

## Conclusion

As based on the aforementioned accounts, beginning in the early days of Jewish settlement in Kielce, and culminating in the ignominious and infamous Pogrom of 1946, it is evident that anti-Semitism plagued Kielce on an almost continuous basis. Unfortunately, Kielce's Jews were not the only Jews targeted for persecution. Rather, this grand-scale act of violence was only one of many such events, which took place between 1945 and 1947, in the wake of the Holocaust. Nevertheless, it was striking because of its dimensions, because of the brutality with which it was accomplished, and because of the participation of local forces representing the new communist authority. Moreover, the fact that the Jewish survivors in Kielce were concentrated in one block of flats perhaps made them likelier candidates than other Jews who were living more dispersed, in communities throughout Poland, following the end of World War II.

In essence, for the Jewish survivors returning to Poland, the Kielce Pogrom of 1946 was the ultimate confirmation of the following well-known and long-established Yiddish adage, "*Di Polyakn hobn arayngenumen hasn Yidn mit di mames milkh*" - "The Poles absorbed their hatred for Jews with their mothers' milk." The majority of Poland's Jews came to the quick and frightening realization that they had no future in the country that had served as their homeland for hundreds of generations. Thus, in the months ensuing this attack, Poland witnessed the mass exodus of the last remnant of hundreds of thousands of her Jews. Some emigrated to the west, while others-often times the more Zionist parties-opted for Palestine. Poland was never again to reach the same heights of Jewish existence that she had once known.

**Appendix****Necrology and Background Information of Jews Murdered in the Kielce Pogrom of 1946**

Adler, Avrom

Eyznberg, Yisroyel

Eylbirt, Osher

Barukh, Yisroyel

Beshita, Khayim

Gutvurtsel, Pol(y)a

Gurshtuts, Bayla

Gertner, Bayle

Dutshka, Flutra\* (child)

Vandler\*

Vaynberg

Vayntro(y)b, Avrom

Vaynrib

Zoyberman

Zilberberg, Sofia

Zandberg, Rokhl

Kharendorf, Leyzer\*

Telemboym, Nosn (or Titlboym, Nofoli)\*

Dr. Kahane, Severin

Morovyets, Moyshe

Mikolovski, Mendl

Sambarski (or Samborska-unborn child of Genja Sambarski)\*

Sovinska, Ofelina

Sokolovski, Yekhiel Simkhe\*

Plutno, Sholem

Prashovska, Ester\*

Prays, Yitskhok

Faynkukhen, Dovid

Fish, Regina

Fish, Adash (or Adam-Regina Fish's four-week-old infant)

Fridman, Berl

Kas

Karp, Shmuel

Kersh, Hershl

Kersh, Yishaye\*

Rabindorf

Rutshka, Yisroyel

Rayzman\*

Shulmanovitch, Z.

Shumakher, Fanya

Shtunka

B 2969 Oshvyentshim (i.e., Auschwitz)

There were additional murder victims of the Kielce pogrom of 1946 whose names do not appear within this necrology. This is due to the sheer fact that the physical damage done to some of the bodies was so severe that they could not successfully be identified. This is evidenced in the following depiction of the post-pogrom burial ceremony:

The bodies of the martyrs were carried on forty trucks; they had assigned one truck for each. The bodies of the murdered babies (Mrs. Fisz's three-week-old baby, and the stillborn child of Samborska) were in little boxes placed beside the large coffins of adults. At the head of the line was the body of Dr. Kahane, who died at his post. His coffin was covered with a blue-white flag. The other coffins bore the names of the dead; some were simply marked by the letters N.N. indicating that the name was unknown.

At this point in time-nearly fifty-six years after this tragedy occurred-there is an obvious

challenge involved in obtaining biographical or genealogical background information that pertains to the pogrom's murder victims. Many of the aforementioned individuals were natives of Kielce. However, some-such as Dr. Kahane, a native of Lwow-had little or perhaps no pre-World War II connections to Kielce. This, in turn, must have contributed to the already overwhelming burden of identifying the dead.

Nonetheless, a few remarks can be made in regard to several of the murder victims: **Dr. Severin Kahane** was the president of the Jewish Committee, a partisan and a soldier who fought in the front lines of the Polish army. At the time of the pogrom, Dr. Kahane already had all the legal papers that were necessary for emigration. **Moyshe Morovyets** published a magazine that was affiliated with the Jewish Committee. **Vaynberg** arrived the very day of the pogrom, from the neighboring town of Chmielnik. **Sholem Plutno** was a fighter in the Soviet and Polish armies. **Yitskhok Prays** was the former owner of "Hotel Polski." **Leyzer Kharendorf** was in the Kielce Ghetto and the concentration camps. **Mrs. Rayzman** was from Radom, and even as she was being buried, her husband was in the hospital-in critical condition.

**Regina Fish** and her four-week-old son, **Adash** met a brutal end. Hooligans came to the Fish home-located on Leonarda Street-kidnapped Mrs. Fish, and eventually shot her and her infant. Prior to her murder, Regina Fish made various efforts to bribe the hoodlums with seventeen US dollars, a gold pin, and three rings, but this did not manage to save her life. After the kidnappers drew their guns, she attempted to flee to the neighboring woods, but was not able to escape quickly enough. Shots resounded, and Mrs. Fisz, struck in the head, fell dead. A short time later the bandits sent peasants from the village to bury the bodies of Mrs. Fisz and her baby.

Another grotesque incident occurred, that likewise, involved a woman and her infant. However, in the case of **Genia Sambarski**, she was in her eighth month of pregnancy; the infant was yet unborn. The murderers pierced through her stomach with a knife and the infant had to be surgically removed-in order to save the life of the mother.

On the morning of the pogrom, **Ester Prashovska**, a nurse, was busy bandaging wounded patients and was murdered while at work. Prior to her murder, Ms. Prashovska served as the acting secretary of the Kielce Jewish community. Moreover, she had somehow managed to survive Auschwitz-only to be killed while trying to save other

peoples' lives. Many of the other murdered Jews listed above fell under the category of: Jews who had fled Kielce in the early days of World War II, repatriates, and ghetto Jews.

#### Acknowledgments and Dedication

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### "The Scream...I Can Still Hear It"

Jan Tomasz Gross, *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community of Jedwabne*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001, 261 pp.

Reviewed by

David Silberklang

Poland is a Jewish ghost town. A traveler in Poland today will find nary a trace of the teeming populations and thriving Jewish communities that were wiped off the face of the Earth in that one brief, catastrophic period known as the Holocaust. Only a few buildings, cemeteries (most of them crumbling), and plaques remain to remind visitors that there were once, not too long ago, more than three million Jews in Poland. There is a Jewish community today in Poland to be sure, one that has undergone a reawakening during the last thirteen years since the fall of communism. Yet, before the Holocaust the Jews constituted some ten percent of the population of Poland. Today's community is less than three-hundredths of a percent (0.0003) of the population; it is only a vague shadow of its past, barely a hint of the Polish Jewry that was. Nowhere do these ghosts scream louder to their erstwhile neighbors than in Jedwabne. Nowhere do these shadows loom larger.

Jan Tomasz Gross tells a terrible story in his little book, *Neighbors*. In the course of one day, July 10, 1941, the entire Jewish community of Jedwabne, more than half the town's population, was murdered by their Polish Catholic neighbors. People were beaten mercilessly in the streets; the elderly were tortured; men, women and children were butchered in the streets and drowned in the pond; babies were pitch-forked; eyes were gouged out; and then all the Jews were forced into a barn and burned to death. And when the murder orgy was done, "they used axes to knock golden teeth from still not entirely decomposed bodies and in other ways violated the corpses..." (p. 20, Szmul Wassersztajn testimony).

Three days prior to that the Jews in neighboring Radziłów were murdered in the same fashion, and two days before that, the Jews of nearby Wąsosz were murdered by their neighbors. Gross sees these three events as closely related; they are in effect one event. So far, more is known about Jedwabne than the other two towns.<sup>1</sup> In fact, regarding Wąsosz not even one survivor testimony or other Jewish document has been found. There, the murder seems to have been complete. No active German participation in the murder has been uncovered, other than to photograph events in Jedwabne and to set aside a number of Jewish skilled laborers that were working for them. The book reveals the poignantly bitter irony of the Polish and German roles in the murder of the Jews of Jedwabne. Here, in July 1941, the Poles were the genocidal murderers, and the Germans were the bystanders. For the Jews of the town, the safest place to be then was among the Germans. This irony has not escaped notice in the heated public debate in Poland that ensued immediately upon the original publication of the book in Polish and continues to this day. This ongoing debate has engendered hundreds of articles in the last two years.<sup>2</sup>

The story of Jedwabne is one of grisly horror that beggars the imagination. It is characterized by crude brutality in the extreme, vicious, foaming-at-the-mouth sadism and antisemitism, voluntary murderous zeal, and widespread participation of a large part of the adult male Catholic population of the town (Gross estimates that half the population participated). It was a genocidal mass murder in a double sense, notes Gross. Masses were murdered by masses of murderers (p. 87). And who were those masses that murdered their neighbors? "What the Jews saw... were familiar faces. Not anonymous men in uniform... but their own neighbors," says Gross (p. 121). Their last living vision was of their school chums,

<sup>1</sup> Anna Bikont is completing a book on Radziłów, to be published by the end of the year. She has uncovered a great deal of information about the town and the murderous events of July 7, 1941.

<sup>2</sup> The original publication was, Jan Tomasz Gross, *Sąsiedzi: Historia Zagłady żydowskiego miasteczka* (Sejny: Fundacja Pogranicze, 2000). For an English-language publication of some of the articles published in the first year following the appearance of the book, see William Brand, ed., *Thou Shalt Not Kill: Poles on Jedwabne* (Warsaw: Więź, 2001).



customers, acquaintances, next-door neighbors, hacking them to death or incinerating them in Bronisław Szleziński's barn.

As Gross tells us, the murder in Jedwabne was not characteristic of Poland under Nazi occupation. Indeed, it is reminiscent of certain localities in Lithuania, such as Lingmiany and Butrimonys, where the local population was massively a part of killing all the Jews.<sup>3</sup> Holocaust survivors relate many stories of Polish hostility to Jews during the Holocaust, and even of murder. However, so far, these three towns – Wąsosz, Radziłów, and Jedwabne – are the only known cases where Poles murdered an entire Jewish community. But this regional murder operation joins the generally hostile atmosphere that Jews encountered among their erstwhile neighbors across the country as part of Poland's legacy from World War II. And Gross searches in vain for the explanation for this murder, and for the lack of attention paid by Polish historians to the disappearance of ten percent of the Polish population, almost as though such a loss was part of someone else's history. However, Polish history cannot be told, Gross argues, without telling the story of the Jews, and in that story, Poles must confront their own past.

This is a little book that has had a huge impact. Its source base appears relatively narrow as historical studies go - one extensive Jewish testimony on Jedwabne (Szmul Wassersztajn), one on Radziłów (Menachem Finkelsztajn), several additional, briefer Jewish testimonies and interviews on Jedwabne, a memorial book on the Jedwabne Jewish community published in 1980, and Polish trial records from the Łomża district court in 1949 and 1953. There are no Einsatzgruppen reports, no police reports, no reports in the Oneg Shabbat secret archive from the Warsaw Ghetto. There are few survivor testimonies because there are almost no survivors. But there are, in addition to the trial records, the memories in

<sup>3</sup> On Lingmiany, see the entry in *Pinkas Hakehillot, Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities, Poland, vol. 8, Vilna and Environs* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, forthcoming). On Butrimonys, where Lithuanians lent massive assistance to the Germans but were not the sole murderers, see Nathan Cohen, "The Destruction of the Jews of

Jedwabne that linger and have been passed on from generation to generation. The murder is the town's public secret.<sup>4</sup>

There are several additional sources of which Gross was unaware when he researched and wrote the book – a few additional survivor accounts in Yad Vashem's archive, the Warsaw area volume of the *Pinkas Hakehillot* encyclopedia of Jewish communities,<sup>5</sup> and Pages of Testimony filed in Yad Vashem from the mid-1950s onward.<sup>6</sup> The last are documents filed by survivors or others who knew Jews that were killed in the Holocaust. Each Page of Testimony briefly relates the life and death of an individual Jew killed in the Holocaust. Regarding Jedwabne, 341 such pages were filed, 344 regarding Radzilów, and 4 regarding Wąsosz. As early as 1956, Pages of Testimony had been filed relating that the victim had been "burned by their Polish neighbors, together with the Jews of the town." So, from the testimonies filed immediately after the war and from the Pages of Testimony, we could have known the story in the 1940s or 1950s. And if that were not sufficient, from the Jedwabne memorial book and from *Pinkas Hakehillot*, the story of Jedwabne and the other towns was accessible in the 1980s. But as Gross points out, reading the story and comprehending its full import are two different matters. It took him four years to recognize the full, literal import of Szmul Wassersztajn's testimony in the Jewish Historical Institute archive in Warsaw. But "once we realize that what seems inconceivable is precisely what happened, a historian soon discovers that the whole story is well documented, that witnesses are still alive, and that the memory of this crime has been preserved in Jedwabne through its generations" (p. 22).

