

בולטין המכון לחקר השואה על שם ארנולד וליאונה  
פינקלר

מס' 10

תשרי תשס"ג/ספטמבר 2002



אוניברסיטת בר-אילן

BULLETIN OF THE ARNOLD AND LEONA  
FINKLER INSTITUTE OF HOLOCAUST  
RESEARCH

NO. 10

SEPTEMBER 2002



BAR-ILAN UNIVERSITY

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## Research and Projects

- Prof. Dan Michman, Chairman of the Arnold and Leona Finkler Institute of Holocaust Research has become the Chief Historian of Yad Vashem, in addition to his Bar-Ilan duties. Among the other positions which he assumed during the 200-2002 academic years he acted as a consultant for a History book for professional high schools: "The Age of Horror and Hope" (author: Ketzi'a Tabibian); Center for Educational Technology, Tel Aviv, 2001; consultant for a history book for the *Haredi* (ultra-orthodox) population, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem (forthcoming); member of the International Historians Committee for the Investigation of Liechtenstein's Policies During World War II, May 2001-December 2003; member of the Special Committee of the Israeli National Academy of Sciences for the Evaluation of the Historical Discipline in Israel, 2002- and chairman of the Academic Committee, Jabotinsky Institute, Tel Aviv, 2002-. Prof. Michman has also assumed the Chair of the Board, *Search and Research: Lectures and Papers* (series of occasional papers, Yad Vashem International Institute for Holocaust Research), 2002-

During the period covered by this Bulletin, Prof. Michman participated in the following conferences: The Impact of the Holocaust on Jewish Theology, Thought and Education, The Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, Ashkelon, October 15-18, 2001 (paper on "A Third Pillar of Jewry? A New Trend in European Jewry and the Holocaust"); The Juda Palache Institute for Jewish Studies at the University of Amsterdam: 30 Years of Activities, University of Amsterdam, October 25, 2001 (paper on "Once Again: The Establishment of the Joodsche Raad voor Amsterdam from a Comparative Perspective"); Life in the Eastern European Ghettos, US Holocaust Memorial Museum workshop, October 29-November 1, 2001 (paper on "Re-evaluating the Emergence, Function and Form of the Jewish Councils Phenomenon"); The Holocaust: Memory and Research, Haifa University, March 11, 2002 (Keynote lecture on "Between Dismissal and Sanctification: The Status of Oral Testimony in Holocaust Research"); - Jews under the Nazi Regime: International Symposium in Honor of O.D. Kulka, The Hebrew University and the Yad Vashem

International Institute for Holocaust Research, May 19-21, 2002 (paper on "Between Intentionalism, Functionalism and the Integrationist Approach of the 1990s: On the Historical Interpretations of the Jewish Councils Issue"); Education and Ideology in Changing Times, Annual Conference of the Israeli Association for the History of Education, Bar-Ilan University June 13, 2002 (keynote lecture on "Education, Ideology and Worldview: Reflections of a Historian of the Modern Era"). In addition, he delivered a special lecture -- "How to value oral testimony in Holocaust research?" -- at the Strochlitz Institute for Research on the Holocaust Period, Haifa University, March 11, 2002.

Prof. Michman was involved in organizing the following conferences: The Return of the Jews to Their Countries of Origin, 1943-1947, The Yad Vashem International Institute for Holocaust Research, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, May 22-24, 2001 (international); In Leni Yahil's Footsteps: A Study Day in Honor of Prof. Leni Yahil, on the Occasion of her 90<sup>th</sup> Birthday, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, March 6, 2002.

During the 2000-2002 academic years Prof. Michman published the following books:

**Pour une Historiographie de la Shoah: Conceptualisations, terminologie, définitions, problèmes fondamentaux**, In Press Editions: Paris 2001, 536 pp.; **Die Historiographie der Shoah aus jüdischer Sicht. Konzeptualisierungen, Terminologie, Anschauungen, Grundfragen**, Dölling und Galitz: Hamburg 2002, 355 pp.; as editor, **Remembering the Holocaust in Germany, 1945-2000: German Strategies and Jewish Responses**, Peter Lang: New York 2002, 176 pp.

Among his articles are: "The Place of the Holocaust of Dutch Jewry in a Wider Historical Fabric: Approaches of Non-Dutch Historians", in: C. Brasz and Y. Kaplan (eds.), **Dutch Jews as Perceived by themselves and by Others**, Leiden/Boston/Köln 2001, pp. 373-391 [Hebrew version, in **Dapim Leheker Tekufat Hashoa** 16 (2001), pp. 41-56]; "Judenrat", "Jewish Religious Life", **The Holocaust Encyclopedia** (W. Laqueur, J.T. Baumel, eds.), Yale University Press: New Haven and London 2001, pp. 351-354, 370-277 [English]; "Holocaust to Rebirth! Holocaust to Rebirth? The Historiography of the Causal Connection Between the Holocaust and the Birth of

Israel - Between Myth and Reality", **Iyunim Bitkumat Yisrael** 10 (2001), pp. 234-258 [Hebrew; English, French, Italian and German versions are included in the translations of his book **The Holocaust and Holocaust Research, 2001-2002**]; "History and Hysteria", **Meimad** 21 (January 2001), pp. 22-25 [Hebrew]; "The Rabbinical Seminary in Amsterdam and the Spirit of the Mizrahi: The background of Rabbi Dr. J.J. Neubauer's Moving to Holland", **Bar-Ilan - The Bar-Ilan University Year Book in Jewish Studies and the Humanities** 28-29 (E. Don Yehiya, Ella Balfer and M. Halamish, eds.), BIU Press, Ramat-Gan, 2001, pp. 41-58 [Hebrew]; "The Holocaust as History", **Remembering for the Future: The Holocaust in an Age of Genocide** (K. Roth and E. Maxwell, eds.), Palgrave: Houndmills, Basingstoke 2001, vol. III, pp. 358-366 [Hebrew version: in **Yalkut Moreshet** 2003]; "The Final Solution of the Jewish Question', its Shaping and Implementation: The State of Research", **Bishvil Hazikkaron** 42 (June-July 2001), pp. 4-21; "He is Capable of Writing, Not of Reading: A Response to Joseph Grodzynski", **Alpayim** 22 (2001), p. 133; "Jewish Identity in Interwar [Western] Europe: Between Acculturation, Democratization and Rising Antisemitism", in: **The Memory of the Holocaust in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: The Challenge for Education**, International School for Holocaust Studies, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem 2001, pp. 35-47; "From Persecution to Mass Murder: 1941 - A Turning Point in the Fate of the Jews", **Yad Vashem Jerusalem Quarterly Magazine** 22 (Spring 2001), pp. 2-3 (English version in my: **Holocaust Historiography: A Jewish Perspective**, London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2002); "One Theme, Multiple Voices: The Role of Linguistic Cultures in Holocaust Research", in: Sh. Almog, D. Bankier, D. Blatman and D. Ofer (eds.) **The Holocaust: The Unique and the Universal. Essays Presented in Honor of Yehuda Bauer**, Yad Vashem and The Hebrew University: Jerusalem 2001, pp. 8-37 [Hebrew]; (French version: "Sujet singulier, voix plurielles. Langue et culture dans la recherche sur la Shoah", in **Pour une historiographie de la Shoah**, pp. 435-478; German version: **Die Historiographie der Shoah aus jüdischer Sicht**, ; English version: in: **Holocaust Historiography from a Jewish Perspective**; and Italian version: in: **La Historiografia del Shoa**); "Euphoria of Victory' as the Key: Situating Christopher Browning on the Map of Research on the Final Solution", in: J. Diefendorf and P. Hayes (eds.), **Lessons and Legacies** VII [2003]; [Hebrew version: **Yalkut Moreshet**



72 (Kislev 5762/November 2001) pp. 9-23]; "Our Hope Has Not Yet Been Lost": The Return of Comprehensive Histories of the Jewish People", **Gesher** 144 (Winter 2001/2002), pp. 83-89 [Review article]; "Why Did so Many of the Antwerp Jews Perish," **Yad Vashem Studies** (2002) 30 pp. 465-481 [Review article]; [Hebrew version: **Yad Vashem - Kovetz Mehkarim** (5762) 30, pp. 371-383; "Conceptualization of 'The Holocaust' by Historians of the 1990s: Old Dilemmas, New Solutions", **Yalkut Moreshet** 73 (April 2002), pp. 9-27 [Hebrew].

Prof. Michman also published the book reviews [On M. Berenbaum and A. Peck (eds.), **The Holocaust and History**,] in: **Who Owns Judaism? Public Religion and Private Faith in America and Israel**, **Studies in Contemporary Jewry** 17 (2001), pp. 229-232;

- Prof. Judith Tydor Baumel was promoted in 2001 to the rank of Associate Professor in the Department of Jewish History. In addition to her research in the field of Modern Israel Studies, she has continued and expanded her research projects in the field of Holocaust that deal with the post-war commemoration of the World War II Parachutists from the Yishuv who were dropped behind Nazi lines in order to give assistance to Jews in Occupied Europe, Women During the Holocaust, and Religious Commemoration of the Holocaust.

In the spring of 2001 **The Holocaust Encyclopedia** for which she served as associate editor (together with Prof. Walter Laqueur) was published by Yale University Press. The Encyclopedia will be published in several languages including Japanese, German and Italian. In addition to a number of articles dealing with Israel studies which she published during this period, she also published the following articles that deal with Holocaust studies: "In Perfect Faith: Jewish Religious Commemoration of the Holocaust", **Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses** 30:1 (2001), pp. 5-23; "Gender and Holocaust Studies" (Heb.), Renee Levine Melamed (ed.), **"Lift Up Your Voice": Women's voices and Feminist Interpretation in Jewish Studies**, Tel-Aviv: Yediot Acharonot and Sifrei Hemed, 2001, pp. 159-165; "In Perfect Faith: Jewish Religious

Commemoration of the Holocaust", **Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses** 30:1 (2001), pp. 5-23; "Muetter und Kaempferinnen: Geschlechterbilder in israelischen Shoah-Denkmaelern", in Insa Eschebach, Sigrid Jacobeit, Silke Wenk (Hg.), **Gedaechtnis und Geschlecht: Deutungsmuster in Darstellungen des National-Sozialistischen Genozids**, Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2002, pp. 343-361.

