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ע"ש ארנולד וליאונה פינקלר

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BULLETIN
of the
Arnold and Leona Finkler
Institute of
Holocaust Research

No. 6
June 1994 – Sivan 5754



BAR-ILAN UNIVERSITY

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Research and Projects

* Prof. Dan Michman, Chairman of the Arnold and Leona Finkler Institute of Holocaust Research, returned from his sabbatical leave in Toronto (1991-2) to become Department Chair of the Department of Jewish History at Bar Ilan University. Apart from continuing his research on Religious Life and Leadership during the Holocaust, Prof. Michman delivered the opening lecture at the joint conference of Haifa University and Ghetto Fighter's House in March 1993 in commemoration of fifty years since the Warsaw Ghetto uprising (the topic being: "Jewish Resistance during the Holocaust" — the term and its meaning), and a lecture on the impact of the Holocaust on Religious Jewry at the Ninth Yad Vashem International Scholars Conference held in Jerusalem in June 1993. He also acted as chairman during a session of the Eleventh International Conference of Jewish Studies, held in Jerusalem in June 1993. Among his recent publications are: "The Holocaust in the Eyes of the Historians: Conceptualization, Periodization and Explanation. An Exercise in Historical Thinking", *Zmanim* (published by Tel Aviv University, nr. 42 (Summer 1992)); and "Jewish Religious Life Under Nazi Domination: Nazi Attitudes and Jewish Problems", *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 22/2 (1993) (a Canadian journal).

* Dr Judith Tydor Baumel has completed her study of *Kibbutz Buchenwald*, the first "Hachshara" kibbutz to be founded in Germany after the Holocaust, and is now having it translated into English. She is also working on a study of gender and the collective memories of the Holocaust in various countries. Dr. Baumel spoke about the Ultra Orthodox attitude towards the armed uprisings at the joint conference of Haifa University and Ghetto Fighter's House in March 1993, gave a talk about "Women during the Holocaust" at the Interdepartmental seminar in April 1993 and delivered a lecture on "Kibbutz Buchenwald" at the

International Conference of Jewish Studies in Jerusalem in June 1993. During the year she made two appearances on Israeli television as a historian presenting material about women during the Holocaust and regarding her book *A Voice of Lament*, which was published in 1992 by Bar-Ilan University Press. The book was personally presented by Prof. Michman to Mrs. Leona Finkler in Toronto, and to Chief Rabbi Israel Meir Lau, in September 1993. The book was reviewed by all the major Israeli newspapers in their literary supplements.

* Dr. Chava Eshkoli continued her project on "The Mizrahi and the HaPoel Hamizrachi Facing the Holocaust" and delivered a lecture at the International Conference of Jewish Studies in Jerusalem in June 1993 on that subject. In addition, she delivered a lecture about Education towards Jewish self-defense in Poland on the eve of the Second World War at the conference held by Haifa University and Ghetto Fighter's House in March 1993 to commemorate fifty years since the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. She published articles about the issue of Zionist activists leaving Europe at the Beginning of the War (in *HaZiyonut*, published by Tel Aviv University, vol. 17 [1993]) and on "Three Attitudes towards the Holocaust within Mapai 1933-1945" (in *Studies in Zionism* 14/1 (1993)). Dr. Eshkoli spent two weeks at the research retreat sponsored by Prof. Moshe Davis at the religious moshav Nir Galim, near Ashdod, during which she made great progress in conceptualizing part of her project. In addition to coordinating the Interdepartmental Seminar, Dr. Eshkoli's extensive book *Mapai and the Holocaust 1939-1942* was published in early 1994 by Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi of Jerusalem.

* Dr. Penina Meizlish is continuing her study of Viktor Hayut, an important Jewish personage who served on the Lvov (Lemberg) City Council during the 1920's and 1930's. She has interviewed people who were acquainted with Hayut and her article about Viktor Hayut and his journal was accepted by *Gal-Ed*, a collection about the History of Polish Jewry published by Tel-Aviv University. The major part of her study, being the editing of Hayut's diary, is presently in an advanced stage. Another article of her's about the attitude of Israeli society towards the Holocaust from then until today was recently published in *Shalom*. * Mrs. Rivka Knoller has continued translating material for the project on The Holocaust in the Eyes of the Orthodox among the D.P.'s, under the guidance of Prof. Gershon Greenberg, (American University, Wa-

shington), a research fellow of the Institute. She is also continuing her project on the Denial of the Holocaust. There she is editing a bibliography about Holocaust denial and has collected articles and information which will serve as a basis for a full study about denial of the Holocaust. She was assisted by Dr. Ben-Avner in translating sources from the French and German. Mrs. Esther Drenger also assisted in typing the catalogue and filing the material.

* Dr. Yehuda Ben Avner has completed his study of the Orthodox Rabbinate as seen through the pages of *Der Israelit*. He also assisted Mrs. Rivka Knoller in the project about Holocaust denial. Dr. Ben-Avner completed a Hebrew edition of his book on German Orthodoxy which has already been published in German. The Hebrew edition will be published as a research paper by the Open University of Israel.

* Dr. Yosef Karniel has completed the final section of his study of Austrian Orthodoxy during the period between the two world wars. The study will serve as an introduction to the detailed index of Austrian Orthodox Jewish newspapers between the two world wars, to be published in the series of "Research Infrastructure" of the Institute. In addition he has published an article regarding the relationship of the Austrian Clergy to the Jews in the 1930's (*Yalkut Moresnet* 55 [October 1993]). Another article, about the Young Guard of the Mizrahi in Austria between the Two World Wars will be published in a volume on Religious Zionist Youth edited by Prof. M.Z. Kaddari of Bar-Ilan University.

Administration and Library

* Mrs. Zippi Berman coordinated the secretarial workings of the Institute. * Mrs. Ruth Berkeley assisted by Mrs. Esther Drenger continued cataloging and arranging the Institute's library. This year the library received a great deal of material from Germany on the topics of historiography and antisemitism as well as many donations from Holocaust survivors in Israel. In an attempt to solve problems of overcrowding, the Library was granted the use of a storage room in the cellar of the Jewish Studies building. As for activities in the upstairs section, the articles about Denial of the Holocaust were catalogued and have been arranged in a special cabinet. The Institute is also in negotiations with the Bar-Ilan School of

Social Work regarding the transfer of the section on psychological aspects of Holocaust survivors and their children to the library. Finally, as in previous years the librarians prepared special folders containing the required readings in the various Holocaust courses being taught on Holocaust history. These folders assist students in preparing their bibliographical readings for these courses.

The Interdepartmental Seminar

During the 1992-93 academic years the Interdepartmental Seminar held five lectures.

- 1) On November 3, 1992 Dr. Chana Yablouka of Ben-Gurion University delivered a lecture about the Absorption of Holocaust survivors in Israel during the War of Independence.
- 2) On January 6, 1993 Dr. Ronald Zweig of Tel-Aviv University spoke about the Allied Plans regarding the Survivors before the end of the Second World War.
- 3) On February 2, 1993 Dr. Shmuel Spektor of Yad Vashem delivered a lecture about new material which is now being uncovered in archives and institutions in the CIS and other Eastern European countries.
- 4) On April 20, 1993 Dr. Judith Bauman of Bar-Ilan University delivered a lecture about Women during the Holocaust.
- 5) On June 7, 1993 Prof. Alvin Rosenfeld delivered the Arnold Finkler Memorial Lecture (see below).

