THE HOLOCAUST & GENOCIDE

CURRICULUM GUIDE • 7-12



THE BETRAYAL OF MANKIND

NEW JERSEY COMMISSION ON HOLOCAUST EDUCATION

NATHAN RAPOPORT

Polish-born Nathan Rapoport began his career as an artist at the Warsaw Academy of Art. His studies took him to Italy and France, and he was in the Soviet Union at the outbreak of the the Second World War. After 1945 he made his home in Western Europe and in Israel, and in 1959 he cam e to the United States. Awarded Poland's "Polonia Restituta" Medal in 1948, Rapoport was named "Officier d'Academie" by the French government in 1949. More recently, he was selected to receive the Joseph Handeman Prize in the Arts by the Jewish Academy of Arts and Sciences.

During his wanderings, Rapoport became acquainted with a variety of artistic styles; but it was his inner journey shaped by events of World War II, that defined his destiny as an artist. Even the darkest imagination could not envision Auschwitz yet, the name, expressive of the cruelties of our age, cried out for a chronicler of heroism and martyrdom. What artist would undertake such a task; what style and what form could adequately express the manmade horrors of such magnitude! Nathan Rapoport became that chronicler, and he found inspiration in the works of the old masters. It was this combination modern events and the classical forms of the past that enabled Rapoport to become the sculptor of determined will and intense emotion.

Dynamic action is most prominent in Rapoport's monumental works, the first of which, commemorating the Warsaw ghetto uprising in 1943, was erected in Poland in 1948. The sculpture, a powerful expression of human determination, mounted on a massive structure of Labrador granite blocks, recalls Francois Rude's Marseillaise on the Arc de Triomphe in Paris. On the verso of the monument, a relief sculpture of the oppressors and the oppressed bitterly alludes to the Ara Pacis, the peace alter, of the Emperor Augustus in Rome. Paradoxically, the granite originally intended for use by a German artist to celebrate Hitler's victories memorialized his victims.

In ancient times memorable events were recorded narratively in a continuous band of reliefs covering obelisks, arches and altars. Freely adopted Trajan's Column in Rome, which commemorated the Emperor's victory in Dacia, Rapoport created Scroll of Fire ("a symbol for the whole people, a Pantheon"). This twenty-six foot monument in Israel related the history of his generation, where prophets of old and martyrs of today mingle in a procession toward a modern-day Promised Land.

Rapoport's Flame, made of metal, cold and massive seems to glide weightlessly like the wind-blown wing of Nike of Samothrace. The relief flutters rhythmically, and contrasts are harmoniously united. The wing of victory turns into the wing of the Angel of Death; stoical acceptance of suffering flows into desperate struggle for survival. In the end, however, there is freedom and salvation.

Rapoport's Job is Everyman's anguish. The image of the patriarch seem to sink to the ground under the weight of his sorrows; yet, at the same time, he is lifted heavenward by his firm belief in god's justice.

Then there is Deliverance, and homage to an unknown soldier sustaining an unknown victim. Human dignity triumphs again, for the ultimate gift is hope.

In all of Rapoport's sculptures, distortion of form is acceptable but only to heighten sorrow and triumph and to elicit emotional response. He makes statements about human conditions and destiny, relying on directness and simplicity. Though terrifying and tragic in content, his work conveys a message of lasting values and asserts the indestructibility of the spirit.

Based on an essay Transformation in Bronze by Halina Nelken

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New Jersey Commission on Holocaust Education

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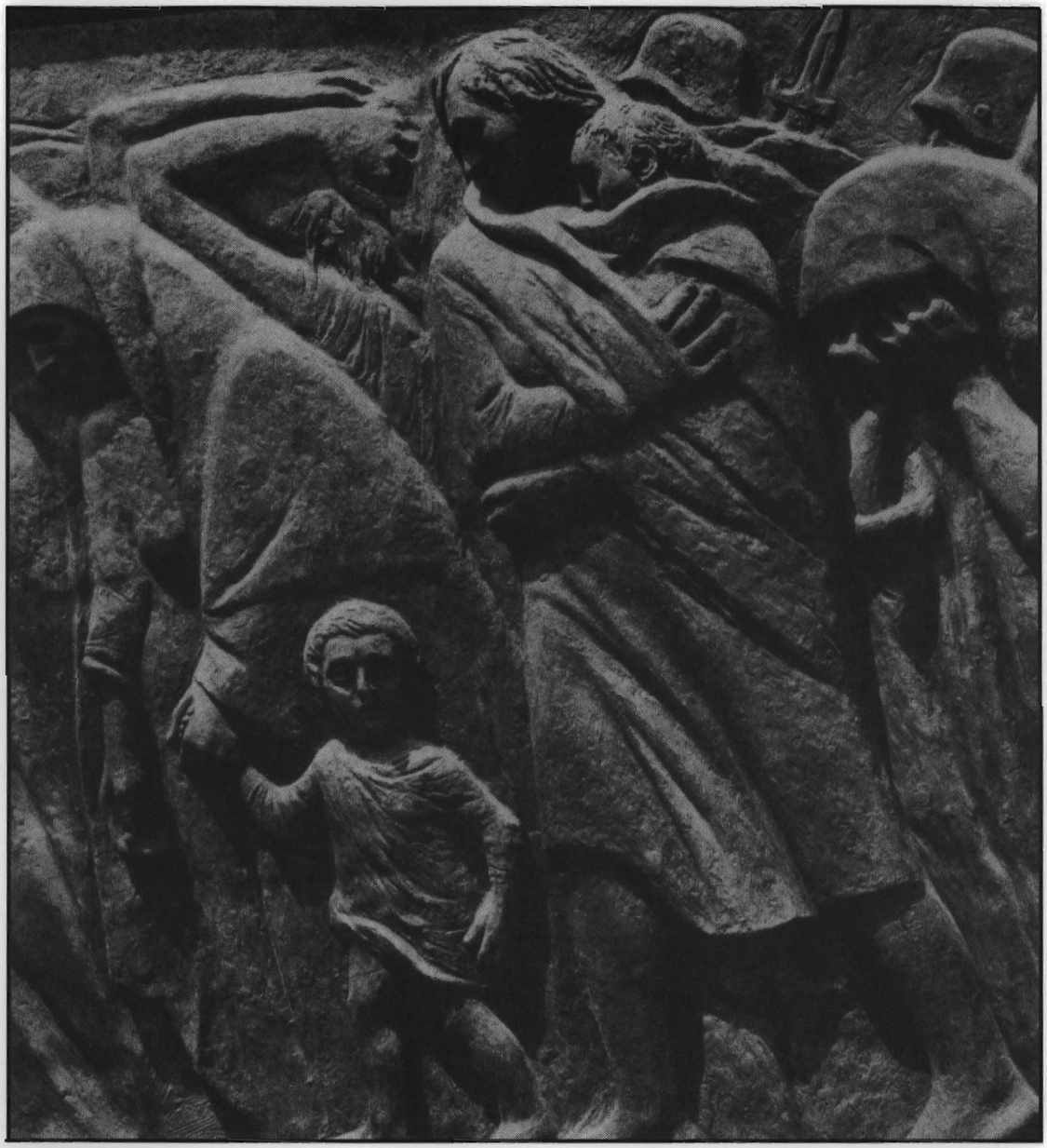
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INTRODUCTION



"Warsaw Ghetto Uprising"

GOVERNOR CHRISTINE TODD WHITMAN
HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL
STATE MUSEM
TRENTON
APRIL, 15 1995

I would also like to thank the entire New Jersey Commission on Holocaust Education for all the outstanding work it has done. One year ago, I signed into law legislation that requires our schools to teach our children about the Holocaust and other genocides. The Commission Holocaust Education laid the ground-work for that legislation by identifying and gathering the tools and resources for a Holocaust curriculum.

As we have seen and heard today, that initiative is an unqualified success -- for which the Commission deserves a lot of credit.

Today, I am honored and moved to receive the Liberty Monument Medal. But this day -- and all tributes we bestow here -- really belong to Holocaust survivors like Margit Feldman, whose courage and determination to bear witness to the horrors of the Nazi death camps ennoble humanity.

This day also belongs to the camp's liberators like John Farinella, who saw and recorded for posterity the gruesome evidence of Nazi crimes.

And this day belongs to the young, whose study of the Holocaust has helped grow THEM into more aware, more sensitive human beings. Hearing Sean and Stacy reveal how learning about the Holocaust changed their lives shows us why we have to remember this terrible period in history.

Sean and Stacy, you have made the case better than I ever could about why we are teaching New Jersey's children about the Holocaust and other genocides.

As I said last year when I signed the legislation mandating Holocaust education, honest people can disagree over a universe of topics. But there aren't two sides to Auschwitz. Our children and their children need to lean the truth about the Holocaust -- to know that racial, religious, and ethnic hatred can lead to genocide.

Now I know that after 50 years, there are some people who believe, for whatever reason, that 50 years of hearing about the Holocaust is enough, that it's time to let the matter drop, that it is time to move on

To them, I would reply with four words: Forgetting is a sin.

How can we appreciate democracy and goodness unless we understand the horrors and destruction that come out of tyranny and evil? How, indeed, can we stand up for goodness in the face of evil if we don't recognize evil?

That recognition of evil, painful and terrifying as it may be, is our saving grace. Knowing there is evil in the world moves us to identify with those who suffer from evil -- because we are all vulnerable. That empathy obligates us to fight evil when we see it.

But how can we recognize evil if we forget slavery in Egypt and America, if we forget the Holocaust, if we shut our eyes to the genocide in Cambodia, Bosnia, and Rwanda?

It is our business to remember the Holocaust, because it raises the most critical moral issues there are: those of good and evil, of empathy and indifference.

It is our business to remember the Holocaust because the loss of millions of lives was the world's loss.

It is our business to remember the Holocaust because it motivates us to be humane and see in our neighbor one who can love and dream and suffer the way we do.

It is our business to remember that there is never a "they," but always a "we".

Forgetting is a sin -- a sin that humanity must never commit.

On a more positive note, the recent opening of the United States Holocaust Museum in Washington and numerous programs around the State and in the media commemorating the 50th anniversary of the heroic uprising of the Warswa Ghetto have stimulated great public interest in the Holocaust.

The objectives and necessity of Holocaust remembrance were eloquently restated by Dr. Michael Berenbaum in his Afterword to the World Must know, the recently published Guide to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum:

> For Americans, confronting this European event brings us a new recognition of the tenets of American constitutional democracy: a belief in equality and equal justice under law; a commitment to pluralism and toleration, particularly at a time when our society is becoming more diverse than ever before in our history; a determination to restrain government by checks and balances and by the constitutional protections of unalienable rights; and a struggle for human rights as a core national value and a foundation for foreign policy. The Holocaust must shatter the myth of innocence. It has implications for the exercise of power. Those who wrestle with the darkness know it can happen again -- even in the most advanced, most cultured, most civilized of societies -- but if we are faithful to the best of American values, the most sterling of our national traditions, then we can have confidence that it won't happen here.
>
> The call from the victims -- from the world of the dead -- was to remember. From the survivors, initial silence has given way to testimony. The burden of memory has been transmitted, and thus shared. From scholars, philosophers, poets, and artists -- those who were there and those who were not -- we hear the urgency of memory, its agony and anguish, its meaning and the absence of meaning. To live in our age, one must face the void. . .
>
> Let us return to Sachsenhausen once again and listen to the words of one who was there:
>
> *I have told you this story not to weaken you But to strengthen you. Now it is up to you.*

So that we may truly strengthen those who will follow us, the New Jersey Commission on Holocaust Education recommends the enactment of a statutory mandate for Holocaust Education in New Jersey.

STATE OF NEW JERSEY

ADOPTED MARCH 10, 1994

Sponsored by Senators EWING, McGREEVEY and SINAGRA

AN ACT regarding genocide education in the public schools and supplementing chapter 35 of Title 18A of the New Jersey Statutes.

BE IT ENACTED *by the Senate and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey:*

1. The Legislature finds and declares that:

a. New Jersey has recently become the focal point of national attention for the most venomous and vile of ethnic hate speeches.

b. There is an inescapable link between violence and vandalism and ethnic and racial intolerance. The New Jersey Department of Education itself has formally recognized the existence of the magnitude of this problem in New Jersey schools by the formation of a Commissioner's Task Force on Violence and Vandalism.

c. New Jersey is proud of its enormous cultural diversity. The teaching of tolerance must be made a priority if that cultural diversity is to remain one of the State's strengths.

d. National studies indicate that fewer than 25% of students have an understanding of organized attempts throughout history to eliminate various ethnic groups through a systematic program of mass killing or genocide.

e. The New Jersey Commission on Holocaust Education, created pursuant to P.L.1991, c.193 (C.18A:4A-1 et seq.), several years ago expanded its mission to study and recommend curricular material on a wide range of genocides. The Holocaust Commission is an ideal agency to recommend curricular materials to local districts.

2. a. Every board of education shall include instruction on the Holocaust and genocides in an appropriate place in the curriculum of all elementary and secondary school pupils.

b. The instruction shall enable pupils to identify and analyze applicable theories concerning human nature and behavior; to understand that genocide is a consequence of prejudice and discrimination; and to understand that issues of moral dilemma and conscience have a profound impact on life. The instruction shall further emphasize the personal responsibility that each citizen bears to fight racism and hatred whenever and wherever it happens.

3. This act shall take effect immediately and shall first apply to curriculum offerings in the 1994-95 school year.

DONALD T. DiFRANCESCO
MAR 15 1994
PRESIDENT

ALFRED "CHUCK" HAYTAIAN
MAR 28 1994
SPEAKER

APPROVED
2nd DAY OF APRIL, 1994
CHRISTINE TODD WHITMAN
GOVERNOR

Attest
Peter Verniero
PETER VERNIERO
CHIEF COUNSEL TO THE GOVERNOR

D

State of New Jersey

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LINDA WEISSBROD

WILLIAM Z. ZIMMERSPITZ

Dear Educator:

This curriculum guide is designed for teachers of secondary schools and students (7-12). This guide includes historical, psychological literary and artistic sources as well as eyewitness accounts to investigate human nature, especially its darker side of hatred and prejudice. The roots of the Holocaust and the continuing existence of genocide and questions of responsibility, then and now is the basic intent of the curriculum.

The goal of this curriculum guide is to promote a deeper appreciation and respect among our students for people who are different from themselves and therefore to help them function more thoughtfully in our diverse and increasingly complex society. The subject of this guide, "The Holocaust and genocide," will help students to recognize and embrace the precious values of appreciation and respect for others by showing what happens when disrespect and intolerance occur. Their exposure to social prejudice and its consequences (discrimination and persecution) will challenge students to make choices toward improving the world in which we live.

The curriculum guide is designed to sharpen student's awareness of the world they live in, to help them think critically about the difficulties we all confront, and to help them address and hopefully solve problems. Classroom lessons and activities approach the subject by using a variety of techniques: readings that express an assortment of view points, questions to encourage discussion and debate, and practical dilemmas. The readings marked with a "period" in the outline are included in the curriculum.



Holocaust," a term derived from Greek Holokauton (a great destruction or conflagration by fire), refers to a virtual destruction of European Jewry during World War II. The term also signifies an assault on all humanity, for it describes the moral depths to which powerful people and their followers can sink and the deadly consequence of their actions. Therefore, all of us, then, bear responsibility for understanding the full-blown ravages of this pathology, for speaking out against its terrible reoccurrence, and whenever and however possible, rooting out the decay that might well give rise to a future Holocaust or genocide. We the members of the New Jersey Commission on Holocaust Education encourage and support your efforts as you embark on this challenging educational endeavor.

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PROFICIENIES

7th Grade - 12th Grade

I. The Nature of Human Behavior

1. Examine human behaviors of obedience, conformity, silence, courage, integrity, martyrdom, empathy, caring, cruelty, collaboration, and other positive and negative behaviors in relation to personal relationships.

2. Draw preliminary conclusions about human nature and behavior.

II. From Prejudice to Genocide

1. Define and determine the causes of prejudice, scapegoating, bigotry, discrimination and genocide.

2. Compare contemporary examples of hatred, prejudice, discrimination and genocide.

3. Understand the history of antisemitism from ancient times to 1933.

4. Analyze the relationship, if any, between education/culture and the potential for genocide. Why was the Holocaust perpetrated by a civilized, highly educated people?

5. Study ideologies related to prejudice and how they might lead to a genocide: discrimination based on race, sexual orientation, creed, gender, religion, social class, age, ethnicity.

6. Reassess human nature in light of examples of prejudice, scapegoating, bigotry, discrimination and genocide. To where would tolerance, respect, acceptance lead?

III. The Rise of Nazism: Prelude to the Holocaust

1. Analyze the background of German political, economic and social thought in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

2. Assess the domestic and worldwide conditions that influenced Germany after World War I and contributed to the rise of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party.

3. Investigate reasons for and the impact of the decline of the Weimar Republic.

7. Analyze the responses to the Nazi persecution policies by Germans and collaborators from other nations.

8. Evaluate the continuing role of the mass media and propaganda in Nazi Germany, including use of the "Big Lie" and the corruption of language.

9. Investigate the reasons why specific groups become victims of the Nazis, including children, Gypsies, Soviet prisoners of war, Blacks, Jehovah's witnesses, the handicapped, homosexuals, and others, and investigate the reasons for their respective treatment.

10. Examine the war plans and priorities of the United States during the World War II as they relate to the Holocaust, including: (a) the Evian Conference; (b) the St. Louis, (c) the Bermuda Conference; and (d) the failure to bomb Auschwitz or the railroad tracks leading to Auschwitz.