Two articles of hers dealing with Holocaust studies were accepted for publication:

"Strange Bedfellows: Cooperation between the Revisionist Movement and Agudat Yisrael during the Holocaust", **Iyunim Betikumat Yisrael** 12, forthcoming

2002; "Can Two Walk Together If They Do Not Agree"? Reflections on the

Compatibility Between Holocaust Studies and Women's Studies", in: **Women: A Cultural Review**, forthcoming 2002. Finally, her book about commemorating the

WWII parachutists from the Yishuv: **Perfect Heroes: The World War II**

**Parachutists from Palestine and Collective Israeli Memory**, was accepted for

publication in Hebrew by Sde Boqer and Ben-Gurion University Press, and in

English by the University Press of Wisconsin.

In Jan. 2000 Prof. Baumel organized an international conference entitled: Gender,

Place, and Memory in the Modern Jewish Experience, together with Prof. Tova

Cohen of the Fanya Gottesfeld Heller Center for the Study of Women in Judaism

at Bar Ilan University. Two sessions at the conference were devoted to the

Holocaust and the Second World War. These sessions were supported by the

Heinrich Boell Institute. Among the speakers at these sessions were scholars from

Germany, Israel, Finland, and the United States. Prof. Michman, chairman of the

Finkler Institute of Holocaust Research, acted as chair for the session on the

Holocaust while Prof. Baumel chaired the session that dealt with the Second

World War. The conference was well attended and a compilation of articles, based

on lectures delivered at the conference, will be published by Vallentine Mitchell

publishers (London) in a book entitled: **Re-Placing Ourselves: Gender, Place**

**and Memory in the Modern Jewish Experience.**

Among the Holocaust courses that Prof. Baumel has taught during the 2000-2002 academic years at the Department of Jewish History at Bar-Ilan University are:

"From Antisemitism to Holocaust", "Jewish Women During the Holocaust", "From Historical Event to Popular Cultural: Movies and the Holocaust", and "Selected Topics in Holocaust Historiography".

- Dr. Chava Eshkoli continued organizing the inter-departmental seminar of the Institute, whose lecture series is listed further on in this bulletin. Her book about the Religious Zionist Movement During the Holocaust was accepted for publication by Yad Vashem and she revised several of the chapters for an English speaking audience. In addition, she is continuing her project compiling documents about Religious Zionism and the Holocaust for which the Institute received a grant from the Claims Commission.

Dr. Eshkoli is also working on a study of territorialism and the Holocaust, charting the various territorial movements which attempted to provide an answer to the Nazi persecution of Jews during the 1930s and early 1940s. In this capacity she has used documents which she found in the Leo Baeck Archives in New York, the Lehman Archives, Columbia University, the Yivo Archives, The National Archives in Washington, D.C., the Yad Vashem Archives, and the Central Zionist Archives.

Dr. Eshkoli has also surveyed the Weingort Archives, found at the Institute of Holocaust Research at Bar-Ilan University. Dr. S. Weingort, a member of Agudath Israel, was a rescue activist during the Holocaust. Based in Montreux, Switzerland, he was in contact with other rescue activists in Switzerland, Turkey, and other countries. The correspondence between Dr. Weingort and these activists is in Yiddish, German, French and Hebrew.

During this period, Dr. Eshkoli published the following articles: "Regarding the Question of the Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi's Mission in Istanbul", (Heb.) **Dapim Leheker Tekufat Hashoa** 16 (2001), pp. 68-85; "The Zionist Aspect of Religious Zionist Policy in Palestine in View of the Holocaust", **Yad Vashem Studies** 29

conference about One Hundred Years of Religious Zionism (March 2002) where she spoke about "Religious Zionist Leadership During the Holocaust, Rabbis Bar-Ilan and Maimon"

- Dr. Penina Meizlish continued her project dealing with the bio-bibliographical lexicon about Rabbis from Poland and the Baltic States who lost their lives during the Holocaust. Entries from the lexicon are included in the Hebrew section of this bulletin. The extent of her progress in this project was limited by the fact that in December 2001 Dr. Meizlish suffered the loss of her beloved husband, Shalom, who was a full partner to her scientific and other endeavors. Shalom, who was born in Krakow, was fluent in Polish and German and could therefore assist and supported Dr. Meizlish in all of her work.
  - Mrs. Rivka Knoller has continued collecting source material and polemics on the subject of Holocaust Denial. The basic aim of her project is to bring the topic of Holocaust Denial to the forefront of research and to bring it to the attention of scholars and students alike. The material which she collected was sorted and classified according to the different subjects of argumentation with sources being periodicals, books and the greatest volume coming from the internet. Mrs. Knoller has downloaded an enormous amount of Denial material from Revisionist webs based in North America and Europe whose material is in English, German and French. The Institute's library now contains books, articles, reviews and news items which are up to date and deal with the latest developments in legal and judicial matters along with antisemitic publications, which are often intertwined with Holocaust denial.
- Mrs. Knoller has prepared material in order to open files about different aspects of Holocaust Revisionism. Among the topics are Antisemitism, National Socialism, the Second World War, and Holocaust. Following September 11 she began a project documenting the rise in antisemitism and anti-Israeli sentiments in the world, and the fight against these trends, particularly against anti Israeli sentiments expressed in the Moslem world and their connection with the Arab-Israel struggle.

Among material collected from the world press are surveys, analysis, and op ed articles. The material does not include the daily terrorist attacks in Israel. From the surveys of the Arab press one received a panoramic picture of the level of antisemitism in the Arab world today.

#### **Administration and Library**

- Mrs. Zippi Berman has continued coordinating the Institute's office administration and completed the index for the volume **Remembering the Holocaust in Germany 1945-2000** that is profiled in this Bulletin.
- The library, coordinated by Mrs. Esther Drenger, and with the volunteer supervision and assistance of Mrs. Ruth Berkeley, has received new books from various sources during the period being surveyed. During the period in question the library completed cataloguing and computerizing the lists of Holocaust memorial books. In addition the library offers folders with bibliographical materials for the Holocaust courses taught at Bar-Ilan University and students save time and effort by being able to come to our library and read their course's bibliography without having to search out individual articles on the library shelves. As in previous years the library continues to receive books about antisemitism and Jews in the diaspora, particularly from institutes in Germany and has also received donations of books from private collections and legacies.
- New Institute projects include a compilation of documents dealing with religious daily life under Nazi rule, by Prof. Dan Michman and Lea Langleben, a continuation of Prof. Gershon Greenberg's project on religious Jewish thought dealing with the Holocaust, and a study of Yiddish culture in camps in Occupied France, being carried out by Dr. Pnina Rosenberg. This project is now at the stage of dealing with the Yiddish speaking culture in Paris between the two World Wars. Dr. Rosenberg has submitted an introductory chapter dealing with the Jewish immigrant population from Eastern Europe in Paris during this period and its

characteristics; the development of the Yiddish press in Warsaw and in Paris between the two World Wars, according to political division.

### **The Interdepartmental Seminar**

During the 2000-2002 academic years the Interdepartmental Seminar coordinated by Dr. Chava Eshkoli, hosted the following lectures.

- Discussion in honor of the publication of Prof. Zohar Shavit's book: **Past without a Shadow: Building Pictures of the Past in the Germany Children's "Story"**, moderated by Prof. Gideon Shunami, lecturer: Prof. Zohar Shavit, discussant: Dr. Gilad Margalit (Nov. 28, 2000).
- Prof. Zvi Bacharach, "Democracy in the Eyes of German Professors and Jewish Intellectuals in the Weimar Republic", discussant: Prof. David Bankier (Dec. 26, 2000).
- Dr. Ofer Schiff, "Reform Judaism in America facing the Holocaust" (Jan 24, 2001)
- Prof. Yehuda Bauer and Prof. Dan Michman (chair: Dr. Chava Eshkoli), "The Stockholm Conference (January 2000): A Milestone in the World's Attitude Towards the Holocaust?" (March 14, 2001).
- Prof. Gershon Greenberg, "The Coming of the Messiah in Religious Thought During the Holocaust" (April 18, 2001).
- Prof. Bat-Ami Zucker, "In Search of a Haven: Jews and American Consuls in Nazi Germany 1933-1941", discussant: Dr. Doron Niederland (Nov. 6, 2001).
- Dr. Ya'akov Lozovik and Prof. Michael Wildt, "The Nazi Secret Service - New Aspects" in honor of the publication of Dr. Lozovik and Prof. Wildt's books (Dec. 18, 2001).
- Dr. Emuna Nachmani-Gafni, "Dilemmas in the Issue of Removing Jewish Children from the Hands of their Rescuers after the Holocaust" (Jan. 9, 2002)
- Dr. Jacky Feldman, "Youth Study Trips to Poland", discussant: Ms. Michal Lev, moderator: Prof. Dan Michman (April 9, 2002, Holocaust Memorial Day).
- Dr. Esti Vabman, "The Concept of the Holocaust in the Arab World", discussant: Dr. Motti Kedar, moderator: Dr. Chava Eshkoli (May 14, 2002).

### Lectures and Conferences

- The Institute participated in hosting the annual study day held on or near the 10<sup>th</sup> of Tevet, the General Day of Kaddish. These study days are held jointly by the Finkler Institute, the School of Education, the Division for Teachers further training, the Information Center of the Ministry of Education, the Division for Religious Culture of the Ministry of Education, and the Van Gelder Center.

On Jan. 4, 2001 the study day was devoted to the topic of: "Between Sanctifying the Holocaust and Using the Holocaust". Lectures were given by Prof. Dan Michman, "Industry through Popularization? Monumentalization? – Dealing with the Holocaust in Israel and the Western World", and Kobi Niv, "Life is Beautiful but not for Jews" – regarding the hidden meanings of Benini's movie. Following the lectures, workshops for literature teachers were held by Prof. Chana Yaoz about "Modern Poetry about the Holocaust including Young Poets" and for history teachers by Ms. Yael Klein about "The Holocaust in the Discussions about Modern History Schoolbooks".