Lectures and Conferences

Other special lectures and one-day conferences that were held include the following:

- 1) The Annual Teacher's one-day conference held prior to the 10th of Tevet. The annual conference was held on December 28, 1992 in cooperation with the Department of Jewish History, General History, the School of Education, the Division of Teachers Supplementary Training and the Board of Education. The topic chosen was the S.S. and the Jews during the Holocaust and it drew an audience of over 400 persons. Lectures were delivered by Prof. Dan Michman, Prof. Zvi Bacharach and Dr. Hannah Yaoz.

- 2) Prof. Michman's lecture on the Yom Hashoah Memorial Occasion organized by the Bar-Ilan Student's Association. On April 18, 1993 a special commemorative ceremony was held on the occasion of Yom Hashoah. The ceremony was held in cooperation with the office of the Campus Rabbi. Prof. Dan Michman delivered the keynote lecture to an audience of over 500 persons.

- 3) The Arnold Finkler Memorial Lecture. The Lecture was held on June 7, 1993 and Mrs. Finkler and her daughter attended. The lecture, in English, was delivered by Prof. Alvin Rosenfeld of the University of Indiana who spoke about "Anne Frank and the Public Image of the Holocaust". Approximately 50 people attended. The lecture was held at the initiative of Mrs. Finkler who also promised to donate additional funds to the Institute.

Publication of a Book on Holocaust Revisionism

The Holocaust Revisionism project has been assembling the arguments used in Holocaust denial literature in different countries. The Institute intends to publish a book in which each argument will be analyzed and confronted with the historical facts as have been revealed in scholarly Holocaust research. These answers will be accompanied by photos, diagrams, notes and a list of the literature which can be consulted by those who are interested in more details about the subject. Additionally, extensive bibliography of Revisionist literature and counter-Revisionist literature will be included. After completion, the book will be published and will provide both scholars and laymen with exact material which can serve them in debates with Revisionists and with those who are influenced by them. Hopefully, dissemination abroad will be encouraged through cooperation with Yad Vashem and the US Holocaust Memorial Museum. In his recent trip to Washington while attending the opening conference of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Prof. Michman received an assurance of cooperation on this matter from the Museum's director, Dr. Michael Berenbaum. A donation was made by Mr. Tuvia Greenfield of Venezuela which will be used to assist in the book's publication.

The project's main researchers are Prof. Dan Michman and Prof. Zvi Bacharach. Mrs. Rivka Knoller will coordinate the material's compilation.

and an additional researchers will prepare the answers to the arguments appearing in Revisionism literature, under the direction of the main researchers.

The Holocaust Period in Belgium

The editing of the book, based upon the 1989 conference held by the Finkler Institute at Bar-Ilan University, has been completed. The book will include approximately 630 pages and will be published in English by the Institute. Most of the preparatory work was done by Prof. Michman during his sabbatical stay in Toronto. During the past year the material was sent out to the authors and the articles were returned and edited. In addition, three additional articles arrived from authors abroad. These were translated from French and Dutch, edited and sent back to their authors for approval.

Information Center on Holocaust Revisionism

The Center has been established in order to assist researchers in finding concentrated material about Holocaust Revisionism and antisemitism. Throughout the year a new bibliography of literature on Holocaust Revisionism was prepared, which was widely acclaimed by students and researchers alike. The material collected is now being used by an M.A. student from the Department of General history who is writing his thesis about the topic and by an M.A. student from the Department of Jewish history who is writing a seminar paper on the topic.

They can now search for material using the following codes:

1. Author/editor
2. Time — a — 1946 — 1967
b — 1967 — 1983
c — 1983 —
3. Country
4. Language
5. Revisionist/Disputation.
- 6 — 20 *Claims*
6. Anti Zionism/Antisemitism

7. Anti Communism
8. Delegitimization of the State of Israel
9. Technology — attributing different purposes to the gas chambers/ Allied propaganda
10. Cleansing the Third Reich and its leaders/ German nationalism.
11. Statistical forgery/the Jews who were killed were really listed as citizens of Eastern European countries.
12. The Jews emigrated and were not killed/ the Jews died of plagues or were killed during the bombardments.
13. The Jews declared war on the Third Reich/ Most of the Jews killed by the Germans were spies, saboteurs, partisans, criminals or victims of retaliatory attacks.
14. Re-interpretation of words and phrases of the Nazi Jargon.
15. Disqualification of documents and testimony.
16. Accepting testimony from people who claim that they were there but didn't see anything.
17. Legislation against Holocaust denial.
18. The use of civil rights to distribute material denying the Holocaust.
19. Twisting the Holocaust.
20. Lack of any documentation.

The Joseph Carlebach Institute

The Joseph Carlebach Institute for Contemporary Jewish Teaching, which functions in cooperation with the Finkler Institute sponsored several types of activity during the past academic year. The Institute, created in 1992 through private funds from the city of Hamburg as part of the School of Education at Bar-Ilan University, is headed by Dr. Miriam Gillis-Carlebach. On the 8th of Nissan 1993 the Institute held a memorial lecture on the anniversary of Rabbi Joseph Carlebach's death. The lecture — "The sacrifice of Isaac — a double trial" was delivered by Prof. Uriel Simon.

In July 1993 the Carlebach Institute held the second Carlebach conference in Hamburg. 250 persons attended the opening session and between 60 to 80 participants attended each of the sessions. The conference was devoted to the topic of "Education and Culture of German Jews after 1918". During Dr. Gillis-Carlebach's visit to Germany an initial agreement

was reached with Olms Verlag regarding the publication of a third volume of Rabbi Joseph Carlebach's writings.

The Institute has begun a three part study of the topic "Jews and Judaism in Schleswig-Holstein". The research project was initiated and partially funded by the "Organization of Jews from Schleswig-Holstein". The Carlebach Institute also held a Master's and Doctoral Seminar on "Trends in Jewish Education at times of Crisis" in which 18 students participated.

Braun Lectures In the History of the Jews in Prussia

In November 1991 the Braun Chair in the history of the Jews of Prussia was established at Bar-Ilan University and has since worked closely with the Finkler Institute. In November 1991, at the Chair's inauguration, Prof. Shulamit Volkov of Tel-Aviv University delivered a lecture entitled "Prussian Jewry — Myth and Reality". At the same inauguration Prof. David Sorkin of the University of Wisconsin at Madison lectured on "The Spirit of Prussian Jewry: The Dual Legacy of Berlin". Both lectures have subsequently appeared in booklet form. Two other lectures, — by Prof. Steve Aschheim from the Hebrew University, Jerusalem and Prof. Steven Lowenstein from the University of Judaism, Los Angeles, — are forthcoming.

As we went to print Dr. Joseph Karniel, veteran researcher of the Institute, suddenly passed away. The Institute mourns his loss and extends condolences to his family.

Holocaust Studies in Israel 1990-1992

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 the Kibbutz Seminar — Teachers College in Tel-Aviv and at the Efal Seminar. The previous issue of the Bulletin contained information regarding Holocaust studies in Israel between 1990-1992. In this issue we present the continuation of this survey, covering the academic year 1992-3. Our survey includes a listing course titles, names of lecturers teaching these courses, type and length of course, framework in which it is taught.