11. Explore eye-witness accounts of the Holocaust by survivors and liberators.

12. Develop a chronology of the Holocaust, 1933-1945.

13. Define the Holocaust: the Shoah.

14. Reassess human nature and behavior in light of events in Nazi controlled areas from 1933-1945.

V. Resistance and Intervention and Non Action

1. Analyze Jewish physical and spiritual resistance to the Holocaust.

2. Examine resistance to the Holocaust by non-Jewish people in Germany (*e.g.*, the White Rose movement) and in the Nazi occupied countries (the Righteous Gentiles).

3. Assess the limited responses against the Holocaust of (a) the United States and the Allies; (b) the Vatican; (c) religious organizations and leaders; and (d) the media.

4. Analyze the responses of American Jews to the Holocaust.

5. Define heroic behavior, and identify those people who had the courage to care during the Holocaust, such as Raoul Wallenberg, Oskar Schindler, Chiune Sugihara and the people of Le Chambon, Denmark, Italy and Bulgaria.

6. Reassess human nature in light of the local and worldwide responses to the Holocaust.

8. Assess the implications of the Holocaust and genocide for the present and the future.

9. Assess the moral and philosophical implications of recent antisemitic incidents and other forms of prejudice, discrimination, bigotry, and racism in American society.

10. Evaluate individual and collective responsibility for the Holocaust and genocide.

11. Evaluate the uniqueness of the events of the Holocaust and the universal lessons that may be learned.

12. Evaluate the relationship of the Holocaust to our lives.

13. Evaluate the impact of the Holocaust upon survivors, including the hidden children.

14. Examine the contributions to the world made by survivors of the Holocaust and genocides.

15. Examine the impact of the Holocaust and genocide on the families of survivors.

16. Assess the contributions to the world that might have been made by victims of the Holocaust and genocide.

17. Examine the reasons why the Holocaust and genocide must be studied.

18. Hypothesize whether or not a Holocaust or genocide can happen again.

19. Examine recent events in Rwanda, Bosnia/Herzegovina, and republics of the former Soviet Union; bias crimes locally and nationally in the United States; and the reappearance of Nazism and hatred around the world.

20. Evaluate the responsibility of each individual to prevent another Holocaust or genocide.

Unit I: The Nature of Human Behavior

Why do some people kill entire groups of other people? How do they get away with it? This unit examines the nature of power, the behavior of ordinary people who abuse it, and witnesses'responses: their silence in the face of "official" abuse, due to fear or indifference or conversely their extraordinary courage in saving lives while they are in imminent danger.

Unit II: Views of Prejudice and Genocide

Lethal hatred arises ultimately from unchecked prejudices. To understand the Holocaust and the continuing existence of genocide, it is essential to examine the phenomenon of prejudice, its endemic nature, the virulence, and its power to produce an event on the scale of the Holocaust. This unit will look at the expressions of prejudice such as anti-Semitism and other forms of racism. It will also explore prospects for preventing or arresting the catastrophic course of prejudice and extreme social conflict.

Unit III: The Rise of Nazism

This unit traces the historical progression of events, from the 19th to the middle of the 20th centuries, that paved the way to Nazi totalitarian supremacy in 1933. The purpose of this unit is to explain how these events set the stage for Nazi Germany's destructive and self-destructive behavior during the 12 years that followed.

Unit IV: From Persecution to Mass Murder

This unit offers an anatomy of mass murder. According to world renowned historian Yehuda Bauer, five distinct components constituted the Holocaust:

1. The presence of extreme social hatred
2. Dictatorial control of society
3. A compliant civil bureaucracy
4. The technological means to commit mass murder
5. A war to overshadow the unfolding evil deed

By examining Nazi decrees such as, the calculated deployment of railroad trains for the sole purpose of committing mass murder, the methodical gathering of Jews and others in ghettos and in internment, concentration, and death camps, and other aspects of the "Final Solution," this unit explores the technology and politics of mass murder.

PAGE

Unit Readings

UNIT I - An Introduction to a study of the Holocaust and Genocide: The Nature of Human Behavior

Introduction
Performance Objectives, Teaching - Learning Strategies
Source Materials for Teachers

Objectives	READING	TITLE	
1	Reading #1	**Human Behavior**	
		Human Behavior Statements by Bettelheim and Fromm	1
1	Reading #2	**Man's Search for Meaning** by Victor Frankl - Furman Anthology	2
1	Reading #3	**Human Nature: Opinion Survey**	4
1	Reading #4	**The Nature of Man**	
		"The Prince" by Niccolo Machiavelli	5
		"Man is Evil and War Like" by Thomas Hobbes	6
		"Man is Rational" by John Locke	7
		"Man is a Product of His Environment" by B.F. Skinner	8
		- Society on Trial	
2	Reading #5	"Man is Inately Aggressive" by Robert Ardrey	9
		"The Drowned and the Saved" by Primo Levi	10
		"Conformist Aggression" from **Anatomy of Human Destructiveness** by Eric Fromm	11
2	Reading #6	**The Mayor's Choice - What will you do? - Furman, Anthology**	12
2	Reading #7	**Milgram "Shock" Experiment - Furman, Anthology**	13
3	Reading #8	**Sounds of Silence** (song) by Paul Simon	15
3	Reading #9	**Pastor Niemoller's Quotation**	16
3	Reading #10	**The Hangman** (poem) by Maurice Ogden - **Facing History and Ourselves**	18
3	Reading #11	**The Dying Girl No One Helped - Furman Anthology**	19
3	Reading #12	**They Call Them Cults** (Moonies) by Michele L. Baker - Scholastic Magazine	21
3	Reading #13	**The Wave** (playlet) - Scholastic Magazine	27
4	Reading #14	**The Bystander's Dilemma - Heidi's Dilemma**	36
		Conversion or Emigration - Furman, Anthology	40
4	Reading #15	**His Name is Jackie Robinson**- Creative Classroom	41
		We Are the World (song)	44
5	Reading #16	**The Reichstag is Burning** by Ina Friedman	45
		Anna's Dilemma - Furman Anthology	47
		The Drowned and Saved - story of Fool - Elias Lindzin by Primo Levi	48
5	Reading #17	**Why Did You Kill Our Hero? - Teaching Tolerance**	50
5	Readomg #18	**Schindler's List** and guide by Lifetime Learning System	53

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UNIT III - The Rise of Nazism in Germany: Prelude to the Holocaust

			PAGE
		Introduction	
		Performance Objectives, Teaching - Learning Strategies	
		Source Materials for Teachers	
		Reading Materials and Questions for Students	
Objectives	READING	TITLE	
3	Reading #1	Jewish Life in 20th Century Europe	1
		Jews of Poland, Jews of Germany , Furman Anthology	2
3	Reading #2	Christians and Jews of Germany, Society on Trial 1870-1914, ADL, (Bantam Books)	3
3	Reading #3	Can Any People Become the Victims of Genocide -Lesson #2, From Classroom strategies for Teaching Holocaust, Ira Zomberg, ADL	6
4	Reading #4	Rise of Hitler, Sefton Delmar, Furman Anthology	13
4	Reading #5	Why the Nazis came to Power in Germany, Furman Anthology	15
4	Reading #6	3rd Reich in Perspective - Gertrude Noar, Society on Trial	16
		Why I Joined the Hitler Youth - William Allen	19
4	Reading #7	What were the Sources of Nazi Voter Strength - David Hagenauer, Ramsey High School	20
5	Reading #8	Leni Riefenstahl - The Survival of Her Will - Stanley Feingold (Congress Monthly)	23
5	Reading #9	What the Nazis Believed - Furman Anthology	27
6	Reading #10	The Messages of the Nazis: Slogans, Posters, Songs and Games - Furman Anthology	30

OBJECTIVES	READINGS	TITLE	PAGE
7	Reading #7	Life with the Enemy by Werner Rings	84
7		Allies, Vanquished States, and Collaborators by Michael Marrus	85
7		Bystanders and Collaborators, Department of Defense Guide	86
		Articles about collaborators from the Holocaust Encyclopedia	92
10	Reading #10	"Night of Broken Glass" from The World Must Know by Michael Berenbaum	108
10	Reading #10	"Search for Refuge" - Ibid	111
10		"Voyage of the St. Louis" - Ibid	112
10		"To Safety" - Ibid	113
10		"The War Begins - Ibid	114
10		"Terror in Poland" - Ibid	115
10		"Murder of the Handicapped" - Ibid	116
10		The Road to Genocide - U.S. Holocaust Museum	119
10		Maps - "The Search for Countries of Refuge - Furman, Anthology	121
10		American Corporations and the Nazis - Furman - Anthology	125
11	Reading #11	The Liberators - Department of Defense	128

UNIT VI- GENOCIDE PAGE

Introduction
Performance Objectives, Teaching-Learning Strategies
Source Materials for Teachers

OBJECTIVES	READINGS	TITLE	SOURCE	
1	Reading #1	"Definition of Genocide" from **Human Rights**	Samuel Totten and Milton Kleg	1
1	Reading #2	"The Holocaust" - Summing Up - Holocaust and Genocide is there a difference? from **A History of the Holocaust**	Yehuda Bauer	4
		Definition of Genocide	Well known authors	6
1	Reading #3	"Toward a Generic Definition of Genocide" from **Conceptual and Historical Dimensions**	George Andreopoulos	7
1	Reading #4	"The Definition of Genocide" "Some Preconditions of Genocide" from **The History and Sociology of Genocide - Analyses of Case Studies**	Frank Chalk and Kurt Jonassohn	27
1		Molotsky, Irvin. "Senate Votes to Carry Out Treaty Banning Genocide".	New York Times	36
1		Korey, William. "Seal and Deliver - The Genocide Pact"		37
1	Reading #5	"Intending Genocide" from **Act and Ideas in Nazi Genocide**	Berel Lang	38
1	Reading #6	"Twentieth Century Path to Genocide" - The Holocaust, Playing Deity: Creating Pure Race and Conclusion- "	Helen Fein **Accounting for Genocide**	46
1	Reading #7	"Genocide as Defined in U.S. Criminal Code."	Chalk and Jonnasohn	56

UNIT VII ISSUES OF CONSCIENCE AND MORAL RESPOSIBILITY

Introduction
Performance Objectives, , Teaching-Learning Strategies
Source Materials for Teachers

OBJECTIVES	TITLE		PAGE
1	READING #1	Assessing and Defining Responsibility	1
		Chaim Ginot's letter	
		Nazi Leadership - Furman Anthology	2
3	READING #2	Limits of War - War trials, Judgment at Nuremberg - Xerox Corporation	6
		Nuremberg War Crimes Trial - Furman Anthology	5
5	READING #3	EXODUS by Leon Uris, "Hunger Strike", Chapter 32	16
5		Home at Last - Editor Azriel Eisenberg	
		"Stubborn Son of a Stubborn People" by Lena Kichler	19
		Declaration of State of Israel	23
8	READING #4	Holocaust Questions by Yehuda Bauer - Furman, Anthology	24
		Holocaust Denial by Kenneth Stern	26
		It's Really True, SJCC Students, Summit, NJ	29
9	READING #5	"Inside the 3rd Reich" - 1993, Responsa Magazine	35
		"Active White Supremacist Groups 1993", Klanwatch, 1994	41
		"Young Nazi Killers - The Rising Skinhead Danger", ADL	45
		"Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents", ADL	48
10	READING #6	Hidden Children, Dimension Journal, ADL	
		"Children on the Run" by Mordecai Paldiel, Dimensions, ADL	51
		"The Legacy of the Holocaust Survivors", United States Holocaust Memorial Museum	
		"The Pledge of Acceptance of the Second Generation", Ibid	56
11	READING #7	Lessons of Holocaust by Dennis Prager - Ultimate Issues	57
		The World Must Know by Michael Berenbaum	
		"The Afterword".	63
		Statements of U.S., Polish and German Bishops on the 50th Anniversary of the Liberation of Auschwitz	

HOLOCAUST CENTERS IN NEW JERSEY

Brookdale Community College
Lincroft
(908) 224-2769

Camden County College
Blackwood
(609) 227-7200

Drew University
Madison
(201) 408-3600

Kean College
Union
(908) 527-3049

Mercer County Community College
Trenton
(609) 882-47683

Middlesex County College
Edison
(908) 906-2503

Ramapo College
Mahwah
(201) 529-7409

Rutgers University
New Brunswick
(908) 932-9898

College of St. Elizabeth's
Convent Station
(201) 605-7351

Seton Hall University
South Orange
(201) 761-9463

Richard Stockton College of N.J.
Pomona
(609) 652-4699

William Paterson College
Wayne
(201) 595-2000

Fairleigh Dickinson University
Teaneck
(201) 692-2553

Raritan Valley Community College
Somerset
(908) 526-1200 Ext. 312

Rider College
Lawrenceville
(609) 896-5345

HOLOCAUST DEMONSTRATION SITES

Ramapo Indian Hills
(Secondary)
(201) 891-1505 Ext. 213

Monmouth Regional
(Secondary)
(201) 542-1170

New Brunswick
(Middle/Secondary)
(908) 745-5437

Ramsey
(Secondary)
(201) 327-8187

Vineland
(Elementary/Secondary)
(609) 794-6773

Egg Harbor Township
(Middle)
(609) 383-3355

Jackson Township
(Middle)
(908) 928-1400

Teaneck
(Secondary)
(201) 833-5444

Runnenmede
(Elementary)
(609) 931-5346

Lakewood
(Middle)
(908) 901-2708

Cherry Hill
(Middle)
(609) 424-4505

West Essex Regional
(Secondary)
(201) 228-1200 Ext. 259

Moorestown Middle School
(Middle)
(609) 235-4000

AFFILIATED HOLOCAUST CENTER

Metro West Jewish Federation
(201) 884-4800 Ext. 198

Cherry Hill JCRC
(609) 665-6100

Jewish Federation of Clifton/Passaic
(201) 777-7031

Moriah School-Englewood
(201) 567-7402

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SUGGESTED RESOURCES FOR OBTAINING MATERIALS

Center for Studies on the Holocaust
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai' B'rith
823 United Nations Plaza
New York, New York 10071

Social Studies School Service
10200 Jefferson Boulevard
PO Box 802
Culver City, CA 90232-0802

New England School Supply
Division of Chaselle, Inc.
609 Silver Street
Agawam, Massachusetts 01001

Simon Wiesenthal Center
9760 West Pico Boulevard
Los Angeles, CA 90035-4792
(213) 553-9306 Fax: (213) 553-8007

American Gathering and Federation of Jewish Holocaust Survivors
Suite 205
122 West 30th Street
New York, NY 10001
212-239-4230

Facing History and Ourselves National Foundation
16 Hurd Rd.
Brookline, MA 02146
617-232-1595
New York Office: 212-868-6544

Gratz College Holocaust Oral History Archive
Old York Road and Melrose Avenue
Melrose Park, PA 19126
215-635-7300

Holocaust Awareness Museum of Delaware Valley
Gratz College
Old York Road and Melrose Avenue
Melrose Park, PA 19126
215-635-7300

Liberty Foundation (formerly Anne Frank Institute of Philadelphia)
321 Chestnut St.
Philadelphia, PA 19106

State of New Jersey Commission on Holocaust Education
225 West State St.
CN 500
Trenton, NJ 08625-0500
Dr. Paul B. Winkler, Executive Director
609-292-9274

United States Holocaust Memorial Council & Museum
100 Raoul Wallenberg Place, SW
Washington, DC 20024-2150
202-448-0400
Kristy L. Brosius (contact person for trips)
Resource Center Coordinator
FAX: 202-448-2696
202-448-6140

Simon Wiesenthal Center

9760 West Pico Blvd.
Los Angeles, CA 90035-4792
(213) 553-9036
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GLOSSARY OF TERMS, PLACES AND PERSONALITIES

BELZEC

One of the six extermination camps in Poland. Established in 1942 by Odilo Globocnik, SS and police leader of the Lublin District. It was opened for the sole purpose of murdering Jews in occupied Poland. By the time the camp ceased operations in January 1943, more than 600,000 persons had been murdered there.

CHAMBERLAIN, NEVILLE (1869-1940)

British Prime Minister, 1937-1940. He concluded the Munich Agreement in 1938, which he falsely believed would bring "peace in our time".

CHELMNO

A special extermination camp established in late 1941 in Wartheland (the incorporated region of Western Poland), where the SS killed the Jews of Lodz and Poznan province, using mobile gas vans.

CHURCHILL, WINSTON (1875-1965)

British Prime Minister, 1940-1945. He succeeded Chamberlain on May 10, 1940 at the height of Hitler's conquest of Western Europe. Churchill had been one of the very few Western politicians who, early on, recognized the threat that Hitler posed to Europe and strongly opposed Chamberlain's appeasement policies.

CONCENTRATION CAMPS

Immediately after their assumption of power on January 30, 1933, the Nazis established concentration camps for the imprisonment of all "enemies" of their regime: actual and potential political opponents (e.g. communists, socialists, monarchists). Jehovah's Witnesses, Gypsies, homosexuals and other "asocials" were included later on. The general roundup of Jews did not start until 1938. Before then, only Jews, who fit one of the earlier categories, were interned in camps. The first three concentration camps were Dachau (near Munich), Buchenwald (near Weimar) and Sachsenhausen (near Berlin).

DER STUERMER

"The Assailant" was an antisemitic German weekly, founded and edited by Julius Streicher, which was published in Nuremberg between 1923 and 1945.

EICHMANN, ADOLF (1906-1962)

SS Lieutenant-colonel and head of the "Jewish Section" of the Gestapo. He was instrumental in implementing the "Final

EXTERMINATION CAMPS

Nazi camps for the mass killing by gas of Jews and others (e.g. Gypsies, Russian prisoners-of-war, ill prisoners). Known as "death camps", these were: Auschwitz-Birkenau, Belzec, Chelmno, Majdanek, Sobibor, and Treblinka. All were located in Eastern Europe.