On December 24, 2001 the study day, held under the additional auspices of the Dr. Yosef Burg Chair for Education for Values, Tolerance and Peace, was devoted to the topic "Katzetnik and Holocaust Memory in Israel. Lectures were given by Prof. Chana Yaoz about "Auschwitz in the writings of Katzetnik" and Dr. Chana Yablonka, "Holocaust, Survivors and the Shaping of Israeli Identity". Workshops for literature teachers were held by Prof. Yaoz who chaired a workshop given by Ms. Shilhav Refael about "Salamandra – Autobiographical literary elements in the prose of Katzetnik and for history teachers by Rabbi Boaz Cohen about "Image and Reality in Israeli Memory of the Holocaust".

On Nov. 7, 2000 a Study Day was held in honor of the publication of a compilation of Speeches given by Rabbi Dr. Fabian Herszkowitz (Budapest 1946-1950). The study day was held under the joint auspices of the Finkler Institute of Holocaust Research and the Jewish Archives in Budapest, Hungary.

The study day was chaired by Prof. Michman and lecturers included Prof. Menachem Zvi Kaddari who spoke about the compilation, Dr. Miriam Amitai-Hershkowitz and Ahuva Magen, who spoke about "A personal look at Rabbi Hershkowitz", Ms. Kinga Froimowitz who spoke about "The Dohani Community between 1945 and 1950" and Mr. Yehuda Friedlander who spoke about the compilation.

#### **Related Institutes and Chairs:**

##### **The Joseph Carlebach Institute**

The Carlebach Institute was established in 1992 under the auspices of the School of Education in the Faculty of Social Sciences. In 1998 the Institute was transferred to the Department of Jewish History in the Faculty of Jewish Studies. The Institute presents seminars, Study Days and Conferences, in addition to supporting research and publication. It is connected to various universities and research institutes in Germany and most of its activities are therefore held in German. The Institute has its own library which contains archival collections and books for research.

Within the framework of the Department of Jewish History the Carlebach Institute sponsors an annual seminar on the topic of the Holocaust. The topic for 2001-2 was "Children During the Holocaust". During the 2000-2001 academic year the Institute sponsored a memorial evening for Rabbi Carlebach on the topic of "The Life that Was Cutoff - Between Tragedy and Elevation" which also opened a three day international conference with lecturers from Bar Ilan University, Hamburg, Switzerland and England. During the 2001-2002 academic year a memorial evening was not held due to the death of Prof. Yitzhak Carlebach. However a special memorial booklet was published, dealing with Rabbi Joseph Carlebach's activities in the Jungfernhof Camp outside Riga, the Latvian capital.

During the 2000-2001 academic year the Institute held the Seventh three-day seminar for students from Germany. Students from the Otto von Guericke University in Magdeburg received three days of lectures about Jewish studies. The Carlebach Institute received a medal for continuous cooperation between the universities.



Unfortunately, due to the situation in Israel, a similar seminar was not held during the 2002-2002 academic year.

### Projects.

- Alef-Bet Judaism in German on the internet. The project is continuing. It is being supported by the Institute for the Study of Social History in Hamburg. In this framework there is information about the Carlebach Institute and about Rabbi Carlebach's personality, activities, and writings, the cycle of the Jewish year and its holidays, with a glossary. There is also a mailbox available with questions and answers about various Jewish topics. Recently two innovations were added:
  - a) translation into German and illustrations of the Midrashim about the Hebrew alphabet.
  - b) The creation of a Click-Archive of questions and answers that were received during the past two years and were categorized by topic. In one click it is possible to see the type of questions that were asked and the answers. A proposal has been presented to the same Institute to widen the internet activity in order to include a study about "Children During the Holocaust". Details were presented to the Institute's board at Hamburg.
- Together with Prof. Paul of the University of Flantzburg a study has begun dealing with categorizing the qualitative criteria used in examining and comparing testimonies about the Holocaust. This project is at its early stage.

**Publications:** As the Institute is nearing its tenth anniversary, it has published the third volume of **Joseph Carlebach's Selected Writings**, with Olms publishers, Germany 2002. The volume includes 30 articles of Rabbi Joseph Carlebach divided by topic and with a glossary. A detailed introduction was written by Dr. Abraham Bodenheimer (Switzerland). Research for this volume took place over a five-year period.

In early Autumn 2002 the **Proceedings of the Fifth Carlebach Conference** held at Bar Ilan University in 2001 will be published by Doling and Glitz publishers in Hamburg. The book will include lectures delivered at the conference in English and

German and will include a Hebrew preface. The volume was edited in cooperation with a lecturer from the University of Hamburg.

A **Memorial Book** about the Junfernhof concentration camp was published in 2002 on the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Rabbi Carlebach's death. The booklet includes testimonies about his educational and rabbinical activities in the camp and pictures from the memorial site for those killed in Riga and its surroundings.

The Institute published a new study carried out under its auspices by the late Yifrah Chana, **Janush Korczak and Joseph Carlebach – their Educational Legacy**, published by Ariel, Jerusalem, 2001 (110 p.) including illustrations. The book deals with the sources of the educational legacies and theories. Korczak was influenced by the positivist Auguste Comte and the sources of Carlebach's theories come from Rabbi Samson Rafael Hirsch. In spite of the differences in the lives of the two men and the sources of their educational legacies, there are interesting common denominators between their selfless attitude towards their flock.

A German translation of Prof. Miriam Gillis' book, **Education and Belief – as Expressed by the Educational Teaching of Joseph Carlebach** will be published next year, probably by Doling and Glitz publishers, Hamburg.

Prof. Gillis published three articles, including "The Sefaradim in Jerusalem – The Reflection of their Customs and themselves in their Letters from the Beginning of the Century", in **Zion and Zionism Among Sefaradi and Oriental Jews** (ed. Ze'ev Harrari et. al) Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress for the Study of the Legacies of Sefaradi and Oriental Jewry held in 1987, pp. 241-260.

#### **The Braun Chair For the History of the Jews in Prussia**

During the 2000-2001 academic year the Braun Chair held an annual lecture delivered by Prof. Christoph Schulte from the University of Potsdam. The lecture will be published as part of the Braun Chair lecture series. The Chair also supported the conference entitled "Gender, Place, and Memory in the Modern Jewish Experience", held in Bar-Ilan University on Jan. 2-4, 2001 and organized by Prof. Judith Tydor Baumel and Prof. Tova Cohen.

During this period the Chair supported the publication of the following projects: a book of documents from the Freischule Berlin (the Hamburg Project), Prof. Mordechai

Eliav's book about Jewish Education in Germany (the Hamburg Project), Dr. Ya'akov Tzur's book on Orthodoxy and Zionism in Germany, **New Perspectives on the Haskala**, a volume edited by Prof. David Sorkin and Prof. Shmuel Feiner, which was published by the Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, and the publication of booklets 5, 6, and 7 (Weissberg, Pulzer, Brenner) in the Chair's lecture series.

During the same period the Chair supported the completion of Prof. Feiner's study of the second chapter of Berlin Haskala (published in the memorial book for Yitzhak Twersky), and his study of Shlomo Maimon (published in the journal **Ashkenaz**). It also supported the continuation of Prof. Shlomo Shpitzer's study of the Jewish cemeteries in Germany and provided funding for photocopying done within the framework of Tal Kogman's study of the Library of Jewish Woman in Germany.

During the 2001-2002 academic year the Chair hosted its annual lecture delivered by Prof. Elisheva Carlebach of Queens College. It supported the completion of Prof. Feiner's study of 18<sup>th</sup> century Haskala which was published in Hebrew under the title **The Jewish Enlightenment in the 18<sup>th</sup> century** by Mercaz Shazar, 2002. The Chair published booklet 8 (David Meyers) in its lecture series. It supported the publication of Dan Michman, **Remembering the Holocaust in Germany 1945-2000**, New York: Peter Lang, 2002 which contains lectures delivered at a conference by the same name. The Chair supported the publication of Prof. Feiner's book **Haskalah and History** in English, published by the Littman Library of Jewish Civilization. Finally, the Chair is supporting the following research projects: that of Prof. Dan Michman about Jewish Leadership under Nazi Rule, of Prof. Shlomo Shpitzer, who is continuing his research project about German Jews buried in cemeteries in Vienna, and of Dr. Adam Ferziger, about the debate in Hamburg over the burial of Jewish ashes.

#### **The Sal Ven Gelder Center for Teaching and Research of Holocaust Literature**

The Sal Ven Gelder Center has been active in the creation of a study kit about Holocaust literature. The kit includes anthologies of Holocaust related poetry and prose for students, and collections of articles and study units for students and teachers. During the years 2000-2002 the Center has published two small anthologies and a teaching companion for students and researchers: 1) A teaching companion with poetry, which grew out of a doctoral project dealing with Holocaust poetry of Anda

Amir-Pinkerfeld, 2) A small anthology (for students and researchers) entitled **You are the Mezuzah on my Door**, based upon the writings of a Hungarian Jewish woman survivor who won the Hungarian Koshut prize, Agnes Gergai, 3) A small poetry collection by Aharon Razel, a third generation poet and musician, entitled **Poems from the Empty Page of the End**.

On March 21, 2001 the Van Gelder Center held a one-day symposium about "Incorporating Art in Teaching Holocaust Literature" at the Pedagogical center in Tel Aviv. The symposium was directed towards teachers and educators in junior high schools and high schools. The program included a lecture by Dr. Malka Puni about means of teaching Holocaust poetry, a talk by Prof. Chana Yanoz about Teaching Holocaust Literature Through Art, and a talk by Dr. Miriam Reiner about Expressions of the Holocaust in Modern Jewish Art. The Van Gelder Center also held a symposium on Yom Hashoah, April 18, 2001, in Beit Hasofer in Tel Aviv, devoted to the topic of "The Jewish Brigade and the Holocaust". Participants included the president of the writer's guild, representatives of the Jewish Brigade who had written about saving Jews during the Holocaust, the author Hanoah Bartov who had been a member of the Brigade and wrote a novel about the topic, and the artist Efraim Abba who read out Holocaust readings. The evening was moderated by Prof. Yanoz.