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Butrimonys as Described in a Farewell Letter from a Local Jew," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, vol. 4, no. 3 (1989), pp. 357-375

<sup>4</sup>There are many illustrations of this preserved memory in Jedwabne. See for example, Anna Bikont, "We from Jedwabne," July 11, 2001, [www.wyborcza.pl](http://www.wyborcza.pl) (translated from "My z Jedwabnego," *Gazeta Wyborcza*, March 23, 2001); idem, "Seen from Jedwabne," *Yad Vashem Studies*, vol. 30 (2002), pp. 7-19; and Agnieszka Arnold's documentary film, "Sąsiedzi," released in April 2001.

<sup>5</sup>*Pinkas Hakehillot: Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities: Poland, vol. IV, Warsaw and Its Region*, edited by Avraham Wein (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 187-188, 241-244, 422-424.

Gross's encounter with survivor testimony in the course of researching this book has led him to re-evaluate the importance of such testimony to research. For many historians in Israel (and elsewhere), where oral history, especially about the Holocaust, has been taken seriously for decades, this is no revelation. Rather, Jedwabne stands out as a stark indication that survivor testimony can give us truths about the Holocaust that no other source can provide.

Gross's detractors, largely (though not only) Polish right-wing nationalists and conservative Catholic clergy, have attacked his source base and his interpretation of sources. Unlike the President of Poland, Aleksander Kwaśniewski, who has repeatedly acknowledged the facts of the crime and pushed Poles to confront their past, these detractors have tended to deny what has been shown to be incontrovertible truth. They have often tried to change the subject, arguing that Polish anger at Jews was understandable because Jews had allegedly collaborated with the hated Soviet occupation in Jedwabne (and other pre-war eastern Polish territories) between September 1939 and June 1941.<sup>7</sup> It would seem, in other words, that murdering all the Jews was justifiable. Gross amply preempts these attacks, demonstrating that most of the Jedwabne collaborators with the Soviets were not Jewish, and some of these people then proceeded to murder the town's Jews after the Germans had conquered the area (pp. 41-53, 79-89, 152-163).

The book is methodical, progressing from a brief outline of the story, through a presentation of the sources, to background on the town and its population, to the events during World War II, the culprits, the plunder, and searing questions that emerge from the story and that according to Gross must be addressed by Polish society. The result is both damning and convincing. The Poles of Jedwabne murdered their Jewish neighbors, took over

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<sup>7</sup>More than three million names (with data) of Jews killed in the Holocaust have been collected so far. They are housed in the Hall of Names at Yad Vashem and are accessible to researchers.

their property and belongings, camouflaged the event behind falsehoods and false monuments commemorating the murder of the Jews by the Germans, who were not even there. This version of history fit the Polish national self-image of victimhood. But for them the Biblical question, "have you murdered and taken possession?"<sup>8</sup> would apply. Could the victims also be victimizers? This question exercises Gross and is part of the engine of the public debate.

This book is not easy reading, but it is necessary reading. Gross is a scholar committed to truth, and in *Neighbors* he unravels a decades-old lie and challenges the reader, and Polish society, with the cold, bare, gruesome truth. When he was in Jerusalem on November 25, 2001, for a symposium at Yad Vashem, Gross commented that the Poles "wanted to get the rid of the Jews, but I believe that the Jews are still with them." This is manifest in all that has been published to date on the subject. Halina Popiołek, who was a young girl when the Jews of Jedwabne were murdered, recalls the torching of the barn: "It took but two minutes, but the scream...I can still hear it" (p. 89).

<sup>7</sup>See for example, Tomasz Strzembosz, "Panu Prof. Gutmanowi do sztabucha," *Wież*, vol. 54, no. 6 (June 2001). It has been published in English as "Inscribed in Professor Gutman's Diary," *Yad Vashem Studies*, vol. 30 (2002), pp. 69-76.

<sup>8</sup>*Kings I*, 21:19.

## Book Surveys

### Nazi Germany

Bryan Mark Rigg, **Hitler's Jewish Soldiers: The Untold Story of Nazi Racial Laws and Men of Jewish Descent in the German Military**, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2002, 433p.

On the road to "Racial purity" Hitler encountered unexpected detours, due largely to his inconsistent policies regarding Jewish identity. After centuries of Jewish assimilation and intermarriage in German society, eliminating Jews from the rest of the population was more difficult than he had anticipated. As Rigg shows in this provocative new study, nowhere was the process of racial cleansing more fraught with contradiction and confusion than in the German military.

Contrary to conventional views, Rigg reveals that a startling large number of German military men were classified by the Nazis as Jews or Mischlinge, in the wake of racial laws first enacted in the mid 1930s. He demonstrates that the number was much higher than previously thought, including decorated veterans and high-ranking officers, even generals and admirals.

As Rigg fully documents for the first time, a great many of these men did not consider themselves Jewish and had embraced military life as devoted patriots eager to serve a revived German nation. In turn, they had been fully absorbed into the German armed forces, which prior to Hitler had given little thought to the race of these men but which now was forced to examine the ancestry of its soldiers.

Investigation and removal of Mischlinge from the military, however, was marred by the highly inconsistent application of Nazi law. Numerous exemptions were made in order to allow soldiers to stay within the ranks or to spare a soldier's parent, spouse, or other relative from incarceration or worse. Hitler's own signature can be found on many of these exemption orders. But as the war dragged on, Nazi politics came to trump military logic, even in the face of the Wehrmacht's growing manpower needs, closing legal loopholes and making it virtually impossible for these soldiers to escape the fate of millions of other victims of the Third Reich.

S.B.

Hugh Thomas, **The Strange Death of Heinrich Himmler**, New York: St. Martins Press, 2001, 276p.

On May 22, 1945, in the immediate aftermath of World War II, the Allies celebrated the capture of the most important member of the Nazi hierarchy, Reichsfuehrer Heinrich Himmler. The SS leader was arrested and interrogated but committed suicide in Allied custody by ingesting poison from a capsule concealed in his mouth. Then he was buried at a secret site on Luneberg Heath. But Himmler did not rest in peace, if, according to the author of this volume, Himmler it was who was buried there.

Months later the British disinterred, reexamined, and cremated his body. Yet in 1946, MI6's most talented, if treacherous, agent, Kim Philby, was still not convinced that the story of Himmler's death made any sense at all. Philby realized that a man of Himmler's organizational genius, a plotter of great intricacy and sophistication who

recognized Germany's inevitable defeat as early as 1943, was unlikely to have just blundered into the arms of the Allies. What really happened?

Hugh Thomas set out to answer Philby's question and has uncovered a maze of corruption, high finance, political gambles, and international intrigue. This book unearths not just Himmler's grave, but attempts to reveal secrets that have long remained buried, connected to the strange capture, death and investigation into the story of Heinrich Himmler.

J.B.

Jonathan Rose (ed.), **The Holocaust and the Book: Destruction and Preservation**, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001, 314p.

Between 1933 and 1945, Nazi Germany systematically destroyed an estimated 100 million books throughout occupied Europe, a crime that was inextricably bound up with the murder of millions of Jews. By burning and looting libraries and censoring "un-German" publications, the Nazis aimed to eradicate all traces of Jewish culture along with the Jewish people themselves.

This book examines the dark chapter in the history of printing, reading, censorship, and libraries. Topics include the development of Nazi censorship policies, the celebrated library of the Vilna ghetto, the confiscation of books from the Sephardic communities in Rome and Salonika, the experience of reading in the ghettos and concentration camps, the rescue of Polish incunabula, the uses of fine printing by the Dutch underground, and the suppression of Jewish books and authors in the Soviet Union. Several authors discuss the continuing relevance of Nazi book burnings to the present day, with essays on German responses to Friedrich Nietzsche and the destruction of Bosnian libraries in the 1990s.

The collection also includes eye-witness accounts by Holocaust survivors and a translation of Herman Kruk's report on the Vilna ghetto library. An annotated bibliography offers readers a concise guide to research in this growing field.

E.B.

Adam R.A. Claasen, **Hitler's Northern War: The Luftwaffe's Ill-fated Campaign, 1940-1945**, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001, 338p.

Adolf Hitler had high hopes for his conquest of Norway, a country that had great symbolic and strategic value for the Fuehrer. Despite early successes, however, his ambitious northern campaign foundered and ultimately failed. Adam Claasen in **Hitler's Northern War** reveals the full story of this episode and shows how it helped doom the Third Reich to defeat.

Hitler and Raeder, the chief of the German navy, were determined to take and keep Norway. By doing so, they hoped to preempt Allied attempts to outflank Germany, protect sea lanes for German ships, access precious Scandinavian minerals for war production, and provide a launchpad for Luftwaffe and naval operations against Great Britain. Beyond those strategic objectives, Hitler also envisioned Norway as part of a pan-Nordic stronghold – a centerpiece of his new world order. But, as Claasen shows, Hitler's grand expectations were never realized.

Goering's Luftwaffe was the vital spearhead in the invasion of Norway, which marked a number of wartime firsts. Among other things, it involved the first large-scale aerial operations over sea rather than land, the first time operational

objectives and logistical needs were fulfilled by air power, and the first deployment of paratroopers. Although it got off to a promising start, the German effort, particularly against British and arctic convoys, was greatly hampered by flawed strategic thinking, interservice rivalries between the Luftwaffe and navy, the failure to develop a long-range heavy bomber, the diversion of planes and personnel to shore up the German war effort elsewhere, and the northern theater's harsh climate and terrain. Claasen's study covers this ill-fated campaign from the 1940 invasion until war's end and shows how it was eventually relegated to a backwater status as Germany fought to survive in an increasingly unwinnable war. His account sharpens our picture of the German air force and widens our understanding of the Third Reich's way of war.

J.B.

Jay Y. Gonen, **The Roots of Nazi Psychology: Hitler's Utopian Barbarism**, Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2000, 224p.

Was Hitler a moral aberration or a man of his people? This topic has been hotly debated in recent years, and now Jay Gonen brings new answers to the debate using a psychohistorical perspective, contending that Hitler reflected the psyche of many Germans of his time.

Like any charismatic leader, Hitler was an expert scanner of the Zeitgeist. He possessed an uncanny ability to read the masses correctly and guide them with "new" ideas that were merely reflections of what the people already believed. Gonen argues that Hitler's notions grew from the general fabric of German culture in the years following World War I. Hitler's success with the masses was the result of the German response to the humiliation and defeat they suffered in that war. Basing his work in the role of ideologies in group psychology, Gonen exposes the psychological underpinnings of Nazi Germany's desire to expand its living space and exterminate Jews.

Hitler responded to the nation's group fantasy of renewing a Holy Roman Empire of the German nation. He presented the utopian ideal of one large state, where the nation represented one extended family. In reality, he desired the triumph of automatism and totalitarian practices that would preempt family autonomy and private action. Such a regimented state would become a war machine, designed to breed infantile soldiers brainwashed for sacrifice. To achieve that aim, he unleashed barbaric forces whose utopian features were the very aspects of the state that made it most cruel.

J.B.

Bruce Campbell, **The SA Generals and the Rise of Nazism**, Lexington: The University Presses of Kentucky, 1998, 278p.

No part of the Nazi movement contributed more to Hitler's success than the Sturmabteilung (SA) - the notorious Brown Shirts. Bruce Campbell offers the first in-depth study in English of the men who held the three highest ranks in the SA. Organized on military lines and fired by radical nationalism, the Brown Shirts saw themselves as Germany's paramilitary saviors.