1992-1993

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Key to tables

S	Seminar	
L	Lecture	
T	Tutorial	
W	Workshop	
CJ	Institute of Contemporary Jewry	
JH	Jewish History	JP Jewish Philosophy
GH	General History	F Folklore
HS	Holocaust Studies	EYS Eretz Yisrael Studies
ED	Education	OS Overseas Students
HL	Hebrew Literature	
PS	Political Science	
IHS	Institute of Holocaust Studies	
SW	Social Work	
LY	Limudei Yesod (Introductory courses in Judaism)	
TT	Teachers Training	
BA	Bachelors Degree	
MA	Masters Degree	
u	unknown	
y	yearly	
s	semester	
t	trimester	

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.

lecturer	topic	type/length	dept. no.
Dr. Y. Schwartz	Hebrew Literature and the Holocaust	S/2hr.s	HL/BA
Dr. D. Bankier	Dilemmas of the Holocaust	L/2hr.s	CJ/MA
Dr. E. Lederhandler	American Jews during the Holocaust	S/2hr.s	CJ/MA
Prof. Y. Bauer	The Vilna Ghetto	S/2hr.s	CJ/MA
Prof. Y. Bauer	The West and the Hol.	S/2hr.s	CJ/MA
Prof. Y. Gutman	Research Seminar	S/2hr.s	CJ/MA
Dr. D. Bankier	Nazism, Fascism and the Jews	S/2hr.y	CJ/MA
Prof. J. Foerster	Hitler's Germany	S/2hr.s	CJ/MA
Prof. J. Foerster	The German Army	S/2hr.s	CJ/MA
Dr. D. Blattman	Non-Zionist Undergrounds	S/2hr.y	CJ/MA
Dr. S. Almog	Christian Foundations of Modern Antisemitism	S/2hr.y	CJ/MA
Dr. S. Epstein	Antisemitism after 1945	S/2hr.s	CJ/MA
Dr. D. Ofer, Prof. Y. Bauer	Selected Problems of the Holocaust.	L/2hr.y	CJ/BA

Tel Aviv University

Dr. D. Laor	The Holocaust in Israeli Literature	L+T/2hr.s	HL/BA
Dr. B. Feingold	The Holocaust in Israeli Drama	L+T/2hr.s	HL/BA
Prof. Z. Bacharach	The Holocaust: Origins and History	L/4hr.s	GH/BA
Dr. N. Zeldis	Holocaust: A Psychological Perspective	L/4hr.s	GH/BA

Bar-Ilan University

lecturer	topic	type/length	dept. no.
Dr. C. Eshkoli	From Antisemitism to Holocaust	L/2hr.y	LY/BA
Dr. C. Yaoz	Teaching Holocaust Literature	L/2hr.s	ED/BA
Prof. D. Michman	From Hatred to Annihilation	L/2hr.y	JH/BA
Prof. D. Michman	Jewish Emigration during the Nazi Era.	S/2hr.y	JH/BA
Prof. D. Michman	The Holocaust as an event in "Jewish" or "general" history	S/2hr.y	JH/MA
Prof. Z. Bacharach	Germany between Unification and Dissolution	S/2hr.y	GH/BA
Prof. M. Cohen	British Policy and the Second World War	S/2hr.y	GH/BA
Dr. J. Baumei	From Antisemitism to Holocaust	L/2hr.y	OS/BA

Haifa University

Dr. Y. Weitz	The Yishuv, the Holocaust and Germany 1945-1960	S/4hr.s	EYS/BA
Dr. Y. Weitz	The Refugees and Jewish DP's in Zionist policy 1933-1948.	S/2hr.y	EYS/MA
Mrs. R. Weiman	The History of Jewish-Christian Relations	L/3hr.s	OS/BA
Mrs. R. Weiman	The Holocaust and its Impact on Jewish Women During the Holocaust	L/3hr.s	OS/BA
Dr. J. Baumei	Jewish Women During the Holocaust	S/4hr.s	JH/BA
Dr. A. Cochavi	Policies Regarding War Criminals	L/2hr.s	GH/BA
Mr. A. Komlos	WWII as a European War	S/4hr.s	GH/BA

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Ben-Gurion University

lecturer	topic	type/length	dept. no.
Prof. A. Appelfeld	The Holocaust Before the Holocaust	L/4hr.y	HL/BA

The Open University of Israel

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

Seminar Hakibutzim

Mr. A. Atzili/ U. Lapidot/	General Holocaust Course	L/2hr.y	HS
Dr. A. Horowitz	Teaching the Holocaust in Israel	L/2hr.y	JH
Dr. N. Keren	Rescue During the Holocaust	L/2hr.y	JH
Mr. A. Horowitz	Concentration Camps and Extermination Camps	L/2hr.y	JH
Mr. U. Lapidot			

Efal Seminar

Dr. J. Baumei	Dilemmas of the Holocaust	L/2hr.s	HS
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Oranin Seminar

lecturer	topic	type/length	dept. no.
Dr. M. Shelach	Germany and the Destruction of European Jewry	L/2hr.y	JH/BA
Dr. N. Barzel	Teaching the Holocaust in High School	L/2hr.s	ED/BA
Dr. N. Barzel	Teaching the Holocaust	L/2hr.s	ED/BA
Dr. N. Barzel	Jewish Resistance during the Holocaust	L/2hr.y	ED/BA

Book Surveys

Memoirs and Personal Recollections

— Aaron, Frieda W., *Bearing the Unbearable: Yiddish and Polish Poetry in the Ghettos and Concentration Camps*, Albany: SUNY Press, 1992, xii+242p.

Frieda W. Aaron, Associate Professor of English and Comparative Literature at City University of New York, is a survivor of the Warsaw ghetto, Maidanek and other concentration camps. Her pioneering study of Yiddish and Polish-Jewish concentration camp and ghetto poetry documents the emergence of a unique literary form as reaction to the atrocities. The author shows that the mission of the poets was to provide testimony to their epoch, to speak for themselves and for those who perished. For the Jews in occupied Europe, this poetry was a means of affirming traditional values and expressing moral defiance to keep their spirit alive. Among the poets surveyed are Avraham Sutzkever, Julian Przboś, Władysław Szlengel, Isaiah Spiegel and Shmerek Kaczerginski.

— Alland, Bronisława, *Memoirs of a Hidden Child During the Holocaust: My Life During the War*, Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992, vi + 81p.

Bronisława Alland began writing her war memoirs in December 1945 in Łódź, Poland, she had recently returned from Germany where she had spent the previous fifteen months, first in a forced labor camp and then in a German town, awaiting repatriation after liberation in May 1945. "Bronka" was eight years old when the war began and fourteen when she

started her memoirs. They provide a unique, young girl's perspective, of the Warsaw Ghetto, daily life in hiding and experiences in a forced labor camp in Germany under a false identity. Long after the war her younger brother translated her memoirs and had them published as a testimony to a family's odyssey in war torn Poland and Germany during the Holocaust.

— Garbarz, Moshe and Garbarz, Elie, *A Survivor*,
Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1992, 274p.

Moshe Garbarz's memoirs, first published in France in 1984, document the daily struggle of an ordinary man to live through the Nazi death camps. The Warsaw born Garbarz had moved with his family to France as a teenager and was captured and deported by the Gestapo in 1941. In his book, Garbarz describes the forced labor, near starvation, beatings and helplessness of the victims of the Third Reich. The memoir is testimony to the courage and determination of one man to survive while remaining a moral human being.

— Salsitz, Norman and Skolnik, Richard, *A Jewish Boyhood in Poland: Remembering Kolbuszowa*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1992, xv+296p.

Kolbuszowa was a thriving, small Polish town of 4,000 people, half Polish-Catholics, half Jews. Norman Salsitz, the last of nine children born in Kolbuszowa, describes the life of the Jewish community of this town during the inter-war period. Forced by the Nazis in 1941 to assist in the destruction of the Jewish ghetto in which his family lived, Salsitz was sent to a German work camp but escaped into the woods to survive the war.