In addition, the Center sponsored the annual symposia held for the 10<sup>th</sup> of Tevet, listed above, and participated in sponsoring the Interdepartmental seminar held on Yom Hashoah 2002 listed above.

The Center continued assisting research projects dealing with Holocaust literature and Modern Hebrew Poetry. It assisted in the publication of two research volumes by Prof. Hillel Barzel, **Chapters about the Holocaust in the Poetry of Alterman, Shlonsky and Lea Goldberg** (the book was published by Sifriyat Hapoalim), and **Chapters about Holocaust Poetry of U.Z. Greenberg** (forthcoming, will be published by Sifriyat Hapoalim).

One of the Center's new topics is a multimedia project about Holocaust literature. The project includes interviewing poets and writers who are Holocaust survivors and Second Generation. Interviews are carried out in the television studio of the school of Education at Bar Ilan University. The project creates study kits that include video cassettes and teaching aid booklets. Up until now twenty writers and poets have been

interviewed. Among the survivor interviewees are: Aharon Appelfeld, Itamar Yaoz-Kest, Ya'akov Besser, Sando David, Shamaï Golan, and others. Second Generation writers and poets include Savion Liberecht, Tania Hadar, Rivka Marom and others. Third generation poets include the composer and poet Aharon Razel. Interviews are conducted by Prof. Chana Yaoz, after which they are edited, transcribed and typed. In the next state D.V.D. cassettes will be created that will include a selection of interviews and will include readings from texts and musical accompaniment. The original interviews on video will be available to researchers and students in the framework of the pedagogical center of the Bar-Ilan school of Education.

Among the publications of the "Van Gelder" Fund and later the "Center" are:

- 1) The Holocaust in Modern Poetry - anthology for high school students
- 2) Teaching the Works of A. Appelfeld - teacher's handbook.
- 3) Teaching the European Holocaust Novel - teacher's handbook.
- 4) Collected Articles about Teaching Holocaust Literature - for teachers.
- 5) Out of the Darkness - textbook, result of the work of a team of senior teachers under the supervision of Prof. Dov Landau.
- 6) Art and the Holocaust - teacher's booklet of lesson plans + slides prepared by Dr. Bracha Yaniv.
- 7) The Holocaust in Children's Poetry - anthology for teaching in junior high and grade schools. Editor: Dr. Ziva Feldman.
- 8) The Holocaust in Children's Literature - chapters of research, Mrs. Nechama Ne'eman.
- 9) Holocaust Poetry: Ballads and Sonnets. Teacher's handbook, by Prof. H. Yaoz.
- 10) Holocaust Poetry: Epic Poems. Teacher's handbook, by Prof. H. Yaoz.
- 11) Modern Poetry - and the Holocaust in Modern Poetry, by Prof. H. Yaoz.
- 12) Polish Holocaust Poetry - Anthology, translated into Hebrew with an in-depth introduction. By: A. Brauner. The booklet is intended for teachers and students.
- 13) The Holocaust in Rumanian Jewish Poetry, edited by Prof. H. Yaoz (forthcoming).
- 14) The Holocaust in Hungarian Jewish Poetry, edited by Prof. H. Yaoz (forthcoming).
- 15) Hillel Barzel, World Drama in War and Holocaust, Tel-Aviv, Sifriyat Hapoalim in conjunction with the Sal Van Gelder Institute.

## Holocaust Studies in Israel 2000-2002

Various Holocaust related topics are presently being taught in six Israeli universities: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Haifa University, Tel-Aviv University, Bar-Ilan University, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev and the Open University of Israel. Courses on the Holocaust are also being taught at various colleges and teachers training seminars throughout the country. The previous issue of the Bulletin contained information regarding Holocaust studies in Israel between 1999-2000. In this issue we present the continuation of this survey, covering the academic years 2000-2002. Our survey includes a listing of course titles, names of lecturers teaching these courses, type and length of course, and the framework in which it is taught.

## Key to tables

BA	Bachelors Degree
Bed	Bachelors of Education
C	Communications
CJ	Institute of Contemporary Jewry
CJS	Department for Combined Jewish Studies
E	English
ED	Education
EYS	Eretz Yisrael Studies
F	Folklore
FR	French Department
FS	Foreign Students
GH	General History
HL	Hebrew Literature
HS	Holocaust Studies
HIS	Institute of Holocaust Studies
JH	Jewish History
JP	Jewish Philosophy
JS	Jewish Studies
L	Lecture
LIT	Literature
LW	Law
MA	Masters Degree
PS	Political Science
Ps	Proseminar
PSY	Psychology
S	Seminar
s	semester
SOC	Sociology
SW	Social Work
T	Tutorial
t	trimester
TT	Teachers Training

u unknown

W Workshop

Y Yiddish

y yearly

For example: a course listed as:

S/2hr.y CJ/MA

is a Seminar given for two hours a week as a yearly course at the Institute of Contemporary Jewry in the Master's Degree program.



## Bar-Ilan University

lecturer	topic	type/length	dept.	no.
<b>2000-2001</b>				
Prof. J. Kaufman	Poetry and Underground during WWII	S/2hr.y	FR/BA	
Ms. M. Reiner	Holocaust in Jewish Art	L/2hr.s	CJS/BA	
Dr. A. Rosen	Writing and the Holocaust	S/2hr.y	E/BA	
Mr. M. Verdiger	Holocaust In Jewish Thought	L/2hr.y	JS/BA	
Prof. J. Baumel	From Antisemitism to Holocaust	L/2hr.y	JS/BA	
Prof. J. Baumel	From Antisemitism to Holocaust	L/2hr.y	FS/BA	
Prof. D. Michman	Hatred of Jews during the 2 <sup>nd</sup> Half of the 20 <sup>th</sup> century	T/2hr.s	JH/BA	
Prof. D. Michman	Holocaust as an Event In Jewish or General History	S/4hr.s	JH/MA	
Prof. J. Baumel	From Hatred to Murder	L/2hr.y	JH/BA	
Prof. J. Baumel	Jewish Women During the Holocaust	S/2hr.y	JH/BA	
Prof. S. Feiner	Tolerance, Citizenship & Modern Antisemitism	T/2hr.s	JH/BA	
Prof. M. Gillis	Groups and Jewish Organizations In the Third Reich	S/2hr.y	JH/BA	
Prof. Z. Bacharach	Weimar Republic as prelude to Nazism	L/2hr.y	MA/GH	
<b>2001-2002</b>				
Ms. M. Reiner	Holocaust in Jewish Art	L/2hr.s	CJS/BA	
Dr. A. Rosen	Writing and the Holocaust	S/2hr.y	E/BA	
Mr. M. Verdiger	Holocaust In Jewish Thought	L/2hr.y	JS/BA	
Prof. J. Baumel	From Antisemitism to Holocaust	L/2hr.y	JS/BA	
Prof. J. Baumel	From Antisemitism to Holocaust	L/2hr.y	FS/BA	
Mr. A. Barak	Holocaust In Jewish Thought	L/2hr.y	JS/BA	
Prof. D. Michman	From Hatred to Murder	L/2hr.y	JH/BA	
Prof. D. Michman	Religion and Jewish Religious Life Under Nazi Rule	S/4hr.s	JH/MA	
Prof. J. Baumel	Holocaust Historiography	S/2hr.y	JH/BA	
Prof. J. Baumel	Holocaust and Movies	L/4hr.s	JH/BA	

Prof. M. Gillis      Children During the Holocaust      S/2hr.y      JH/BA

**The Hebrew University of Jerusalem**

**2000-2001**

Mr. A. Barnea	The Holocaust and Law	L/2hr.s	LW/BA
Prof. Y. Bauer	The Holocaust In Eastern Galicia	S/2hr.s	CJ/MA
Prof. D. Bankier			
Prof. Y. Gutman	Historiography of the Holocaust	S/2hr.s	CJ/MA
Prof. D. Bankier	German society and Nazi Antisemitism	S/2hr.y	CJ/MA
Prof. D. Ofer	The Yishuv and Israel Facing the Hol.	S/2hr.y	CJ/MA
Dr. D. Blatman	Jewish in the Social Environment		
	In Eastern Europe During the Holocaust	S/2hr.y	CJ/MA
Dr. D. Blatman	From Dachau to Auschwitz	S/2hr.y	CJ/MA
Dr. D. Blatman	History of the Holocaust	L/4hr.s	CJ/BA
Prof. D. Ofer	Jewish Leadership During the Holocaust	S/2hr.y	CJ/BA
Dr. S. Ezrahi	Holocaust, War and Remembrance	S/4hr.s	CJ/BA
	In Literature		
Prof. H. Lavsky	From Holocaust to Statehood	S/2hr.y	CJ/BA

**2001-2002**

Mr. A. Barnea	The Holocaust and Law	L/2hr.s	LW/BA
Prof. D. Ofer	Antisemitism in Historical Perspective	S/2hr.y	CJ/MA
Dr. L. Volovich			
Prof. D. Ofer	Individual and Community in Eastern European Ghettos During the Holocaust	S/2hr.y	CJ/MA
Dr. D. Blatman	Jewish Youth Movements in Eastern Europe During the Holocaust	S/2hr.y	CJ/MA
Dr. D. Blatman	Polish Jews 1944-1968	S/2hr.y	CJ/MA
Prof. D. Bankier	The Road to the Final Solution	S/2hr.y	CJ/MA
Prof. D. Bankier	European Public Opinion and The Holocaust	S/2hr.s	CJ/MA
Prof. S. Ezrahi	Is Life Beautiful? Shoah Representation	S/4hr.s	CJ/MA