FINAL SOLUTION

The cover name for the plan to destroy the Jews of Europe, the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question". Beginning in December 1941, Jews were rounded up and sent to concentration camps in the East. The program was deceptively disguised as "resettlement in the East".

FRANK, HANS

Governor-General of occupied Poland. A Nazi from the earliest days (Hitler's personal lawyer), he announced, "Poland will be treated like a colony; the Poles will become slaves of the Greater German Reich." By 1942, more than 85% of the Jews in Poland had been transported to extermination camps. Frank was tried at Nuremberg, convicted, and executed in 1946.

FRICK, WILHELM (1877-1946)

A dedicated Nazi bureaucrat who was appointed Minister of the Interior in 1933. In 1946, he was tried at Nuremberg, convicted, and executed.

GENOCIDE

The partial or entire destruction of religious, racial or national groups.

GERSTEIN, KURT

Head of the Waffen SS Institute of Hygiene in Berlin. While maintaining ties with the resistance, Gerstein purchased the gas needed in Auschwitz, officially for fumigation purposes, but actually used for the killing of Jews. He passed on information about the killings to Swedish representatives and Vatican papal nuncios. Overwhelmed with remorse he hanged himself in a French jail after the war. He is the author of a widely quoted description of a gassing procedure in Belzec, protagonist of Rolf Hochhuth's The Deputy, and the subject of Saul Friedlander's biography, The Ambiguity of Good.

GHETTO

The Nazis revived the medieval ghetto to describe their compulsory "Jewish Quarter" (**Wohnbezirk**). These were poor sections of a city where all Jews from the surrounding areas were forced to

main groups that still exist today. Traveling in small caravans, their bands are led by Elders. Gypsies appeared in Western Europe in the 15th century. By the 16th century, they had spread throughout Europe, where they were persecuted almost as relentlessly as the Jews. It is believed that approximately 500,000 perished during the Holocaust. Note: Most gypsy victims were shot not gassed.

HESS, RUDOLF
(1894-1987)

Hitler's deputy; was at his side from the earliest days of the Nazi movement. On May 10, 1941, he flew alone from Augsburg and parachuted, landing in Scotland where he was promptly interned. The purpose of his flight has never become clear. He probably wanted to persuade the British to make peace with Hitler as soon as he attacked the Soviet Union. Hitler promptly declared him insane. Hess was tried at Nuremberg, found guilty and was sentenced to life imprisonment. He was the only Nazi in Spandau Prison until he apparently committed suicide in 1987.

HEYDRICH, REINHARD

Former naval officer who joined the SS in 1932, after dismissal from the Navy. He headed the SS Security Service (SD), a Nazi party intelligence agency. In 1933-1934, he became head of the political police (Gestapo) and later of the criminal police (Kripo). He combined Gestapo and Kripo into the Security Police (SIPO). In 1939, Heydrich combined the SD and SIPO into the Reich Security Main Office. He organized the **Einsatzgruppen** which killed Jews in occupied Russia during 1941-1942. In 1941, he was asked by Goering to implement a "Final Solution to the Jewish Question". During the same year he was appointed protector of Bohemia and Moravia. In January 1942, he presided over the Wannsee Conference, an international meeting to coordinate the "Final Solution". On May 29, 1942, he was assassinated by Czech partisans who parachuted in from England. (For consequences of this assassination, see Lidice).

HITLER, ADOLF

Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor. Although born in Austria, he settled in Germany in 1913. At the outbreak of World War I, he enlisted in the Bavarian Army,

occurred. The word **Shoah**, originally a Biblical term meaning widespread disaster is the modern Hebrew equivalent.

JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES

A religious sect, originating in America, organized by Charles Taze Russell, whose doctrine centers on the second coming of Christ. The Witnesses base their beliefs on the Bible and have no official ministers. Recognizing only the kingdom of God, the Witnesses refuse to salute the flag, to bear arms in war, and to participate in the affairs of government. This doctrine brought them into conflict with National Socialism. They were considered enemies of the state and were relentlessly persecuted.

JUDENRAT
(PLURAL: **JUDENRAETE**)

Council of Jewish representatives in communities and ghettos set up by the Nazis to carry out their instructions.

JUDENREIN

German for "clean of Jews", denoting areas where all Jews had been either murdered or deported.

KAPO

Prisoner in charge of a group of inmates in Nazi concentration camps.

KRISTALLNACHT

Night of the Broken Glass: Pogrom (mass riot) unleashed by the Nazis on November 9-10, 1938. All over Germany and Austria, synagogues and other Jewish institutions were burned down; Jewish stores were destroyed; and their contents were looted. At the same time, approximately 35,000 Jewish men were sent to concentration camps. The "excuse" for this action was the assassination of Ernst vom Rath in Paris by a Jewish teenager whose parents had been rounded up by the Nazis.

LIDICE

Czech mining village (pop. 700). In reprisal for the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich, the Nazis "liquidated" the village in 1942. They shot the men; deported the women and children to concentration camps; razed the village to the ground; and struck its name from the maps. After World War II, a new village was built near the site of the old Lidice, which is now a national park and memorial.

MENGELE, JOSEF

SS physician at Auschwitz, notorious for pseudo-medical experiments, especially on twins and Gypsies. He "selected" new arrivals by simply pointing to the right or the left, thus separating those considered able to work from those who were not. Those, too weak or too old to work, were sent straight to the gas chambers, after all their possessions, including their clothes, were taken for resale in Germany. After the war, he spent some time in a British internment hospital but disappeared, went underground, and escaped to Argentina, and later to Paraguay, where he became a citizen in 1959. He was hunted by Interpol, Israeli agents, and Simon Wiesenthal. In 1986, his body was found in Embu, Brazil.

MUSSELMANN

Nazi camp slang word for a prisoner on the brink of death.

NIGHT AND FOG DECREE

Issued by Hitler on December 7, 1941, to seize "persons endangering German security" who were to vanish without a trace into night and fog.

NUREMBERG LAWS

Two anti-Jewish statutes enacted in 1935 during the Nazi party's national convention in Nuremberg. The first, the Reich Citizenship Law, deprived German Jews of their citizenship and all rights pertinent thereto. The second, the Law for the Protection of the German Blood and Honor, outlawed marriages of Jews and non-Jews, forbade Jews from employing German females of childbearing age, and prohibited Jews from displaying the German flag. Many additional regulations were attached to the two main statutes, which provided the basis for removing Jews from all spheres of German political, social, and economic life. The Nuremberg Laws carefully established definitions of Jewishness based on bloodlines. Thus, many Germans of mixed ancestry called **"Mischlinge"**, faced antisemitic discrimination, if they had a Jewish grandparent.

PARTISANS

Irregular troops engaged in guerrilla warfare, often behind enemy lines. During World War II, this term was applied to all resistance fighters in Nazi-occupied countries.

Although various SS units were assigned to the battlefield, the organization is best known for carrying out the destruction of European Jewry.

SS ST. LOUIS

The steamship St. Louis was a refugee ship that left Europe in the spring of 1939, bound for Cuba. When the ship arrived, only 22 of the 1128 refugees were allowed to disembark. Initially no country, including the United States, was willing to accept the others. The ship finally returned to Europe where most of the refugees were finally granted entry into England, Holland, France and Belgium.

STRUMA

Name of a boat carrying 769 Jewish refugees, which left Rumania late in 1941. It was refused entry to Palestine or Turkey, and was tugged out to the Black Sea where it sank in February 1942, with the loss of all on board except one.

TEREZIN (CZECH)
THERESIENSTADT (GERMAN)

Established in early 1942 outside Prague as a "model" ghetto, Theresienstadt was not a sealed section of town, but rather an eighteenth-century Austrian garrison. It became a Jewish town, governed and guarded by the SS. When the deportations from central Europe to the extermination camps began in the spring of 1942, certain groups were initially excluded: invalids; partners in a mixed marriage, and their children; and prominent Jews with special connections. These were sent to the ghetto in Terezin. They were joined by old and young Jews from the Protectorate, and later, by small numbers of prominent Jews from Denmark and Holland. Its large barracks served as dormitories for communal living; they also contained offices, workshops, infirmaries and communal kitchens. The Nazis used Terezin to deceive public opinion. They tolerated a lively cultural life of theatre, music lectures, and art. Thus, it could be shown to officials of the International Red Cross. Terezin, however, was only a station on the road to the extermination camps; about 88,000 were deported to their deaths in the East. In April 1945, only 17,000 Jews remained in Terezin, where they were joined by 14,000 Jewish concentration camp pris-

"TIMELINE" - From the book GENOCIDE: CRITICAL ISSUES OF THE HOLOCAUST, a Simon Wiesenthal Center publication.

1933

January 30 -	Adolf Hitler appointed Chancellor of Germany.
February 27 -	Reichstag fire. Nazis unleash terror to ensure election results.
March 23 -	First concentration camp - Dachau - established.
March 27 -	Enabling Act - suspending civil liberties - passed by Nazi-dominated Reichstag.
April 1 -	Boycott of Jewish shops and businesses. Jewish professionals barred from entering office.
April 7 -	First anti-Jewish decree: The Law for the Reestablishment of the Civil Service.
April 21 -	Ritual slaughter of animals in accordance with Jewish dietary laws prohibited in Germany.
April 26 -	Gestapo established.
May 10 -	Public burnings of books authored by Jews, those of Jewish origin, and opponents of Nazism.
Spring/Summer -	Universities and the arts "cleansed" of Jewish influence. Jewish professors expelled. Jewish writers and artists prohibited from practicing their professions.
Spring/Summer -	Jewish organizations in American and Western Europe protest Nazi persecution of the Jews. A few call for boycott of Nazi Germany.
October 19 -	Germany leaves the League of nations.

1934

June 30 -	"Night of the Long Knives": Nazis purge leadership of Storm Troops (SA) and opponents of Nazism.

April 26 - Jews in Reich must register all property with authorities.

August 1 - Adolf Eichmann established Office of Jewish Emigration to speed up pace of forced emigration.

August 17 - Decrees revoke all name changes by Jews and force those Jews who did not have names recognized as Jewish by German authorities to add "Israel" (for males) and "Sarah" (for females) as middle names.

September 29-30 - Munich Conference England and France agree to turn over Sudetenland (part of Czechoslovakia) to Germany.

October 5 - Following request by the Swiss authorities, Germans order all Jews' passports marked with a larger red "J" to prevent Jews from smuggling themselves into Switzerland.

October 28 - Jews with Polish citizenship living in Germany are expelled to Polish border. Poles refuse to admit them. German refuse to allow them back into Germany - 17,000 stranded in frontier town of Zbasyn.

November 9-10 - Kristallnacht (Night of the Broken Glass): anti-Jewish pogrom in Germany and Austria. Two hundred synagogues destroyed. 7500 Jewish shops looted and 30,000 male Jews sent to concentration camps (Dachau, Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen).

November 12 - Decree forcing all Jews to transfer retail businesses to Aryan hands.

November 15 - All Jewish pupils expelled from German schools.

1939

January 30 - Hitler threatens in Reichstag speech that if war erupts it will mean the Vernichtung (extermination) of European Jews.

March 15 - Nazis occupy part of Czechoslovakia (Bohemia and Moravia); make Slovakia independent satellite state.

March 22 - Germans occupy port of Memel.

August 23 - Molotov-Ribbentrop Pack signed: nonaggression pact between Russia and Germany.

September 1 - Beginning of World War II: Germany invades Poland.

End of June-December - Nazi Einsatzgruppen (special mobile killing units) carry out mass murder of Jews in areas of Soviet Union occupied by German army.

July 31 - Heydrich appointed by Goering as responsible for implementation of Final Solution.

September 1 - Jews in Third Reich obligated to wear yellow Star of David as distinguishing mark.

September 28-29 - Massacre of Jews at Babi Yar - ravine outside Kiev: 34,000 murdered.

October 23 - Murder of 19,000 Jews in Odessa.

October - Establishment of Birkenau camp: site of mass extermination of Jews, Gypsies, Poles, Russians, and others.

December 7 - Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

December 8 - Chelmno extermination camp begins operation: 340,000 Jews, 20,000 Poles and Czechs liquidated there by April 1943.

1942

January 20 - Wannsee Conference: Heydrich reveals official plan to murder all Jews on European continent.

January - Jewish underground organizations established in Vilna Ghetto and Kovno Ghetto.

March 1 - Extermination by gas begins in Sobibor extermination camp: by October 1943--250,000 murdered.

March 17 - Extermination begins in Belzec extermination camp: by end of 1942--600,000 Jews murdered.

Later March - Deportations to Auschwitz extermination camp begins.

June 1 - Treblinka extermination camp begins operation; by August 1943 - 700,000 Jews murdered.

June 30 - All Jewish schools in Germany closed.

June 6 -	Allied invasion of Normandy.
Spring/Summer -	Red Army repels Nazi forces.
July 20 -	Group of German officers attempts to assassinate Hitler.
July 24 -	Russians liberate Maidanek extermination camp.
Summer -	Liquidation of ghettos in Kovino (Kaunas), Shavil (Siauliai) and Lodz; inmates sent to concentration extermination camps.
October 7 -	Revolt by inmates in Auschwitz; one crematorium blown up.
October 31 -	Remnants of Slovakian Jews deported to Auschwitz.
November 8 -	Beginning of death march of approximately 40,000 Jews from Budapest to Austria.
November -	Last Jews deported from Theresienstadt model ghetto to Auschwitz.

1945

January 17 -	Evacuation of Auschwitz; beginning of death march of camp inmates.
January 25 -	Beginning of death march inmates of Stutthof.
April 6-10 -	Death march of inmates of Buchenwald.
April -	Red Army enters Germany from East; Allies enter from West.
April 30 -	Hitler commits suicide.
May 8 -	Germany surrenders; end of Third Reich.

- Study of the Holocaust assists students in developing understanding of the ramifications of prejudice, racism, and stereotyping in any society. It helps students develop an awareness of the value of pluralism, and encourages tolerance of diversity in a pluralistic society.
- The Holocaust provides a context for exploring the dangers of remaining silent, apathetic, and indifferent in the face of others' oppression.
- Holocaust history demonstrates how a modern nation can utilize its technological expertise and bureaucratic infrastructure to implement destructive policies ranging from social engineering to genocide.
- A study of the Holocaust helps students think about the use and abuse of power, and the role and responsibilities of individuals, organizations, and nations when confronted with civil rights violations and/or policies of genocide.
- As students gain insight into the many historical, social, religious, political, and economic factors which cumulatively resulted in the Holocaust, they gain a perspective on how history happens, and how a convergence of factors can contribute to the disintegration of civilized values. Part of one's responsibility as a citizen in a democracy is to learn to identify the danger signals, and to know when to react.

When you, as an educator, take the time to consider the rationale for your lesson on the Holocaust, you will be more likely to select content that speaks to your students' interests and which provides them with a clearer understanding of the history. Most students demonstrate a high level of interest in studying the Holocaust precisely because the subject raises questions of fairness, justice, individual identity, peer pressure, conformity, indifference, and obedience—issues which adolescents confront in their daily lives. Students are also struck by the magnitude of the Holocaust, and the fact that so many people acting as collaborators, perpetrators, and bystanders allowed this genocide to occur by failing to protest or resist.

Methodological Considerations

1. Define what you mean by "Holocaust."

The Holocaust refers to a specific event in 20th century history: The systematic, bureaucratic annihilation of six million Jews by the Nazi regime and their collaborators as a central act of state during World War II. In 1933 approximately nine million Jews lived in the 21 countries of Europe that would be occupied by Germany during the war. By 1945 two out of every three of these European Jews had been killed. Although Jews were the primary victims, up to one half million Gypsies and at least 250,000 mentally or physically disabled persons were also victims of Nazi genocide. As Nazi tyranny spread across Europe from 1933 to 1945, millions of other innocent people were persecuted and murdered. More than three million Soviet prisoners of war were killed because of their nationality. Poles, as well as other Slavs, were targeted for slave labor, and as a result tens of thousands perished. Homosexuals and others deemed "anti-social" were also persecuted and often murdered. In addition, thousands of political and religious dissidents such as communists, socialists, trade unionists, and Jehovah's Witnesses were persecuted for their beliefs and behavior and many of these individuals died as a result of maltreatment.

Words that describe human behavior often have multiple meanings. Resistance, for example, usually refers to a physical act of armed revolt. During the Holocaust, it also meant partisan activism that ranged from smuggling messages, food, and weapons to actual military engagement. But, resistance also embraced willful disobedience: continuing to practice religious and cultural traditions in defiance of the rules; creating fine art, music and poetry inside ghettos and concentration camps. For many, simply maintaining the will to remain alive in the face of abject brutality was the surest act of spiritual resistance.

6. Make careful distinctions about sources of information.

Students need practice in distinguishing between fact, opinion, and fiction; between primary and secondary sources, and between types of evidence such as court testimonies, oral histories, and other written documents. Hermeneutics—the science of interpretation—should be called into play to help guide your students in their analysis of sources. Students should be encouraged to consider why a particular text was written, who the intended audience was, whether there were any biases inherent in the information, any gaps in discussion, whether gaps in certain passages were inadvertent or not, and how the information has been used to interpret various events.

Because scholars often base their research on different bodies of information, varying interpretations of history can emerge. Consequently, all interpretations are subject to analytical evaluation. Only by refining their own "hermeneutic of suspicion" can students mature into readers who discern the difference between legitimate scholars who present competing historical interpretations, and those who distort or deny historical fact for personal or political gain.