— Werner, Harold, *Fighting Back: A Memoir of Jewish Resistance in World War II*, New York: Columbia UP, 1992, xxvi+253p.

At the time of the German occupation of Poland in World War II Hershel Zimmerman was a young man of twenty one, working in the city of Warsaw in a self-owned knitting factory. His wartime memoirs, dictated to his wife over forty years after the war's end, shortly before his death, provide us with a unique description of life in a Jewish resistance unit operating in the Polish forests during the Second World War.

Research Literature

— Burtleigh, Michael and Wippertmann, Wolfgang, *The Racial State: Germany 1933-1945*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992, 386p.

The authors of this book, the first a lecturer in International History at the London School of Economics and Political Science and the other, a professor of history at the Freie Universitaet in Berlin, have documented the ideas and institutions which supported the reconstruction of a "class" society along racial lines. The book begins with a comprehensive discussion of the origins of Nazi racial ideology and then shows how it was translated into official policy. Apart from discussing the systematic persecution of the Jews, it also documents the fate of lesser known groups such as the Sinti and Roma gypsy tribes, the mentally handicapped, the "asocials" and the Homosexuals.

— Finkelkraut, Alain, *Remembering in Vain: The Klaus Barbie Trial and Crimes Against Humanity*, New York: Columbia UP 1992, xxxvi+102p.

In 1988, in the first Nazi war criminal trial to take place in France, Klaus Barbie, the "Butcher of Lyon" was found guilty of crimes against humanity and sentenced to life in prison. Nevertheless, Alain Finkelkraut, a prominent member of the new generation of French intellectuals, found

the trial to be a moral failure. In his book, Finkelkraut claims that the trial attests to the failure of international society to take responsibility for criminals of state. In trying Barbie not only for crimes against Jews but also for actions against the Resistance (on which the statue of limitations had run out), the French court blurred the definition of "crimes against humanity."

The book also contains an introduction by Alice Kaplan, associate Professor of Romance Studies and Literature at Duke University, written especially for the American audience. The introduction provides background on Klaus Barbie, the trial and the Resistance. A glossary of names and terms is also included.

—Paldiel, Mordechai, *The Path of the Righteous: Gentle Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust*, Hoboken, N.J.: Ktav in association with the Jewish Foundation for Christian Rescuers/ADL, 1992, xix+401p.

Mordechai Paldiel, Holocaust survivor and director of the Yad Vashem section on righteous gentiles has written a book profiling hundreds of heroic gentle men and women who saved Jews during the Holocaust. The descriptions, taken from the Yad Vashem files, describe people in virtually all countries of Nazi occupied Europe, who put themselves and their families at risk in order to save the lives of Jews fleeing the Nazi terror. Some were motivated by religious dictates, others by compassion and feelings of intense morality. All knew that their fate would be sealed if caught assisting or hiding Jews. The book provides us with a different view of gentle behaviour during the Holocaust than is often portrayed in Holocaust literature.

—Rosen, Norma, *Accidents of Influence: Writing as a Woman and a Jew in America*, Albany: SUNY Press, 1992, xiii+210p.

For Norma Rosen, author and lecturer at New York University, the Holocaust is the central event of the twentieth century. This book exam-

ines the relationship of post-Holocaust writers to their work in terms of subject, language, imagery and facing up to the task of writing in a post-Holocaust era. Among the authors surveyed are T.S. Eliot, Simone Weil, Anne Frank, E.L. Doctorow, Norman Mailer, Eugenio Montale, Philip Roth and Saul Bellow. The book's subtitle — *Writing as a Woman and a Jew in America* — is also Rosen's credo, connecting Holocaust writings with her own personal experiences as an American-Jewish woman writer in the post-Holocaust era.

—Usborn, Cornelle, *The Politics of the Body in Weimar Germany*, London: Macmillan, 1992, xviii+304p.

Cornelle Usborn, Lecturer in European History at the Roehampton Institute in London, has documented the progress made in Weimar Germany towards reproductive freedom and maternity protection. This afforded women an unprecedented measure of control over their lives. However, it also stimulated State intervention in the field of reproduction, culminating with the reactionary doctrines of the Hitler era. Usborn charts a familiar topic by using new sources and provides us with a clear and concise survey of the "body politics" of the pre-Hitler era.

—Young, James E., *Writing and Rewriting the Holocaust: Narrative and the Consequences of Interpretation*, Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1988, viii+243p.

James Young, assistant professor of English and Jewish studies at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst has written a book which is fascinating for literary scholars and historians alike. Young claims that we cannot know the Holocaust — or any other historical event — outside of the ways it is passed down to us in its many texts. He therefore concentrates upon the mechanism of creating historical Holocaust memory through diaries, memoirs, fiction, poetry, drama, video testimony and memorials. He then explores the consequences of narrative understanding for victims and later survivors and finally, for the post-war generations responding to their own world in the light of the Holocaust.

Young's final chapter on Holocaust memorials has also served as a jumping off point for another book, devoted solely to Holocaust memorials found in several countries, and particularly those in Germany, Israel, Austria and the United States.

Women During the Holocaust

- Ritner, Carol and Roth, John K., *Different Voices: Women and the Holocaust*, New York: Paragon House, 1993, xiv+435p.
- Shelley, Lore, *Auschwitz — The Nazi Civilization: Twenty-Three Women Prisoners' Accounts*, Lanham, New York, London: University Press of America 1992 x+296p.
- Shelley, Lore, (comp. and tr.) *Criminal Experiments on Human Beings In Auschwitz and War Research Laboratories: Twenty Women Prisoners' Accounts*, San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1991, vii+402p.

Women during the Holocaust is a topic which has been of great interest lately to both scholars and laymen alike. Stemming from the recent growth of interest in Gender topics, a steady trickle of scholarly literature on the topic has begun to appear. One of these is an anthology put together by Carol Ritner and John K. Roth — a collection of sources and studies about women's lives during the Holocaust. The book is divided into several sections, each of which deals with a different fact of Holocaust experience. The "Voices of Experience" recounts the painful stories of survivors. "Voices of Interpretation" offers new insights of women scholars of the Holocaust. In "Voices of Reflection" women artists and intellectuals contemplate the Holocaust. While much of the literature appearing in the book has long been available to the public, the authors have done us a valuable service by collecting relevant material on women during the Holocaust into one volume which is already being used as a textbook in courses on Holocaust and Gender.

A second genre of literature dealing with women during the Holocaust are collections of survivor testimonies. Two such books have recently

been compiled and edited by Dr. Lore Shelley who has long researched the topic. The author of *Secretaries of Death*, a book in which she documented the lives of women working as secretaries in the Gestapo offices in Auschwitz has now provided us with two additional collections dealing in part with Auschwitz victims and survivors. The first includes twenty-three accounts of women prisoners who had been forced to labor in the administration, SS enterprises and workshops of Auschwitz. Along with Shelley's personal story, the accounts appearing in the volume present the female experience in the camps while dealing with both general issues that were common to all inmates along with the gender-specific problems. Not only do the victims appear in the accounts. So do the perpetrators, through the inmates eyes. Shelley's book deals with several sub-camps that were connected with the three Auschwitz camps. It documents agricultural experiments along with industrial slavery, providing testimony from both Jewish and non-Jewish prisoners.

In yet another collection of prisoners testimonies, Lore Shelley brings us documentation of criminal experiments on women prisoners in Auschwitz. She also documents the agricultural experiments which were carried out at the agricultural satellite camp of the Polish town of Rajsko.