Campbell reveals that the homogeneity of the SA leadership was based not on class or status but on common experiences and training. Unlike other investigations of the

Nazi Party, this book focuses on the military and political activities of the SA to show how they developed into Nazi leaders.

By tracing the activities, both individual and collective, of these men's adult lives through 1945, Campbell shows where members acquired the experience necessary to build, lead, and administer the SA. These men were instrumental in creating the Nazi concept of "political soldiering", combining military organization with political activism.

Campbell's enlightening portrait of the SA, its history, and its relationship to the overall Nazi movement reveals how the organization's leaders reshaped the SA over time to adapt to Germany's changing political concern.

J.B.

Marc B. Shapiro, **Between the Yeshiva World and Modern Orthodoxy: The Life and Works of Rabbi Jehiel Jacob Weinberg 1884-1966**, London and Portland Ore.: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1999, 283p.

The span of Rabbi Jehiel Jacob Weinberg's life illuminates the religious and intellectual dilemmas that traditional Jewry has faced over the past century. Rabbi Weinberg became a central ideologue of modern Orthodoxy because of his willingness to respond to social change in interpreting the halakhah, despite his traditional training in a Lithuanian yeshiva. But Weinberg was an unusual man: even when he was defending the traditional yeshiva against all attempts at reform, he always maintained an interest in the wider world outside.

Weinberg left Lithuania for Germany at the beginning of the First World War, attended the University of Giessen, and increasingly identified with the Berlin school of German Orthodoxy. Although initially an apologist for the Nazi regime, he was to become German Orthodoxy's most eminent halakhic authority in its efforts to maintain religious tradition in the face of Nazi persecution. His approach, then and in his later halakhic writings including the famous *Seridei Esh*, derived from the conviction that the attempt to shore up Orthodoxy by increased religious stringency would only reduce its popular appeal.

Using a great deal of unpublished material, including private correspondence, Marc Shapiro discusses many aspects of Weinberg's life. In doing so he elucidates social and intellectual phenomena of the Jewish world that have so far received little scholarly attention: the yeshivas of Lithuania; the state of the Lithuanian rabbinate; the musar movement; the Jews of eastern Europe in Weimar Germany; the Torah im Derekh Eretz movement and its variants; Orthodox Jewish attitudes towards Wissenschaft des Judentums; and the special problems of Orthodox Jews in Nazi Germany. Throughout, he shows the complex nature of Weinberg's character and the inner struggles of a man being pulled in different directions.

E.B.

Geoffrey P. Megargee, **Inside Hitler's High Command**, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000, 326p.

Challenging previous accounts, Geoffrey Megargee shatters the myth that German generals would have prevailed in World War II if only Hitler had not meddled in their affairs. Indeed, Megargee argues, the German high command was much more flawed than many have suspected or acknowledged. **Inside Hitler's High Command** reveals



that while Hitler was the central figure in many military decisions, his generals were equal partners in Germany's catastrophic defeat.

Megargee exposes the structure, processes, and personalities that governed the Third Reich's military decision making and shows how Germany's presumed battlefield superiority was undermined by poor strategic and operational planning at the highest levels. His study tracks the evolution of German military leadership under the Nazis from 1933 to 1945 and expands our understanding of the balance of power within the high command, the role of personalities in its organizational development, and the influence of German military intellectuals on its structure and function. He also shows how the organization of the high command was plagued by ambition, stubbornness, political intrigue, and overworked staff officers. And his "a week in the life" chapter puts the high command under a magnifying glass to reveal its inner workings during the fierce fighting on the Russian Front in December 1941.

Megargee also offers new insights into the high command crises of 1938 and shows how German general staff made fatal mistakes in the planning for Operation Barbarossa in 1941. Their arrogant dismissal of the Soviet military's ability to defend its homeland and virtual disregard for the extensive intelligence and sound logistics that undergird successful large-scale military campaigns ultimately came back to haunt them.

In the final assessment, observed Megargee, the generals' strategic ideas were no better than Hitler's and often worse. Heinz Guderian, Franz Halder, and the rest were as guilty of self-deception as their Fuehrer, believing that innate German superiority and strength of will were enough to overcome nearly any obstacle. This book exposes these flaws and illuminated the process of strategy and decision making in the Third Reich.

J.B.

### Europe under the Nazis

Dan Diner, *Beyond the Conceivable: Studies on Germany, Nazism, and the Holocaust*, Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2000, 286p.

These major essays by Dan Diner, presented in a collected volume, reflect the author's belief that the Holocaust transcends traditional patterns of historical understanding and requires an epistemologically distinct approach. One can no longer assume that actors as well as historians are operating in the same conceptual universe, sharing the same criteria of rational discourse. This is particularly true of victims and perpetrators, whose collective memory shapes the distortions of historical narrative in ways often diametrically opposed.

The essays are divided into three groups. The first group talks about antisemitism in the context of the 1930's and the ideologies that drove the Nazi regime. The second group concentrates on the almost unbelievably different perceptions of the "Final Solution", with particularly illuminating discussions of the Judenrat. The third group considers the Holocaust as the subject of narrative and historical memory. Diner focuses above all on perspectives: the very notions of rationality and irrationality are seen to be changeable, depending on who is applying them. And because neither rational nor irrational motives can be universally assigned to participants in the Holocaust, Diner proposes, from the perspective of the victims, the idea of the counter-rational. His work is directed toward developing a theory of Holocaust

historiography and offers, clearly and coherently, a new form of reflection on these problems.

E.T.

### Wartime Poland

Antony Polonsky (ed.), **Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry**, vol. 13, London and Portland, Ore.: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2000, 476p.

This volume of **Polin**, a well-known journal published for the Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies and the American Association for Polish-Jewish Studies, focuses on the topic of the Holocaust in Poland and its aftermath.

Few issues have divided Poles and Jews more deeply than the assessment of the Nazi activity in Poland, in which the majority of Polish Jewry perished. Many Jewish historians have claimed that the Polish government's attempt to undermine the economic viability of the Jewish community after the death of Pilsudski in 1935 made Hitler's task easier. On this view, the persistence of the economic crisis in the late 1930's, the example of Nazi Germany, and the attempt by some members of the Polish government to widen their power base by wooing young antisemitic zealots of the nationalist opposition all contributed to a growing mood of antisemitism. In consequence, most Poles were unwilling during the Nazi occupation to see Jews as fellow citizens. Many Polish historians in contrast, have denied the connection between the pre-war and wartime situations; they stress that the harshness of the Nazi occupation led to death for many Poles, and that hiding a Jew was a capital offence.

The core of this volume deals with these still controversial issues, broadening the perspective to include several articles on Polish attitudes to the nearly 300,000 Jews who tried to resettle in Poland after the war and the ensuing pogroms. Other articles include a translation of the powerful but little known testimony of Rudolf Reder, one of a handful of Belzec survivors; a discussion of Holocaust victims as martyrs, with special reference to religious Jews and a description of the Auschwitz Museum today and its plans for the future.

In addition, the volume looks more generally at anti-Jewish stereotyping in Poland in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It reports an important debate which took place in 1998 on the character and strength of antisemitic feeling there.

E.Z.

### The Soviet Union

Reina Pennington, **Wings, Women, and War: Soviet Airwomen in World War II Combat**, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001, 304p.

The Soviet Union was the first nation to allow women pilots to fly combat missions. During World War II the Red Air Force formed three all-female units – grouped into separate fighter, dive bomber, and night bomber regiments – while also recruiting other women to fly with mostly male units. Their amazing story, fully recounted for the first time by Reina Pennington, describes and analyzes a group of determined women whose exploits have not yet received the study that they deserve.

This book chronicles the creation, organization, and leadership of these regiments, as well as the experiences of the pilots, navigators, bomb loaders, mechanics, and

others who made up their ranks, all within the context of the Soviet air war on the Eastern Front. These regiments flew a combined total of more than 30,000 combat sorties, produced at least thirty Heroes of the Soviet Union, and included at least two fighter aces.

Among their ranks were women like Marina Raskova, the "Soviet Amelia Earhart", a renowned aviator who persuaded Stalin in 1941 to establish the all-women regiments, the daredevil "night witches" who flew ramshackle biplanes on nocturnal bombing missions over German front lines; and fighter aces like Liliia Litviak, whose twelve "kills" are largely unknown in the West. Here, too, is the story of Aleksandr Gridnev, a fighter pilot twice arrested by the Soviet secret police before he was chosen to command the women's fighter regiment.

Pennington draws upon personal interviews and the Soviet archives to detail the recruitment, training, and combat lives of these women, deftly mixing anecdote with analysis. It is interesting to note that while the wartime context of the book is a pivotal point, no mention of any kind is made of these women's religious affiliation, or the larger context of the final solution in which a number of the incidents recounted in the book may be placed.

E.B.

## Hungary

**Theo Tschuy, *Dangerous Diplomacy: The Story of Carl Lutz, Rescuer of 62,000 Hungarian Jews*, Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, Cambridge, 2000, 265p.**

This book tells the story of Carl Lutz (1895-1975), the Swiss diplomat who single-handedly rescued 62,000 Jews from deportation to Nazi concentration camps – a daring action now recognized as the largest, most successful rescue effort ever undertaken in Nazi dominated Europe.

For over fifty years this dramatic story has remained dormant in government archives and among family papers. Finally now available in English, this carefully researched biography tells how Lutz, as Swiss Consul in Budapest from 1942 to 1945, defied diplomatic rules and conventions by issuing protective papers for tens of thousands of Hungarian Jews destined for the death camps. At grave risk to his own life, Lutz confronted the Nazi menace face to face, including Edmund Veessenmayer, Hitler's proconsul in Hungary, Adolf Eichmann's SS men, the gendarmes, and the Arrow Cross gangs.

Lutz was almost totally forgotten by the world after the war and was formally reprimanded by his own government for having overstepped his authority. Nevertheless, Yad Vashem recognized him and his first wife, Gertrud, among the first to be honored as "Righteous Gentiles." Various foreign states have honored him, and his home town, Walzenhausen, made its famous native son an honorary citizen. Lutz was even nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize.

J.B.

**Tamas Stark, *Hungarian Jews During the Holocaust and After the Second World War, 1939-1949: A Statistical Review*, Boulder: East European Monographs, 2000, 174p.**

The existing studies about Hungarian Jewry during the Holocaust usually concentrate upon descriptions of the communities before the German occupation, the deportations during the summer of 1944 and the liberation of Hungary by the Red Army. Stark's book, translated from the Hungarian, describes and analyzes these topics but continues the history of Hungarian Jewry up to 1949, incorporating information about Hungary Jews in captivity in the Soviet Union, and material about the survivors who remained in Hungary.

The second part of this book makes it a unique tool for scholars: sixteen statistical tables and three graphs dealing with the situation of Hungarian Jewry during the ten years in question. Tables include Jews by religion and Christians of Jewish origin who were classified as Jews, Numbers of Northern Transylvanian Jews distributed by counties, Number of Jews in Romania 1930-1947; Budapest Jews who changed their religion; immigrants to Palestine from Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Romania 1919-1961 by year and region, etc.

J.T.

## **Spain**

**Wayne H. Bowen, *Spaniards and Nazi Germany: Collaboration in the New Order*, Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 2000, 250p.**

Using recently declassified documents from Spain and the United States, personal interviews, and unpublished and published Spanish, German, British, and U.S. records, this book makes an interesting contribution to the understanding of Hispano-German relations during the 1930's and 1940's. This study shows that Naziphiles within the Spanish Falange, Spain's fascist party, made a concerted effort to bring their nation into World War II, and that only the indecisiveness of dictator Francisco Franco and diplomatic mistakes by the Nazis prevented them from succeeding.

Bowen demonstrates that while Spain was neutral in World War II, its policies clearly favored the Axis, at least in the early stages of the war. Franco, who had emerged victorious from the Spanish Civil War in 1939 largely because of support from Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini, even carefully considered entering World War II on the side of Nazi Germany.

