Did you go or were you taken to any assembly point?
2. Who were you with?
3. Do you remember any journey? If yes: How (train, truck, foot)?
4. Please describe the journey.

Camps

1. How old were you when you arrived at the camp?
2. Do you recall what you saw (including sights, sounds, and smells)?
3. Were you separated from your family? If yes: Please tell me more about that.
4. Were you able to say good-bye before being separated?
5. Please try to tell me about this. Do you recall if anything was said to you?
6. Was there anyone trying to take care of you?

7. Please try to describe your surroundings. What did you see? Where did you sleep? What did you eat? Where did you go to the bathroom?
8. What was your most prized possession in the camp?
9. Do you recall ever being sick? What was wrong? Who took care of you and how?
10. Were you taken to an infirmary or hospital?
11. Were you given any medical treatment?
12. Do you recall receiving any medication or injections? If yes: Please tell me about this.
13. Do you have any reason to think that you were the subject of a medical experiment? If yes: Why?
24. Do you recall seeing people die or be killed? If yes: Please tell me about this.

Questions 15 and 16 are for people who were over age 8 in the camps.

15. Please try to describe a typical morning in the camp up to the time you went to work...a typical evening up to the time you went to bed.
16. Did you work? If yes: What did you do? Do you remember about how many hours per day/days per week?

The following questions are for all child survivors

17. Were there other children with you?
18. Did you ever play? How or what did you play?
19. Do you recall whether any birthday, holiday, or other celebration was celebrated in the camp? If yes: Please describe the event.
20. Do you recall particular foods?
21. Do you know how you obtained the food?
22. How were you treated by camp guards?
23. How were you treated by the kapos or other camp personnel?
24. How did the other prisoners in your block treat you?
25. Are there any names that come to mind?
26. Do you recall any acts of kindness to you?
27. Do you remember caring for or trying to protect someone? If yes: Do you know what happened to this person?
28. Is there anyone meaningful to you as a child whose fate is still unknown to you?
29. Do you recall a most frightening incident or sight?
30. Can you recall any dreams or nightmares? Was there anyone to talk to about the dreams? Did any of these dreams continue later in life?

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Resistance

1. How did you hear of the resistance? How old were you then?
 2. Where was this group operating?
 3. How did you join this group?
 4. Do you recall anyone in the group with whom you had a special relationship?
 5. How were you treated by the group?
 6. Do you remember the group celebrating any holidays or other events? If yes: Please describe the celebrations.
 7. What were your special roles or responsibilities?
 8. Please describe your morning...your evening...what you did during the day.
 9. Did you participate in any fighting? If yes: please describe.
 10. Do you recall your most frightening moment?
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11. Do you recall seeing someone being killed? If yes: Please describe the circumstances.
12. Did you have any dreams or nightmares? If yes: Please describe the dreams.
13. Have these continued during your life?
14. Did you lose any loved ones during your time with the resistance? If yes: who?
15. Was there anyone to comfort you? Who?
16. Were you ever captured? What happened?
17. What was the best thing about your time in the resistance? The worst?
18. How was it for you to adjust to the ordinary life of peacetime? (Ask in post-war)
19. How do you think those experiences influenced your life? (Ask at the end of the interview)

Hiding

1. Do you know how old you were when you went into hiding?
2. Did your name change when you went into hiding? Do you know what it was before hiding?
3. What was your name in hiding?
4. Were you hidden in more than one place? Can you recall how many?
5. Was your name changed in each place?
6. What do you remember about your first day in hiding?
7. Please describe parting from your family. Did you remember your parents say anything in particular to you?
8. Do you remember who took you to the hiding place? Was it someone you knew? Do you recall how you got there?
9. Did you know the people with whom you hid?
10. Please tell me about your first impressions (including feelings, sights, sounds)?
11. Can you say how long you stayed there?
12. Did you understand why you were going into hiding? Can you recall anyone trying to explain it to you or saying good-bye to you?
13. Did you go into hiding with any other family members or were you by yourself ?
14. Did you know you were Jewish? If yes: what memories did you have about being Jewish?
15. What feelings did you have about being Jewish?
16. Please tell me what you can about the people who hid you. Who were you supposed to be to these people?
17. Did you speak a different language than the one you spoke at home? Were you told never to speak or never to speak Yiddish?
18. Were you told to say that you were a cousin or other relative?
19. Were you told you were now a Catholic or other Christian child?
20. How were you treated then?
21. Can you recall any kindness? From whom? Please explain.
22. Did you have freedom to move about or were you confined to a certain space? If confined, please describe the place.
23. Were you ever allowed to go outside? If yes: When (day or night)?
24. Where did you spend most of your time?
25. How did you feel about the people hiding you?
26. What thoughts and feelings did you have about you mother and father?
27. What was your understand about why you were apart from your parents?
28. Who and what did you miss the most?
29. How did you express your fear and anxiety (e.g., crying, becoming ill, bedwetting, trouble sleeping, not talking)?