7. Try to avoid stereotypical descriptions.

Though all Jews were targeted for destruction by the Nazis, the experiences of all Jews were not the same. Simplistic views and stereotyping take place when groups of people are viewed as monolithic in attitudes and actions. How ethnic groups or social clusters are labeled and portrayed in school curricula has a direct impact on how students perceive groups in their daily lives. Remind your students that although members of a group may share common experiences and beliefs, generalizations about them, without benefit of modifying or qualifying terms (e.g., "sometimes," "usually," "in many cases but not all") tend to stereotype group behavior and distort historical reality. Thus, all Germans cannot be characterized as Nazis, nor should any nationality be reduced to a singular or one-dimensional description.

10. Translate statistics into people.

In any study of the Holocaust, the sheer number of victims challenges easy comprehension. Teachers need to show that individual people are behind the statistics, comprised of families of grandparents, parents, and children. First-person accounts and memoir literature provide students with a way of making meaning out of collective numbers. Although students should be careful about overgeneralizing from first-person accounts such as those from survivors, journalists, relief workers, bystanders, and liberators, personal accounts can supplement a study of genocide by moving it "from a welter of statistics, remote places and events, to one that is immersed in the 'personal' and 'particular.'" [Totten, 1987, p. 63]

11. Be sensitive to appropriate written and audio-visual content.

One of the primary concerns of educators is how to introduce students to the horrors of the Holocaust. Graphic material should be used in a judicious manner and only to the extent necessary to achieve the objective of the lesson. Teachers should remind themselves that each student and each class is different, and that what seems appropriate for one may not be for all.

Students are essentially a "captive audience." When we assault them with images of horror for which they are unprepared, we violate a basic trust: the obligation of a teacher to provide a "safe" learning environment. The assumption that all students will seek to understand human behavior after being exposed to horrible images is fallacious. Some students may be so appalled by images of brutality and mass murder that they are discouraged from studying the subject further; others may become fascinated in a more voyeuristic fashion, subordinating further critical analysis of the history to the superficial titillation of looking at images of starvation, disfigurement, and death. Many events and deeds that occurred within the context of the Holocaust do not rely for their depiction directly on the graphic horror of mass killings or other barbarisms. It is recommended that images and texts that do not exploit either the victims' memories or the students' emotional vulnerability form the centerpiece of Holocaust curricula.

12. Strive for balance in establishing whose perspective informs your study of the Holocaust.

Often, too great an emphasis is placed on the victims of Nazi aggression, rather than on the victimizers who forced people to make impossible choices or simply left them with no choice to make. Most students express empathy for victims of mass murder. But, it is not uncommon for students to assume that the victims may have done something to justify the actions against them, and thus to place inappropriate blame on the victims themselves.

Holocaust survivors and eyewitnesses are among the first to indicate the grave difficulty of finding words to describe their experiences. Even more revealing, they argue the virtual impossibility of trying to simulate accurately what it was like to live on a daily basis with fear, hunger, disease, unfathomable loss, and the unrelenting threat of abject brutality and death.

The problem with trying to simulate situations from the Holocaust is that complex events and actions are over-simplified, and students are left with a skewed view of history. Since there are numerous primary source accounts, both written and visual, as well as survivors and eyewitnesses who can describe actual choices faced and made by individuals, groups, and nations during this period, teachers should draw upon these resources and refrain from simulation games that lead to a trivialization of the subject matter.

If they are not attempting to recreate situations from the Holocaust, simulation activities can be used effectively, especially when they have been designed to explore varying aspects of human behavior such as fear, scapegoating, conflict resolution, and difficult decision-making. Asking students in the course of a discussion, or as part of a writing assignment, to consider various perspectives on a particular event or historical experience is fundamentally different from involving a class in a simulation game.

14. Reinforce the objectives of your lesson plan.

As in all teaching situations, the opening and closing lessons are critically important. A strong opening should serve to dispel misinformation students may have prior to studying the Holocaust. It should set a reflective tone, move students from passive to active learners, indicate to students that their ideas and opinions matter, and establish that this history has multiple ramifications for themselves as individuals and as members of society as a whole.

A strong closing should emphasize synthesis by encouraging students to connect this history to other world events as well as the world they live in today. Students should be encouraged to reflect on what they have learned and to consider what this study means to them personally and as citizens of a democracy. Most importantly, your closing lesson should encourage further examination of Holocaust history, literature, and art.

2. ***World War II:*** What was the relationship between the U.S. and Nazi Germany from 1933 to 1939? How did the actions of Nazi Germany influence U.S. foreign policy? What was the response of the U.S. Government and non-governmental organizations to the unfolding events of the Holocaust? What was the role of the U.S. in the war crimes trials?

3. ***The Cold War:*** How did the rivalries between the World War II allies influence American attitudes toward former Nazis? What was the position of America's European allies toward members of the former Nazi regime?

World History

Although various aspects of world history are incorporated throughout school curricula, most students are not required to take World History courses. It is in the context of World History courses, however, that the Holocaust is generally taught. Inclusion of the Holocaust in a World History course helps students to:

- examine events, deeds, and ideas in European history that contributed to the Holocaust, such as the history of antisemitism in Europe, 19th century race science, the rise of German nationalism, the defeat of Germany in World War I, and the failure of the Weimar Republic to govern successfully;
- reflect upon the idea that civilization has been progressing [one possible exercise might be to have students develop a definition of "civilization" in class, and then have them compare and contrast Nazi claims for the "1000 Year Reich" with the actual policies they employed to realize that vision; the dissonance raised in such a lesson helps students to see that government policies can encompass evil, particularly when terror and brute force crush dissent];
- explore how the various policies of the Nazi regime were interrelated (e.g., the connections between establishing a totalitarian government, carrying out racial policies, and waging war); and
- reflect upon the moral and ethical implications of the Nazi era as a watershed in world history (e.g., the systematic planning and implementation of a government policy to kill millions of people; the use of technological advances to carry out mass slaughter; the role of Nazi collaborators, and the role of bystanders around the world who chose not to intervene in the persecution and murder of Jews and other victims).

Once again, since most teachers of European history rely upon standard textbooks and a chronological approach, teachers may wish to incorporate the Holocaust into the following, standardized units of study in European History: the Aftermath of World War I; the Rise of Dictators; the World at War, 1939–45, and the Consequences of War. Questions which introduce Holocaust studies into these subject areas include:

1. ***The Aftermath of World War I:*** What role did the Versailles Treaty play in the restructuring of European and world politics? How did the reconfiguration of Europe following World War I influence German national politics in the period 1919–33?

- study the process of how a state can degenerate from a (parliamentary) democracy into a totalitarian state (e.g., by examining the processes by which the Nazis gained absolute control of the German government and how the Nazi government then controlled virtually all segments of German society);
- examine how the development of public policy can lead to genocidal ends, especially when people remain silent in face of discriminatory practices (e.g., the development of Nazi racial and genocide policies towards Jews and other victim groups beginning with the philosophical platform elaborated in Hitler's *Mein Kampf,* continuing through the state-imposed Nuremberg Laws, and culminating with governmental policies of murder and extermination after 1941);
- examine the role of Nazi bureaucracy in implementing policies of murder and annihilation (e.g., the development and maintenance of a system to identify, isolate, deport, enslave, and kill targeted people, and then redistribute their remaining belongings);
- examine the role of various individuals in the rise and fall of a totalitarian government (e.g., those who supported Nazi Germany, those who were passive, and those who resisted both internally, such as partisans and others who carried out revolts, and externally, such as the Allies); and
- recognize that among the legacies of the Holocaust have been the creation of the United Nations in 1945, and its ongoing efforts to develop and adopt numerous, significant human rights bills (e.g., the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights and the U.N. Convention on Genocide).

Contemporary World Problems

Many schools include a Contemporary World Problems course at the senior high level which allows students to conduct an in-depth study of a topic such as genocide. The focus is usually on what constitutes genocide, and areas of investigation include various preconditions, patterns, consequences, and methods of intervention and prevention of genocide. A study of the Holocaust in Contemporary World Problems curricula can help students to:

- comprehend the similarities and differences between governmental policies during the Holocaust and contemporary policies that create the potential for ethnocide or genocide (e.g., comparing and contrasting the philosophy and/or policies of the Nazi regime with that of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia);
- compare and contrast the world response of governments and non-governmental organizations to the Holocaust with the responses of governments and non-governmental organizations to mass killings today (e.g., comparing the decisions made at the Evian Conference in 1938, to the U.S. response to the Cambodian genocide between

- recognize the different roles which were assumed or thrust upon people during the Holocaust, such as victim, oppressor, bystander, and rescuer;
- examine the moral choices, or absence of choices, which were confronted by both young and old, victim and perpetrator; and
- analyze the corruption of language cultivated by the Nazis, particularly in the use of euphemisms to mask their evil intent (e.g., their use of the terms "emigration" for expulsion, "evacuation" for deportation, "deportation" for transportation to concentration camps and killing centers, "police actions" for round-ups that typically led to mass murder, and "Final Solution" for the planned annihilation of every Jew in Europe).

Art and Art History

One of the goals for studying art history is to enable students to understand the role of art in society. The Holocaust can be incorporated into a study of art and art history to illuminate how the Nazis used art for propagandistic purposes, and how victims used artistic expression to communicate their protest, despair, and/or hope. A study of art during the Holocaust helps students:

- analyze the motivations for, and implications of, the Nazi's censorship activities in the fine and literary arts, theater, and music (e.g., the banning of books and certain styles of painting and the May 1933 book burnings);
- examine the values and beliefs of the Nazis and how the regime perceived the world, by, for example, examining Nazi symbols of power, Nazi propaganda posters, paintings, and drawings deemed "acceptable" rather than "degenerate;"
- study how people living under Nazi control used art as a form of resistance (e.g., examining the extent to which the victims created art, the dangers they faced in doing so, the various forms of art that were created and the settings in which they were created, and the diversity of themes and content in this artistic expression);
- examine art created by Holocaust victims and survivors and explore its capacity to document diverse experiences including life prior to the Holocaust, life inside the ghettos, the deportations, and the myriad of experiences in the concentration camp system; and
- examine interpretations of the Holocaust as expressed in contemporary art, art exhibitions, and memorials.

36 QUESTIONS OFTEN ASKED ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST

1. When speaking about the "Holocaust," what time period are we referring to?

   Answer: The term "Holocaust" refers to the period from January 30, 1933, when Hitler became Chancellor of Germany, to May 8, 1945 (V-E Day) when the war in Europe ended.

2. How many Jews were murdered during the Holocaust?

   Answer: While it is impossible to ascertain the exact number of Jewish victims, statistics indicate that the total was over 5,830,000. Six million is the round figure accepted by most authorities.

3. How many non-Jewish civilians were murdered during World War II?

   Answer: While it is impossible to ascertain the exact number, the recognized figure is approximately 5,000,000. Among the groups which the Nazis and their collaborators murdered and persecuted were: Gypsies, Serbs, Polish intelligentsia, resistance fighters from all the nations, German opponents of Nazism, homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, habitual criminals, and the "anti-social" e.g. beggars, vagrants and hawkers.

4. Which Jewish communities suffered losses during the Holocaust?

   Answer: Every Jewish community in occupied Europe suffered losses during the Holocaust. The Jewish communities in North Africa were persecuted, but the Jews in these countries were neither deported to the death camps, nor were they systematically murdered.

   Thus, the list reads as follows (in alphabetical order; according to pre-war boundaries):

   Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, The Netherlands, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Norway, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia.

5. How many Jews were murdered in each country and what percentage of the pre-war Jewish population did they constitute?

   Answer:

Albania	-	-	Hungary	200,000	50%
Austria	40,000	20%	Italy	8,000	16%
Belgium	40,000	67%	Latvia	80,000	84%
Bulgaria		-	Lithuania	217,000	97%
Czechoslovakia	315,000	88%	Luxembourg	700	23%
Denmark	130	2%	Netherlands	105,000	75%
Estonia	1,500	33%	Norway	760	42%
Finland	8	1%	Poland	2,850,000	88%
France	90,000	30%	Romania	425,000	50%
Germany	170,000	32%	USSR	1,252,000	44%
Greece	60,000	80%	Yugoslavia	60,000	80%

10. (continued)

Mischlinge of the first degree--those with two Jewish grandparents;
Mischlinge of the second degree--those with one Jewish grandparent.

The Mischlinge were officially excluded from membership in the Nazi Party and all party formations (e.g. SA, SS, etc.). Although they were drafted into the German Army, they could not attain the rank of officers. They were also barred from the civil service and from certain professions. (Individual Mischlinge were, however, granted exemptions under certain circumstances.) Nazi officials considered plans to sterilize Mischlinge, but this was never done. During World War II, first-degree Mischlinge, incarcerated in concentration camps were deported to death camps.

11. What were the first measures taken by the Nazis against the Jews?

Answer: The first measures against the Jews included:

April 1, 1933: A boycott of Jewish shops and businesses by the Nazis.

April 7, 1933: The law for the Re-establishment of the Civil Service--expelled all non-Aryans (defined on April 11, 1933 as anyone with a Jewish parent or grandparent) from the civil service. Initially, exceptions were made for those working since August 1914; German veterans of World War I; and, those who had lost a father or son fighting for Germany or her allies in World War I.

April 7, 1933: The law admission to the legal profession prohibited the admission of lawyers of non-Aryan descent to the bar. It also denied non-Aryan members of the Bar the right to practice law. (Exceptions were made in the cases noted above in the law regarding the civil service.) Similar laws were passed regarding Jewish law assessors, jurors, and commercial judges.

April 22, 1933: The decree regarding physicians' services with the national health denied reimbursement of expenses to those patients who consulted non-Aryan doctors. Jewish doctors who were war veterans or had suffered from the war were excluded.

April 25, 1933: The law against the overcrowding of German schools restricted Jewish enrollment in German high schools to 1.5% of the student body. In communities where they constituted more than 5% of the population, Jews were allowed to constitute up to 5% of the student body. Initially, exceptions were made in the case of children of Jewish war veterans who were not considered part of the quota. In the framework of this law, a Jewish student was a child with two non-Aryan parents.

12. Did the Nazis plan to murder the Jews from the beginning of their regime?

Answer: This question is one of the most difficult to answer. While Hitler made several references to killing Jews, both in his early writings (Mein Kampf) and in various speeches during the 30's, it is fairly certain that the Nazis had no operative plan for the systematic annihilation of the Jews before 1941. The decision on the systematic murder of the Jews was apparently made in conjunction with the decision to invade the Soviet Union in the late winter or the early spring of 1941.

17. What did people in Germany know about the persecution of Jews and other enemies of Nazism?

Answer: Certain initial aspects of Nazi persecution of Jews and other opponents were common knowledge in Germany. Thus, for example, everyone knew about the Boycott of April 1, 1933, the April laws, and the Nuremberg Laws, because they were fully publicized. Moreover, offenders were often publicly punished and shamed. The same holds true for subsequent anti-Jewish measures. Kristallnacht (The Night of the Broken Glass) was a public pogrom, carried out in full view of the entire population. While information on the concentration camps was not publicized, a great deal of information was available to the German public, and the treatment of the inmates was generally known, although exact details were not easily obtained.

As for the implementation of the "Final Solution" and the murder of other undesirable elements, the situation was different. The Nazis attempted to keep the murders a secret and, therefore, took precautionary measures to ensure that they would not be publicized. Their efforts, however, were only partially successful. Thus, for example, public protests by various clergymen led to the halt of their euthanasia program in August of 1941. These protests were obviously the result of the fact that many persons were aware that the Nazis were killing the mentally ill in special institutions.

As far the Jews were concerned, it was common knowledge in Germany that they had disappeared after having been sent to the East. It was not exactly clear to large segments of the German population what had happened to them. On the other hand, there were thousands upon thousands of Germans who participated in and/or witnessed the implementation of the "Final Solution" either as members of the SS Einsatzgruppen, death camp or concentration camp guards, police in occupied Europe, or with the Wehrmacht.

18. Did all Germans support Hitler's plan for the persecution of the Jews?

Answer: Although the entire German population was not in agreement with Hitler's persecution of the Jews, there is no evidence of any large scale protest regarding their treatment. There were Germans who defied the April 1, 1933 boycott and purposely bought in Jewish stores, and there were those who aided Jews to escape and to hide, but their number was very small. Even some of those who opposed Hitler were in agreement with his anti-Jewish policies. Among the clergy, Provost Bernhard Lichtenberg of Berlin publicly prayed for the Jews daily and was, therefore, sent to a concentration camp by the Nazis. Other priests were deported for their failure to co-operate with Nazi anti-semitic policies, but the majority of the clergy complied with the directives against German Jewry and did not openly protest.

19. Did the people of occupied Europe know about Nazi plans for the Jews? What was their attitude? Did they co-operate with the Nazis against the Jews?

Answer: The attitude of the local population vis-à-vis the persecution and destruction of the Jews varied from zealous collaboration with the Nazis to active assistance to Jews. Thus, it is difficult to make generalization. The situation also varied from country to country. In Eastern Europe and especially in Poland, Russia, and the Baltic States

Moreover, no attempt was made to call upon the local population in Europe to refrain from assisting the Nazis in their murder of the Jews. Even following the establishment of the War Refugee Board and the initiation of various rescue efforts, the Allies refused to bomb the death camp of Auschwitz and/or the railway lines leading to that camp, despite the fact that Allied bombers were at that time engaged in bombing factories very close to the camp, and were well aware of its existence and function.