By the late 1930's members of the Falange saw World War II as a revolutionary opportunity, a chance to lead Spain into a new age as a partner with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy at the head of a New Europe of social justice and authoritarian regimes. By the end of 1939 a significant minority of pro-Nazi Spaniards were unhappy that Spain had not entered the war and remade itself to fit better into Hitler's New Order. Bowen argues that support for Nazi Germany in Spain and among Spanish communities throughout Europe was both wide and deep, and that this enthusiasm for the Third Reich and the New Order it promised to bring lasted until the end of the war. Despite statements of neutrality by the Spanish government, the Franco regime was well aware of this collaboration by Spanish citizens as late as 1944-45 and did little to stop it. Had Hitler been more interested in bringing Spain

into his empire, or exploiting the pro-Nazi sentiments of these thousands of Spaniards, he might have replaced Franco with someone more willing to support his interests even as late as 1943.

This book presents many possibilities for what might have been a far different outcome of World War II in Europe. It shows that even without the full support of the Spanish or German governments, pro-Nazi Spaniards, even if they did not quite bring Spain into the war, added to the strength of the Third Reich by serving in its armies, working in its factories, and promoting its ideas to other nations.

S.B.

### Italy

Ruth Ben-Ghiat, **Fascist Modernities, Italy, 1922-1945**, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2001, 317p.

This cultural history of Mussolini's dictatorship is a provocative discussion of the meanings of modernity inter-war Italy. Deft in its use of a broad range of materials, this work argues that fascism appealed to many Italian intellectuals as a new model of modernity that would resolve the contemporary European crisis as well as long-standing problems of the national past. Ben-Ghiat shows that at a time of fears over the erosion of national and social identities, Mussolini presented fascism as a movement that would allow economic development without harm to social boundaries and national traditions. She demonstrates that although the regime largely failed in its attempts to remake Italians as paragons of a distinctly fascist model of mass society, twenty years of fascism did alter the landscape of Italian cultural life. Among younger intellectuals in particular, the dictatorship left a legacy of practices and attitudes that often continued under different political rubrics after 1945.

Ben-Ghiat draws from public and private archives, the fascist press, memoirs, films, and novels – to show how fascists intended to transform Italians' behavior and values, remaking them in ways that would allow Italy to emerge from its perceived position of marginality. Unlike many studies of fascist culture that focus on the regime's use of culture for purposes of internal consensus building, this book argues that the desire to augment Italian prestige and power abroad also shaped the evolution of cultural policy.

J.B.

### The United States

Steven Casey, **Cautious Crusade: Franklin D. Roosevelt, American Public Opinion, and the War Against Nazi Germany**, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, 302p.

How did Americans view Nazi Germany during World War II? How did the Roosevelt administration portray the Third Reich in its propaganda activities? What impact did public opinion have on U.S. policy between 1941 and 1945?

In this book, author Steven Casey challenges existing theories regarding America's fight against Hitler. Drawing on a wealth of documentary sources, he traces the development of elite and mass attitudes toward Germany, from the early days of the war when attention was focused on ways of destroying Nazism to the end of the

conflict when efforts were made to remake and remold the German nation. Casey argues that, contrary to popular belief, the president and the public rarely saw eye to eye on the nature of the enemy, the threat it posed, or the best methods for countering it. He examines the numerous opinion polls and media surveys conducted by the government during the war, revealing that the American people often held divergent attitudes about Germany and were not always fully supportive of the war effort in Europe.

Realizing his difficult position, Roosevelt conducted an extensive propaganda campaign designed to foster support for the war. And because these efforts were not always successful, the president was forced to take public opinion into account when formulating and implementing a host of important policies, including when and where to launch the first Allied invasion, how to portray the Allied bombing campaign, the unconditional surrender proclamation, and the Morgenthau plan to pastoralize the Third Reich.

By examining the complex relationship between public opinion and policy-making during World War II, this book sheds new light on a crucial era in American history.

S.T.

#### **The D.P.'s**

Hanna Yablonka, **Survivors of the Holocaust: Israel after the War**, New York: NYU Press, 1999, 337p.

Despite the vast literature on the Holocaust, relatively little has been written about its direct aftermath, specifically the social integration of the Holocaust's survivors into postwar society. In Israel, survivors accounted for fully one-half of the postwar wave of immigration into the country and were among the first to enter the gates of the new state following its founding in 1948.

Drawing on a wealth of primary materials such as recently released archival material, letters, newspapers, internal army magazines, and personal interviews, historian Hanna Yablonka examines, from all sides, the fascinating meeting between survivors of the Holocaust and the veteran Jewish population in Israel. The survivors of the Holocaust did not arrive in Israel a passive, unassertive people. Many were dynamic, enterprising, and determined to rehabilitate themselves in the new states. Yablonka details the role they played in the War of Independence, their settlement of towns and villages abandoned by Arabs during the war, and the ways in which Israeli society accepted - and often did not accept - them into the armed forces, the kibbutz movement, and the trade unions.

**Survivors of the Holocaust** illuminates the ways in which Israeli society grew and developed through its emotional and sometimes contentious relations with the arriving survivors and how, against all odds, the survivors of the Holocaust and their offspring became pillars of the modern Israeli society.

J.B.

## Postwar Germany

Christoph Klessmann, **The Divided Past: Rewriting Post-war German History**, Oxford and New York: Berg, 2001, 200p.

This book describes and analyzes the central problems of writing German post-war history in the aftermath of unification. Since 1990, historians have been debating whether the development of the Federal Republic and the East German State constituted separate histories or whether they share what should be considered a joint past. This book addresses the specific forms of segregation and interconnectedness between the "two Germanies" and acknowledges the asymmetry of the relationship, as well as the effect that this had on the internal and external policies of both sides.

This is a book that confronts the need for historiography to break away from the traditional master narrative. It offers an alternative in the form of the different points of view necessary to gain a new perspective on the central problem of a separate, yet joint, German post-war history. Drawing on both methodological and historiographical approaches, authors tackle this problem in the context of generational and gender history, secularization, the labor movement and the legitimization of the "workers' state", and culminate by addressing the perennial question: how does a nation live with catastrophe?

J.B.

Rudy Koshar, **From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory, 1870-1990**, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2000, 352p.

Koshar constructs a powerful framework in which to examine the subject of German collective memory, which for more than a half century has been shaped by the experiences of Nazism, World War II, and the Holocaust. Finding the assumptions of many writers and scholars short-sighted, Koshar surveys the evidence of postwar German memory in the context of previous traditions. This book follows the evolution of German "memory landscapes" all the way from national unification in 1870-1 through the world wars and political division to reunification in 1990.

The memory landscapes of any society may incorporate monuments, historical buildings, memorials and cemeteries, battlefields, streets, or natural environments that foster shared memories of important events or personalities. They may also be designed to divert public attention from embarrassing or traumatic histories. Koshar argues that in Germany, memory landscapes have taken shape according to four separate paradigms, the national monument, the ruin, the reconstruction, and the trace, which he analyzes in relation to the changing political agendas that have guided them over time.

The intense scrutiny to which Germany memory and identity have been subjected at the end of the twentieth century fails to take into account 120 years of public debate over how the built environment can best be used to symbolize the past. Through his synthesis of a wealth of information on the content and practice of collective memory, Koshar shows that despite the massive ruptures of Germany's history, significant continuities have served to counterbalance the traumas of the German past.

E.B.

Eugene Davidson, **The Death and Life of Germany: An Account of the American Occupation**, Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1999, 441p.

Offering much more than a detached historical account of the "German miracle" - a ruined war-torn nation evolving within a decade into the most flourishing country in Europe - Eugene Davidson delves into this intriguing story as a "participant observer". Drawing on countless interviews with Germans and Americans of various backgrounds and perspectives, from High Commissioner's office personnel to occupation troops GI's, storekeepers to housewives, Davidson insightfully conveys the atmosphere of postwar Germany and the role of the American occupation in achieving the nation's economic miracle.

**The Death and Life of Germany** examines the transformation of Germany, focusing on such key episodes as the unprecedented war-crimes tribunal at Nuremberg, the almost unceasing attempts of the Western Allies to cooperate with the Russians, the startling effects of the currency reform and Marshall Plan aid, the break between East and West Germany that culminated in the Berlin airlift, the heroic East German uprising of June 17, 1953, and the eventual formation of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic.

Davidson traces the progress of thought among Germans and American alike as their conceptions of postwar Germany gradually evolved and the leaders of a new, democratic West Germany emerged from the ashes of defeat.

The strength of Davidson's research and analysis and the continuing relevance of this important volume make it a fascinating addition to the collections of scholars and general readers interested in the evolution of postwar Germany.

J.B.

### Postwar Europe

Arieh J. Kochavi, **Post-Holocaust Politics: Britain, the United States, and Jewish Refugees, 1945-1948**, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2001, 377p.

Between 1945 and 1948 more than a quarter of a million Jews fled countries in Eastern Europe and the Balkans and began filling hastily erected displaced persons camps in Germany and Austria. Through clandestine means Zionists tried to bring as many survivors of the Holocaust as they could to the shores of Palestine, determined to establish a Jewish state there. Britain was not only one of the victorious Allied powers that occupied Germany and Austria after World War II, it also held the Mandate in Palestine. For the British, the question of what to do with the vast majority of Jewish refugees who refused repatriation was doubly pressing.

In this book Arieh Kochavi presents a comprehensive analysis of British policy toward Jewish displaced persons and reveals the crucial role that the United States played in undermining that policy. He argues that political concerns - not human considerations - determined Britain's course of action regarding the refugees.

Anxious to secure its interests in the Middle East, Britain feared its relations with Arab nations would suffer if it appeared to be doing too little to stop the exodus of Jews to Palestine. In the United States, however, the Zionists' efforts put the plight of Jewish refugees in the limelight, enabling the American Jewish community to influence presidential policy by making its vote hinge on a solution to the displaced



problems. U.S. policy in turn influenced the attitude of governments on either side of the Iron Curtain toward British efforts to halt the Jewish migration. Setting his analysis against the backdrop of the escalating Cold War, Kochavi reveals how both the White House and the Kremlin came to support the Zionists' goals, albeit from entirely different reasons.

J.B.

**Itamar Levin, His Majesty's Enemies: Great Britain's War Against Holocaust Victims and Survivors**, Westport: Praeger, 2001 238p.

This is the first book to describe a relatively unknown injustice committed by the British government against the Jewish people during the holocaust era. Levin, the journalist who uncovered the affair, first describes British policy toward the Jews, particularly the construction of obstacles that prevented thousands from being saved. This material is long known to historians. However, from there he goes on to discuss Britain's intentional and unabashed use of Holocaust victims and survivors' property after World War II has been described by public figures as one of the most serious incidents of the looting of Holocaust victims' property.

Levin documents, from British Public Office files, the cynical manner in which His Majesty's government expropriated victims' assets in order to compensate British citizens who had claims against former enemy countries. He also describes the struggle of survivors to retrieve small portions of their property and deals with the ongoing struggle for a change in British policy which began with the publication of Levin's investigative report in June 1997.

J.B.

### **Survivor Memoirs**

**Walter Meyer, Tomorrow Will Be Better: Surviving Nazi Germany**, Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1999, 201p.

How does a young German who has been a member of the Hitler Youth and has competed in Nazi organized athletic competitions become, over the span of two years, an eighty pound tuberculosis-stricken concentration camp escapee?

In this memoir Walter Meyer leads readers from one harrowing moment to the next as he recounts his experiences during and after Hitler's reign. As a teenager he refused to conform to institutional rules. While serving in the Hitler he rebelled by joining a subversive group that focused its efforts on pranks against the youth organization. During World War II, Meyer was arrested, interrogated, and beaten for stealing shoes, but he received a sentence of one to four years, as opposed to the standard penalty for looting - death.

The sixteen year old Meyer's refusal to conform to prison regulations and his foiled escape attempts resulted in solitary confinement on several occasions. His fiery spirit eventually landed him in a Nazi work camp. Unbeknownst to his family, Meyer became a concentration camp prisoner. Transported to Ravensbrueck, was forced to work under grueling conditions in a quarry. He struggled to reach his daily work quota so he could dine on watery broth and bits of bread. In these conditions he soon developed tuberculosis and knowing that he would soon die in the camp, he plotted his escape.

Upon returning home to Duesseldorf, Meyer despaired at the destruction of his hometown. However after recoving his health he regained his youthful lust for adventure. His postwar travels began with his infiltration of the Russian occupied zone of Germany to retrieve his family's possessions. Meyer then began a whirlwind odyssey, ducking into train cars and stowing away on ships, occasionally landing in jail for traveling without a passport - from France to Spain, Belgium to Holland, and finally to South America - in pursuit of something other than the aftermath of war.