Dr. D. Blatman	The History of the Holocaust	L/4hr.s	CJ/BA
Ms. Y. Orvito	Jewish Leadership During the Holocaust	S/4hr.s	CJ/BA
Dr. S. Epstein	World Antisemitism After 1945	L/2hr.s	CJ/BA
Prof. R. Wistrich	Hitler, the Vatican and the Holocaust	S/2hr.y	JH/BA
Dr. D. Nadav	Antisemitism and Holocaust	S/2hr.y	JH/BA
Dr. D. Silberklang	History of the Holocaust	L/2hr.y	FS/BA
Dr. D. Silberklang	Being Human During the Holocaust	L/2hr.y	FS/BA
Prof. D. Bankier	Contemporary Viewpoints On the Holocaust	S/2hr.y	FS/BA
Dr. Z. Mankowitz	From Holocaust to Rebirth	S/2hr.y	ED/BA
Dr. Bodek	Literature and Holocaust	S/2hr.y	LIT/BA
Dr. M. Held	Holocaust Of Ladino Speaking Jews	T/2hr.y	LIT/BA
Prof. E. Schweid	Activism in Haredi thought During the Holocaust	S/2hr. y	JP/BA
Dr. A. Zandberg	Holocaust, Communications and Israeli society	L/2hr.y	C/BA
Prof. S. Aronson	Politics of the Holocaust	S/4hr.y	PS/BA
Dr. K. Kidron	A Critical Look at Hol. Commemoration	T/2hr.y	SOC/BA
Prof. D. Kulka	Nazi Germany and the Jews	S/2hr.y	JH/BA
Ms. C. Ben-Sasson	Europe Under the Nazis	T/2hr.y	JH/BA

### University of Haifa

#### 2000-2001

Dr. Y. Weiss	German Zionism	S/4hr.s	JH/BA
Dr. A. Ronen	Intellectuals and the Holocaust	S/2hr.y	JH/MA
Dr. Y. Weiss	The Coming of Memory	T/4hr.s	JH/BA
Dr. Bauer	Literature and Jewish Nationalism	S/2hr.y	LIT/MA
Dr. G. Margalit	German Antisemitism	S/2hr.y	GJ/MA
Dr. S. Bender	Jewish Politics in Poland	S/4hr.s	JH/MA

#### 2001-2001

Dr. S. Bender	Leadership and Jewish Coping	S/4hr.s	JH/MA
Dr. S. Bender	Polish Jews between the Wars	S/4hr.s	JH/MA

Dr. G. Ben Dror	Immigration and Rescue During the Hol.	S/2hr.y	GH/MA
Dr. G. Ben Dror	Fascism and the Jews	S/2hr.y	GH/MA
Dr. E. Domke	From Emancipation to Holocaust	S/2hr.y	JH/MA
Dr. Y. Weiss	Nazi Germany and the Jews	S/2hr.y	JH/MA
Dr. E. Domke	In the Shadow of the Swastika	S/2hr.y	JH/MA
Dr. Y. Weiss	German Zionism	S/2hr.y	JH/MA
Dr. Y. Weiss	Immigration and Immigrants	S/2hr.y	JH/MA
Dr. I. Kenan	The Surviving Remnant	S/4hr.s	JH/MA
Dr. A. Ronen	Intellectuals and the Holocaust	S/4hr.s	JH/MA

#### Ben-Gurion University

2000-2001

Prof. S. Redlich	Nazi Germany and the Holocaust	S/2hr.s	JH/BA
Prof. Y. Schwartz	Second and third Generation of the Hol.	S/2hr.s	LIT/BA

2001-2002

Dr. T. Friling	Examining the Stereotype: Yishuv and Holocaust	S/2hr.y	JH/MA
Prof. S. Redlich	Nazi Germany and the Holocaust	S/2hr.y	JH/BA
Dr. H. Yablonka	Holocaust, Law and Memory	S/2hr.y	JH/BA

#### The Open University of Israel

Prof. D. Michman/	Days of Holocaust and Reckoning L+T/y,s	BA
Prof. Y. Weitz/	(self study from booklets, 1800 pages,	
Prof. J. Baumel/	symposia, movies).	
Dr. G. Greif		

#### Tel Aviv University

2000-2001

Prof. Y. Lomerantz	Long Term Holocaust Influences	S/2hr.y	PSY/BA
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(Information regarding the Department of Jewish History was unavailable)

## 2001-2002

Dr. N. Durst	Dealing with Holocaust Trauma	L/2hr.s	SW/MA
Ms. S. Weiss			
Prof. Y. Lomerantz	Long Term Holocaust Influences	S/2hr.y	PSY/BA
Dr. R. Stauber	Dealing with Holocaust Memory	T/2hr.s	JH/BA
	In Israeli Society		
Dr. R. Zweig	Rebuilding the Jewish World After	S/4hr.s	JH/MA
	The Holocaust		
Prof. D. Porat	The Yishuv and its Political and	S/4hr.s	JH/MA
	Spiritual Leadership facing the Holocaust		

### Spotlight on a Project

#### Alan Rosen, Bar-Ilan University: Writing on the Holocaust

I am currently a lecturer in English Literature at Bar-Ilan University. I earned my Ph.D. in the United States, at Boston University, writing a dissertation supervised by Elie Wiesel. I am at work on a number of Holocaust-related projects: 1) authoring a monograph on the Holocaust and multilingualism; 2) editing a collection of essays on memory and memoirs in relation to victims and persecutors; 3) editing a collection of essays on Elie Wiesel's memoir, *Night*; 4) editing a collection of essays on *The Pawnbroker*, a novel and film about a Holocaust survivor; 5) authoring articles on Holocaust literature for reference books; 6) authoring review essays on the relation between Holocaust literature and history.

#### 1) **The Holocaust, Multilingualism and the Problem of English**

This book chronicles the evolving status of English writing about the Holocaust, beginning with the period of the Second World War and concluding with the 1990s. A primary language of neither the persecutors nor the victims, English has generally been viewed as marginal to the events of the Holocaust. I argue that this marginal status profoundly affects writing on the Holocaust in English and fundamentally shapes our understanding of the events. Most specifically, I show that writing in the immediate postwar period expresses anxiety about addressing the Holocaust in English, whereas fifty years later, some works go so far as to celebrate the virtues of English as a language of the Holocaust.

The plan of the book calls for eight chapters, an introduction and a conclusion. Each chapter highlights certain representative works--psychological, sociological, memoir, tales, fiction and film--and analyses how these works reveal and then arbitrate the special status of English. I arrange the chapters chronologically, spanning from the immediate

postwar period (1946-1950) to recent publications (1990s), in order best to narrate the transformation of the position of English over fifty-to-sixty years. The story of this transformation is at the forefront of the book, supported by references to the role of other languages (for example, Hebrew, Yiddish and German) and by the analysis of the individual texts.

I also link this analysis of English writing to a number of contrasting developments in the postwar period: the escalating production of writing on the Holocaust in English; the increasing prestige of English as a global language; and, within the contexts of neocolonial and multilingual studies, the uncertain position of English.

The introduction draws on the writing of Peretz Opocynski and Primo Levi, among others, to show that multilingual issues were crucial in both ghettos and concentration camps. Moreover, I demonstrate that in this period English was already conceived of as marginal to the Holocaust. Part I, "1950," examines the work of David Boder, John Hersey and Ruth Chatterton, all of whom wrote in the immediate aftermath of the war. I contend that each author exhibits anxiety toward writing in English about the Holocaust and investigate how this anxiety shapes their respective aesthetic strategies. Part II, "Law's Languages: 'Eli, the Fanatic,' Eichmann and After," begins by showing the key role of multilingualism in Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem*. I argue that multilingual issues guide Arendt's interpretation of the significance of the trial (1961-1962), and of her view of the victims and persecutors. The three chapters that follow elaborate the increasingly complex role of English--accented, broken, and estranged--as it evolves from the early 1960s to the 1980s. Finally, in Part III, "Three Generations After," I show how English becomes the language of the Holocaust. In *Maus*, English is both the language that saves during the Holocaust and the one that, in a different, fractured register, tells the story in the aftermath. In *Fugitive Pieces*, English becomes the preferred language for writing about the Holocaust, while at the same implicitly elegizing the Yiddish that it displaces.

## 2) The Claims of Memory: Literature, Religion and Ethics.

I am editing this collection of essays with Professor Steven Katz of Boston University. Contributors include Geoffrey Hartman, Susan Suleiman, Cynthia Ozick, Jeffrey Mehlman, Paula Fredriksen, Nehemiah Polen, Nancy Harrowitz, Shlomo Breznitz, John Silber and Elie Wiesel. Syracuse University Press will publish the collection.

Many though not all of the essays deal with the Holocaust. One set that does (Ozick, Breznitz, Suleiman, Silber, Hartman) examines how memory and history (or, in Suleiman's formulation, "facts") bear on, or constrain, imagination when writing memoirs or fiction about the Holocaust. This area of analysis converges with the on-going debate regarding the role of memoir, oral history and imaginative literature in the study of the Holocaust. There are some surprises in terms of who emphasizes fact and who imagination. Author Cynthia Ozick argues for the dominating role of fact and history, while social scientist Shlomo Breznitz reflects on the advantages that come from writing a Holocaust memoir only decades after the event, a view that runs counter to received opinion holding that documents produced closest to the event itself are most reliable. To a degree, Geoffrey Hartman goes furthest in showing the essential collaboration between memory and imagination. Centering on the role of memory in Elie Wiesel's fiction, Hartman's essay reflects on how invention--that which is counterfactual--is crucial for the fictional resurrection of the victim.

Another set of essays (Mehlman and Harrowitz) considers how confrontation with the role of the persecutor shapes memory--personal, national and collective--about the Holocaust. In both cases, the sometimes elusive definition of exactly who is a persecutor also affects issues of memory. Harrowitz discusses Primo Levi's self-conception as a scientist, and specifically how his characterization of science (and particular scientists) as complicit with the Nazis affects his memory of the events. Jeffrey Mehlman discusses



how the trial of Maurice Papon evokes the complex evolution of memory about the Holocaust in France, and how French memory construes such a blurred line between persecutor and resistance that justice is difficult to achieve. These essays review how the various genres that attempt to come to terms with the Holocaust--history, memoir, fiction, court trials, photographs--turn on conceptions of memory and are forged by them. Elie Wiesel, who has been instrumental in linking memory to the Holocaust, will respond to the essays. Katz and I will contribute an introduction.