The advantage of oral testimony is well known among scholars, drawing upon sources which would otherwise not be available. However, the studies based solely upon such documentation have a tendency to be one sided, overemphasizing certain aspects of Holocaust existence without giving the reader the necessary balance to ensure a total picture. Shelley's books are problematic in this aspect and have to be read along with other, more balanced studies of the period. However, without a doubt, both the studies and sources now becoming available to the public will certainly add to our knowledge of women's life during the Holocaust.

Book Reviews

1938. Le leggi contro gli ebrei" *La Rassegna Mensile Di Israel* vol. LIV n.1-2 Gennaio — Agosto 1988. Tevelh — Eini 5748

The special issue of *La Rassegna Mensile Di Israel*, published by the Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane on the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of the anti Jewish legislation in Italy, is indeed special. It is so because the editor, Michele Salfatti, coordinating the work between the staff of the journal, led by Guido Fubini and the Centro di Documentazione Ebraica Contemporanea, has produced a 518 page volume rich in primary sources, bibliographical data, memoirs, research monographs and interpretations of a period that defines almost all the cultural and moral parameters of human civilization.

Undoubtedly, the most important part of this work, from the researcher's point of view, is the publication of the photocopies of the Fascist Anti-jewish Italian laws and decrees, as enacted since November 13, 1938 by their original publication in the *Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno D'Italia*, and after the occupation of Italy by the German Army and the institution of the Repubblica Sociale Italiana — better known as Repubblica di Salò — by the *Gazzetta Ufficiale D'Italia* (pp. 65-168). This legal corpus, brought here with two introductory texts of Salfatti himself, justify in itself the publication of the volume, not only for its remembrance value but because they allow the interested reader a broad, comprehensive and precise vision of the legal contents of Italian racist discrimination in the fascist era. Another 27 pages of circular letters (circolari) briefly and effectively introduced again by Salfatti, provide us with a very good insight of the workings and administrative difficulties and doubts about the enforcing of the above mentioned legislation. All this is followed by

Anna Canarutto's study of the interpretation which the magistrates gave to racial legislation, thus completing the legal aspect of fascist Antisemitism.

Not neglecting the ideological, publicistic and propagandistic aspects of the fascist anti-jewish campaign, two articles on this issue, originally published in *Il Diritto Razzista and Razza E Civiltà* are also reprinted in this issue, giving us an idea of the direction assumed in this field when the political elite opened the gates to discrimination. This aspect is supplemented by Adriana Goldstaub's bibliographical and editorial review of the Antisemitic publications in 1938, the first year of the official anti-jewish campaign. Another interesting aspect of the fascist policies towards the Jews is provided by Stefano Caviglia in his study on the Antisemitic attitudes of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, richly illustrated by two documentary appendices.

Other studies on the regional, communal, educational, journalistic and post-fascist bibliographical aspects of the period follow and complete this volume, that, in our humble opinion, more than fulfills the goals of remembrance and faithful truth, set by Tullia Zevi in the introductory pages. In this kind of work, it is very difficult to achieve even results on all the different parts that compose it. But in this case, the historical perspective and the plurality of theses and opinions are overwhelmed by the amount and richness of primary sources, providing the reader a rare opportunity to judge by himself on the basis of a large amount of almost raw historical data, on many of its aspects, overcoming thus, the natural shortcomings implied in this kind of project.

Having expressed these views I cannot but strongly recommend the reading of this issue of the *Rassegna Mensile Di Israel*, with the hope that in the future most of it will also be made available to the English reading public.

Mario Sznajder
Department of Political Science,
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Recently published:

"A Voice of Lament": The Holocaust and Prayer
("Kol Bechayot: Hasho'ah Vehatfila")
by: Judith Tydor Baumel

The book is result of a seven year study carried out by Dr. Judith Tydor Baumel of the Institute of Holocaust Research at Bar-Ilan University. It examines the connection between the Holocaust and special Jewish prayers — both those written during the Holocaust and those composed afterwards in memory of its victims — from the historical, liturgical and theological aspects, with primary emphasis placed upon the first of the three.

The book is divided into two sections:

Part A serves as the historical framework of the study and examines various situations in which special Jewish Holocaust-related prayers were written. Each of the chapters in this section is devoted to one of these situations and analyzes the conditions under which the prayers were composed, their historical and theological implications, and their phrasing. Among the situations covered are occupied Europe, the Free World during the Holocaust, and the Jewish world after the Holocaust. A separate chapter examines the results of a survey taken among the Chief Rabbis and prominent rabbinical leaders throughout the world, vis a vis their relationship to the Holocaust and the possibility of composing a single memorial prayer for Holocaust victims which could be accepted by most of the Jewish world.

Part B includes the texts of over 60 Holocaust-related prayers from all Jewish denominations — Ultra-orthodox, Orthodox, Conservative, Reform and Reconstructionist. The book also includes a source list of studies and surveys of Religious Jewish life during and after the Holocaust.

(the book may be ordered through the Finkler Institute of Holocaust Research)

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Publications

The Arnold and Leona Finkler Institute of Holocaust Research is offering readers of the Bulletin an opportunity to purchase Institute publications at a significant discount. Prices quoted include postage and handling. The following publications are now available:

1) Judith Tydor Baumel, "*Kol Bechayot: Hasho'ah Vehatfila (A Voice of Lament: The Holocaust and Prayer)*", Ramat Gan, Bar Ilan University Press, 1992, 240p. (contact Bar-Ilan University Press directly).

2) Judith Tydor Baumel and Rivka Knoller *A Guide to the "Dworzecky Collection" found in the Institute Archives*, Ramat Gan, The Arnold and Leona Finkler Institute of Holocaust Research, 1990. (56 pages).

3) Yehuda Ben-Avner, *Vom Orthodoxen Judentum in Deutschland Zwischen Zwei Weltkriegen*, Hildesheim, Georg Olms Verlag, 1987, 100p. \$3.00/7.20 shekel

4) Yehuda Ben-Avner, *Der Israeli*, Ramat Gan, The Arnold and Leona Finkler Institute of Holocaust Research, 1992. \$15.00/36.00 shekel

5) Meir Edelstein and Penina Meizlish (eds.), *Religious Jewry During the Holocaust 1939-1945: Guide to the Archives of Religious Institutes and Organizations in Israel*, (Heb.), Ramat Gan, The Arnold and Leona Finkler Institute of Holocaust Research, 1986, 140p. \$11.00/30.00 shekel

6) David Farkas (ed. and comp.), *Guide for Manuscripts and Printed Matter from the Legacy of Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch: the Saenger Collection* vol. 1: Letters and Hebrew manuscripts (Heb.), Ramat Gan, Institute for Research of Diaspora Jewry, 1982, 57+Vip. \$12.50/30.00 shekel

7) Nahaniel Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews 1920-1943*, Ramat \$7.50/18.00 shekel

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Gan, Bar-Ilan University Press, 1981, 299p. (Contact Bar-Ilan UP directly)

8) Nathaniel Katzburg (ed.), *Pedut: Rescue in the Holocaust — Texts and Studies* (Heb.), Ramat Gan, Bar-Ilan University Press, 1981, 240+VIIIp. \$15.00/36.00 shekel

9) Keshet: *Sources and Studies* (Heb.) vol. 1 (1985), 65+XI p. \$15.00/36.00 shekel

10) Rivka Knoller, *The Activities of Religious Zionist Youth Groups in Europe During the Holocaust 1939–1945*, Ramat Gan, The Arnold and Leona Finkler Institute of Holocaust Research, 1989 (reprint 1992). \$7.50/18.00 shekel