30. How did your caretakers react to that?
31. Were you ever punished physically? Who punished you? For what and how?
32. Do you recall anyone ever showing you any affection?
33. Were you ever physically abused or molested by an adult? By whom?
34. Did you ever try to tell someone about it? If so, what was the reaction?
35. As much as you can, describe a typical morning...a typical evening...what you did during the day.
36. Do you recall what you ate? Who gave you the food? Where did you eat?
37. Where did you go to the bathroom?
38. Was it possible for you to attend school or receive any education?
39. What do you recall about that? Were there any lessons or activities you enjoyed?
40. What did you dislike most?
41. Please describe any nightmares or dreams that you can recall.
42. Have any of these continued throughout your life?
43. Were there other children present? Did you play together? How?
44. Did you work while hiding? What kind of work did you do?
45. Were you expected to be a servant for the family hiding you? How?
46. Do you recall a prized possession while in hiding? Do you know what happened to it?
47. Can you recall your birthday ever being celebrated?
48. Did you participate in any religious activities? What were they? Did you enjoy these activities? What did you do? Was there any awareness of Jewish celebrations?
49. Do you recall yourself praying for anything in particular? What was your dearest wish?
50. What was the most frightening or difficult moment for you while in hiding?
51. Was the place you were hidden ever raided, bombed, or searched?
52. Were you ever hidden in the same house or near where German soldiers were quartered?
53. Did you ever see anyone captured or killed?
54. Was there anyone to comfort you or to whom you could express your feelings? Whom?
55. Was there anyone you tried to comfort? Who? How did you do that?
56. Were you ever taken out of your hiding place and put in another? How many times do you think?
57. Tell us as much as you can about the first hiding place (and subsequent hiding places)?
58. Were you ever threatened with being thrown out of your hiding place or with being turned over to the Germans if you did not behave?
59. Did you ever worry about being thrown out or turned over to the Germans?
60. Were you in contact with anyone from your family? How often? Under what circumstances?
61. If someone had asked toward the end of your period of hiding, "Who are you?" How do you think you would have answered?
62. If asked where you belonged, how might have you answered?
63. What do you think you were learning about people, life, and yourself while you were hidden?
64. Is there anything else you would like to add about your time in hiding?

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Postwar

Questions 1, 2, 3 and 4 are for hidden children.

1. Do you know how long you remained with your hidings following liberation?
 2. Were you taken somewhere else to live? By whom?
 3. Can you describe what it was like leaving the people with whom you were hidden?
 4. What do you think they felt about your leaving? Do you know where you were when you were liberated?
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APPENDIX J