### 3) Teaching Approaches to Wiesel's *Night*, Modern Language Association

I am editing this resource volume on *Night*, Elie Wiesel's memoir of the Holocaust. Originally published in Yiddish in 1956 and adapted into French in 1958, Wiesel's memoir recounts the annihilation of his community in 1944 and his subsequent deportation to and confinement in Auschwitz and Buchenwald. I will introduce the volume with a review of the materials useful for study of the memoir as well as for the history which it recounts. The introduction will be followed by ten-to-fifteen essays that outline strategies of teaching Wiesel's *Night*. The Modern Language Association has published Teaching Approaches volumes on such works as Albert Camus' *The Plague*, Henry David Thoreau's *Walden*, and other classics of world literature. The volume on *Night* will be the first dealing with a text on the Holocaust.

### 4) New Essays on *The Pawnbroker*

I am editing a collection of essays on *The Pawnbroker*, the novel published by Edward Lewis Wallant in 1961 and the film adapted from the novel, released in 1965. *The Pawnbroker* refers to a Polish Holocaust survivor who operates a pawnshop in New York City and who, over the course of the novel/film, approaches the anniversary of his family's murder in the Holocaust. Although both novel and film are recognized as major

contributions to artistic renderings of the Holocaust, critical response has generally been narrow and unsophisticated. This collection will endeavor to broaden and elevate the level of critical discussion. Essays submitted thus far include aesthetic, psychological, sociological, anthropological, and philosophical approaches. The project includes an innovative dimension in that I am including contributions from a number of my graduate students as well as involving them in the step-by-step process of assembling the collection.

I plan to write an introduction for the volume and to include two of my own essays, one on the novel, the other on the film.

##### 5) Reference Works

Having recently contributed essays on Elie Wiesel and Yaffa Eliach for the forthcoming *Encyclopedia of Holocaust Literature*, I am also at work on an essay on Wiesel for the "Holocaust Novel" volume of the *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, a reference work for students and scholars of world literature.

This essay brings several special challenges: first, because the volume is dedicated to the Holocaust *novel*, I begin not with Wiesel's first book, the acclaimed memoir, *Night*, but with *Dawn*, his first novel and second book, which was first published in 1961. Yet as Wiesel himself has argued, all of his fiction--including the eleven novels published from 1961 to 1999--serves as a commentary on *Night*. I thus chronicle the evolution of Wiesel's novel writing as a dialogue with his non-fiction memoir. Second, Wiesel has argued emphatically that a novel about the Holocaust does not, and cannot, exist. The Holocaust, in other words, does not lend itself to fiction. Imagination cannot conceive of what reality contrived. To be sure, Wiesel has recognized some novels about the Holocaust--for example, John Hersey's *The Wall*--as authentic responses. But Wiesel's strictures still force one to consider how his own literary fiction should be addressed and to what degree it models a literary response to the Holocaust. I show how the novels do

not deal with the Holocaust directly but only indirectly. Surveying the plot, character, and style of the eleven novel, I indicate how this strategy of indirection alludes to the event without bringing it fully into view.

#### 6) Review Essays

I am at work on several review essays—one for the journal *B.B.D.* and another for *The Jewish Quarterly Review*--that examine the relation between history and literature in Holocaust scholarship. Cultural historians such as Omer Bartov and Dominick LaCapra, for example, include significant discussions of literature in their analysis of historical questions. I want to consider what literature offers to the historian of the Holocaust and how this approach might benefit literary scholars. In the case of Donald Niewyk's *Fresh Wounds*, I examine how Niewyk conceives of the oral history texts that he assembles and edits. Based on interviews conducted by David Boder in 1946, Niewyk's recent anthology rearranges the sequence of the interviews, eliminates the non-Jewish interviewees, filters out most of the interviewer's questions, and standardizes the English text that Boder deliberately wanted to preserve in dialect. These significant emendations hinge on certain ideas about audience, narrative and language--in other words, about what I would call literary concerns. So I want to show how here, too, lines blur between history and literature--a blurring related to the fact that oral history has always had an uncertain status in relation to both history and literature of the Holocaust.

If literary questions can be addressed to historians, I also want to show that historical questions can be addressed to scholars of literature. For example, Michael Rothberg's *Traumatic Realism* is mainly interested in developing a theory of realism suitable for reading Holocaust writing. He clearly falls on the side of literary analysis. Yet his discussion relies heavily on historical periodization. He also refers briefly but significantly to historical factors. What role does history play within Rothberg's

discussion? Do his references to history, more schematic and adumbrated than Bartov's to literature, nevertheless mirror what the cultural historians do when they analyze literary texts?

### Conclusion

Most of these projects are due to be completed and appear in print in the 2002-2003 academic year. My monograph and the Teaching Approaches to Wiesel's Night will likely appear the following year, 2003-2004.

Rivka Schiller

## **The History of Anti-Semitism in Kielce, Poland During the Holocaust Era**

### **Introduction**

From the Jewish community's earliest years to its final years, anti-Semitism was a continuous and ongoing factor of Jewish life in the Polish city of Kielce. Perhaps this can best be demonstrated by the fact that even one full year after World War II had drawn to a close and all of the extermination camps had been shut down, a heinous pogrom, brought on by a blood libel charge, took place there. Indeed, this event was so brutal and unanticipated that word of the tragedy spread throughout Poland, eventually reaching the international world. This pogrom was later referred to as the "last straw" in the long established cycle of Polish persecution of the Jews. It culminated in the mass exodus of Jewish survivors who had resettled in Poland after World War II.

### **Kielce's Geography and Topography:**

Kielce is the capital of what is known in Yiddish as *Kelts Guberniye*-the province of Kielce. The city is located in southeast Poland, north of Krakow and south of Radom between the Pilica and Wisla Rivers. Even before World War II, Kielce contained a major rail junction that connected such urban hubs as Warsaw and Krakow, making it a center for trade. The region was-and continues to be rich in natural resources, such as lime, timber, and marble. Thus, even today, some of the most heavily represented local professions are: metallurgy, mining, and saw milling-to name a few.

### **The Kehillah's Foundation and Early Years**

Organized Jewish life in Kielce began around 1868. This can be evidenced by the first records of Jewish births listed in Kielce's civil register. Jews were admitted into Kielce in 1818, but it was not until 1868 that czarist authorities recognized an official Jewish community in the city. During that year, the few disorganized Jewish families who were living in the vicinity were granted a designated plot of land on which to live, as well as a cemetery plot. It also appears that the local Jews established a synagogue during that same

period.

These first Jewish inhabitants included a handful of wealthy Jewish merchants who established industries pertaining to: lime, marble, gravel, and lumber. Certain noted industrialists such as the Zagajski family established furniture factories and lumberyards. Overall though, the Jewish community was heavily comprised of poor cobblers, tailors, leather stitchers, glaziers, tinsmiths and hucksters. Indeed, as of the eve of World War I, approximately 50% of the Jewish population was involved in businesses and craft workshops. By the turn of the century Jews from neighboring townships began flocking to Kielce. By 1921 the Jews in the city numbered 15,550, about one-third of Kielce's total population. According to the 1931 census, the number of Jews in Kielce was 18,083, and by 1939 it had reached an estimated total of 24,000.

#### **Polish-Jewish Relations in Kielce**

Following the death of Jozef Pilsudski, Poland's war marshal, statesman, and first president (C. 1935) and Adolf Hitler's rise to power in Germany (C. 1932-33), many anti-Semitic acts began to take their toll on Jews throughout Poland, and in Kielce, in particular. Jews were physically assaulted in the streets and their property was damaged. Stink bombs were frequently thrown into Jewish-owned shops. As these events occurred on a daily basis, Jews soon grew accustomed to this pattern of persecution. On the Jewish Sabbath and on Jewish holidays, Jews discontinued their usual strolls through the park-for fear of being attacked. During the summer, the Jews avoided certain summer lodges-for fear of being pummeled by stones. The market days were also sources of fear, since the anti-Semitic hooligans typically would ruin the Jewish vendors' merchandise. The situation for Jews reached such horrific heights that even the most optimistic individuals began to contemplate their own futures.

In essence, from the time that the Nazis began preparing to wage war, the Poles appeared to care only about one thing: how to rid themselves of their Jewish inhabitants. Moreover, the anti-Semites in Kielce and her surrounding towns were the most active in tormenting the Jews; thus the Jews of this region received twice as many afflictions as did the remainder of Poland's Jews.

In comparison to other Polish towns, Kielce suffered greatly with regard to her total number of Jewish war victims. Out of a total pre-war population of 25,000 Jews, only tens of Jews returned alive and even these few individuals only survived by way of miracles. Perhaps most infamous in all of Kielce's history of anti-Semitism was the pogrom of July 4, 1946. This occurred more than a full year after the Jews had been liberated and World War II had finally drawn to a close. During this brutal attack, approximately forty-two (the often contradictory numbers vary from thirty-six to seventy) Jews were murdered and several others were injured. This was the final chapter of what had once been a great and mighty Jewish community.

### **The Inter-War Period**

#### **Kielce Pogrom of 1918: Some Distinguishing Characteristics**

From the day that Poland gained her independence from Russia (C. 1918), the situation concerning Jews in Poland went from bad to worse. From this period forth, the Poles felt it their duty to remind the Jews that they were the rightful rulers of the land. This anti-Semitic hostility was demonstrated in various forms: the shaving of Jewish train passengers' beards, the frequent insults directed at Jews, and the throwing of Jewish train passengers from the railway cars—precisely as the train was moving at its quickest pace. Indeed, the train became so dangerous for Jewish passengers that Jews would rather ride by horse and buggy than risk their lives by traveling on trains.