Meyer's memoir gives insight into the climate in Germany during World War II and his experience as a non-Jewish survivor of the Nazi concentration camps provides a varied perspective to the Holocaust dialogue.

E.T.

Anita Brostoff, **Flares of Memory: Stories of Childhood during the Holocaust**, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, 344p.

In a series of writing workshops at the Holocaust Center of Pittsburgh, survivors assembled to remember pivotal events of their lives during the Nazi occupation of Europe. These "flares of memory" invoke lost childhoods and preserve the voices of over forty Jews from throughout Europe who experienced a history that cannot be forgotten.

This book consists of over one hundred brief stories written by survivors from Germany, Poland, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, Austria and the Balkan countries. These stories re-create the chaos and horror as families were separated, rights were abolished, and synagogues and businesses were destroyed. Survivors remember the dangers of hiding, the daily humiliation, and the painful abandonment by local people as Jews were restricted to ghettos, forced to don yellow stars, and loaded on to trains destined for the camps. Vivid memories of starvation, disease, and a daily existence dependent on cruel luck provide penetrating testimonies of resistance and also bear witness to the resilience and fortitude of individual bombarded by evil.

To help place these events in history, a timeline chronicles the rise of the Nazis, their campaign for control of Europe, and the successive edicts that would annihilate millions. The book also includes poignant recollections of American liberators who were devastated by the horrors they discovered after the fall of the Nazis.

E.S.

Kees W. Bolle (ed.), **Ben's Story: Holocaust Letters with Selections from the Dutch Underground Press**, Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 2001, 150p.

Ben Wessles and Kees W. Bolle were boyhood friends in the village of Oostvoorne, Holland, in the 1930's. Ten years later, Ben was struggling to survive in Bergen-Belsen where he perished in 1945. Decades later when he was visiting his friends in Oostvoorne, Kees Bolle discovered a bundle of letters written by Ben. These letters documented in heartbreaking detail the terrifying journey of his family from an artificial ghetto cordoned off by the Germans in Amsterdam to the infamous transit camp at Westerbork and then to Auschwitz, Bergen-Belsen, and other horrific landmarks of the German "Final Solution".

Juxtaposing Ben's letters with reports from the Dutch underground press, both of which appear in English for the first time, Bolle creates a unique portrait of the

Netherlands during World War II, one very different from the romantic vision of the Resistance often portrayed in other accounts. Unlike Yugoslavia, for example, Holland has no mountains to provide shelter for small bands of heroic fighters. Flat and densely populated, Holland has but one means to contest the Nazi occupation – the freedom of thought and word expressed in underground papers in spite of heavy penalties imposed by German authorities.

Bolle also includes reports from the underground press near the end of the war, with scenes of victory, celebration, and hope intermingled with concerns for the future of the Netherlands. On a tragic note, there is a final message confirming the death in Bergen Belsen of Ben Wessels, who died a month before the death camp was liberated by British troops in April 1945.

E.B.

Nanda Herbermann, **The Blessed Abyss: Inmate #6582 in Ravensbrueck Concentration Camp for Women**, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000, 280p.

It is difficult to decide whether to call this book a “survivor memoir” a “concentration camp memoir” or a “Holocaust memoir”. Herbermann, author of the original book published in German in 1946 was a German Catholic woman imprisoned in Ravensbrueck for resistance work, and thus her “victimhood” differs strongly from that of Jewish inmates imprisoned in death camps. Her narrative thus concentrated on a different set of experiences and perceptions of the concentration camps, which leads Herbermann to remember and represent different aspects of camp life. Indeed, her memoirs often reflects the tensions between her identification with both perpetrators and victims, tensions that result in representational ambivalences and gaps in remembrance. Yet it is precisely these tensions that Herbermann felt, made her uniquely suited to address postwar Germans about the immediate past and their need to atone for it as such, and her book is particularly interesting as a foundational document of German remembrance.

J.B.

Suzanne Mehler Whiteley, **Appel is Forever: a Child's Memoir**, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999, 168p.

Born in Amsterdam in 1935, Suzanne Mehler Whiteley saw the ravages of war through a child's eyes. Her memoir, written in the voice of a young girl, describes the years before the invasion of Holland, her experiences during the German occupation, her time spent in the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, and her childhood afterward in Europe and then in the United States.

**Appel is Forever** describes in a child's words atrocities that should never be seen by anyone. Through young Suzanne's introspection, readers are invited to see beyond the history of events to their deeper meaning. We come to see how the miracle of having survived opens a child up to the potential for playfulness and even happiness, while a young girl's observations of coming to her new country touch upon the promises and hardships of the American dream.

J.B.

Cynthia Crane, **Divided Lives: The Untold Stories of Jewish-Christian Women in Nazi Germany**, New York: St. Martins, 2000, 372p.

This book brings together the real-life stories of women who one day awoke to find they were not who they thought they were. Before the rise of Hitler these women for the most part had never thought of themselves as Jewish: their parent or spouse was fully assimilated into German culture, they were not particularly religious, and many had even been baptized. Yet as part of his attempts to define Jewish "race", Hitler called the children of Jewish-Christian marriages *mischlinge*, half breeds, somewhere "between man and ape". This split status, which to some degree allowed these women to fare better than those considered fully Jewish, by no means shielded them or their families from persecution under the Nuremberg Laws. Today these women continue to struggle: with the nightmares of the Third Reich and the Holocaust, with the loss of their families in concentration camps, and with their own identities – divided between Jewish and Christian roots. From the early Hitler years through postwar Germany, this book chronicles their personal struggles, joys, losses, and terror as they manage their daily lives in a country that ultimately betrayed them.

Relatively little has been written about the plight of Jewish-Christian "mixed" families, perhaps because of the complex and controversial split between their Jewish and Christian roots. Crane, whose own family suffered as such, has collected, translated, and interpreted the life stories of ten women who survived.

E.S.

Jaap Polak and Ina Soep, **Steal a Pencil for Me**, Scarsdale: Lion, 2000, 226p.

This is the story of two Dutch Jews who met at a party in Amsterdam in 1943 in the middle of the Second World War. At the time, Jaap Polak was married to his first wife and Ina Soep was a single young woman. Shortly afterwards Jaap and Ina met up again in the transit camp of Westerbork in Holland when Jaap negotiated an arrangement for him and his wife to be assigned to Ina's barrack there. Jaap pursued Ina in earnest from then on, never wavering in his passionate love for her, yet remaining ever loyal to his wife for the benefit of their mutual survival, in spite of their unhappy marriage. When his wife strenuously objected to Jaap's attentions to Ina, enduring camp gossip about her "husband's girl friend", Jaap and Ina began writing letters to each other which continued until after their liberation in 1945.

The actual letters are the origin of this book, collected and saved until now in their original state. The story combines their intimate correspondence with the vivid images of daily concentration camp life as it was actually experienced and recorded by them, then and there. Augmenting their letters written on any scraps of paper available, are descriptions and related accounts that reveal powerful examples of their optimism, their faith in the future, and the unshakable love that sustained them through all the daily horrors that were visited upon them both, and the terrible conditions during the later months of incarceration. After liberation, Jaap's divorce, and Ina's and Jaap's marriage, they emigrated to the United States in 1951 with two young sons, settling in Eastchester, New York where a daughter was born to complete the family.

On Jaap Polak's eightieth birthday in 1992, knighthood was bestowed upon him by Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands, and he became an officer in the Order of Orange Nassau for his untiring efforts on behalf of the Anne Frank Center, USA.

M.K.

Rudolph Tessler, **Letter to my Children: From Romania to America via Auschwitz**, Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1999, 229p.

As Rudolph Tessler's mother stepped from the train in Auschwitz, shortly before she was sent to the gas chamber, she heard "Hello Esther." In a polite tone, a young German SS officer greeted her as he would any old friend. His family lived down the road from the Tessler family in Viseu, their hometown in northern Romania. They, like the rest of the town, admired Esther for her wonderful cooking, particularly the delicious cakes she brought them each Christmas. Now he ushered her and six of her children to their deaths.

Through this memoir Tessler offers vivid glimpses of the senselessness that surrounded him during World War II. Of the thousands packed in trains and transported from Viseu to Auschwitz, just a small group survived to see liberation. Among the survivors were Tessler, his father, and two of his brothers. This is the amazing story of their experiences as Hasidic Jews caught in the chaos and terror of the Holocaust.

Tessler's upbringing had emphasized community and family devotion - traits not forgotten in the concentration camps, where he and his family member often rescued one another from certain death. Few fathers and sons survived the concentration camps together. In spite of the odds, Tessler and his brother Buroch managed to stick together, sharing their father's labor assignments to protect him from death, preserving not only their family bond but also their spirituality. Tessler's father, always a source of strength and guidance to his family, provided counsel to many prisoners in the camp and eventually assumed the role of rabbi.

Despite an environment in which their captors tried to reduce them to animals, Tessler's remaining family and seven other Jews from Fiseu made a special effort to observe their faith. Bending rules in ways that risked their lives, they worked together to smuggle wheat, grind it into flour, and back matzos to distribute for Passover. The group also secretly gathered to pray on the eve of Rosh Hashanah. These religious observances offered some comfort in the camp.

In addition to portraying the daily struggles of camp life, the memoir also follows Tessler beyond liberation, recounting his days as a displaced person struggling for a new life in the midst of the devastation of postwar Europe, as an American immigrant striving to rebuild his family and succeed in business, and as a philanthropist for education and health care. Recalling the age-old way of life in Viseu that was erased by the Holocaust, this inspiring story conveys the hope, determination, and perseverance that made Tessler a survivor.

J.B.

Henry Friedman, **I'm No Hero: Journeys of a Holocaust Survivor**, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1999, 177p.

Henry Friedman was robbed of his childhood and adolescence by the Holocaust which changed forever the lives of those who survived. When the Nazis overran their home town near the Polish-Ukrainian border, the Friedman family was saved by Ukrainian Christians who had worked at their farm. Henry, his mother, his younger brother, and a young schoolteacher - who had been hired by his father when Jews

were forbidden to attend school - were hidden in a loft over the animal stalls at a neighbor's farm; his father hid in another hayloft half a mile away.

When the family was liberated by the Russians after eighteen months in hiding, Henry, at age fifteen, was emaciated and too weak to walk. The Friedmans eventually made their way to a displaced persons camp in Austria where Henry quickly learned to wheel and deal, seducing women of various ages and nationalities, and mastering the intricacies of the black market. In his book, he faces with unblinking honesty the pain, the shame, and the bizarre comedy of his passage to adulthood.

The family came to Seattle in 1949 where Henry Friedman has made his home ever since. In 1988 he returned with his wife to Brody and Suchowola, where he succeeded in finding Julia Symchuck, who, as a young girl, had warned his father that the Gestapo was looking for him, and who family had hidden the Friedmans in their loft. The following year he was able to bring Julia to Seattle for a triumphal visit, where she was honored in many ways, although, as Friedman writes, "in her own country she had never been honored with anything except hard work."

Like many other survivors, Henry Friedman has found it difficult to confront his past, but he has also felt the obligation to bear witness. Now retired, he devotes much of his time to telling his story, which he believes is a message of hope, to thousands of schoolchildren throughout the Pacific Northwest. He has received national recognition for his role in establishing the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., and as a founder of the Washington State Holocaust Educational Resource Center.

S.B.

Joseph Freeman (author) and Donald Schwartz (ed.), **The Road to Hell: Recollections of the Nazi Death March**, Paragon House, St. Paul, 1998, 110p.

This short memoir is a powerfully detailed description of the final moments of destruction when the defeated Nazis marched the concentration camp inmates until they died or walked through death. How starvation, freezing, clubbing, and bullets to the head eliminated thousands of marchers. This story is described in jarring detail by Joseph Freeman, one of the survivors of the death march. Based on his recollections of the final months before his liberation, Freeman deals with topics such as mutual assistance, the will to survive, and belief and faith during this terrible period.

J.B.

Sigmund Tobias, **Strange Haven: A Jewish Childhood in Wartime Shanghai**, Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999, 162p.

In the wake of Kristallnacht, 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 1950's.

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.