Following questions are for all child survivors

1. How old were you at the time you were liberated?
2. How did you learn you were liberated?
3. What did being liberated mean to you at that age?
4. Can you describe the immediate changes that took place in your life after the liberation?
5. What were your hopes or special wishes following liberation?
6. What was the first thing you wanted to do? What was the first thing you did?
7. Do you recall any sort of celebration?
8. Do you recall any special food at the time? Do you recall the first thing you ate?
9. When did you find out about what happened to any members of your family? How did you find out? What did you learn?
10. Did you believe what you learned of your family's fate? Were you able to accept it at a certain time?
11. Did anyone from your family find you? Take you in?
12. Where did you go next? Was it a Jewish children's home (ask for name and location)?
13. What language was spoken at the home?
14. Please describe a typical morning...evening...afternoon...in the children's home?
15. What was it like for you there?
16. Please describe your sleeping quarters. How many children slept in one room?
17. How did you adjust to a new place? (i.e., dealing with new caretakers and children).
18. Did you feel good with the new caretakers (ask for names)?
19. What were the other children like? Was it difficult to make friends?
20. Have you stayed in touch with anyone from them?
21. Were there new activities you enjoyed?
22. Did you have any worries or problems while you were there?
23. Did you receive any schooling or tutoring?
24. What were you most interested in while in school?
25. Was it difficult to concentrate? If yes: with what were you preoccupied?
26. Do you recall any special hopes? fears?
27. Can you recall having any dreams or nightmares at the time? If yes: Did any of these continue later in life?
28. Did you need any medical assistance in the children's home? If yes: please explain.
29. How old were you when you left this place? What was that like for you?
30. Is there anything else you'd like to say about your time in the children's home?
31. Where did you go next?
32. What were your thoughts and feelings about searching for relatives when you became old enough to do so?
33. Have you ever searched for relatives? If yes, how did you go about the search?
34. If you were found by a parent or relatives who survived, please describe your reunion.
35. About how much time had you been apart?
36. Were you able to recognize each other?
37. Did you speak the same language?
38. What was your relationship like at the beginning?
39. Was your parent able to take you into their home or did you have to remain in the children's home?
40. How was that for you? Were your parents able to visit you?
41. What was it like for you to live in a "home" setting again? What did you like most? least?
42. Were you able to speak about your wartime experiences with your parents, relatives, or other caretakers? What reactions did you get?

43. Had your parent remarried? Were you asked to call the new spouse "mother" or "father?"
44. What was this new situation like for you?
45. Did you return to your hometown after the war? When? Did any of your friends still live there?
46. What, if anything, did you tell any children about your experiences? What were their reactions?
47. Did you go to school? What was it like for you?
48. Did you ever experience anti-semitism? Please describe.
49. What happened next?
50. Did you emigrate to another country? Which one?
51. Please describe the journey.
52. Did you have any fantasies or expectations about what your new country would be like?
53. Did you have to learn a new language? Was it difficult?
54. With whom did you live? Where? How were you treated?
55. Did you need medical care? If yes: please explain.
56. Did you try to speak about your experiences with anybody? With whom?
57. What reactions did you experience?
58. Did you have a social worker/therapist? If yes: Do you feel this person was helpful to you? Why? How?
59. What do you now think should have been done for you?
60. What was your first year like in your new country?
61. Did you receive encouragement, emotional support, and/or financial support from anyone? Who?
62. What schools did you attend (ask location and name)? What did you study?
63. What were your hopes and aspirations?
64. Did you know any other child survivors then? If yes: Who? How did you meet? Did you discuss your experiences with each other? If no: How long was it until you met another child survivor?
65. Do you remember any birthday celebrations for you?
66. Were you now given a Jewish education? If yes: How was that for you?
67. Were you able to connect with Jewish life, the Jewish community, or the religion? Please tell us what that was like?
68. Did you ever apply for restitution when you were young? Can you please tell us about that?
75. Is there anything else you'd like to tell us about yourself?

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Closing

1. How do you think you were affected throughout your life by the war?
 2. How do you think you were affected by your immediate post-war experiences?
 3. Have you been able to speak with anyone about your experiences?
 4. Were your parents able to speak to you about your experiences? Did they acknowledge your suffering? Did they speak with you about their own experiences?
 5. If married: How do you think your experiences have affected your marriage? The way you raised your family?
 6. Have you ever returned to your hometown? To the places you were during the Holocaust? Please tell me about those experiences.
 6. Is there anything else you would like to say in closing?
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APPENDIX K

Vendors

A&E Home VideoAlden Films

PO Box 449
Clarksburg, NJ 08510
(908) 462-3527

Alpha Video Distributers, Inc.