Other practical measures, which were not taken, concerned the refugee problem. Many tens of thousands of Jews sought to enter the United States, but they were barred from doing so by the stringent American immigration policy. Even the relatively small quotas of visas which existed were often not filled, although the number of applicants was usually many times the number of available places. Conferences held in Evian, France (1938) and Bermuda (1943) to solve the refugee problem did not contribute to a solution. At the former, the countries invited by the U.S. and Britain were told that no country would be asked to change its immigration laws. Moreover, the British agreed to participate only if Palestine were not considered. At Bermuda, the delegates did not deal with the fate of those still in Nazi hands, but rather with those who had already escaped to neutral lands. Practical measures which could have aided in the rescue of Jews included: permission for temporary admission of refugees; relaxation of stringent entry requirements; frequent and unequivocal warnings to Germany, as well as to local populations all over Europe, that those participating in the murder of Jews would be held strictly accountable; warnings to Jewish communists concerning Nazi plans to murder them; and, the bombing of the death camp at Auschwitz.

22. Who are the "Righteous Among the Nations"?

Answer: "Righteous Among the Nations" or "righteous Gentiles" refers to those non-Jews who aided Jews during the Holocaust. There were "Righteous Among the Nations" in every country overrun or allied with the Nazis and their deeds often led to the rescue of Jewish lives. Yad Vashem, the Israeli national remembrance authority for the Holocaust, bestows special honors upon these individuals. To date after carefully evaluating each case, Yad Vashem has recognized approximately 6,500 "Righteous Gentiles" in three different categories of recognition. The country with the most "Righteous Gentiles" is Poland. The country with the highest proportion (per capita) is the Netherlands. The figure of 6,500 is far from complete as many cases were never reported, frequently because those who were helped have died. Moreover, this figure only includes those who actually risked their lives to save Jews, and not those who merely extended aid.

23. Were Jews in the Free World aware of the persecution and destruction of European Jewry and, if so, what was their response?

Answer: The news of the persecution and destruction of European Jewry must be divided into two periods. The measures taken by the Nazis prior to the "Final Solution" were all taken publicly and were, therefore, in all the newspapers. Foreign correspondents reported on all major anti-Jewish actions taken by the Nazis in Germany, Austria, and Czechoslosvakia prior to World War II. Once the war began, obtaining information became more difficult, but nonetheless, reports were published regarding the fate of the Jews.

Jews immigrated to Palestine and 51,747 European Jews arrived in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay. During the years 1938-1939, approximately 35,000 emigrated from Bohemia and Moravia (Czechoslovakia). Shanghai, the only place in the world for which one did not need an entry visa, received approximately 20,000 European Jews (mostly of German origin) who fled their homelands. Immigration figures on countries of refuge during this period are not available. In addition, many countries did not provide a breakdown of immigration statistics according to ethnic groups. It is impossible, therefore, to ascertain the exact number of Jewish refugees.

26. Were efforts made to save the Jews fleeing from Germany before World War II began?

Answer: Various organizations attempted to facilitate the emigration of the Jews (and non-Jews persecuted as Jews) from Germany. Among the most active were the Jewish Agency for Palestine, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, HICEM, the Central British Fund for German Jewry, the Reichsvertretung which represented German Jewry, and other non-Jewish groups such as the League of Nations' High Commission for Refugees (Jewish and other) coming from Germany, and the American Friends Service Committee. Among the programs launched were the "Transfer Agreement" between the Jewish Agency and the German government whereby immigrants to Palestine were allowed to transfer their funds to that country in conjunction with the import of German goods to Palestine. Other efforts focused on retraining of prospective emigrants in order to increase the number of those eligible for visas. (Some countries barred the entry of members of certain professions). Other groups attempted to help in various phases of refugee work; selection of candidates for emigration, transportation of refugees, and aid in immigrant absorption, etc.

Some groups attempted to facilitate increased emigration by enlisting the aid of governments, and international organizations in seeking refugee havens. The League of Nations established an agency to aid refugees but its success was extremely limited due to a lack of political power and adequate funding.

The United States and British governments convened a conference at Evian, France, seeking a solution to the refugee problem. But the nations assembled refused with the exception of the Dominican Republic, to change the stringent immigration regulations, which were instrumental in excluding large-scale immigration.

In 1939, the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, which had been established at the Evian Conference, initiated negotiations with leading German officials in an attempt to arrange for the relocation of a significant portion of German Jewry. But, these talks failed. Efforts were made for the illegal entry of Jewish immigrants to Palestine as early as July 1934, but were later halted until July 1938. Large-scale efforts were resumed under the Mossad le-Aliyah Bet of the Hagana, Revisionist Zionists and private parties. Attempts were also made, with some success, to facilitate the illegal entry of refugees to various countries in Latin America.

In Hitler's mind the solution of the Jewish problem was also linked with the conquest of the eastern territories. These areas had large Jewish populations and they would have to be dealt with accordingly. While at this point there was still no operative plan for mass annihilation, it was clear to Hitler that some sort of comprehensive solution would have to be found. There was also talk of establishing a Jewish reservation either in Madagascar or near Lublin, Poland. When he made the decisive decision to invade the Soviet Union, Hitler also gave instructions to embark upon the "Final Solution," the systematic murder of European Jewry.

29. Within Germany was there any opposition to the Nazis?

Answer: Throughout the course of the Third Reich, there were different groups who opposed the Nazi regime or certain Nazi policies. They engaged in resistance at different times and with various methods, aims, and scope.

From the beginning, leftist political groups and a number of disappointed conservatives were in opposition; at a later date, church groups, government officials and businessmen also joined. After the tide of the war was reversed elements within the military played an active role in opposing Hitler. At no point however, was there a unified resistance movement within Germany.

30. Did the Jews try to fight against the Nazis? To what extent were such efforts successful?

Answer: Despite the difficult conditions which Jews were subjected to in Nazi-occupied Europe, many engaged in armed resistance against the Nazis. This resistance can be divided into four basic types of armed activities: ghetto revolts, resistance in concentration and death camps, partisan warfare and resistance work.

The Warsaw Ghetto revolt, which lasted for about five weeks - from April 19, 1943, is probably the best-known example of armed Jewish resistance, but there were many ghetto revolts in which Jews fought against the Nazis.

Despite the terrible conditions in the death, concentration and labour camps, Jewish inmates fought against the Nazis in the following camps: Treblinka (August 2, 1943), Babi Yar (September 29, 1943), Sobibor (October 14, 1943), Janowska (November 19, 1943), and Auschwitz (October 7, 1944).

Jewish partisan units were active in many areas including Minsk, Vilna, Naliboki forest, and Baranowitz. Jewish partisan units were established to resist the Nazis.

While the sum total effort of the armed resistance of the Jews was not overwhelming militarily and did not play a significant role in the defeat of Nazi Germany, these acts of resistance did lead to the rescue of an undetermined number of Jews, as well as the loss of Nazi lives and untold damage to German property.

The IRC requested permission to investigate the situation, but the Germans only agreed to allow the visit nine months after submission of the request. This delay provided time for the Nazis to complete a "beautification" program, designed to fool the delegation into thinking that conditions at Theresienstadt were quite good and that inmates were allowed to live out their lives in relative tranquility. In reality, most prisoners were subsequently deported to Auschwitz.

The visit which took place on July 23, 1944, was followed by a favourable report on Theresienstadt to the members of the IRC. Jewish organizations protested vigorously, demanding that another delegation visit the camp. Such a visit was not permitted until shortly before the end of the war.

33. How did Germany's allies, the Japanese and the Italians, treat the Jews in the land they occupied?

Answer: Neither the Italians nor the Japanese, both of whom were Germany's allies during World War II, co-operated regarding the "Final Solution." Although the Italians did, upon German urging, institute discriminatory legislation against Italian Jews, Mussolini's government refused to participate in the "Final Solution" and consistently refused to deport its Jewish residents. Moreover, in their occupied areas of Yugoslavia, France, and Greece, the Italians protected the Jews and did not allow them to be deported. However, when the Germans overthrew the Badoglio government in 1943, the Jews of Italy, as well as those under Italian protection in occupied areas, were subjected to the "Final Solution."

The Japanese were also relatively tolerant toward the Jews in their country as well as in the areas which they occupied. Despite attempts by their German allies, urging them to take stringent measures against Jews, the Japanese refused to do so. Refugees were allowed to enter Japan until the spring of 1941, and Jews in Japanese-occupied China were treated well. In the summer and fall of 1941, refugees in Japan were transferred to Shanghai but no measures were taken against them until early 1943, when they were forced to move into the Hongkew Ghetto. While conditions were hardly satisfactory, they were far superior to those in the ghettos under German control.

34. What was the attitude of the churches vis-à-vis the persecution of the Jews? Did the Pope ever speak out against the Nazis?

Answer: The head of the Catholic Church at the time of the Nazi rise to power was Pope Pius XI. Throughout his reign, he limited his concern to Catholic non-Aryans. Although he stated that the myths of "race" and "blood" were contrary to Christian teaching (in a papal encyclical, March 1937), he neither mentioned nor criticized anti-semitism. His successor, Pius XII (Cardinal Pacelli) was a Germanophile who maintained his neutrality throughout the course of World War II. Although as early as 1942, the Vatican received detailed information on the murder of Jews in concentration camps, the Pope confined his public statements to expressions of sympathy for the victims of injustice and to calls for a more humane conduct of the war.

We do not have complete statistics on the number of criminals brought to justice but the number is certainly far less than the total of those who were involved in the "Final Solution." The leaders of the Third Reich who were caught by the Allies were tried by the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg from November 20, 1945 to October 1, 1946. Afterwards, the Allied occupation authorities continued to try Nazis, with the most significant trials held in the American Zone (the Subsequent Nuremberg Proceedings). All told, 5,025 Nazi criminals were convicted between 1945-1949 in the American, British and French zones, in addition to an unspecified number of people who were tried in the Soviet zone. In addition, the United Nations War Crimes Commission prepared lists of war criminals who were later tried by the judicial authorities of Allied countries and those countries under Nazi rule during the war. The latter countries have conducted a large number of trials regarding crimes committed in their lands. The Polish tribunals, for example, tried approximately 40,000 persons, and large numbers of criminals were tried in other countries. In all, about 80,000 Germans have been convicted for committing crimes against humanity, while the number of local collaborators is in the tens of thousands. Special mention should be made of Simon Wiesenthal, whose activities led to the capture of over one thousand Nazi criminals.

Courts in Germany began, in some cases, to function as early as 1945. By 1969, almost 80,000 Germans had been investigated and over 6,000 had been convicted. In 1958, West Germany established a special agency in Ludwigsburg to aid in the investigation of crimes committed by Germans outside Germany, an agency which since its establishment, has been involved in hundreds of major investigations. One of the major problems regarding the trial of war criminals in West Germany (as well as in Austria) has been the fact that the sentences were usually disproportionate to the crimes.

36. What were the Nuremberg Trials?

Answer: The term "Nuremberg Trials" refers to two sets of trials of Nazi war criminals conducted after the war. The first trials were held November 20, 1945 to October 1, 1946, before the International Military Tribunal, (IMT) which was made up of representatives of the United States, Britain, France and the Soviet Union. It consisted of the trials of the political, military and economic leaders of the Third Reich captured by the Allies. Among the defendants were: Goering, Rosenberg, Streicher, Kaltenbrunner, Seyss-Inquart, Speer, Ribbentrop and Hess. (Many of the most prominent Nazis--Hitler, Himmler and Goebbels, for example committed suicide and were not brought to trial.) The second set of trials, known as the Subsequent Proceedings, were conducted before the Nuremberg Military Tribunals (NMT), established by the Office of the United States Government for Germany (OMGUS). While the judges on the NMT were American citizens, the tribunal considered itself international. Those tried were twelve high-ranking officials, among them cabinet ministers, diplomats, SS leaders, doctors involved in medical experiments, and SS officers involved in crimes in concentration camps or in genocide in Nazi-occupied areas.

UNIT I. An Introduction to a Study of the Holocaust and Genocide: The Nature of Human Behavior



"Flame"

UNIT 1

THE NATURE OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR

During the period from 1933 to 1945 Nazi Germany and its collaborators starved, shot, tortured, and gassed to death approximately six million Jews and five million other victims. The Nazis called this annihilation the "Final Solution to the Jewish Problem." It was a matter of deliberate policy, first articulated years before Nazi political ascendancy in a book Mein Kampf, which Hitler wrote from prison after the failed 1923 coup d' etat.

This unit will try to explain the phenomenon of mass murder. It will explore questions such as: Are people basically good or evil? Are people independent agents, acting primarily on their intentions, or, at the other end of the spectrum, are they mere reflections of their environment?

More than 50 years have passed since the Holocaust era, yet these questions continue to linger. Many other questions, arising from that time, compel reconsiderations of social behavior and human nature, such as:

1. How was it possible for a modern state to carry out the planned murder of millions of innocent human beings - two thirds of European Jewry?

2. What made it possible for anti-Semitism to flourish as a defensible, if not an acceptable or even a desirable, set of beliefs?

3. Why did the rest of the world remain virtually silent?

4. What motivated a few people to save, protect, and hide Jews from Nazi terror?

5. Why do a few people insist on denying or distorting the facts of the Holocaust? How, in light of proven facts, can they regard their denials or distortions as anything but cynical and contemptuous?

As this unit will show, the evolution of the Nazi assault--isolating Jews in ghettos and camps, abusing and dehumanizing them, literally abducting them from their homes and deporting them to destinations beyond anything they could possibly imagine,

destroying lives, families, and entire communities - depended on the collaboration, indifference, or silence of local inhabitants. The assault could not acquire momentum without the tacit consent of influential third-party observers, religious authorities and the "free world."

On the face of it, the Holocaust was unprecedented evil - a whirlwind of destruction, as the Hebrew term Shoah implies. But the tragedy was compounded considerably by the choice made by many contemporary observers to permit it to take place. In raising questions about the Holocaust, this unit turns students into observers of sorts too, but with a crucial difference. It will urge students to scrutinize unfolding historical events and developments and to consider how they would or should respond to their deadly consequences.

STUDENT READINGS
AN INTRODUCTION TO A STUDY OF THE HOLOCAUST AND GENOCIDE:
THE NATURE OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR

UNIT I

GOALS	READING	TITLE	PAGE
1	**Reading #1**	**Human Behavior** Human Behavior Statements by Bettelheim and Fromm	 1
1	**Reading #2**	**Man's Search for Meaning** by Victor Frankl - Furman **Anthology**	2
1	**Reading #3**	**Human Nature: Opinion Survey**	4
1	**Reading #4**	**The Nature of Man** "The Prince" by Niccolo Machiavelli "Man is Evil and War Like" by Thomas Hobbes "Man is Rational" by John Locke "Man is a Product of His Environment" by B.F. Skinner - **Society on Trial**	 5 6 7 8
2	**Reading #5**	"Man is Inately Aggressive" by Robert Ardrey "The Drowned and the Saved" by Primo Levi "Conformist Aggression" from **Anatomy of Human Destructiveness** by Eric Fromm	9 10 11
2	**Reading #6**	**The Mayor's Choice - What will you do?** - Furman, **Anthology**	12
2	**Reading #7**	**Milgram "Shock" Experiment** by S.Milgram - Furman, **Anthology**	13
3	**Reading #8**	**Sounds of Silence** (song) by Paul Simon	15
3	**Reading #9**	**Pastor Niemoller's Saying**	16
3	**Reading #10**	**The Hangman** (poem) by Maurice Ogden - **Facing History and Ourselves**	18
3	**Reading #11**	**The Dying Girl No One Helped** - Furman **Anthology**	19
3	**Reading #12**	**They Call Them Cults** by Michele L. Baker (Moonies) - Scholastic Magazine	21
3	**Reading #13**	**The Wave** (playlet) - Scholastic Magazine	27
4	**Reading #14**	**The Bystander's Dilemma - Heidi's Dilemma** **Conversion or Emigration** - Furman, **Anthology**	36 40
4	**Reading #15**	**His Name is Jackie Robinson**- Creative Classroom **We Are the World** (song)	41 44
5	**Reading #16**	**The Reichstag is Burning** by Ina Friedman **Anna's Dilemma** - Furman **Anthology** **The Drowned and Saved** - story of Fool - Elias Lindzin by Primo Levi	45 47 48
5	**Reading #17**	**Why Did You Kill Our Hero?** - Teaching Tolerance	50
5	**Reading #18**	**Schindler's List** and guide by Lifetime Learning System	53

UNIT__I__: AN INTRODUCTION TO A STUDY OF THE HOLOCAUST AND GENOCIDE: NATURE OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR
UNIT GOAL : Students will identify and analyze applicable theories about human nature and behavior that could produce a genocidal episode

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
1. Students will be able to discuss general theories of Human Nature and relate these to personal experiences	A. Through readings students will define: **What is Nature of Man?** Display on board then discuss 1. Human Nature Survey 2. Discuss Student observations	A. Furman, Harry. **Anthology - A Search for Conscience.** • "Man's Search for Meaning", p. 118 • Human nature: Opinion survey 1. IBID -p. 8-9
	B. Compare, contrast and debate: Theories on Human Nature - What do experts say? 1. **The Prince** - Niccolo Machiavelli 2. **Man is Evil** - Thomas Hobbes 3. **Man is Rational** - John Locke 4. **Man is Product of His Environment** - B.F. Skinner	B. Chartok, Roselle and Spencer, Jack. **The Holocaust Years:** • **Society on Trial**, Bantam Books, 1978. "The Nature of Man", pp. 47-55
	C. View the movie and choose excerpts and/or read To Kill a Mockingbird and discuss the impact of prejudice in the 1930's, the time in which the movie is set. Also analyze the key characters of the story	C. Harper, Lee. **To Kill a Mockingbird**, Warner, 1982. See video: **To Kill a Mockingbird** - 2 Hrs. 11 Min., rent from video store.
	D. Read the book or excerpts from **Profiles in Courage** - relate to modern courageous men and women. Analyze these people's attitude and actions to societal problems for student presentations.	D. Kennedy, John - **Profiles in Courage**, Watts, NY 1948, Paperback Perennial available from Social Studies School Service (1-800-421-4246). This prize winning book tells of heroic Americans who risked it all to fight for what they believed - to motivation lessons. Book $6.00, Lessons $18.95.
	E. Find theories and expressions in modern music, listen, explain and evaluate 1. Billy Joel - **Stranger** 2. Billy Joel - **Pressure** 3. Jackson Brown - **Doctor My Eye**	E. Get words from music sheets from Columbia Records, (1-212-833-8000) or any music store.