In 1918 the Jews of Kielce gathered together in the regional theater to confer on the subject of a local Jewish national council. All of the various political contingencies were there, ranging from the *Bund* on the left to the *Agudah* on the right. As the meetings progressed, Polish hooligans who had learned of the gathering surrounded the theater, spilling into the nearby streets outside. This Polish mob scene was comprised of large numbers of Kielce's citizens—including several soldiers. They carried with them heavy metal canes and iron encased gloves. Whatever poor Jewish soul they managed to capture—either streaming outside or yet inside of the theater—was beaten up very badly.

Unfortunately, the Jews could not sufficiently retaliate; for the onslaught was so

sudden that they did not even have a chance to realize just what had befallen them. Furthermore, the group of Jews was heavily comprised of women and children—none of whom were able to physically defend themselves. The pogrom resulted in the death of four Jews and left approximately 400 with permanent injuries.

Perhaps more than anything else, the Kielce pogrom of 1918 was a foreshadowing of an even deadlier pogrom that would later befall those few surviving Jews who were unfortunate enough to find themselves in Kielce, on July 4, 1946—only a year following the war's end. The Kielce pogrom of 1918 was different from all of the Ukrainian and Russian pogroms that occurred during the same period in one major way: the goal in Kielce was to teach the local Jews the lesson that practically speaking, they would not be receiving any rights as citizens or minorities of Poland.

Following World War I and the Treaty of Versailles, Poland was re-established as an independent nation—for the first time in over one hundred years. Along with giving Poland rights of independence, the Minorities Act was passed, which recognized Jews as a distinct race with its own unique behavioral patterns. It also granted Jews rights as Polish citizens. The Poles, now more than ever, felt it their responsibility to demonstrate to the Jews that they would not be receiving any special rights. Rather, the Polish anti-Semites wanted the Jews to know that these so-called rights existed only on paper. In reality, minorities would only be repressed in Poland. The Poles were the only true masters and as such, Polish rulership could only belong to them. This taste of liberty, coupled with an already deep-seated resentment towards the Jews, set the stage for the sort of anti-Semitic activity that was soon to follow.

#### **The Flowering of Kielce Jewry: A Brief Respite**

During the inter-war period in Kielce, the major source of Jewish income came from commerce and the sale of handicrafts. As based on the survey that was organized by the Joint Distribution Committee in Poland, as of 1921, there were 633 businesses, 422 of which pertained to clothing. This particular area of employment included a total of 1,198 breadwinners, 568 of whom were Jews. Jews also tended to specialize in carpentry and in the production of soap and chemical products. Other Jews found employment within the stone and marble quarries and some, in the sanitation departments and textile industry. In



addition, there were several Jewish professionals, many of whom were well respected in Kielce. Considering the size of the city, the number of Jewish professionals and office workers was substantial-about 250 people.

During the 1920's and 1930's various political movements-and their corresponding cultural activities-took root among Kielce's Jewish community. Some of these political movements included the *Poalei Zion*, the *Poalei Agudat Yisrael*, *Herzeliyah*, *Agudat Yedidei Ha-Universita Ha-Ivrit*, and *Tarbut*-to name a few. A couple of minor Yiddish theaters opened during the 1920's, and during the 1920's and 1930's, a handful of local Yiddish periodicals and newspapers also began to circulate among Kielce's Jewish community. For the first time, Jews also began to establish themselves socially within the greater Polish community. The importance of Jewish intelligentsia who closely collaborated with the Poles in many areas significantly increased. Although professional links were increasingly stronger, social life continued to develop separately mainly due to religious traditions and different customs.

#### **Era of Anti-Semitism: Specific Incidences**

At the same time that Kielce's Jewish community began to flower, a variety of anti-Semitic acts began to occur. Indeed, during the 1930's, Kielce became one of the lead centers for anti-Semitic activity. As of January 1933, when the Nazis came to power in Germany, the anti-Semitic factions in Kielce began protesting the rights of Jews in Poland. During the course of that year, four separate trials were held in which anti-Semitic activists were each sentenced to six-month prison terms for having committed acts of violence against Jews. In November of 1934, a young Pole murdered a Jewish merchant, along with his elderly mother and another Jewish man, just outside of Kielce. In December of 1935, shortly after the Nuremberg Laws had been passed, the local anti-Semitic faction leaders convinced the city council to support the anti-Jewish measures being taken in Germany. In May of 1936, a seventeen-year-old Pole accused a group of Jews of having mauled him. The police investigation uncovered that the adolescent had provoked the Jews and that they had in turn, attacked him with a knife. The police detained thirty Jews and jailed two of them. In October of 1936 the Jewish cemetery was vandalized and approximately one hundred

tombstones were smashed. During this period there was a great deal of anti-Jewish propaganda that spread throughout Kielce and other parts of Poland.

The influence of Nazi Germany's anti-Jewish propaganda, the deepening economic crisis, and the success of the anti-Semitic propaganda of the opposition parties brought about, after Pilsudski's death in 1935, a change in the heretofore relatively tolerant attitude of the Colonels' Regime. In his statement of June 4, 1936, Premier Skladowski emphasized that although nobody should suffer violence in Poland, the economic struggle against Jews was justified.

In September of 1937 a group of Poles fell upon some Jews who were strolling in one of the city's parks, beating them with iron bars and clubs. Not long after this incident, one particular Jewish family's home was set on fire. The blaze soon spread to other nearby homes, eventually leaving fifty Jewish families homeless. These acts of violence reached their peak in October of 1937, when five Jews from among two separate families were brutally murdered by anti-Semitic rioters.

#### **The War Years: Ghetto Life and forced Labor (1939-1942)**

At the close of summer, 1939 when Hitler commanded his troops to invade Poland, the Jews grew increasingly fearful. Masses of Jews fled from the western fronts to the eastern fronts. Families from Warsaw, Lodz, Sosnowiec and other localities began to resettle in Kielce. Prior to this period Kielce's Jewish population had been 23,000, but now swelled to 30,000 and this was not even including the number of inhabitants who had already fled from Kielce to the Russian side.

Kielce did not suffer greatly from the Nazis' bombings; aside from a couple of buildings that were destroyed or damaged, there were few-if any-overt signs of war. The Nazis did not want to destroy the city's industrial infrastructure since they planned to use her as a cavalry station. By the third of September the Polish Army's front lines began to collapse and accordingly, its soldiers hastily retreated. After the Nazis entered Kielce, during the afternoon of September the fourth, conditions changed practically overnight. Anti-Jewish atrocities began immediately: expropriations, heavy fines, forced labor, the taking of hostages, beatings, and killings. At this time there were yet some Polish soldiers who

protested the Nazis. These individuals concealed themselves within various homes, sniping at the oncoming Nazi troops. In retaliation, the Nazis began shooting at these snipers, killing a total of eighty citizens-including several Jews. On the tenth of September, Adolph Hitler and his Nazi hordes trampled through Kielce, while en route to another Polish region.

In mid-September the Nazis outlawed the Jews from walking through Kielce's major streets. The local Nazi government forbade Jews from owning private property, houses, or stores. The Nazis appointed commissar leaders to oversee the property that was formerly owned by Jews. In the initial months, Jewish landlords were yet given part of the rent money that was due to them, but by the end of 1939, the commissars retained these payments entirely for themselves. The Jews were then forced to turn over their savings accounts, radios, and work tools. Soon thereafter, many Jews were forcibly sent to work, clearing the streets of the debris that the Nazis had left in their midst.

On September 21, 1939 the *Judenrat* was appointed, with Dr. Moses Pelc as the *Judenaelteste*, or Jewish president. As the newly appointed Jewish leader, it was Dr. Pelc's task to act as an intermediary between Kielce's Jewish community and the local Nazi regime. Hermann Levy was appointed as the second in command. A Jewish police force was also appointed, in which approximately 150 officers served. The Jewish police carried with them clubs and wore special badges and caps.

The first task that was required of the *Judenrat* was that they acquire a list of all Jews in Kielce, ages 15 through 50, and their respective genders and professions. Afterwards, the *Judenrat* was to collect a contribution for the Nazi forces, amounting to 800,000 *zloty*. Based on the *Judenrat*'s records, as of September 1939 there were approximately 18,000 Jews living in Kielce. By March 1940 the Jewish population had grown to 25,400, following the influx of Jews who were fleeing from western Poland. Jews from Lodz and Kalisz were brought to Kielce. Approximately 3,000 Jews from Krakow also followed suit. In February of 1941, approximately 1,000 Viennese Jews arrived in Kielce. In March of 1941, four transport groups arrived, comprised of 6,500 additional Viennese Jews. With the sudden and voluminous influx of Jews, there was a dearth of living space. An estimated 1,500 Jews found living quarters in the Great Synagogue. As of December 1940, the Nazis replaced Dr. Pelc with Hermann Levy. Pelc, who had been a social welfare agent prior to the war, refused to inject Jewish

hospital patients with poison-as per the Nazis orders. Thus, he was imprisoned and then sent to Auschwitz, where he later died.

On September 15, 1940, the Nazis made a decree forbidding the Jews from leaving their homes at night. Shortly thereafter, between the days April 2-5, the Jews were concentrated into two ghettos. Inside of the ghetto stood a total of 500 houses, in which could live a maximum of 15,000 Jews. Unfortunately though, more than 25,000 Jews now found themselves crowded into these tight living quarters.

In early 1941 the Nazis established several work camps within the district of Kielce. There were approximately 2,000 workers interred there, most of whom were involved with the stone quarries. In the spring of 1941, several Jews were rounded up from the Kielce Ghetto and taken to the Blizyna labor camp.

With the monetary aid provided by the Joint Distribution Committee, the *Judenrat* established two soup kitchens in the fall of 1940 within the ghetto. Between the two kitchens there was a total of 600 meals distributed per day. By the beginning of 1941 this number had doubled. In March of 1940 the Jewish hospital was destroyed, and in December 1940 the *Judenrat* established orphanages and old-age homes-most likely, because of the shrinking number of viable caretakers. As aforementioned, many physically fit adults were being sent away to do forced labor and other members of the Kehillah were dying-due to overly crowded living conditions, poor nutrition, and epidemics such as typhus.