255 Old New Brunswick Road
Piscataway, NJ 08854
(732) 981-0110

Al Staggs

3935 Royal Forest Drive
San Antonio, TX 78230
(210) 492-8457

Ambrose Video Publishing

28 W. 44th St., Ste 2100
New York, NY 10035
(212) 265-7272

Anne Weiss

c/o Eyes from the Ashes
P.O. Box 1133 Bryn Mawr, PA 19010
(610) 527-3131

Anti-Defamation League

22-D Hollywood Avenue
Ho-Ho-Kus, NJ 07423
(800) 343-5540

Atlantis Productions

3653 Canton Highway
Marietta, GA 30066
(770) 924-9254

Aurthur Cantor, Inc.

1501 Broadway, Ste. 403
New York, NY 10036
(212) 391-2650

Avekta Productions

145 East 48th St.
New York, NY 10017
(212)308-8000

Beit Lohamei Haghetaot

D.N. Asherat
Israel 25220

Beit Terezin

38 935 Giv'at Hayim (Ihud)
Israel

Brookdale Community College

765 Newman Springs Road
Lincroft, NJ 07738
(908) 224-2769

Chip Taylor Communications

15 Spol lett Drive Derry,
N.H. 03038
(603) 434-9262

Chuck Olin Associates, Inc.

11 East Hubbard
Chicago, IL 60611
(312) 822-9552

The Cinema Guild

1697 Broadway, Ste 802
New York, NY 10019
(212) 246-5522

CSE-TV Productions

c/o A/V Services-Mahoney Library
College of Saint Elizabeth
2 Convent Road
Morristown, NJ 07960-6989
(973) 290-4351

Department of Information

see World Zionist Organization

Direct Cinema

Limited PO Box 10003
Santa Monica, CA 90410
(800) 525-0000

Documentaries International

Film and Video Foundation
1800 K Street, N.W., Ste 1120
Washington, DC 20006
(202) 429-9320

Dolp Video Ltd.

22 Hyetzira
Ramat Gan, Israel 52521

EBS Productions

330 Ritch Street
San Francisco, CA 94107
(415) 495-2327

Educational Media

NYT Information Services Group
12 2 East 42 nd Street
New York, NY 10168
(212) 449-3300

Electronic Arts Intermix

536 Broadway, 9th fl.
New York, NY 10012
(212) 966-4605

Emory University

Fred Roberts Crawford Witness
to the Holocaust Project
Atlanta, GA 30322
4) 329-6428

Ergo Media, Inc.

P.O. Box 2037
Teaneck, NJ 07666-1437
(800) 695-3746

Eventful Enterprise

21 West 38th Street
New York, NY 10018
(212) 643-1623

Facets Multimedia, Inc.

1517 West Fullerton Ave.
Chicago, IL 60614
(773) 257-5126

Filmmaker Library, Inc.

124 East 40th Street, Ste 901
New York, NY 10016
(212) 808-4980

Films for the Humanities and Sciences, Inc.

P.O. Box 2053
Princeton, NJ 08543-2053
(800) 257-5126

Films Incorporated

5547 N. Ravenswood Ave.
Chicago, IL 60640
(800) 323-4222

Films of the Nations

305 Stagecoach Road
Freehold, NJ 07728
(732) 462-3522

First Run Features/Icarus Films

153 Waverly Place, 6th fl.
New York, NY 10014
(212) 727-1711

Friends of Le Chambon

(Pierre Sauvage, President)
8033 Sunset Boulevard - #784
Los Angeles, CA 90046

Georgia Commission

on the Holocaust
330 Capitol Ave.
SE Atlanta, GA 30034
(404) 651-9273

German Language Video Center

7625-27 Pendleton Pike
Indianapolis, IN 46226
(317) 547-1230

HBO Video

1100 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10019
(212) 512-7400

Hermine Freed Video Productions

60 Gramercy Park
New York, NY 10010
(212) 475-5256

Holocaust Human Rights Center

of Maine RR 1,
Box 825 Palermo,
ME 04354
(207) 993-2620

APPENDIX K

Impact America Foundation

9100 Keystone at the Crossing
Indianapolis, IN 4624G
(317) 848-5134

Insight Media

2162 Broadway
New York, NY 10024
(212) 721-6316

Israel Video

Sheraton Jerusalem Plaza
47 King George Street Jerusalem, Israel

Israeli Institute for Jewish Films

Nehora Heichal Shlomo
P.O. Box 7440
Jerusalem, Israel 91073

Jewish Holocaust Museum and Research Centre-Victoria

13 Selwyn Street
Elsternwick, Victoria 03185
Australia

Kent State University Jewish Studies Program

314 Satterfield Hall
Kent, OH 44242

Knowledge Unlimited, Inc.