• Reading included in this unit.

UNIT__I__: AN INTRODUCTION TO A STUDY OF THE HOLOCAUST AND GENOCIDE: NATURE OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR
UNIT GOAL : Students will identify and analyze applicable theories about human nature and behavior that could produce a genocidal episode

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
2. Students will analyze and describe aggression and cruelty as part of Human Nature	A. Students will interpret expert's views on "what is aggression?" 1. **Man is Innately Aggressive** by R. Audrey 2. **The Drowned and the Saved** by Primo Levi 3. **Conformist Aggression** by Eric Fromm B. Define Aggressive Behavior and find examples 1. View the movie or read book **Lord of the Flies**. Popular novel of 1950's. English school children are air-wrecked on an island and express aggressive behavior. 2. See video **Set Straight on Bullies** 3. Read and discuss the following dilemmas a. **Mayor's choice** b. **Milgram Shock Experiment** c. See video **Project X** d. See video **Ghostbusters** (shock scene) e. See video **Auschwitz: If You Cried You Died**, 28 Min.	A. • 1. Chartok, Roselle and Spencer, Jack. Ed. **Holocaust Years, Society on Trial**, Bantam Books, 1978, p. 53. "Man is Inately Aggressive" by Robert Ardrey • 2. Levi, Primo. **Survival in Auschwitz** also **"If This is a Man"**, Collier Books, 1976, pp. 79-80. • 3. Fromm, Eric. **The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness** Hart and Rinehart and Winston, NY, p. 207 B. 1. Golding, William. **Lord of the Flies**, "Beast from Water",. pp. 70-87. Rent video from video store. 2. Anti Defamation League. 18 minutes, (1800-343-5540). Brings to light damaging effects bullies have on all concerned. • 3. Furman, Harry et al. **The Holocaust and Genocide - A Search for Conscience**, ADL, 1983. "The Mayor's Choice - What will you do?" • a. Furman, p. 16 - Milgrim "Shock Experiment" b. Furman p. 9 (for students). Fromm, Eric, (for teachers), Anatomy of Destructiveness, pp. 47-52. c. Rent from any home video store. d. Rent from any video store 1 3/4 Hrs., rated PG e. Impact America Foundation, Inc., c/o Martin J. Moore, 9100 Keystone Crossing, Suite 390, Indianapolis, IN, 46240-2158 (1-317-848-5134), Teachers' Guide and video, $10.00.

UNIT GOAL:

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
3. The students will examine positive/negative behaviors associated with obedience, conformity and silence	A. Examine obedience, silence and conformity. 1. Students will examine and describe by example when obedience, silence and conformity are beneficial to society and when they are beneficial to the individual. 2. Write **Pastor Martin Niemoeller** quotation on black board and discuss its meaning for society. Does it still apply for today's events?	A. • 1. Read and listen to the song **Sound of Silence** Furman, Harry. **Anthology,** p. 15. • 2. Read poem **The Hangman** by Maurice Ogden, Teacher's guide **Facing History and Ourselves**: Unit IV, 25 Kennard Rd., Brookline, MA, 0246. Video: **The Hangman**, 12 Min.. CRM, 2215 Faraday, Suite F, Carstad, CA, 92008 (1-800-421-0833), with questions. • 3. Niemoeller: "In Germany, the Nazis came for the Communists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Communist. Then they came for the Jews, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Jew. Then they came for the trade unionists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a trade unionists. Then, they came for the Catholics, and I didn't speak up because I was a Protestant. Then they came for me, and by that time there was no one to speak for me."

UNIT__I UNIT I AN INTRODUCTION TO A STUDY OF THE HOLOCAUST AND GENOCIDE: NATURE OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR
UNIT GOAL:

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	B. Discuss when is silence golden, when is it not?	B. Furman, Harry etal: <u>The Holocaust and Genocide - Search for Conscience</u>, "The Dying Girl No One Helped"
	1. **The Dying Girl No One Helped,** story of Kitty Genovese, Loudon Wainwright	• 1. Ibid p. 7
	2. **Outside A Small Circle of Friends**	• 2. Ibid song by Phip Ochs p. 7
	3. review and analyze **An Olympic Athlete's Dilemma**	• 3. Ibid Furman, Harry,.pp. 78-79
	C. Students will access the dangers of conformity and obedience of cults by reviewing	C.
	1. **The Wave** - watch video and read book.	1. Video **The Wave** - 46 Min., available from Social Studies School Service (1-800-421-4246) and book • <u>Playlet:</u> **The Wave** - Scholastic Magazine - October 7, 1981. Education Center, 12150 Fairwood Ave., Columbus, Ohio, 43216.
	2. **Waco** - David Koresh and Branch Davidians	2. Newsweek, **Children of the Cult**, pp. 48-54, May 17, 1993
	3. **In Search of Jim Jones** and Jonestown	3. TV Docudrama - Children of the Cult, "They call them Cults".
	4. "They call them Cults" - **The Moonies**	• 4. Scholastic Magazine, October 7, 1981.
	5. A Child of Hitler - **Hitler Youth**	5. Video: **Heil Hitler - Confessions of a Hitler Youth** - 30 Min., HBO 1991. Social Studies School Service (1-800-421-4246). Story of Alfons Heck - powerful
	6. See video **Swing Kids**, 1993 Movie	6. Video: Rent from any store 1 hr. Jazz show in Nazi German, youthful resistance, rated PG 13

UNIT GOAL:

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
4. The students will be able to articulate positive behavior associated with courage rather than bravado, integrity rather than corruptibility, empathy, rather than indifference.	A. Students discuss and interpret the meaning of Integrity, Empathy, Courage 1. **Bystander's Dilemma Series:** a. Era of McCarthyism b. Era of slavery c. Youth gangs d. Heidi's dilemma 2. **Conversion or Immigration** 3. One act play - **His Name was Jackie Robinson.** 4. Keep a diary-scrapbook, take a video or photos of Community Service projects. Learning through caring, soup kitchens, homeless, listen to Seniors. Song: **We are the World** 5. Read, view react and discuss - Role model behavior exhibited by personalities both real and fictional from suggested sources. 6. Students will name and identify three personalities of the present or historical figures whom they admire and would consider a positive role model. Why? Explain. 7. Select and report on three current events and issues within the last 3 months that reflect positive behavior of courage, integrity and caring.	A. Definition from Webster's Dictionary and Thesaurus: 1. **The Bystanders Dilemma** - "Heidi's Dilemma" Six (6) case studies - reproducible skills and values available - Social Studies School Service (1-800-421-4246). • 2. Furman, Harry et al - **The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience**, ADL, 1983 p. 40 "Conversion or Emigration". • 3. **Creative Classroom**, Jan./Feb. 1993 4. **Teaching Tolerance** - Cathryn Beyer Kaye - Spring 1993. 400 Washington Ave., Montgomery, Ala., 36104. Free Magazine to education - twice a year. • **"We are the World"** 5. **Inherit the Wind** - Book and video **To Kill a Mockingbird** - Book and video **Red Badge of Courage** - Book and video **Profiles in Courage** - Book and video **Eric** - Book and video **Scarlet Letter** - Book and video **Of Mice and Men** - Book and video 6. Community based resources 7. School - Community Resources. Watch afterschool programs on T.V.

UNIT GOAL:

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
5. Students will compare and contrast the behavior of victim, hero, celebrity bystander, fool and martyr.	A. Students will brainstorm and reach consensus concerning the meaning of: 1. Victims 2. Hero 3. Celebrity	A. Webster's Dictionary • 1. "The Reichstag is Burning" by Friedman, Ina R. **Escape or Die** True Stories of Teens who survived the Holocaust - Yellow Moon Press - Social Studies School Service (1-800-421-4246) Ibid - **The Other Victims** - First person accounts of Non Jews persecuted by Nazis - Houghton Mifflin - Social Studies Service 2. Biographies of Heroes: a. **Joan of Arc** video, 100 Min. Social Studies School Service (1-800-421-4246) and book: **Joan of Arc** b. **Raoul Wallenberg: Between the Lines**, 85 Min., video and book, Social Studies School Service. c. **Rescuers: Portraits of Moral Courage in the Holocaust**, paperback, Holmes and Meier, Social Studies School Service. d. Bernheim Mark. **Father of the Orphans: The Story of Janusz Korczak**, NY Dutton Childrens Books, 1989 e. **Hero**: Aids victims i.e. Magic Johnson, War veterans. 3. **Celebrity:** a. Oskar Schindler - see film and read book -**Schindler's List** - Thomas Kenneally, Touchstone, 1992. b. Steven Spielberg - news media, magazines.

UNIT GOAL:

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	4. Bystander	• 4. Furman, Harry et al: **Holocaust and Genocide: A Secret for Conscience**, "The Indifferent Ones" p. 156 "Anna's Dilemma" p. 161. Bystander: **Bystanders Dilemma**. Thinking skills and values, explanation in Social Studies.- six (6) case studies - reproducible, S.S.S.S.
	5. **Fool** - Elias Lindzin	5. Foolish Behavior: Read parts of Shakespeare's **Midsummer Nights Dream** • Levi Primo, **Survival in Auschwitz,** "The Drowned and Saved", pp, 87- 89.
	6. Martyr	6. Martyr: See video excerpt **Hannah's War - very graphic**, grade 10 and up - rent from video store. Atkinson, Linda. **In Kindling Flame**: The story of Hannah Senesh 1921-1944, NY, William Morrow, 1992.
	5B. Students will choose one of the following to illustrate their understanding of victim celebrity, bystander, fool and martyr. 1. Individual Essay 2. Discussion 3. Group work 4. Collage, play, poem 5. Display all materials for school look at in a prominent place - hallways, auditorium, Library, lunch room	• 5B. **Why did You Kill Our Hero?** from **Teaching Tolerance,** Spring 1993, pp. 14-17, 400 Washington Ave., Montgomery, AL, 36104. No charge to Educators. **Schindler's List** and Guide by Lifetime Learning System.

UNIT I

Auschwitz: If You Cried You Died - 28 min.

Well done documentary wich tells the story of a 14 year old boy in Auschwitz with questions of modern moral responsibilities.

Impact America Foundation
c\o Martin J. Moore
9100 Keystone Crossing, Suite 390
Indianapolis, Indiana 46240-2158 1-317-848-5134
with Teacher's Guide
Excellent for Unit V
$10.00

The Hangman - 12 min.

Based on the poem by Maurice Ogden. Tells the story in animation, about a town where people are hung one by one and the town rationalizes each victimization. Useful video in introducing subject of individual responsibility and the role of the bystander.

CRM
2215 Faraday, Suite F
Carlsbad, Ca. 92008 1-800-421-0833

The Wave - 46 min.

Shows the danger of conformity and blind obedience without questioning - based on true story. Well done program.

Social Studies School Service
1-800-421-4246
$79.00

Heil Hitler: Confessions of a Hitler Youth - 30 min.

HBO 1991 - Story of Alfons Heck - Powerful.. Can be used in unit III. Graphic documentary footage dramatizes how songs, youth camps, speeches and education reinforces Hitler's mesmerizing lies of racial science and a master race.

Social Studies School Service
1-800-421-4246
$69.95

Schindler's List - 3.5 hours

Powerful film on Righteous Rescuer, Oskar Schindler - industrialist and bon vivant. Can one person can make a difference? Can be used in unit V.

Rent or purchase from video store.
Approximately $40.00 if purchased

Reading #1

Unit 1

If all men are basically good, if going on with intimate family living no matter what else is what is to be most admired, then indeed we can all go on with life as usual and forget about Auschwitz. Except that Anne Frank died because her parents could not get themselves to believe in Auschwitz. And her story found wide acclaim because for us, too, it denies implicitly that Auschwitz ever existed. If all men are good, there was never an Auschwitz.

Taken from Bettelheim, Bruno - The Informed Heart - Avon Paperbacks, 1971, p. 249

Man's Nature

For most thinkers since the Greek philosophers, it was self-evident that there is something called human nature, something that constitutes the essence of man. There were various views about what constitutes it, but there was agreement that such an essence exists...that is to say, that there is something by virtue of which man is man. Thus man was defined as a rational being, as a social animal, an animal that can make tools (*Homo faber*), or a symbol-making animal.

Taken from Fromm, Eric - The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness - Holt, Rinehart and Winston, NY, 1976, p. 207

Man's Search for Meaning

Viktor Frankl

The story of daily life in the concentration camps has been recorded in many books of testimony. Camp inmates were subjected to long days of arduous work while surviving on a diet of thin soup and moldy bread. Always subjected to continual humiliation from the SS guards, inmates had to learn to withstand an environment created to dehumanize them before they were killed.

This selection by Dr. Viktor Frankl, a survivor of Auschwitz, begins to answer the question of how the inmate adjusted to life in the concentration camp. Frankl argues that the inmates had to find meaning in their suffering as a reason to go on living. Those who lost faith in the future were those most likely to die. Yet Frankl's testimony goes far beyond the issue of survival in camps to the larger question of how humans deal with life itself.

The prisoner who had lost faith in the future—his future—was doomed. With his loss of belief in the future, he also lost his spiritual hold; he let himself decline and became subject to mental and physical decay. Usually this happened quite suddenly, in the form of a crisis, the symptoms of which were familiar to the experienced camp inmate. We all feared this moment—not for ourselves, which would have been pointless, but for our friends. Usually it began with the prisoner refusing one morning to get dressed and wash or to go out on the parade grounds. . . . No blows, no threats had any effect. He just lay there, hardly moving. If this crisis was brought about by an illness, he refused to be taken to the sick-bay or to do anything to help himself. He simply gave up. There he remained, lying in his own excreta, and nothing bothered him any more.

I once had a dramatic demonstration of the close link between the loss of faith in the future and this dangerous giving up. My senior block warden, a fairly well-known composer and librettist, confided in me one day: "I would like to tell you something, Doctor. I have had a strange dream. A voice told me that I could wish for something, that I should only say what I wanted to know, and all my questions would be answered. What do you think I asked? That I would like to know when the war would be over for me. . . . I wanted to know when we, when our camp, would be liberated and our sufferings come to an end."

"And when did you have this dream?" I asked.

"In February, 1945," he answered. It was then the beginning of March.

"What did your dream voice answer?"

Furtively he whispered to me, "March thirtieth."

When F— told me about his dream, he was still full of hope and convinced that the voice of his dream would be right. But as the promised day drew nearer, the war news which reached our camp made it appear very unlikely that we would be free on the promised date. On March twenty-ninth, F— suddenly became ill and ran a high temperature. On March thirtieth, the day his prophecy had told him that the war and suffering would be over for him, he became delirious and lost consciousness. On March thirty-first, he was dead. To all outward appearances, he had died of typhus.

. . . . The ultimate cause of my friend's death was that the expected liberation did not come and he was severely disappointed. This suddenly lowered his body's resistance against the latent typhus infection. His faith in the future and his will to live had become paralyzed and his body fell victim to illness—and thus the voice of his dream was right after all.

Any attempt to restore a man's inner strength in the camp had first to succeed in showing him some future goal. Nietzsche's words, "He who has a *why* to live for can bear with almost any *how*," could be the guiding motto for all . . . . efforts regarding prisoners. Woe to him who saw no more sense in his life, no aim, no purpose, and therefore no point in carrying on. He was soon lost. . . .

What was really needed was a fundamental change in our attitude toward life. We had to learn ourselves and, furthermore, we had to teach the despairing men, that *it did not really matter what we expected from life, but rather what life expected from us* . . . . Sometimes the situation in which a man finds himself may require him to shape his own fate by action. At other times it is more advantageous for him to make use of an opportunity for contemplation and to realize assets in this way. Sometimes man may be required simply to accept fate, to bear his cross. . . .

When a man finds that it is his destiny to suffer, he will have to accept his suffering as his task; his single and unique task. He will have to acknowledge the fact that even in suffering he is unique and alone in the universe. No one can relieve him of his suffering or suffer in his place.

Harry Furman, Editor-in-Chief

Published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
823 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017

His unique opportunity lies in the way in which he bears his burden.

For us, as prisoners, these thoughts were not speculations far removed from reality. They were the only thoughts that could be of help to us. They kept us from despair, even when there seemed to be no chance of coming out of it alive. There was plenty of suffering for us to get through. Therefore, it was necessary to face up to the full amount of suffering, trying to keep moments of weakness and furtive tears to a minimum. But there was no need to be ashamed of tears, for tears bore witness that a man had the greatest of courage, the courage to suffer. Only very few realized that. . . .

A very strict camp ruling forbade any efforts to save a man who attempted suicide. It was forbidden, for example, to cut down a man who was trying to hang himself. Therefore, it was all important to prevent these attempts from occurring.

I remember two cases of would-be suicide, which bore a striking similarity to each other. Both men had talked of their intentions to commit suicide. Both used the typical argument—they had nothing more to expect from life. In both cases it was a question of getting them to realize that life was still expecting something from them; something in the future was expected of them. We found, in fact, that for the one it was his child whom he adored and who was waiting for him in a foreign country. For the other it was a thing, not a person. This man was a scientist and had written a series of books which still needed to be finished. His work could not be done by anyone else, any more than another person could ever take the place of the father in his child's affections.