11) Rivka Knoller, *The Denial of the Holocaust: A Bibliography*, Ramat Gan, The Arnold and Leona Finkler Institute of Holocaust Research, third edition 1992. \$7.50/18.00 shekel

12) Penina Meizlish, *Religious Life During the Holocaust according to Community Memorial Books* (Heb.), Ramat Gan, The Arnold and Leona Finkler Institute of Holocaust Research, 1990 (47 pages, 322 entries). \$7.50/18.00 shekel

13) Chana Ya'oz, *The Holocaust — Articles on Holocaust Literature* (Heb.), Ramat Gan, Department of Education, Bar-Ilan University, n.d. in conjunction with the Arnold and Leona Finkler Institute of Holocaust Research, 75p. \$3.00/7.20 shekel

14) Chana Ya'oz *[Israeli] Poetry and Prose on the Holocaust* (Heb.), Ramat Gan, Department of Education, Bar-Ilan University, n.d., 75p. \$4.00/9.60 shekel

15) Chana Ya'oz, *Teaching the Holocaust — [Israeli] Poetry, Prose and Plays* (Heb.), Ramat Gan, The Arnold and Leona Finkler Institute of Holocaust Research, n.d., 75p. \$4.00/9.60 shekel

16) Chana Ya'oz, *Young Literature — Chapters in [Israeli] Poetry and Prose on the Holocaust* (Heb.), Ramat Gan, Department of Education, Bar-Ilan University, n.d., 70p. \$4.00/9.60 shekel

\$4.00/9.60 shekel

בולטין
המכון לחקר השואה

ע"ש ארנולד וליאונה פינקלר

מס' 6
סיון ותשנ"ד – יוני 1994



אוניברסיטת בר-אילן

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BAR-ILAN UNIVERSITY

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תל אביב

בולטין

המכון לחקר השואה

ע"ש ארנולד וליאונה פינקלר

מס' 6

סיון תשנ"ד/יוני 1994

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משלוח המערכות

בהמשך למתחגו מאז שנת 1990, אנו מגישים לקורא מחדורה דירשונות שי
הבולטין האיפורמטיבי של המכון לחקר השואה ע"ש ארנולד ולאונה פינקלר
כפי שנתגו כבר בבולטין מספר 5, אנו מגישים לקורא, מלבד המדור
האיפורמטיביים, מדור בקורות ספרים בעברית ובאנגלית.
בחלקו האנגלי של הבולטין מופיע דו"ח על פעילות חברי המכון בשנים 1992
ו-1993, ותוצאות הסקר בדבר הוראת השואה באוניברסיטאות בישראל בשנים
1992 — 1993. כמו כן מופיעה רשימת פרסומי המכון אותם ניתן לרכוש דרכ
בהתחלת נכרות.

בדבר פרטים יש לפנות לד"ר יהודית באומל, עורכת הבולטין, המכון לחקר
השואה ע"ש ארנולד ולאונה פינקלר, אוניברסיטת בר-אילן, רמת-גן 52900.

ביקורת ספרים

J. Walk, Die "Juedische Zeitung fuer Ostdeutschland",
Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1933, 151 p.

פרופ' יוסף ולק, המנהל הראשון של המכון לחקר תפוצת ישראל בזמן החדש, פרסם לאחרונה את ספרו על "העיתון היהודי למזרח גרמניה", בהוצאת אוניברסיטת שטוטגרט. מניסיון האישי ידוע לי היטב מה רב המאמץ בפרסום העיתון, למספר שנתונים של עתון כלשהו. הדבר מחייב לא רק לקרוא את כל גליונות אותם שנתונים אלא אף לברר את החשוב והרלוונטי לנושא המחקר ולבנות עליו את ההצגה. יוסף ולק עשה כל זה בשקידה רבה ובעמלנות לך מורגשת גם המסיבציה האישיה שדרבנה אותו, כאיש ברסלאו לשעבר, כלפי עתון שהופיע באותה עיר ושעסק במידה ניכרת באירועי הקהילה היהודית הגדולה הזאת. העתון שמר על הופעה נוסטראלית ובלתי מפלגתית ושום דם לא קופח בדעות, אף שהמנומה הציונית של עורכיו הייתה ניכרת.

תיעוד חיי הקהילה היהודית של ברסלאו נפל במידה מסוימת בין שני כסאות: אין ביים בגרמניה חתעניות של ממש בערפולין (וברחן גם וורצל) הוא ברסלאו) ואין בפולין חתעניות בעבר הגרמני של עיר המערב הפולני של חיום. לכן לא יצא עד כה ספר זכרון לקהילה היהודית גדולה ומפוארת זאת. ספרו של ולק ממלא תפקיד זה באופן חלקי, ופרשיות מתקופתה האחרונה של הקהילה מתבררות ברוארו. בגלל מרכזיותה של הקהילה באים לידו בעתון גם פרשיות כלליות שבהן קהילות גרמניה באותה תקופה: על נמנה עומד המתברר על חמיות שבתיות קהילת ברסלאו קהילה אחידה, משותפת לאורתודוקסים ולבבלים, שבה שורת איורה שעוראל קולין ז"ל קראה לה בשעתו בכינוי "רוח ברסלאו". באפיונו את הקהילה, כותב ולק, שהרב ד"ר משה חופמן קידם בברכה את הקמת ארגון "אחדות" באורתודוקסיה היהודית בגרמניה, אך חבל שלא העיר בצד זה שהרב גם התנגד באופן החלטי לקיום סניף של "אחדות" בקהילתו, וזאת למען שמירת אחדות האורתודוקסיה בקהילה.

אירדת האחדות הפורמאלית בקהילה הופרעה לא מעט בירכוחים פנימיים בענייני הלכה וגם מסיבציה לענייני בית הספר היהודי, אולם הדברים לא הגיעו עד

עם זאת, יש גם שני חוקרים זרים, התורמים למבט משווה: האחד מנסה לתוריד את כניבשה של נורווגיה בידי הגרמנים כנקודת מפנה בתפיסתה הביטחון שלה, האחר דן בניסיון הבעייתי של הצרפתים להתמודד עם זכרון וישי מאז שחרור צרפת ועד למשפט בארבי.

מבחינת חקר השואה יש עניין בשני מאמרים: מאמרו של בוב דה גראף (Bob de Graaf) על "קולאבורציה והתנגדות: מבט משווה" (עמ' 95-108), שעל ניסיון השוואתי מועיל על ענייני שיתוף הפעולה עם התאצים וההתנגדות להם בארצות מערב אירופה תוך ניצול בגללגורפיקה ורשת היקף ומערכת; ומאמרו של מ' פוט (M.R.D. Foot) בשם: "What use was resistance?" (עמ' 109-114). במאמרו עומד פוט על הבעיות המיוחדות לחולל בתחום אפשריות ההתנגדות הפעילה ומגיע למסקנה, שאופיה היה שונה מזה שבבלגיה וצרפת, ללא מעט בגלל מקומה הגיאוגרפי של המדינה. הוא מסיים ואומר:

"Dutch resistance was more like Polish or Norwegian than it was like French or Belgian: most of those who determined to resist, did so from the earliest stages, in spite of the overwhelming practical arguments in favour of collaboration. About a million men and women — one in eight of the whole population — tried to take part: a percentage quite respectable enough in the eyes of history to outweigh the local Nazis and the volunteers for the Waffen-SS." (p. 114).