In January of 1941 Nazi officers caught two unfortunate Jews, just as they were leaving the *Mikvah* one Friday before the Sabbath. The Nazis dragged them through the streets of the city, and afterwards shot them. By the end of February of 1941, a group of S.S. officials had set up shop in Kielce. This included Hans Geier, who was frequently known to steal Jewish-owned possessions, and Dr. Ernst Karl Thomas. Together, the two of these officials oversaw the deportation of the Jews to the extermination camps.

#### **Liquidations and Extermination Camp Transports (1942-1943)**

In March of 1941 a Nazi *Aktion* or death camp transport was organized, in which Nazi-deemed Communist activists, along with three Jewish doctors were deported to

Auschwitz and murdered there. In January of 1942 seven Jews were shot for trying to leave the ghetto. During the summer of 1942 Ukrainian and Lithuanian fighting units, and SS police units began liquidating the ghettos in the neighboring Radom district. The Kielce Ghetto's liquidation process began on August 20, 1942 and lasted until August 24, when all the Jews, with the exception of two thousand who were young and healthy, were loaded on freight trains and sent to Treblinka. The *Judenrat* leaders, Jewish police members, and their respective families, were each permitted to remain behind in Kielce. The Jewish police rounded up the Jews in the streets for transports and informed them that they were each allowed to take with them a package of food and personal belongings weighing up to twenty-five kilograms. The SS official, Ernst Thomas, oversaw the *Seleksia* process that took place in the synagogue. All of the younger and more physically fit Jewish citizens were allowed to return to the ghetto, since they were still capable of performing manual labor. The majority of this group though, was sent to the local train station, from which they were to be deported to the extermination camps. A total of 130 Jews were shoved into each of the sixty cattle cars which had been sitting exposed for several hours, to the sun's strong summer rays. The Nazi officials would shoot any of the Jewish police who even dared to give food or water to any of the deportees.

During August 22-23, there was an additional *Akzion* enacted by the SS officials. The elderly and sick were hastily shot in their homes or in surrounding yards. On the 24<sup>th</sup> day of August, the Jewish hospital was liquidated and Jews who had somehow avoided the earlier transports were now chosen for this final transport. On this last day of liquidation, the SS officials also murdered the heads of the Jewish police, Yehudah Schindler and the German Jew, Johann Spiegel.

In total, ~3,000 Jews were murdered in Kielce proper, during the course of those three days, in August of 1942. During that same time period, the number of Jewish transportees from Kielce reached an estimated grand total of 21,000. The Jewish transportees invariably met their ends in the fiery furnaces of Treblinka.

### Creation and Liquidation of the "Small Ghetto" and Eventual Liberation (1943-1945)

After the aforementioned number of Jews had been deported, there were only approximately 1,600 Jews left in Kielce. This included *Judenrat* members, a majority of male prisoners-as well as 150 women and 40-60 children. These last remaining Jews were moved into what was now known as the "small ghetto." This was a designated area, situated within the western part of the former ghetto. Unlike the larger ghetto that had had two exit ways, this ghetto had only one exit way. The last remaining Jews-along with certain groups of Poles-were forced to clean the homes of the murdered and deported Jews. Any property that had been left behind was now deemed state's property, and as such was shipped on carts to central collection sites to be sorted and organized. This sorting and collecting process spanned several months, and during this period there were no additional roundups.

The head of the *Judenrat*, Hermann Levy, was murdered on November 20, 1942. According to most accounts, he and his family were taken to the Jewish cemetery and shot there. The Nazis allowed thirteen Jewish doctors to remain alive in the "small ghetto", only so that they could tend to the thousands of prisoners who were interred in the labor camps within Kielce district. But on March 21, 1943, the doctors, their respective families, and approximately twenty children were likewise, all taken to the Jewish cemetery and shot there.

In September of 1942 the remaining Jewish population of Kielce was placed into three labor camps. The "HASAG-Granat" contained quarries, workshops, and munitions. The other two camps, Henrykow and Ludwikow contained carpentries and foundries. In the HASAG-Granat plant there were approximately 500 Jewish and Polish workers. In November 1942, 200 Jews who already worked in one division of the "HASAG" were moved to yet another division of the company, located in Skarzysko-Kamienna. According to the account of one Kielce survivor, Sore Karbel, "Out of all the camps in which the Jews of Kielce worked, the Skarzysko camp was the worst and most difficult. Only a few individuals managed to leave there [alive] during the hour of liberation." In April of 1943 fifty more workers still living in the "small ghetto" were also brought to work in this particular factory. The "small ghetto" existed until May of 1943. The very last 1,000 remaining Jews were rounded up in the field that adjoined the railway station. The SS commander Geier and his officials organized another *Seleksia*, in which all children under

the age of fourteen-all forty-five of them-were shot. The few remaining Jews were deported to and distributed between labor camps such as Skarzysko-Kamienna and Pionki. The final deportation of Jews from Kielce took place in August 1944, when all the remaining Jewish prisoners were sent to Auschwitz and Buchenwald. It was at that time that Kielce became officially *Judenrein*.

In one of these labor camps, an armed resistance was organized by David Barwiner and Gershon Levkowitz, but unfortunately, was not successful. Yet another armed resistance was held in the labor camp, Pionki. On May 10, 1944, approximately twenty prisoners managed to escape. Many of them joined the Russian partisans; Polish partisans murdered five of the other former prisoners.

The Soviet army ultimately captured Kielce on January 16, 1945. At the time of liberation, there were only two Jews to be found in all of Kielce of what had once been a twenty-thousand strong community.

### **Post War Period**

#### **The Return of Survivors and the Formation of the "Jewish Committee"**

After the war some 200 Jews went to Kielce, forming a shadow of the city's pre-war Jewish community. According to data from the city registration office, on 1 June 1945 there were 53,560 inhabitants in Kielce, including only 212 Jews. At the end of 1945, in the entire province of Kielce there were forty-five centres of Jewish population with approximately 2,000 people. This post-war community was comprised of Nazi camp survivors, Jews who had hidden in Kielce district, and others who had fled to the interior of the USSR. Most of these Jews settled in the former Jewish community building at No. 7 Planty Street. This same building housed the religious services and the *Noar HaZioni kibbutz*. The majority of Jews living there soon intended to emigrate.

In August of 1945 a "*vaad*"- or "Jewish Committee" was established, at whose head stood Dr. Severin Kahane. As was frequently the case in small Jewish communities throughout post-World War II Europe, the Joint Distribution Committee provided much of Kielce's financial aide.

### The Kielce Pogrom of 1946

At about 8 a.m. on July 4, 1946, a Polish boy who had been well coached, began telling passers-by that he had been kidnapped, imprisoned in a cellar, and maltreated by the Jews of 7 Planty Street, the site where about a dozen other Christian children were still trapped and about to be murdered. In the minds of many local Poles, this charge was perhaps all the more believable, considering that there had been multiple incitements only a month earlier, in which Jews had been accused of killing Christian children and using their blood for dietary consumption.

At 10 a.m. militiamen searched the house and found the whole story false. At the same time, they confiscated the few weapons with which some of the *kibbutz* members were armed. Shortly before he was shot dead, Dr. Kahane, the Chairman of the Kielce Jewish Committee attempted to appeal to various officials: the President of the city, the militia, the army, the security authorities, the command of the Soviet troops, and Bishop Kaczmarek, the bishop of Kielce at the time, but it was all to no avail. At about 11 o'clock three lieutenants of the Polish Army entered the room in which Kahane was located at that moment. When the officers came into the room, Dr. Kahane held the telephone receiver in his hand. They told him they had come to remove weapons. One of them walked up to Dr. Kahane, told him to keep calm because soon everything would be over, and then approached him from behind and shot him straight in the head.

Indeed, the church's response was that they would not intercede, for the Jews had brought Communism into Poland. In the aftermath of the pogrom, only Bishop Kubina of Czestochowa would issue a statement condemning the Kielce pogrom.

By 11 a.m. a vicious mob had gathered around, and militiamen began throwing Jews out of the windows and the door. A number of Jews were murdered by the local lynch party. Still others, such as Dr. Kahane, met their ends by shooting. Roman Wach, a Pole who resided in Planty 13 and who witnessed the vicious onslaught, presented the following image in the pogrom's aftermath:

At about 11:30, some eight young people coming from the direction of the railroad station on Sienkiewicza St. drove some men down the middle of the road.



. . . He was hit with fists on the face and head. . . from his face I could tell he was a Semite. . . I would like to mention that as a former prisoner of concentration camps I had not gone through an experience like this. . . I have seen very little of sadism and bestiality on this scale.

Finally, at 4 p.m. an army unit from Warsaw arrived. It did not halt the looting, but rather, took an active part in the process. However, it did put an end to the massacre. In the wake of this brutal attack, many Jews were murdered and even more were injured, most of them seriously. Due to the chaos at the time and the relatively small number of Jewish survivors, the numbers of injured and dead vary from source to source. The number of injured ranges from 70-100+, while the number of dead ranges from 36-70.

Following the Kielce pogrom, the government tried and executed seven of the murderers and attacked the main hideouts of the underground; but anti-Semitism continued to flourish. Only in 1947, when the government consolidated its power and used strong measures against the underground, was order restored. Attacks on Jews became rare. The superficial calm was a result of strong police measures rather than of a genuine change of mind on the part of broad segments of the population.

The outbreak of this major and medieval-style pogrom so soon after the Holocaust served as only the most blatant example of the hostility encountered by returning Jews. It convinced a large number of them that no real Jewish community could resume existence in Poland. Jews were seized with panic and hundreds and thousands began to flee daily. In 1946 about 150,000 left Poland. Thus ended the one thousand year history of Jewish existence in Poland. In the words of the Polish-born, American journalist, S.L. Shneiderman:

The ancient tradition of the murderous pogrom, it turned out, was not at all a thing of the past. The forty-two victims of the Kielce Pogrom, including a mother and her newborn child, were laid to rest in a mass grave. Only ninety Jews of Kielce had survived the war and forty-two of these were wiped out in a few hours. If there was any hope for a new beginning for the Jews of Poland, the Kielce Pogrom raised it to the ground in blood.