This uniqueness and singleness which distinguishes each individual and gives a meaning to his existence has a bearing on creative work as much as it does on human love. When the impossibility of replacing a person is realized, it allows the responsibility which a man has for his existence and its continuance to appear in all its magnitude. A man who becomes conscious of the responsibility he bears toward a human being who affectionately waits for him, or to an unfinished work, will never be able to throw away his life. He knows the "why" for his existence, and will be able to bear almost any "how."

Questions for Discussion

1. Why did the senior block warden die on March 31st?
2. What is meant by Nietzsche' statement, "He who has a *why* to live for can bear with almost any *how*."
3. What does Frankl say about crying?
4. How can Frankl's comments about suicide in the camps relate to the issue of increasing suicide today?

Definitions

furtively—slyly
psychohygiene—the relationship betwen individual health and state of mind

Human Nature: Opinion Survey

What do you think the nature of human beings is? Are we born good or evil—or with a "blank page"? Based on your reading and on your own thinking, complete the survey below.

Respond to each of the following statements with:

(AS) Agree Strongly
(A) Agree
(D) Disagree
(DS) Disagree Strongly

_____ 1. Life is a constant struggle. Those not powerful enough to rise to the top deserve whatever they get.
_____ 2. Most people are more likely to do evil rather than good.
_____ 3. Most people are weak and lazy.
_____ 4. Most people cannot handle freedom.
_____ 5. Most people would prefer miracles rather than depend on the fruits of their own hard labor.
_____ 6. Most people need something to worship.
_____ 7. We should not hold high expectations about the capacity of people for compassion and kindness to each other.
_____ 8. Most people would prefer not to make difficult decisions involving good and evil and the way in which society operates.
_____ 9. Most people are likely to conform rather than to maintain their individuality.
_____10. Most people cannot be trusted.
_____11. Most people are indifferent and uninvolved about issues that involve social responsibility.
_____12. Most people would want to avoid truth because it can cause pain.
_____13. Since conscience can cause personal suffering, most people do not act from conscience.
_____14. War is the natural outgrowth of human nature.
_____15. Most people need an authority to tell them what to do.

Given your responses, summarize your own feelings about human nature and behavior.

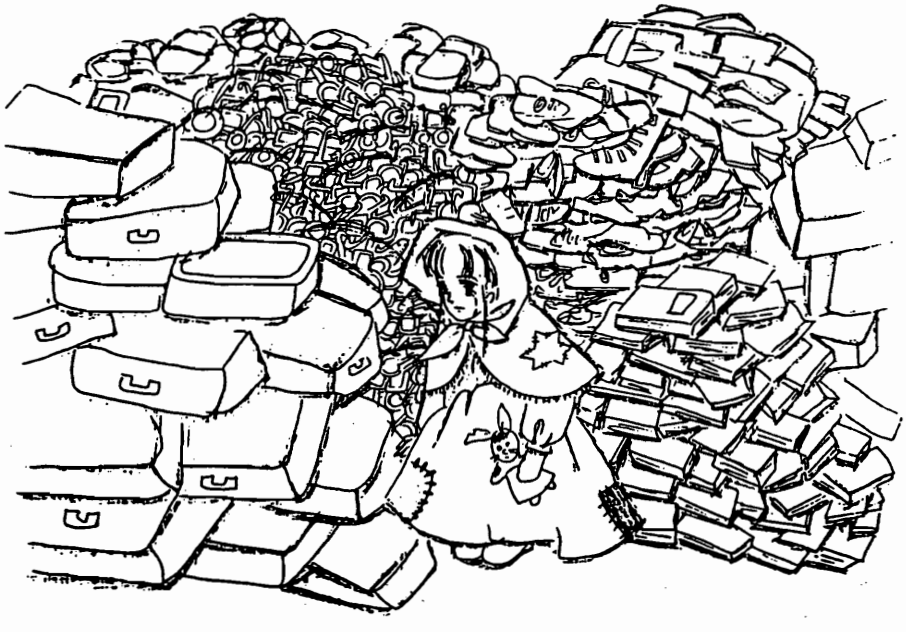
Holocaust and Genocide:
A Search For Conscience
Harry Furman, Editor-in-Chief

INTRODUCTION:

The reading selections contained in this section are submitted in order to enable the student to put the Holocaust in a more personal context as to the nature of Man and see in himself the potential for evil. The High School student must decide, or at least grapple with, the question "Is Man basically good or evil?" Only by discussion of this profound question will the student understand the depth of human depravity that could produce and still does produce genocide(s). The intended outcome of this intellectual quest is the cessation of present genocide(s) and the prevention of future ones.

These readings are presented in a variety of disciplines:

1. Political Science **The Prince** by Niccolo Machiavelli
2. Philosophy **Man is Evil and Warlike** by Thomas Hobbes
3. Philosophy **Man is Rational** by John Locke
4. Psychology **Man is a Product of His Environment** by B.F. Skinner
5. Psychology **Man is Innately Aggressive** by Robert Ardrey



THE NATURE OF MAN

Niccolo Machiavelli (1469–1527) ("The Prince") was an Italian statesman and writer who is regarded as the first political philosopher of modern times. Among his writings are: *The Prince* and *The Art of War*. He believed in government by the people but felt that the Italians of his day were unfit to rule themselves. He is concerned with the use and abuse of power.



David L. Bloch

Questions for Discussion

Investigate some classic approaches in *The Holocaust Years* to explaining human behavior. Discuss:

- Is the human animal intrinsically good or bad?
- Do we need to be controlled by authority?
- Why do we accept authority?
- Under what circumstances is authority necessary?
- What insights can be gained from studying these philosophers and scientists?
- How do the thoughts of people writing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries apply to our present condition?

The Prince

Niccolo Machiavelli

This, then, gives rise to the question "whether it be better to be beloved than feared, or to be feared than beloved." It will naturally be answered that it would be desirable to be both the one and the other; but as it is difficult to be both at the same time, it is much more safe to be feared than to be loved when you have to choose between the two. For it may be said of men in general that they are ungrateful and fickle, dissemblers, avoiders of danger, and greedy of gain. So long as you shower benefits upon them, they are all yours; they offer you their blood, their substance, their lives, and their children, provided the necessity for it is far off; but when it is near at hand, then they revolt. And the prince who relies upon their words, without having otherwise provided for his security, is ruined; for friendships that are won by rewards, and not by greatness and nobility of soul, although deserved, yet are not real, and cannot be depended upon in time of adversity.

Besides, men have less hesitation in offending one who makes himself beloved than one who makes himself feared; for love holds by a bond of obligation which, as mankind is bad, is broken on every occasion whenever it is for the interest of the obliged party to break it. But fear holds by the apprehension of punishment, which never leaves men.

It being necessary then for a prince to know well how to employ the nature of the beasts, he should be able to assume both that of the fox and that of the lion; for while the latter cannot escape the traps laid for him, the former cannot defend himself against the wolves. A prince should be a fox, to know the traps and snares; and a lion, to be able to frighten the wolves; for those who simply hold to the nature of the lion do not understand their business.

A sagacious prince then cannot and should not fulfill his pledges when their observance is contrary to his interest, and when the causes that induced him to pledge his faith no longer exist. If men were all good, then indeed this precept would be bad; but as men are naturally bad, and will not observe their faith toward you, you must, in the same way, not observe yours to them; and no prince ever yet lacked legitimate reasons with which to color his want of good faith. Innumerable modern examples could be given of this; and it could easily be shown how many treaties of peace, and how many engagements, have been made null and void by the faithlessness of princes; and he who has best known how to play the fox has ever been the most successful.

THE NATURE OF MAN

Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) ("Man Is Evil and Warlike") was an English political philosopher whose critical and negative perceptions of man were often unpopular. In his famous work *Leviathan* he was so critical of his government that this work was condemned by the British House of Commons in 1666 and *Behemoth* was censored. He also wrote *The Elements of Law, Natural and Politic.*

Man Is Evil and Warlike

Thomas Hobbes

From this equality of ability arises equality of hope in the attaining of our ends. And therefore if any two men desire the same thing, which nevertheless they cannot both enjoy, they become enemies, and in the way to their end, which is principally their own conservation, and sometimes their delectation only, endeavor to destroy or subdue one another. And from hence it comes to pass that where an invader has no more to fear than another man's single power, if one plant, sow, build, or possess a convenient seat, others may probably be expected to come prepared with forces united to dispossess and deprive him, not only of the fruit of his labor, but also of his life or liberty. And the invader again is in the like danger of another.

And from this diffidence of one another there is no way for any man to secure himself so reasonable as anticipation—that is, by force or wiles to master the persons of all men he can, so long till he see no other power great enough to endanger him; and this is no more than his own conservation requires, and is generally allowed. Also, because there be some that take pleasure in contemplating their own power in the acts of conquest, which they pursue farther than their security requires, if others that otherwise would be glad to be at ease within modest bounds should not by invasion increase their power, they would not be able, long time, by standing only on their defense, to subsist. And by consequence, such augmentation of dominion over men being necessary to a man's conservation, it ought to be allowed him.

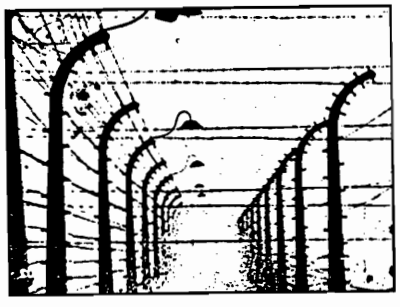
Again, men have no pleasure, but on the contrary a great deal of grief, in keeping company where there is no power able to overawe them all. For every man looks that his companion should value him at the same rate he sets upon himself; and upon all signs of contempt or undervaluing naturally endeavors, as far as he dares (which among them that have no common power to keep them in quiet is far enough to make them destroy each other), to extort a greater value from his contemners by damage and from others by the example.

So that in the nature of man we find three principal causes of quarrel: first, competition; secondly, diffidence; thirdly, glory.

The first makes men invade for gain, the second for safety, and the third for reputation. The first use violence to make themselves masters of other men's persons, wives, children, and cattle; the second, to defend them; the third, for trifles, as a word, a smile, a different opinion, and any other sign of undervalue, either direct in their persons or by reflection in their kindred, their friends, their nation, their profession, or their name.

Hereby it is manifest that, during the time men live without a common power to keep them all in awe, they are in that condition which is called war, and such a war as is of every man against every man.





THE NATURE OF MAN

READING #4
Unit 1

John Locke (1632–1704) ("Man Is Rational") was an English philosopher who believed in civil liberty, religious tolerance, the power of reason, and the value of experience. His works include: *Essay Concerning Human Understanding; Two Treatises on Civil Government* and *Essays on the Law of Nature.*

Man Is Rational

John Locke

The state of nature has a law of nature to govern it, which obliges every one, and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind, who will but consult it, that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty or possessions.

Men living together according to reason without a common superior on earth, with authority to judge between them, are properly in the state of nature.

THE NATURE OF MAN

READING #4
Unit 1

B. F. Skinner (b. 1904) ("Man Is a Product of His Environment") is a professor of psychology at Harvard and a researcher who has won several awards for his contributions in the area of human behavior. He is the author of *Walden Two, Science and Human Behavior, Verbal Behavior,* and *Beyond Freedom & Dignity.*

Man Is a Product of His Environment

B. F. Skinner

Q: Suppose that people who read your book, and take its message seriously, realize that they are controlled. Will they lose their feelings of freedom?

Skinner: I don't know. I certainly believe that my own behavior is entirely a function of three things—my genetic endowment, my past history as an individual (my family, my religious experience, my government, my schooling, the physical environment in which I have lived, and so on), and the present situation. I am absolutely sure that that is all there is in the determination of what I'm going to do at this very moment. But I don't feel discouraged or unhappy about it at all.

Q: You don't feel like a puppet?

Skinner: I don't feel the least bit like a puppet. Operant conditioning is not pulling strings to make a person dance. It is arranging a world in which a person does things that affect that world, which in turn affects him.

Q: When you come into the classroom and make children want to come to school, would you be controlling their behavior?

Skinner: That's right. A girl who teaches in a Kentucky sixth grade told me of a good example. Her students were not doing their homework; they would not sit down and study; they ran around the room and talked a great deal. She decided to try some operant conditioning. Every Friday afternoon she held a lottery, and the child whose name was drawn out of a jar got a prize. Every Monday morning she would put the week's prize on the wall. One week it was a Halloween costume, another a transistor radio. Whenever a pupil brought in his homework, he could write his name on a ticket and drop it in the jar. Whenever he finished an assignment in class, he could do the same. The system changed the girl's life as a teacher completely. Her pupils did all their homework; they sat quietly and listened to her, because something she said might be just the thing they could use to get another ticket with their name in the jar.

Q: A number of your attackers charge that behavior modification is being used in China today, and they are horrified at the very thought that we might apply it that way in this country.

Skinner: Yes, it is said that the word "fascism" surfaces frequently in discussions of my book. The critics are usually good enough to say that I am not fascist, but that I give aid and comfort to fascism. But every fascist state I've heard of uses aversive control. Its citizens behave as the government dictates because they are afraid not to do so. I've spent my life looking for alternatives to punitive control and arguing in their favor. I oppose standard totalitarian techniques and I want people to feel free and enjoy what they're doing. But it may be true that I give aid and comfort to those who want to make any way of life more effective. What worries me is that in some curious way the struggle for freedom and dignity has made it impossible for us to take advantage of what we're discovering about human behavior. If that proves to be the case, there has been a lethal mutation in our culture that may bring it to an end. A fascist way of life might then gain an advantage, but I'm doing what I can to prevent it.



The Star Seller by Halina Olomucki, Warsaw Ghetto 1941



Robert Ardrey (b. 1908) ("Man Is Innately Aggressive") is a lecturer in the natural sciences and on anthropology. He is also a dramatist or playwright. In 1955 he began his African travels and studies and wrote *African Genesis* (1961), a personal investigation into the Animal Origins and Nature of Man.

Man Is Innately Aggressive

Robert Ardrey

In the past 30 years a revolution has been taking place in the natural sciences. It is a revolution in our understanding of animal behavior, and of our link to the animal world. In sum, therefore, the revolution concerns that most absorbing of human entertainments, man's understanding of man. Yet not even science, as a whole, is aware of the philosophical reappraisal which must proceed from its specialists' doings.

Assumptions concerning the nature of man, today unquestioned by education, by psychiatry, by politics, by art, or even by science itself, are being eroded by the tiny streams set loose from obscure scientific springs. And few of us, scientists or laymen, know.

That the contemporary revolution in the natural sciences has proceeded thus far in almost total silence must not be regarded as too great a wonder. Other and noisier revolutions have overwhelmed our unquiet time. As compared with the fortunes of the totalitarian state, of nuclear physics, of antibiotics or the longplaying record, the fortunes of the palaeontologist may seem remote from our daily life. And the work of the revolution has been accomplished by such extreme specialists that it has been recorded only in such inaccessible pages as those of the *American Journal of Anthropology* or the *Biological Symposia*. Such heralds gain few hearers in the modern marketplace.

Still more important than the obscurity or specialization of the revolution has been its suddenness. When in 1930 I emerged from a respectable American university as a respectably well-educated young man, no hint had reached me that private property was other than a human institution evolved by the human brain. If I and my young contemporaries throughout the following years wasted much of our fire on social propositions involving the abolition of private ownership, then we did so in perfect faith that such a course would free mankind of many a frustration. No part of the curriculum of our psychology, sociology, or anthropology departments had presented us with the information that territoriality—the drive to gain, maintain, and defend the exclusive right to a piece of property—is an animal instinct approximately as ancient and powerful as sex.

The role of territory in general animal behavior lies today beyond scientific controversy; then it was unknown. We of the Class of 1930 had to emerge into a world of tumultuous evaluation without benefit of this most salient observation. Similarly, we could not know, as we bemused ourselves with the attractions of the classless state, that hierarchy is an institution among all social animals and the drive to dominate one's fellows an instinct three or four hundred million years old. . . .

We, the approximate Class of 1930, today furnish trusted and vital leadership to world thought, world politics, world society and to whatever may exist of world hope. But we do not know that the human drive to acquire possession is the simple expression of an animal instinct many hundreds of times older than the human race itself. We do not know that the roots of nationalism are dug firmly into the social territoriality of almost every species in our related primate family. We do not know that the status-seekers are responding to animal instincts equally characteristic of baboons, jackdaws, rock cod, and men. Responsible though we may be for the fate of summit conferences, disarmament agreements, juvenile delinquents and new African states, we do not know that the first man was an armed killer, or that evolutionary survival from his mutant instant depended upon the use, the development, and the contest of weapons.

We do not know these things, since they are conclusions to be drawn from the contemporary revolution in the natural sciences. We should know, however, that acquired characteristics cannot be inherited, and that within a species every member is born in the essential image of the first of its kind. No child of ours, born in the middle twentieth century, can differ at birth in significant measure from the earliest of Homo sapiens. No instinct, whether physiological or cultural, that constituted a part of the original human bundle can ever in the history of the species be permanently suppressed or abandoned.

Survival in Auschwitz

THE NAZI ASSAULT ON HUMANITY

PRIMO LEVI

The Drowned and the Saved

WHAT WE HAVE so far said and will say concerns the ambiguous life of the Lager. In our days many men have lived in this cruel manner, crushed against the bottom, but each for a relatively short period; so that we can perhaps ask ourselves if it is necessary or good to retain any memory of this exceptional human state.

To this question we feel that we have to reply in the affirmative. We are in fact convinced that no human experience is without meaning or unworthy of analysis, and that fundamental values, even if they are not positive, can be deduced from this particular world which we are describing. We would also like to consider that the Lager was pre-eminently a gigantic biological and social experiment.

Thousands of individuals, differing in age, condition, origin, language, culture and customs are enclosed within barbed wire: there they live a regular, controlled life which is identical for all and inadequate to all needs, and which is much more rigorous than any experimenter could have set up to establish what is essential and what adventitious to the conduct of the human animal in the struggle for life.