דן מכמן

Michael R. Marrus, *The Holocaust in History*, University Press of New England, Hanover and London 1987, 267pp.

ספר קומפקטי זה, הסוקר את ההיסטוריוגרפיה של השואה על-פי תושבים המרכזיים שעלו בה לדיון מאז תום מלחמת העולם השנייה ועד אמצע שנות ה-80, הופץ מאז פרסומו לספר יסוד בתחום חקר השואה. הספר זכה למחזורות נוספות, בנייתן בבריכה רכה (Penguin Book, 1989) ובתרגומים (לצדפנית, למשל), מביא מארוס, פרופסור להיסטוריה באוניברסיטת טורונטו שבקנדה, חשביל בספר זה ליצור סינתזה ראויה ובהירה של ספרות המחקר הענפה שהתפתחה בתחום חקר השואה, ספרות אשר מכה את הכא בשעריה בהלם בשל היקפה העצום.

יכולתו האנליטית של מארוס מתגלה בדרך הארגון של הספר בצורה

כדי פילוג. מאידך גיסא אחדות הקהילה הייתה לצנינים בעיני האורתודוקסיה. היהודיות בערים אחרות והיבט אחרון זה לא בא לידי ביטוי במידה מספקת בספר.

דרך תאורו את "העתון היהודי לעזרה גרמנית" שהופיע בברסלאו הציג המחבר גם מצבה מוכבדת לקהילה מוכבדת וחשובה זו שבתולדותה מלאה משפחתו הלק מעש, ועל כך יבורך.

יהודה בן-אבנר

J.P.B. Jonker, A.E. Kersten, G.N. van der Plaate (eds). *Vijftig jaar na de inval. Geschiedschrijving en Tweede Wereldoorlog*, SDU uitgeverij, 's-Gravenhage 1990, 238pp.

מלחמת העולם השנייה וכל הסובב אותה הוא אחד הנושאים המעסיקים ביותר את חוקרי ההיסטוריה בד-זמננו, במיוחד באירופה. מתוך הזווית הישראלית והיהודית אין תמיד מודעים להיקף הכתיבה בנושאים אלה, ולרלבאנטיאיות שיכולה להיות לממצאי המחקר הכללי לחקר השואה. במיוחד אמורים הדברים לגבי המחקר המתפתח בשפות ארצות אירופה הקטנות יותר, ושאיננו מתורגם לאחת השפות המובילות (אנגלית, גרמנית, צרפתית). הספר תוסקף כאן הוא אחת הדוגמאות לכך.

שמו של הספר: "חמישים שנה לאחר הפלישה. היסטוריוגרפיה ומלחמות העולם השנייה", והוא אסופה של הרצאות שנישאו בבינוס שנשא שם זה באוניברסיטה הוולפית (הפרוטסטנטית) באמסטרדם בחודש מאי 1990 (בין סגוריים יש להעיר את תשומת הלב להישג המדויק של העורכים לפרסם את דיוני הכינוס תוך פחות מחצי שנה לאחר הכינוס עצמו — דבר שאין לו כמעט תקדים בתולדות ספרי הכינוסים). כפי שניתן להבין מכותנתו, מתמקד הספר בגורלה של הולנד במלחמות העולם השנייה ובשנים הראשונות שלאחריה (50 שנה לאחר הפלישה) מתייחס, כמובן, לפלישה הגרמנית להולנד במאי 1940. בעניין זה מעלים המחברים חשונים נשאים כגון חסינות לתבוסתה המתירה של הולנד מול הצבא הגרמני, גורלו של הצבא ההולנדי לאחר הכניעה ב-1940, אופיו של הכיבוש הגרמני בהולנד והלקו של הוורמאכט (הצבא הגרמני) בן, התמודדות במבנה הצבא ההולנדי כתרצאה מהמלחמה, הערכה מחודשת של הצג ההולנדי, ניצול הכלכלה ההולנדית על-ידי הגרמנים, וחיבורים שונים על תהליכי השיקום בהולנד לאחר המלחמה.

כמו כן עוד מארוס סדרה בה 15 כרכים ובה קרוב ל-300 מאמרי יסוד על השואה באנגלית – על בסיס הסיתורה שבספר שלפניו: M.R. Marrus (ed.), *The Nazi Holocaust*, Meckler, Westport Ct, 1989.

מארוס מתמצא בשפות אירופיות אחדות – אנגלית, צרפתית, גרמנית, ואיטלקית, אך אין הוא יודע עברית ויידע נשפות מזרח-אירופיות. ברור, שאין לזקוף זאת לחובתו. אפ"כ, ניכר היעדר ידע נשפות חשפות הלל בספר. במיוחד חשוב הדבר לגבי מחקר השואה הכתוב בעברית וביידיש, משום שבשפות אלו אכן נעשה מחקר רב, שאינו בא לניסיון הראוי בספר זה – למרות שמארוס משתמש בתרגומים אנגליים במקום שהם מצויים, ושחזותו בארץ לתקופות מארוס מוצא עוזר המצוי בחקר השואה העברי, שהיה משלים את הבסיס הבibliוגרפי לספר (אינני סבור, שהדבר היה מחייב שינוי במבנה הספר ובתיזת שלו). ואולי יכול הדבר לבוא על תיקונו במהדורה עברית של הספר, אשר אין ספק בתוצאות.

כלל של דבר, זהו ספר יסודי בחקר השואה, הראוי להימנעא בספרייתו של כל מתעניין, לצד ספרו הבסיסי של איין קרשאו: I. Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation*, Edward Arnold Publishers, Kent 1989.

יון מנמן

Wolfgang Benz (Hrsg.), *Die Juden in Deutschland 1933-1945. Leben unter nationalsozialistischer Herrschaft* (unter Mitarbeit von Volker Dahm, Konrad Kwiät, Guenter Plum, Clemens Vollhals, Juliane Weizel), Verlag D. H. Beck, Muenchen 1988, 780pp.

"קרתני, שהוא לפי החשקפות ותורתו של בן עיר קטנה ונדחית" – כך מגדיר אבן שושן את המושג "פרובינציאלי", "הפיסה פרובינציאלית" (המלון נחדש, ירשלים תשכ"ט). חייבתני, שהוקרים במוסד מחקר מרכזי בתחום מדעי, במדינה רבת אוכלוסין שהתחום המדעי מתרכז בה, יהיו פרובינציאליים! הספר שלפנינו מוכיח, שאכן ייתכן הדבר.