Tobias's own coming of age story unfolds within his descriptions Jewish life in Shanghai. Depleted by disease and hunger, constantly struggling with primitive and crowded conditions, the refugees faced shortages of food, clothing, and medicine that became increasingly severe as the war continued. Tobias observes the underlife of Shanghai: the prostitution and black market profiteering, the brutal lives of the Chinese workers, the tensions between Chinese and Japanese during the war, and the paralyzing inflation and the approach of the communist "liberators" afterward. Sheltered from what was happening in Europe, Tobias recounts the anguish of the refugees when news of the Holocaust finally reached them.

Richly detailed, this book opens a little-documented chapter of the Holocaust and provides a fascinating glimpse of life for these foreigners in a foreign land. An epilogue describes the changes Tobias observed when he returned to Shanghai forty years later as a visiting professor.

S.B.

Morris Wyszogrod, **A Brush With Death: An Artist in the Death Camps**, Albany: SUNY, 1999, 254p.

In this memoir Morris Wyszogrod recounts his experiences from the time of the Nazi invasion of Poland to the liberation of the Theresienstadt concentration camp in 1945. He describes in detail the time he spent in the Warsaw ghetto; his work as an artist for various Luftwaffe personnel at the Warsaw military airport; his experiences at the Budzyn concentration camp, where he was assigned to decorate the living quarters of the SS and to produce pornographic drawings at an orgiastic Oktoberfest; his removal to Plaszow, where he was put to work digging up mass graves and burning the bodies to eliminate the evidence of Nazi war crimes; his witnessing of the firebombing of Dresden in February 1945, and his subsequent liberation at Theresienstadt by the Red Army in May 1945. Just as an artist may register what she or he sees against a sensitive visual and moral template, so Wyszogrod doubly registered what he saw and felt, both in his drawings and in his memories.

J.T.

Mark Lewis and Jacob Frank, **Himmler's Jewish Tailor: The Story of Holocaust Survivor Jacob Frank**, Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 2000, 299p.

Jacob Frank survived four Nazi concentration camps, including Dachau and the little-known Lipowa Labor Camp in Lublin, Poland. The SS randomly chose him to head a 450-tailor operation at Lipowa, which put him in contact with such notorious SS officers as Himmler, Eichmann, Goeth and Globocnik.

An eyewitness to major Nazi operations and atrocities, Frank had intimate knowledge of beatings, torture, and murder. This knowledge brought him to Hamburg in 1973 to testify in the war crimes trial of Lipowa Commandant Wolfgang Mohwinkel and other SS officers. Frank's account of his imprisonment at Lipowa

details the operation of factories within the labor camp system, the construction of Majdanek, and mass shootings in nearby villages.

The only survivor of his sixty four member family, Frank provides a rare firsthand account in English of Lublin and the destruction of its Jewish quarter. Amid the horrors and everyday minutiae of life under the Nazis, he reflects on the role of faith, the will to live, and the temptation of suicide. Frank also examines survivor guilt, Jewish identity, the psychology of victims and perpetrators, and the role of memory.

E.T.

Bernhard Frankfurter (ed.) and Susan E. Cernyak-Spatz (trans.), **The Meeting: An Auschwitz Survivor Confronts an SS Physician**, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000, 192p.

Fifty years after the war Dagmar Ostermann, a former prisoner at Auschwitz-Birkenau, and Hans Wilhelm Muench, former Nazi and SS physician, talk face to face. In this rare interview Muench -- the only SS member acquitted during the 1947 Cracow war crimes trial -- refers to himself as a "victim", claiming that because he had to follow orders he was "no less a victim than his prisoners".

This book grew out of a documentary film in which Muench was first interviewed by Viennese filmmaker Bernhard Frankfurter. As head of the Waffen SS Hygiene Institute Muench had controlled hundreds of lives. Intrigued by Muench's responses, Frankfurter arranged for Ostermann, whose mother was German and her father Jewish, to conduct a book-length interview, for which he provided a concluding essay.

The dramatic structure of the discussion follows the events of the Nazi occupation chronologically. As Ostermann initiates questions regarding reasons for Muench's involvement (Was it a conscious endeavor? did he participate willingly?) the book adds important new information to the testimonial literature of the Holocaust.

M.B.

Moshe Margalit, **Childhood in Flames** (Heb.), Tel-Aviv: Ministry of Defense, 2000, 420p.

Moshe Margalit was a child in Ludimir (Wladimir Wolynsk) in the Ukraine when the war broke out and from age eleven he was the sole supporter of his family as they tried to survive under the Nazis. In a powerful memoir Margalit recalls his experiences as a child trying to outwit the Nazis, first in the ghetto and later in labor camps. Among the topics which he covers in his book are relations with the surrounding population, Jewish life within the ghetto, childhood under the Nazis in Eastern Europe, life in a labor camp, liberation by the Soviet army and ultimately reunion with his sister in Palestine, to which he immigrated after the war within the framework of youth aliyah.

J.B.



## Holocaust Representation

Yehuda Bauer, **Rethinking the Holocaust**, New Haven and London: Yale, 2001, 335p.

In this book historian Yehuda Bauer evaluates accepted views of Holocaust history and meaning, offering his own interpretation of why the Holocaust occurred and how another can be prevented. Dealing with a number of subjects which he has addressed in the past, but re-examining them in light of recent Holocaust scholarship, Bauer offers fresh opinions on topics ranging from how Jews reacted to the Final Solution to the relationship between the Holocaust and establishment of Israel. Among the topics he deals with are the uniqueness of the Holocaust, the question of armed and unarmed resistance, gender and the story of Gizi Fleischmann, and a critique of explanations for the Holocaust provided by scholars such as Bauman, Goldhagen, Herf and Aly. Bauer also deals with the theological explanations for the Holocaust and ends his volume with his address to the Bundestag in January 1998.

J.B.

Judith E. Doneson, **The Holocaust in American Film** 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 2002, 288p.

Judith Doneson's groundbreaking book has been reissued and updated shortly before her death in late winter of 2002. The volume offers insights into how specific films influenced the Americanization of the Holocaust and how the medium per se helped seed that event into the public consciousness.

In addition to an in-depth study on films produced for both theatrical release and TV – including **The Great Dictator**, **Cabaret**, **Julia** and the mini-series **Holocaust** – Doneson provides a focused analysis of **Schindler's List** and the debate over the merits of Steven Spielberg's vision of the Holocaust. She also examines more thoroughly such made for television movies such as **Playing for Time** and **War and Remembrance**. Paying special attention to the 1980's Doneson's book assesses the effect of the era on Holocaust films made during that time. She also discusses how these films helped integrate the Holocaust into the fabric of American society, transforming it into a metaphor for modern suffering. Finally, she explores cinema in relation to the Americanization of the Jewish image and Jewish history itself.

J.B.

Alan L. Berger and Naomi Berger (eds.), **Second Generation Voices: Reflections by children of Holocaust survivors and perpetrators**, Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 2001, 378p.

As heirs to the legacy of the Holocaust the children and grandchildren of Holocaust survivors and perpetrators have always been thought of as separated by fear, anger, mistrust and shame. This groundbreaking study provides a forum for expression in which each group reflects candidly upon the consuming burdens and challenges it has inherited.

In these intensely personal and frequently dramatic pieces, understandable differences surface. The Jewish second generation is unified by a search for memory and family. Their German counterparts experience the opposite. Yet surprising

common ground is revealed. Each group emerges out of households where, for vastly different reasons, the Holocaust was not mentioned. Each struggles to break this barrier of silence. Each has witnessed the continued survival of parents and must grapple with living in households haunted by denial. And each knows it is his or her charge to shape the Holocaust for future generations.

There are disagreements among the groups about the need for – or wisdom of – dialogue. Yet **Second Generation Voices** engenders authentic grounds for discussion. Issues such as guilt, anger, religious faith, and accountability are explored in deeply felt poems, essays, and narratives. Jew and German alike speak openly of forming and affirming their own identities, reconnecting with roots, and working through their own “psychological Holocaust”.

J.B.

John K Roth (ed.), **Ethics After the Holocaust: Perspectives, Critiques, and Responses**, Minnesota: Paragon House, 1999, 363p.

**Ethics After the Holocaust** deals with the moral and ethical implications of the Holocaust, particularly in the aftermath of Kosovo and other such massacres in contemporary history. The book is a dialogue by six insightful thinkers about a possible future in a post Holocaust era. The essays are deep and diverse and reflect the different view put forth on this subject by presenters Leonard Brob, Peter J. Haas, David H. Hirsch, David Patterson, Didier Pollefeyt and John K. Roth. The scholars both present their own papers and act as respondents on each of the other five papers where they reflect critically on the presentation. In turn the presenter is offered an opportunity to respond, thus creating a dialogue.

J.B.

Kinue Tokudome, **Courage to Remember: Interviews on the Holocaust**, Paragon House: St. Paul, 1999, 167p.

Kinue Tokudome is a Japanese writer who deals with issues such as the Holocaust and its implications on human history. In this short volume she interviews thirteen people with personal connections to the Holocaust as survivors, scholars, or professionals who come in contact with the topic and asks them for insight into understanding their way of dealing with this topic. Ms. Tokudome had been motivated in part to undertake this task by the spate of antisemitic books and opinion articles that have in recent years enjoyed an enormous publishing success in Japan, a country with no more than a few hundred Jewish residents. Among those interviewed are Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal, Holocaust scholar Prof. John Roth, Abraham Cooper of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, Michael Berenbaum and Prof. Raoul Hilberg, one of the first Holocaust scholars in the USA.

J.B.

Harry James Cargas (ed.), **Problems Unique to the Holocaust**, Lexington: University Presses of Kentucky, 1999, 198p.

Victims of the Holocaust were faced with moral dilemmas for which no one could prepare. Yet many of the life-and-death situations forced upon them required immediate actions and nearly impossible choices.

In this book today's leading Holocaust scholars examine the difficult questions surrounding this terrible chapter in world history. Is it ever legitimate to betray others to save yourself? If a group of Jews is hiding behind a wall and a baby begins to cry, should an adult smother the child to protect the safety of the others? Should the men and women who took their own lives in the face of the Nazi onslaught be considered suicide or murder victims? How guilty are the bystanders who saw what was happening but did nothing to aid the victims of persecution?

In addition to these questions, one contributor considers whether commentators can be objective in analyzing the Holocaust or if this is a topic to be left only to Jews. In the final essay, another scholar assesses the challenge of ethics in a post-Holocaust world: "The best responses to this challenge are not easy or simple. Instead, they involve sustained reflection on the memories people should share, the emotions we should express, the beliefs we should hold, the decisions we should make about how to live after Auschwitz, and the questions that we ask about all of those aspects of our existence, individually and collectively."

This singular collection of essays, which closes with a meditation on Daniel Goldhagen's controversial book, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, asks bold questions and encourages readers to look at the tragedy of the Holocaust in a new light.

J.B.

Hyman A. Enzer and Sandra Solotaroff-Enzer (eds.), *Anne Frank: Reflections on Her Life and Legacy*, Urbana and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000, 285p.

Of all the memories that convey the human devastation of Hitler's Final Solution, Anne Frank's *The Diary of a Young Girl* is by far the most popular and influential. Since its publication in Holland in 1947, the diary has been translated into more than fifty languages, reprinted in millions of copies, and transformed into plays, films, teaching guides, and political tracts. These contending interpretations all serve to illuminate as well as obscure the "real" Anne Frank.

This book attempts to present a complete anthology of the disparate facts and interpretations of Anne Frank. Here in a concise, readable volume are two dozen articles and memoirs most relevant for understanding her life, death, and legacy. Philip Roth, Lawrence Graver, Bruno Bettelheim, Simon Wiesenthal, John Barryman, and other contributors assess Anne Frank's qualities as a writer and scrutinize the proliferating controversies about her reputation, especially the way the stage and film adaptations have altered perceptions of her life and her diary. They also consider how interpreters of Jewish experience in World War II have defined Anne Frank's significance for memorializing the Holocaust.

J.B.

Caroline Wiedmer, *The Claims of Memory: Representations of the Holocaust in Contemporary Germany and France*, Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1999, 244p.