2348 Pinehurst Dr.
Middleton, WI 53562
(608) 836-6660

Log In Enterprises

4 LaRue Road
Spencer, NY 14883
(607) 589-4771

Martha Lubell Productions

426 Bolsover Road
Wynnewood, PA 19096
(610) 642-9112

McGraw Hill Film

1221 Ave. of the Americas
New York, NY 10019
(212) 221-5949

McGraw-Hill Training System

148 Princeton Road
Heightstown, NJ 08520
(609) 426-7395

Midwest Center for Holocaust

Education Inc.
5801 West I I 5th Street, Ste 106
Overland Park, KS 66211-1800
(913) 327-8190

MTV Finland

Ilmaalantori 2
Helsinki, SF 00240 Finland

Museum of Tolerance Bookstore

9786 West Pico Blvd.
Los Angeles, CA 90035
(800) 553-4474

National Center for Jewish Film

Brandeis University-Lown 102
Waltham, MA 02254-9110
(617) 899-7044

National Film Board of Canada

1251 Ave. of Americas, 1 6th fl.
New York, NY 10020
(212) 596-1770

PBS Video

1320 Braddock Place
Alexandria, VA 22314-1698
(800) 344-3337

Phoenix Films and Video, Inc.

2349 Chaffe Place
St. Louis, MO 63146
(314) 569-0211

Quest Productions, Inc.

2600 1 Oth Street
Berkeley, CA 94710
(510) 548-0854

Random House School Division

400 Helen Road
Westminster, MD 21157
(410) 775-7450

S.E. Florida Holocaust Memorial Center

Florida International University
Bay Vista Campus/N.E. 151 st St. &
Biscayne Blvd.
North Miami, FL 33181

Simon & Schuster

200 Old Tappan Road
Old Tappan, NJ 07675
(800) 223-2336

Simon Wiesenthal Center

Media Department
9760 West Pico Boulevard
Los Angeles, CA 90035
(310) 553-9036

Sisu Home Entertainment, Inc.

18 West 27th Street, 10th fl.
New York, NY 10001
(212) 779-1559

Social Studies School Service

100 10 Jefferson Blvd./P.O. Box 802
Culver City, CA 90232
(800) 421-4246

Suncoast Media, Inc.

200 Ave. E
Venice, FL 34284
(941) 483-5800

SVE/Churchhill Media

6677 N. Northwest Highway
Chicago, IL 60631-1304
(800) 829-1900

**The St. Louis Center for
Holocaust Studies**

12 Millstone Campus
St. Louis, MO 63146
(314) 432-0020

Theater at Lehigh

Allentown Allentown, PA

U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum

100 Raoul Wallenberg Pl., S.W.
Washington, DC 20024
(800) 259-9998

Univ. of California Ext.

2000 Cenar St., 4th Fl.
Berkeley, CA 94704
(510) 642-0460

**Watch Tower Bible &
Tract Society of New York, Inc.**

25 Columbia Heights
Brooklyn, NY 11201-2483
(718) 625-360G

World Zionist Organization

Department of information
6380 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles, CA 90048
(213) 651-0655

Yad Vashem

PO Box 3477
Jerusalem, Israel 91034

Zenger Media

10200 Jefferson Blvd., Rm VC511
Culver City, CA 91021
(800) 421-4246

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Note: The list of vendors above appears in the excellent annotated videography cited below.

The video collection on the Holocaust and related subjects is part of the Holocaust Resource Center and Archives at Queensborough Community College of the City University of New York. It is available for loan to teachers and organizations at no charge other than shipping and handling. Educators who are interested in obtaining a copy of the videography may contact the

Resource Center

TEL 718-225-1617

FAX 718-631-6306

E-mail: hrcaho@worldnet.att.net