הספר עבר כרכים, הוא בצורה מהדורת (נייר משובת, עטיפת כרומו, כריכה מצויינת, עימוד פלימני נעים, מפתח מפורט) – כפי שהמכון להיסטוריה בת זמנו (Institut fuer Zeitgeschichte) והוצאת בק, שניהם במינכן, יודעים להוציא

הייזרארית. סביב נושאים מרכזיים ופחותים – סביב תתי-נושאים או תת-סיווגים. הנושאים המרכזיים והחלקיים הם כדלהלן:

- **השואה במבט כולל** (The Holocaust in perspective): לשאלות מרכזיות של האנטישמיות; האנטישמיות של היטלר; "יחודה של השואה; חורך לרצח המוני (פרק 2).
- **הפתרון הסופי**: האינטנטינאליסטים – חורך הנישור, פונקצינאליסטים – חורך העקלקלה; הפקידים במערכת הפתרון הסופי; הבסיס שונים של מדיניות היישוב/האיכלוס הנאצית (פרק 3).
- **בעלות בריתה של גרמניה, מדיניות מנוצחות וממשלות משתפות פעולה**: מורח אירופה – "הפתרון הסופי" ב"מורח המחרתי" הגרמני; מערב אירופה (מכרזה – רצח מאולתר (פרק 4).
- **זעת קהל באירופה תחת השלטון הנאצי**: גרמנים; מזרח-אירופה; מערב אירופה; התמיכה ביחידים (פרק 5).
- **חקר צנות**: הניטאות במזרח-אירופה; יחדות מרכז-אירופה ומערבה; המחתות (פרק 6).
- **ההתנגדות היחידית**: בעיות ובעדים של ההתנגדות היחידית; ניטאות, ערות (מחתות במזרח-אירופה; סלובקיה והונגריה – הצלה כדרך של התנגדות; מערב אירופה – חיות החות היחידות (פרק 7).
- **המשקפים**: מה דעו פליטים בלתי-רצויים; חקירות היחידות (פרק 8).
- **המועצות**: הארצות הנייטראליות; הכנסיה הקאטולית (פרק 8).
- **סופה של השואה**: מו"מ לפדיון; אופציות הצלה אחרות; מצנחי המוות והשחרור; מסקנות (פרק 9).
- כפי שניראה בעליל, יוצר מארוס בעצם ספר היסטוריה בעיר-אנפין של השואה, בלי להיגרר להיזאר פרטני של ארועים וארצות, אלא על ידי הצגת השאלות המרכזיות של הארוע הכולל והתקופה. אין ספק, שבאופן זה מתגלות גם תפיסותיו והכרעותיו והאישיות של מארוס בסוגיות מסוימות, אך אף פעם אין דבר זה נעשה בלא הזכרת גישות אחרות שקיימות בתחום.
- בעלה נוספת של הספר, מלבד בהירותו וארגונו, היא שפתו הקולחת, דבר שאיננו מצוי דווקא בספרות ההיסטורית המקצועית. אין ספק, שדבר זה עזר מעלה את שימושיותו של הספר.
- מאז פרסום הספר לא קפא חקר השואה על שמריו. ואכן מארוס מרסם בכמה מקומות מאמרים שניתן לראות בהם השלמות לספר:
- (1) *"Recent Trends in the History of the Holocaust", Holocaust and Genocide Studies* vol. 3, no. 3 (1988), pp. 257-265.
- (2) *"Good History and Teaching the Holocaust", Perspectives* (American Historical Association Newsletter), vol. 13, no. 5 (May/June 1993), pp. 1, 6-12.

הראוי לשמו, לקשרי הנומלין בין יהודי גרמניה לבין יהודי העולם (מלבד הקשר המתבקש עם התנועה הציונית וארץ-ישראל וגם זה באופן מוגבל ביותר ובראיה חד-צדדית), שאלה שדיונה, למשל, על-ידי יהודה באואר בספריו על תולדות הגוייט (Y. Bauer, *My Brother's Keeper*, Philadelphia 1974; *American Jewry and the Holocaust*, Detroit 1981 על ניכר היטב גם בפרק היסודי למדי כשלעצמו של פוקר דאם (Volker Dahm) על חיי התרבות והרוח של יהודי גרמניה, שבו אין מוקדש כלל מקום לחיי הדת בורמליש השונים.

דומה, כי הפרק חטון ביותר בספר הוא זה של קונראד קוויט (Konrad Kwiet) שידיו רב לו בתוך השוואה (הוא כתב בעבר על עמידה יהודית בגרמניה, על הכיבוש הנאצי בחולד, ועוד), אשר תרם את הפרק על רדיפות היהודים לאחר פוגרומים "ליל הברדלח" (115 עמודים). פרק זה מצג תמונה מקיפה של תקופה אשר זכתה להארה מצומצמת יותר במחקר מאשר שנות השלטון הנאצי הראשונות.

כליל של דבר, ספר זה מהווה אכזבה גדולה. במאמצים ובמשאבים שהושקעו בתכנתו ניתן היה להגיע לתוצאה טובה פי כמה, שאכן חיתה מגישה תמונה מקיפה יותר, מעודכנת יותר ומענונת יותר של יחידות גרמניה בתקופה הנאצית – אילו יוזמיו ומבצעיו של המחקר לא היו שבוים בפרובינציאליות מחקרית גרמנית.

דן מנמן

ספרים. כל חלקי הספר כתובים בצורה מדעית מכובדת – נכבדה – במקובל במחקר הגרמני. אין נעשה מחקר במקורות ראשוניים הכתובים בגרמנית, ובכך יש תועלת למתעניין. אולם, הספר מקרין פרובינציאליות מכל עבר בתוכו, שהמחקר הגרמני הוא כל המחקר הקיים בנושא. בין 112 הכותרים של הספרות המשונית המופיעים בסוף הספר, רק שישה כותרים הם באנגלית – ואין זכר לספרות מקצועית בכל שפה אירופית אחרת, שלא לומר כלל על עברית. כל חלק מהתמצא בתולדות יהודי גרמניה שיישאל, אם אפשר לכתוב כיום על תולדות הייצוגיות האורזית של יהודי גרמניה? ויחזיקוד הארצי של היהודים בגרמניה? בלי מחקריהם של אברהם מרגליות ועזריאל הילדסהיימר, יענה בשלילה מוחלטת. אך למחקרים אלה – ואחרים שכמותם – אין זכר בפרק המוקדש לנושא זה (למשל *Deutsche Juden oder Juden in Deutschland*), שנכתב על ידי גינטר פלום (Günter Plura). המחקר על החגירה היהודית מגרמניה, חשיבותה והשפעתה בגרמניה, וגורלה בארצות המקלט השונות, היה מאמצע שנות ה-70 לערך מחקר יחסי בכל ארצות מערב אירופה ובישראל, והספרות בנושא זה שונתבה עד אמצע שנות ה-80 (אך לא נכתבה בגרמניה), יכולה למלא מדפים רבים. אך הם מלחוזכר ספרות זאת וממצאה בפרק בין 86 העמודים ר-5 עמודי החערות שנכתב על ידי ווליאנה וצל (Juliane Weizel) – מלבד מה שתורגם לגרמנית (בין ספרו של ויפן, **הפקרת היהודים**, במחזורת הגרמנית משנת 1986, וספרו של ארתור מוריס, **והעולם שותק**, במחזורתו הגרמנית משנת 1968). כתוצאה מכך מחזורי אותנו פרק זה למצב המחקר של סוף שנות ה-50 ואשית שנות ה-60 בתפיסתו הכללית המבקשת לחלק את התקופה מבושלת החגירה לשלוש: 1933-1935, 1935-1938, עד להפסקה החגירה – תפיסה שהופרכה כבר מימיו ממצד מספרי החגירה, הן מצד מדיניות הנאצים והן מצד תפיסות היחודים בגרמניה ומחוצה לה (וראה לעניין זה, למשל, את מאמרי: "לבירור המושג 'החלפה' בתקופת השואה", **גלקוס מורשת** כ"ח [חשוון תש"ס/נובמבר 1979], עמ' 55-76).

העדר ההתמצאות – או החשש מהמכונות? – ניכרת גם בפרק על החיים הכלכליים והמקצועיים. הייתכן כיום לכתוב על נושא זה בלי מחקריו של אברהם ברקאי על הכלכלה הנאצית, ובמיוחד על המאבק הכלכלי של יהודי גרמניה *Das Wirtschaftssystem (A. Barkai, Vom Boykott zur "Entjudung"*, des Nationalsozialismus, Koeln 1977 וחומר ניכר בתוכו.

דן