More than half a century after the Second World War, Germany and France still struggle to understand the Holocaust and to confront their roles in the tragedy. Through an interpretation of a wide array of contemporary cultural texts - including memorials and memorial sites, museums and exhibits, national commemorations,

books and films, the author traces the evolution of an often conflicted postwar politics of memory in these two nations. Her provocative analyses of sites of memory and of policies and national debates reveal the deep-seated ambivalence of both France and Germany in the face of a desire to forget the horrors of the Holocaust and the need to remember them. Among the issues Wiedmer examines are France's emerging sense of accountability, tensions in Germany concerning the proper place of the Holocaust in depictions of history, and the fierce conflicts generated by the "Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe" to be built in Berlin.

In her detailed account of how the Nazis took over a ready-made system of internment camps built by the French before World War II, and in her discussion of the uses to which the Sachsenhausen concentration camp was put by both the Soviet and the East German governments after the war, Wiedmer uncovers disturbing patterns of recurrence that painfully complicate the relationships of France and Germany to the Holocaust itself and to the act of commemoration. The author examines Art Spiegelman's *Maus* and Michel Verhoeven's film *The Nasty Girl*, popular texts that use narrative to question how memory and mourning are to be enacted by those born after the war.

J.B.

David Patterson, *Along the Edge of Annihilation: The Collapse and Recovery of Life in the Holocaust Diary*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1999, 311p.

This book is based on more than fifty diaries of Jewish Holocaust victims of all ages, written while the events described were actually taking place. Many of the writers did not survive. Patterson's book is unique not only in the number of diaries and original texts it examines but also in the questions it raises and in the approach it takes from within Jewish traditions and contexts.

Patterson has organized his book around a series of themes that lead to a deeper understanding of the meaning of these works for both their writers and their readers, affirming the Holocaust diary as a form of spiritual resistance. Throughout, he draws upon his impressive knowledge of Jewish texts, ancient and modern - Torah, Talmud, Midrash, Zohar, the medieval commentators, the Hassidic masters, and modern Jewish philosophers and thinkers.

In *Along the Edge of Annihilation* David Patterson illuminates the spiritual and physical devastation experienced by the Jews of Europe during the Holocaust. He shows how they chose life and the spirit of life in the midst of the Inferno.

H.B.

M. Mayzel, I. Shamir (eds.), *Patterns of Commemoration*, Tel-Aviv: Ministry of Defense, 2000, 128p.

In this collection of articles different views of contemporary commemoration are examined. The book is in fact an outgrowth of a seminar which was held in EfaI in 1996 which was devoted to methods of contemporary commemoration, particularly within Jewish and Israeli society. Among the articles are an examination of the term "commemoration", an in-depth exploration of the terms "collective memory", "communities of memory" and "heritage" or "legacy". This article in particular, devotes space to the topic of Holocaust commemoration in Israel and the meaning of

the Holocaust legacy among Jewish communities. Other articles examine national mourning rites in Israel, agents of commemoration in Israel, rites and ceremonies within the Israeli educational system, the grave as a legacy in Jewish tradition and the hero-martyr as granting significance to murder of leaders in democratic society.

Y.B.

Donald Niewyk and Francis Nicosia, **The Columbia Guide to the Holocaust**, New York: Columbia University Press, 2000, 473p.

This book offers a multidimensional approach to the Holocaust. On the one hand, it offers readers and researchers a general history of the Holocaust while delving into the core issues and debates in the study of the Holocaust today.

Each of the book's five parts stands on its own as a research aid. Part I provides a narrative overview of the Holocaust, placing it within the larger context of Nazi Germany and World War II. Part 2 examines eight critical issues or controversies in the study of the Holocaust, including the following questions: were the Jews the sole targets of Nazi genocide, or must other groups, such as homosexuals, the handicapped, Gypsies, and political dissenters, also be included? What are the historical roots of the Holocaust? How and why did the Final solution" come about? Why did bystanders extend or withhold aid?

Part 3 consists of a concise chronology of major events and developments that took place surrounding the Holocaust, including the armistice ending World War I, the opening of the first major concentration camp at Dachau, Germany's invasion of Poland, the failed assassination attempt against Hitler, and the formation of Israel. Part 4 contains short descriptive articles on more than two hundred key people, places, terms, and institutions central to a thorough understanding of the Holocaust. Entries include Adolf Eichmann, Anne Frank, the Warsaw Ghetto, Aryanization, the SS, Kristallnacht, and the Catholic Church. Part 5 presents an annotated guide to the best print, video, electronic, and institutional resources in English for further study.

E.S.

Daniel R. Schwarz, **Imagining the Holocaust**, New York: St. Martins Griffin, 1999, 353p.

In **Imagining The Holocaust**, Daniel R. Schwarz discusses widely read Holocaust narratives that have shaped the way we understand and respond to the events of that time. He begins with first person narratives – Elie Wiesel's **Night** and Primo Levi's **Survival at Auschwitz** – and then turns to realistic fictions such as Tadeusz Borowski's **This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen** before examining the Kafkaesque parables of Aharon Appelfeld and the fantastic cartoons of Art Spiegelman's **Maus**. Schwarz argues that as we move further away from the original events, the narratives authors use to render the Holocaust horror evolve to include fantasy and parable, and he shows how diverse audiences respond differently to these highly charged and emotional texts.

Schwarz asks whether the concept of a "fictive construct" is disrespectful to the Holocaust, the events of which are all too true? He probes how one discusses how memory transforms reality and words transform memory. Later he asks how can those who are not survivors write respectfully about the Holocaust since they can not make amends through their writing for not being victims. Finally he addresses the question

of why those survivors and their kin and others immersed in Holocaust studies strongly object to films like *Schindler's List*, which make Holocaust themes and images available to the general public.

J.B.

James E. Young, *At Memory's Edge: After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture*, New Haven and London: Yale, 2000, 248p.

How should Germany commemorate the mass murder of Jews once committed in its name? James E. Young – the only foreigner and the only Jew to serve on the German commission to select a design for a national Holocaust memorial – tells the inside story of this enormously controversial project. Young also inquires deeply into the moral and aesthetic questions surrounding artistic representations of the Holocaust produced by young artists who themselves did not experience it.

Young asks the question of whose memory lives when the last survivor dies? Throughout this book Young addresses this question, inquiring deeply into the moral and aesthetic questions surrounding artistic representation of the Holocaust produced by young artists who themselves did not experience it. Illustrated with color and black-and-white images, this is the first book to chronicle the Berlin project from beginning to end and to show how the Holocaust is remembered in the after-images of its history.

E.S.

### Genocide

Donald Bloxham, *Genocided On Trial: War Crimes Trials and the Formation of Holocaust History and Memory*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, 273p.

When the Allies decided to try German war criminals at the end of World War II they were attempting not only to punish the guilty but also to set out a history of what had happened in Europe. This ground-breaking new study shows how Britain and the United States went about inscribing the history of Nazi Germany and the effect their trial and occupation policies had on both long and short term "memory" in Germany and Britain.

Donald Bloxham examines the actions and trials of German soldiers and policemen, the use of legal evidence, the refractory functions of the courtroom, and Allied political and cultural preconceptions of both "Germanism" and of German criminality. His evidence shows conclusively that the trials were a failure: the greatest of all "crimes against humanity" – the "Final Solution" of the Jewish question – was largely written out of history in the post-war era and the trials failed to transmit the breadth of German criminality. Finally, with reference to the historiography of the Holocaust, this book illuminates the function of the trials in perpetuating misleading generalizations about the course of the Holocaust and the nature of Nazism.

S.B.

Isidor Wallimann and Michael N. Dobkowski (eds.), **Genocide and the Modern Age: Etiology and Case Studies of Mass Death**, Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 1987 (new edition 2000), 322p.

This volume consists of thirteen original essays which constitute a valuable addition to the large and still growing literature on genocide. The essays examine standard concepts of genocide and draw comparisons with related phenomena of mass destruction such as "total war. Many of the essays are provocative and give readers a new theoretical perspective and scene of interpretation of the concept of genocide. The collection is enhanced by an excellent introduction and afterword. It is supplemented by a very useful selective annotated bibliography of the more important works on the problem of genocide, and an excellent index.

J.B.

### Gender

Evelyn M. Monahan and Rosemary Neidel-Greenlee, **All This Hell: U.S. Nurses Imprisoned by the Japanese**, Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2000, 228p.

More than one hundred U.S. Army and Navy nurses were stationed in Guam and the Philippines at the beginning of World War II. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, five navy nurses on Guam became the first American military women of World War II to be taken prisoner by the Japanese. More than seventy army nurses survived five months of combat conditions in the jungles of Bataan and Corregidor before being captured, only to endure more than three years in prison camps. In all, nearly one hundred nurses became POW's.

Many of these army nurses were considered too vital to the war effort to be evacuated from the Philippines. Though receiving only half the salary of male officers of the same rank, they helped establish outdoor hospitals and treated thousands of casualties despite rapidly decreasing supplies and rations. After their capture, they continued to care for the sick and wounded throughout their internment in the prison camps.

When freedom came, the U.S. military ordered the nurses to sign agreements with the government not to discuss their horrific experiences. Evelyn Monahan and Rosemary Neidel-Greenlee have conducted numerous interviews with survivors and scoured archives for letters, diaries, and journals to uncover the heroism and sacrifices of these brave women. The author's dedication to accuracy, combined with their personal expertise in medical care and military culture and discipline, has enabled them to produce a realistic reconstruction of the dramatic experiences of these POW's. The account of the nurses' imprisonment adds a vital chapter to the history of the Second World War.

J.B.

Carole Bell Ford, **The Girls: Jewish Women of Brownsville, Brooklyn, 1940-1995**, Albany: SUNY, 2000, 217p.

This book tells the stories of the Jewish women who came of age in Brownsville, Brooklyn, in the 1940's and 1950's. Through in-depth interviews with more than forty women, Carole Bell Ford explores the choices these women made and the boundaries

within which they made them, offering fresh insights into the culture and values of Jewish women in the postwar period. Not content to remain in the past, this book is also a story of women who live in the present, who lead fulfilling lives even as they struggle to adjust to changes in American society that conflict with their own values and that have profoundly affected the lives of their children and grandchildren.

One of the interesting topics dealt with by the author is the attitude of "the Girls" to the events in Europe during the Second World War. Ranging from complete ignorance regarding most of the events occurring during the Holocaust to a total absorption with any piece of news leaking out of occupied Europe, it appears that the primary connection of these young women who compose the nucleus of this book, to the Holocaust was through their older relatives, brothers or even sisters, who were serving in the American armed forces at that time. The treatment of their association with Holocaust survivors is almost totally missing from the book, leading readers to ask whether this mirrored a type of insular relationship which the young women in this neighborhood had with each other and their Jewish surroundings.

J.B.

Susan R. Grayzel, **Women's Identities At War**, Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1999, 334p.

There are few moments in history when the division between the sexes seems as "natural" as during wartime: men go off to the "war front", while women stay behind on the "home front". But the very notion of the home front was an invention of the First World War, when, for the first time, "home" and "domestic" became adjectives that modified the military term "front". Such an innovation acknowledged the significant and presumably new contributions of civilians, especially women, to the war effort. This factor underwent a metamorphosis during the Second World War but the dichotomy remained the same.

Yet, as Susan Grayzel argues, throughout the First World War, and later the Second World War, traditional notions of masculinity and femininity survived, primarily through the maintenance of – and indeed reemphasis on – soldiering and mothering as the core of gender and national identities. Drawing on sources that range from popular fiction and war memorials to newspapers and legislative debates, Grayzel analyzes the effects of war on ideas about civic participation, national service, morality, sexuality, and identity in wartime Britain and France. Despite the appearance of enormous challenges to gender roles due to the upheavals of war, the forces of stability prevailed, she says, demonstrating the Western European gender system's remarkable resilience.

J.B.

Helmut Gruber and Pamela Graves (eds.), **Women and Socialism, Socialism and Women: Europe Between the Two World Wars**, New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1998, 591p.

This book is the culmination of a project which focused on the socialist and women's movements between the two world wars in the form of a challenge: How had the two related to each other and what shape would the history of such interaction take? The result is this volume, the work of a team of sixteen historians assembled to pursue this study across eleven national boundaries, beginning in 1993. The



motivation for this project was the realization that until recently pioneering histories of women have generally been segregated from the historical context.

The emblematic title of the book was used to highlight the fundamental conception of this volume: that in the interwar decades two great movements grew to prominence, converged, diverged, competed and cooperated. Each of these movements is viewed as a matrix of organized and unorganized participants. "Socialism" here is meant to include the many formal and informal activities which made up the working class movement while in speaking of women, the editors visualized a movement less structurally organized than the working class but also a blending of very diverse strands.

A large portion of this volume is an examination of the political fractures of women and the left in the shadow of Fascism, whether in Italy, Germany or Spain. Consequently, the immediate pre-Nazi period is illuminated from various angles, giving us yet another look at the different compositions of Europe which either supported or opposed the forces which would bring to the Holocaust and the Second World War.

J.B.

Jo Fox, **Filming Women in the Third Reich**, Oxford: Berg, 2000, 268p.

In 1936 Goebbels stated that "a government that controls art will remain forever", and the German film industry became inextricably linked with National Socialist propaganda. This book is an historical evaluation of the role and image of women in the feature films of the Third Reich. The author challenges current perceptions of the National Socialist position with regards to women and examines the creation of a female film culture, as well as the "blurring" of gender distinctions as a result of the war.

Goebbels and his wife personally selected young movie actresses at their home to portray mothers, vamps, girls-next-door and exotic love interests. His interest in film opens up an array of important issues central to this book: were women compliant with Nazism or were they the victims of a regime imposing policies ultimately detrimental to their condition? Is it true that the war helped to emancipate women who were not only romantic and patriotic heroines on screen but employed as drivers, technicians and even managers of government affiliated film departments? Did all films produced under the auspices of the Third Reich serve as propaganda and if so, how successful were they? And finally, what can the study of cinema contribute to the historical debate surrounding National Socialism?

A very interesting chapter in the book is devoted to the image of the Jew in Nazi cinema, focusing on the movie the Jew Süss one of a Nazi trilogy made during the early 1940's. The author claims that although the antisemitic motif was clear, it did not always make a distinct impression on those viewing the film, particularly the youth.

This book fills a considerable gap in the research of the Nazi system and makes a contribution not only to cinema history but also to our view of the perceived role of women in the Third Reich.

J.B.

## Rescue Attempts

David Kranzler, **The Man Who Stopped the Trains to Auschwitz: George Mantello, El Salvador, and Switzerland's Finest Hour**, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000, 321p.

This book reveals the unknown story of one of the greatest single rescue efforts during the Holocaust – the rescue of more than 140,000 Jews of Budapest, the last reservoir of Jews in Nazi-occupied territories.

This rescue was accomplished with the assistance of George Mantello, a Jewish diplomat in the Salvadoran Consulate in Geneva, Switzerland, with the help of a Romanian diplomat. Several outstanding Swiss theologians, such as Carl Barth, Emil Brunner and Paul Vogt also assisted. With their assistance, Mantello, who had provided thousands of Jews with protective Salvador citizenship papers, initiated an extraordinary Swiss press and church campaign that revealed to the world the horrors of Auschwitz and the Hungarian deportations.

Disregarding the strict censorship, this dual campaign resulted in 400 articles in 120 Swiss newspapers and fiery sermons that publicly condemned the Nazis and Hungarian complicity from every pulpit. According to Kranzler, these public expressions were among the causes which evoked warnings by Roosevelt, Churchill, the Pope and the King of Sweden, who ultimately dispatched Raul Wallenberg to Budapest. Kranzler documents how thousands of Swiss people took to the streets to protest the indifference of their own government and the International Red Cross to the fate of the Jewish people.

Under worldwide pressure, Horthy, Regent of Hungary, halted deportations on July 7, 1944. Until the end of the war the neutral diplomats in Budapest continued fighting to save the Jews from Eichmann's efforts to annihilate European Jewry. Although there can be much debate about the centrality of Mantello's role in the rescue of Hungarian Jewry, Kranzler illuminates an unknown story which will certainly make its way into the annals of Holocaust rescue.

E.Z.

Michael J. Neufeld and Michael Berenbaum (eds.), **The Bombing of Auschwitz: Should the Allies have Attempted it?** New York: St. Martin's Press, 200, 350p.

Could the Allies have destroyed the gas chambers of Auschwitz-Birkenau in 1944, saving the lives of tens of thousands of Holocaust victims? Could the Allied forces have cut the railway lines leading to Auschwitz, disrupting the transportation of the Hungarian Jews to their deaths? Or are these questions just speculative exercises in "what if" history, reflecting mostly our concerns, not those of 1944? For years these questions have been debated heatedly by historians, ethicists, and military experts, though seldom in the same forum.

Inspired by a conference held to mark the opening of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, this book brings together the key contributions to this debate, with new and original articles by eminent historians of World War II and the Holocaust, and a selection of the most important documents and aerial reconnaissance photos from 1944.

Among the issues discussed are: how much knowledge of Auschwitz did Allied intelligence agencies have? What British and American aircraft might have been used

to carry out attacks against the gas chambers and rail lines, and when would they have come within range? Would bombing missions have had a reasonable chance of success? Would even a successful mission have been a diversion of military forces at a crucial juncture of the war? What about the Soviet position? Why were the appeals of Jewish groups rejected in 1944?

Published in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, and jointly edited by an aerospace historian and a historian of the Holocaust, this book provides a balanced and comprehensive guide to these and other questions, allowing readers to draw their own conclusions.

J.B.

### **Holocaust Revisionism**

Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman, **Denying History: Who Says the Holocaust Never Happened and Why do they Say it?** Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2000, 312p.

This book takes an in-depth look at those who say that the Holocaust never happened and explores the motivations behind such claims. While most commentators have dismissed the Holocaust deniers as antisemitic neo-Nazis who do not deserve a response, social scientist Michael Shermer and historian Alex Grobman have immersed themselves in the minds and culture of these individuals. They have conducted personal interviews with the deniers, visiting their California and Toronto headquarters, reading their literature, monitoring their Web sites, engaging them in debate, and even traveling around Europe to conduct research at the Nazi extermination camps. Uncovering a complex social movement, the authors go much deeper than ever before not only in understanding the motives of the Holocaust deniers, but also in refuting their points one by one. In the process, they show how we can be certain that the Holocaust happened as it did and, for that matter, how we can confirm any historical event. Shermer and Grobman investigate the free speech issues surrounding Holocaust denial and place them in the larger context of pseudo-history. They provide a fascinating summary of the major personalities and organizations involved in Holocaust denial, revealing their personalities and motives. In their discussion of extremists, neo-Nazis, skinheads and other fringe groups, the authors explore why people join such groups in the first place, examining the context in which Holocaust denial arises.

S.B.

Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, **Hitler's Priestess: Savitri Devi, the Hindu-Aryan Myth, and Neo-Nazism**, New York: NYU Press, 1998, 268p.

In this thought provoking volume Goodrick-Clarke, author and historian, reveals the powerful impact of one of fascism's most creative minds, Savitri Devi, whose eccentric ideology, combining Aryan supremacism and anti-Semitism with Hinduism, social Darwinism, and a fundamentally biocentric view of life, has caused her to be lionized by the fringe radical right as a foremother of Nazi ideology and a heroine of neo-Nazi sects since the mid 1960's. One of the more interesting chapters of the book deals with Devi's influence on Holocaust denier Ernst Zuendel and claims that it was her impetus which led him to his publications on Holocaust revisionism and denial.

E.Z.

### **Spotlight on a New Book:**

**Dan Michman (ed.), *Remembering the Holocaust in Germany 1945-2000: German Strategies and Jewish Responses*, New York: Peter Lang, 2002, 172p.**

In this fascinating volume ten authors from five countries present a variety of fresh analyses of the strategies Germans have adopted in coping with the Nazi past. Through historical, sociological, education, and cultural approaches the unresolved tensions existing in German society are analyzed. These tensions include the clash between the will to be accepted as an integral part of western civilization and to put the Nazi chapter in general and the Holocaust in particular behind, on the one hand, and an awareness of responsibility combined with recurring, sometimes sudden, manifestations of long-term results and implications of the past, on the other hand.

Through its multifaceted approach, this book contributes to a better understanding of present-day German society and of Germany's delicate relationships with both the United States and Israel.

Among the contributors to the volume are Jeffrey Herf, Gilad Margalit, Y. Michal Bodemann, Inge Marszolek, Chris Lorenz, Dan Diner, Michael Brenner, Shlomo Shafir, Yehuda Ben-Avner and Yfaat Weiss.

### **Institute Publications**

The Arnold and Leona Finkler Institute of Holocaust Research presents below a comprehensive list of publications by the Institute and associated Institutes and chairs, many of which are still available for purchase.

#### **A. Basic Research Materials Series**

1. R. Knoller, **The Activities of Religious Zionist Youth Groups in Europe During the Holocaust, 1939-1945. A Summarized review of limited archive sources**, Ramat-Gan 1989 (reprint: 1992)
2. J. Tydor Baumel and Rivka Knoller (compilers), **A Guide to the "Dworzecky Collection" files in the Finkler Institute of Holocaust Research**, Basic Research Materials Series no. 2, Ramat Gan, 1990.
3. P. Meislish (comp.), **Religious Life During the Holocaust according to Community Memorial Books [A Listing]** (Heb.), Basic Research Materials Series no. 3, Ramat Gan, 1990 (322 entries).
4. Y. Ben-Avner (comp. + introduction), **Index of information on Orthodox Jewry, Antisemitism and Persecution of the Jews (1918-1938) in "Der Israelit" - the Periodical of German Orthodoxy** (Heb.), Ramat-Gan 1991
5. G. Greenberg (comp.), **She'erit Hapleta Confronting the Impact of the Holocaust: A Listing of Articles and Books Reflecting Jewish Religious Responses to the Holocaust in its Immediate Aftermath (1944-1949)** (Heb.), Basic Research Materials Series no. 5, Ramat Gan, 1994.
6. J. Karniel (comp.+ introduction), **A Listing of Articles on Orthodox Jewry in Austria, Published in the Austrian Orthodox Jewish Press, 1918-1938** (Heb.), Ramat-Gan 1996

7. Z. Bacharach, **Hikrei Zvi: A Selection of Zvi Bacharach's Articles about Anitsemittism, Germany and its Jews, Racism and Nazism and the Holocaust and its Results** (Heb.+German), Basic Research Materials Series, no. 7, Ramat Gan 1996. (out of print)
8. D. Michman (comp. + introduction), **Post-Zionism and the Holocaust: The Role of the Holocaust in the Public Debate on Post-Zionism in Israel, 1993-1996, a collection of clippings** (Heb.), Basic Research Materials Series, no. 8, Ramat Gan 1997.
9. G. Greenberg (comp.), **Wartime Yishuv Religious Jewry Confronting the Holocaust: An annotated listing of articles and books reflecting Jewish religious responses in Eretz-Israel during the era of catastrophe, 1938-1948,** (Heb.) Basic Research Materials Series, no. 9, Ramat Gan 1997.
10. H. Eshkoli (ed.), **The Reconstruction of Religious Zionism in Europe Among She'erit Hapletah: A Symposium** (Heb.), Basic Research Materials Series no. 10, Ramat Gan, June 1998.
11. M. Verdiger, **The Holocaust as a Theological Turning Point** (Heb.), Basic Research Materials Series no. 11, Ramat Gan 1998.
12. G. Greenberg (Comp. + introduction), **Faith and Holocaust as Issues of Jewish Religious Thought in the USA 1938-1948** (Heb.), Basic Research Materials Series no. 12, Ramat Gan 1999.
13. D. Zhits, **The History of the Minsk Ghetto (In the Light of the New Documentation)** (Heb.), Basic Research Materials Series no. 13, Ramat Gan 2000.
14. [I. Levin], **Victims, Heirs and Insurance. A Study of the Palestinian Enemy Debts Registrar's Forms, 1946-1947** (A Report Presented to the International

19. H. Eshkoli, **Religious Zionism in Palestine via-a vis the Holocaust**, Jerusalem, Yad-Vashem, 2003

20. E. Nachmani-Gafni, **Removal of Jewish Children from their Non-Jewish Rescuers after the Holocaust** (with Yad Vashem), Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004

# IN SEARCH OF REFUGE

Jews and US Consuls in  
Nazi Germany  
1933-1941

Bat-Ami Zucker



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**EDITED BY  
Dan Michman**



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## Die Historiographie der Shoah aus jüdischer Sicht

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et problèmes fondamentaux

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