We do not believe in the most obvious and facile deduction: that man is fundamentally brutal, egoistic and stupid in his conduct once every civilized institution is taken away, and that the Häftling is consequently nothing but a man without inhibitions. We believe, rather, that the only conclusion to be drawn is that in the face of driving necessity and physical disabilities many social habits and instincts are reduced to silence.

But another fact seems to us worthy of attention: there comes to light the existence of two particularly well differentiated categories among men—the saved and the drowned. Other pairs of opposites (the good and the bad, the wise and the foolish, the cowards and the courageous, the unlucky and the fortunate) are considerably less distinct, they seem less essential, and above all they allow for more numerous and complex intermediary gradations.

This division is much less evident in ordinary life; for there it rarely happens that a man loses himself. A man is normally not alone, and in his rise or fall is tied to the destinies of his neighbours; so that it is exceptional for anyone to acquire unlimited power, or to fall by a succession of defeats into utter ruin. Moreover, everyone is normally in possession of such spiritual, physical and even financial resources that the probabilities of a shipwreck, of total inadequacy in the face of life, are relatively small. And one must take into account a definite cushioning effect exercised both by the law, and by the moral sense which constitutes a self-imposed law; for a country is considered the more civilized the more the wisdom and efficiency of its laws hinder a weak man from becoming too weak or a powerful one too powerful.

Conformist Aggression
from
The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness
by
Eric Fromm

Conformist Aggression

Conformist aggression comprises various acts of aggression that are performed not because the aggressor is driven by the desire to destroy, but because he is told to do so and considers it his duty to obey orders. In all hierarchically structured societies obedience is perhaps the most deeply ingrained trait. Obedience is equated with virtue, disobedience with sin. To be disobedient is the arch crime from which all other crimes follow. Abraham was willing to kill his son out of obedience. Antigone is killed by Creon for her disobedience to the laws of the state. Armies, especially, cultivate obedience, since their very essence is built on an absolute reflexlike acceptance of commands that precludes any questioning. The soldier who kills and maims, the bomber pilot who destroys thousands of lives in one moment, are not necessarily driven by a destructive or cruel impulse, but by the principle of unquestioning obedience.

Conformist aggression is sufficiently widespread to deserve serious attention. From the behavior of boys in a juvenile gang to that of soldiers in an army, many destructive acts are committed in order not to appear "yellow," and out of obedience to orders. It is these motivations, and not human destructiveness, that are at the root of this type of aggressive behavior, which is often wrongly interpreted as indicating the power of innate aggressive impulses. Conformist aggression might as well have been classified as pseudoaggression; the reason for not doing so is that obedience as a consequence of the need to conform will in many cases mobilize aggressive impulses that otherwise might not have become manifest. Furthermore, the impulse not to obey or not to conform constitutes for many a real threat, against which they defend themselves by performing the required aggressive act.

The Mayor's Choice
What Would You Do?

Choices. Whether to make a saving phone call. Whether to deliver electric shocks to an innocent stranger. Whether to obey an authoritarian leader. Choices. This anthology is filled with sharp examples of people compelled to make choices. Often these decisions are agonizingly difficult, but they cannot be avoided. Yet, the choices we make do matter and therefore they should be examined carefully. The following clear example of a decision immediately immerses the reader into the real world of brutal decision making.

It is the year of 1944. The Second World War is still in full fury and Germany occupies much of Europe, including Greece. The Greek people are unhappily resigned to the Nazi invaders, but there are small pockets of underground resistance. Occasionally, a German soldier is killed by Greek partisans. Consequently, the Germans institute a basic rule. For every German soldier killed by civilians in an occupied village, twenty men from that village would be immediately executed.

One clear evening, three Greek commandos from a neighboring village enter a village and kill four German soldiers. Soon they are all caught and held by the Nazis.

The German commanding officer asks to see the mayor of the village. The mayor is an unusual man. He is a pacifist, a man who does not believe in any killing, even in war. The officer explains to the mayor about the twenty-to-one rule of German occupying forces. In compliance with this rule, eighty Greek males from the village had been rounded up. The officer states that they will all be shot at sunrise the next morning. These same men are right now digging a large ditch in the village courtyard. Tomorrow morning, they will descend into that ditch, which will be surrounded by machine guns. At the officer's signal, the eighty men will all be executed.

The mayor is horrified by this suggestion and pleads for the lives of his townspeople. The German officer smiles and then offers the mayor a deal. He informs the mayor that he can save the lives of his people only if he agrees to the following action: On that same morning, the three partisans will be placed near the ditch with their hands tied behind their backs. The German officer will take an empty rifle and hand it to the mayor. If the mayor wishes to save the lives of his townspeople in the ditch, he must bash in the heads of the three rebels until they are dead.

The German officer explains that the mayor will have the night to consider his offer.

The next morning, the scene is set just as the German officer pictured it. Eighty men look up from the ditch and wonder what will happen to them. The courtyard is filled with weeping wives and confused children. All wait for the mayor's decision.

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*This story is adapted from the movie version of John Fowles' *The Magus*.

Questions for Discussion

1. What alternatives were available to the mayor? What goal could have been achieved by any of the mayor's actions? What should the mayor have done?
2. Are the partisans ultimately responsible if any of the townspeople die?
3. Suppose the following happened: The mayor took the gun from the German officer and readied himself to strike one of the partisans. It is clear that all of the partisans have been beaten up badly. But through his bloodied mouth, one of the partisans yells "Long live Greece" just as the mayor is about to hit him. The mayor realizes that he cannot kill these people, throws aside his gun, and places himself with the partisans, expecting to die. The order is given and the German machine gunners execute all the men in the ditch. Then, the three partisans are shot. But, the mayor is left to live with the memory of his choice. Not three, not eighty, but eighty-three men have died.

   If this occurred, what judgment would you make? Is the mayor a coward?

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The Milgram "Shock" Experiment

Stanley Milgram

The Holocaust forces us to ask how people could obey orders that ended in the murder of millions of people. The issue of mass obedience has produced heated debate. Stanley Milgram's controversial laboratory research described below was designed to compare German and American levels of obedience. Milgram found a human capacity to obey destructive orders that had little to do with any instinct for aggression. He used Hannah Arendt's phrase, "the banality of evil," to describe the results of the experiment. In the experiment, ordinary persons imparted electric shocks to the victims not from any aggressive tendencies but out of a sense of obligation. Thus, ordinary people, by simply doing their jobs, chose to participate in a destructive process.

The Nazi [murder] of European Jews is the most extreme instance of . . . immoral acts carried out by thousands of people in the name of obedience. Yet in lesser degree this type of thing is constantly recurring: ordinary citizens are ordered to destroy other people, and they do so because they consider it their duty to obey orders. . . . In order to take a close look at the act of obeying, I set up a simple experiment at Yale University. Eventually, the experiment was to involve more than a thousand participants and would be repeated at several universities, . . . Two people come to a psychology laboratory to take part in a study of memory and learning. One of them is designated as a "teacher" and the other a "learner." The experimenter explains that the study is concerned with the effects of punishment on learning. The learner is conducted into a room, seated in a chair, his arms strapped to prevent excessive movement, and an electrode attached to his wrist. He is told that he is to learn a list of word pairs; whenever he makes an error, he will receive electric shocks of increasing intensity.

The real focus of the experiment is the teacher. After watching the learner being strapped into place, he is taken into the main experimental room and seated before an impressive shock generator. Its main feature is a horizontal line of thirty switches, ranging from 15 volts to 450 volts, in 15-volt increments. There are also verbal designations which range from SLIGHT SHOCK to DANGER—SEVERE SHOCK. The teacher is told that he is to administer the learning test to the man in the other room. When the learner responds correctly, the teacher moves on to the next item; when the other man gives an incorrect answer, the teacher is to give him an electrical shock. He is to start at the lowest shock level (15 volts) and to increase the level each time the man makes an error, going through 30 volts, 45 volts, and so on.

The "teacher" is a genuinely naïve subject who has come to the laboratory to participate in an experiment. The learner, or victim, is an actor who actually receives no shock at all. The point of the experiment is to see how far a person will proceed in a . . . situation in which he is ordered to inflict increasing pain on a protesting victim. At what point will the subject refuse to obey the experimenter?

Conflict arises when the man receiving the shock begins to indicate that he is experiencing discomfort. At 75 volts, the "learner" grunts. At 120 volts he complains verbally; at 150 he demands to be released from the experiment. His protests continue as the shocks escalate, growing increasingly vehement and emotional. At 285 volts his response can only be described as an agonized scream. . . .

For the subject, the situation is not a game; conflict is intense and obvious. On one hand, the . . . suffering of the learner presses him to quit. On the other, the experimenter, a legitimate authority

to whom the subject feels some commitment, enjoins him to continue. Each time the subject hesitates to administer shock, the experimenter orders him to continue. . . .

There are, of course, enormous differences between carrying out the orders of a commanding officer during times of war and carrying out the orders of an experimenter. Yet . . . one may ask in a general way: How does a man behave when he is told by a legitimate authority to act against a third individual? . . . .

A reader's initial reaction to the experiment may be to wonder why anyone in his right mind would administer even the first shocks. Would he not simply refuse and walk out of the laboratory? But the fact is that no one ever does. Since the subject has come to the laboratory to aid the experimenter, he is quite willing to start off with the procedure. . . . Despite the fact that many subjects experience stress, despite the fact that many protest to the experimenter, a substantial proportion continue to the last shock on the generator.

Many subjects will obey the experimenter no matter how vehement the pleading of the person being shocked, no matter how painful the shocks seem to be, and no matter how much the victim pleads to be let out. . . .

A commonly offered explanation is that those who shocked the victim at the most severe level were monsters, the sadistic fringe of society. But if one considers that almost two-thirds of the participants fall into the category of "obedient" subjects, and that they represented ordinary people . . . the argument becomes very shaky. Indeed, it is highly reminiscent of the issue that arose in connection with Hannah Arendt's 1963 book, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*. Arendt contended that the prosecution's effort to depict Eichmann as a sadistic monster was fundamentally wrong, that he came closer to being an uninspired bureaucrat who simply sat at his desk and did his job. . . . it was felt that the monstrous deeds carried out by Eichmann required a brutal, twisted, and sadistic personality . . . After witnessing hundreds of ordinary people submit to the authority in our own experiments, I must conclude that Arendt's conception of the *banality of evil* comes closer to the truth than one might dare imagine. The ordinary person who shocked the victim did so out of a sense of obligation—. . .—and not from any peculiarly aggressive tendencies.

This is, perhaps, the most fundamental lesson of our study: ordinary people, simply doing their jobs, and without any particular hostility on their part, can become agents in a terrible destructive process. Moreover, even when the destructive effects of their work become . . . clear, and they are asked to carry out actions incompatible with fundamental standards of morality, relatively few people have the resources needed to resist authority.

Questions for Discussion

1. Describe the Milgram "shock" experiment.
2. Did the participants feel uneasy about what they were doing? Erich Fromm in his book, *Anatomy of Destructiveness*, has suggested that we should emphasize the difficulty people had in obeying Milgram's orders.
3. What do you think would have been your reaction if you had been the teacher? How does the issue of "responsibility" play a role in the subject's decision to shock the learner?
4. Is the capacity for obedience an innate part of human nature? Can humans be taught to disobey orders that lead to the infliction of pain on others? How could this be done?
5. Are there times when it is important or necessary to obey without question or hesitation? Give examples.
6. What is meant by the "banality of evil"?

Definition

enjoins—commands

'First they came for the Jews, and I did not speak out -
because I was not a Jew.
Then they came for the communists, and I did not speak out -
because I was not a communist.
Then they came for the trade unionists, and I did not speak out -
because I was not a trade unionist.
Then they came for me -
and there was no-one left to speak out for me.'

Pastor Niemoeller, Nazi victim

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HOLOCAUST AND HUMAN BEHAVIOR

VOLUME III

by
Margot Stern Strom
William S. Parsons

Unit 1

READING #10

THE HANGMAN: STUDY GUIDE

12 minutes Color 1964
Study Guide by: Rabbi Ronald Kronish
Directed by: Les Goldman
Paul Julian
Music by: Serge Hovan
Narrated by: Herschel Bernardi
Narrative poem by: Maurice Ogden

Content of the Film:

The Hangman in a small town decides to choose victims fc execution. Paradoxically, he announces that he intends to har only *those who serve him best.* First he chooses a foreigner. Th townspeople—out of relief for not having been chosen them selves—and out of respect for The Hangman—do not object.

On the second day, after it becomes clear that The Hangma intends to choose another victim, one man accuses him of being murderer—and that man is executed. Out of fear of The Hangma —no one objects.

During the night, the gallows grow to a grotesque and fear height.

The third victim is a Jew. The fourth, a black man. There is a fifth, a sixth, and each time the townspeople ask: is this the one who serves you well? As the hangings increase, the people cease asking even this.

Finally, one man is left alone in the town. When called by The Hangman, he believes that he is being asked to help pull down the scaffolding. As The Hangman prepares to execute him, the victim claims that he has been tricked. The Hangman denies this and implicates him directly by explaining that he did no more than the cowardly man let him do. He is hung in the town square.

Questions for Discussion:

This film-poem raises questions concerning indifference, prejudice, social responsibility, and the nature and dynamics of power. It is an illustration of how those in power exploit minorities to increase their own strength and control the populace. In this sense, it is a stark reminder of the rise to power of Nazism in our own century as well as a warning against the abuses of power in our own time.

Discussion of the following questions will help in understanding these central themes in the film:

1. Who was the hangman's first victim? What was the reaction of the people to his choice?
2. When the hangman takes his second victim, he asks: "Do you hold with him that was meant for the gallows-tree?" What does he mean? How do the people react?
3. Who were the next two victims? What did they have in common with the first two?
4. In the film you see that the gallows grow and take root; they even become larger than the courthouse. How were these gallows permitted to grow so large? Give examples from modern history. Why are the gallows juxtaposed with the courthouse?
5. How did the narrator of the film-poem come to understand the hangman's riddle: "He who serves me best shall earn the rope on the gallows tree." What could he have done to avoid becoming the victim?

B. Film: The Hangman: This film provides an effective way to introduce the themes of this chapter.

> To sin by silence when they should protest makes cowards of men.
>
> —Abraham Lincoln—

This short animated film is complex. The teacher should show the film and lead a discussion; students will have difficulty understanding the complexities after only one viewing. Still some students will be able to guess at the message of the film. "He who serves me best," said he. "Shall earn the rope on the gallows-tree." Clarify questions such as:

What is happening in the town?
How did the townspeople respond to the Hangman?
What does the Hangman represent?
Who was hung on the gallows?
What do the contracts represent?
Can you identify some of the symbols and the meaning they suggest?

For example, the gallow-tree takes root; the animated people become paper dolls; the shadow grows on the courthouse wall. The symbolism in the film provides for an effective lesson on metaphors and the technique of comparing unlike things.

Show the film a second time. While students are recording the things they want to remember for the discussion, the teacher should copy two of the main quotations from the film and post them in the room. Students should return to the quotations and to this film throughout the year.

How does this film relate to what we are studying? obedience - obligation - responses - group behavior - fear?

The following study guide and the accompanying text might help in dealing with the film:

. The problem of indifference is not as simple as we might think. Are there not times in which we are forced to be indifferent to social problems if they conflict with personal or family problems? Don't universalistic concerns sometimes conflict with particularistic concern? How can we maintain a *continual* sense of social responsibility? Are there ever times when we ought to be indifferent?

HANGMAN
by
Maurice Ogden

1.

Into our town the Hangman came.
Smelling of gold and blood and flame—
And he paced our bricks with a diffident air
And built his frame on the courthouse square.

The scaffold stood by the courthouse side,
Only as wide as the door was wide;
A frame as tall, or little more,
Than the capping sill of the courthouse door.

And we wondered, whenever we had the time,
Who the criminal, what the crime,
That Hangman judged with the yellow twist
Of knotted hemp in his busy fist.

And innocent though we were, with dread
We passed those eyes of buckshot lead;
Till one cried: "Hangman, who is he
For whom you raise the gallows-tree?"

Then a twinkle grew in the buckshot eye,
And he gave us a riddle instead of reply:
"He who serves me best," said he,
"Shall earn the rope on the gallows-tree."

And he stepped down, and laid his hand
On a man who came from another land—
And we breathed again, for another's grief
At the Hangman's hand was our relief.

And the gallows-frame on the courthouse lawn
By tomorrow's sun would be struck and gone.
So we gave him way, and no one spoke,
Out of respect for his hangman's cloak.

2.

The next day's sun looked mildly down
On roof and street in our quiet town
And, stark and black in the morning air,
The gallows-tree on the courthouse square.

And the Hangman stood at his usual stand
With the yellow hemp in his busy hand;
With his buckshot eye and his jaw like a pike
And his air so knowing and businesslike.

And we cried: "Hangman, have you not done,
Yesterday, with the alien one?"
Then we fell silent, and stood amazed:
"Oh, not for him was the gallows raised..."

He laughed a laugh as he looked at us:
"...Did you think I'd gone to all this fuss
To hang one man? That's a thing I do
To stretch the rope when the rope is new."

Then one cried "Murderer!" One cried "Shame!"
And into our midst the Hangman came
To that man's place. "Do you hold," said he,
"With him that was meant for the gallows-tree?"

And he laid his hand on that one's arm,
And we shrank back in quick alarm,
And we gave him way, and no one spoke
Out of fear of his hangman's cloak.

That night we saw with dread surprise
The Hangman's scaffold had grown in size.
Fed by the blood beneath the chute
The gallows-tree had taken root;

Now as wide, or a little more,
Than the steps that led to the courthouse door,
As tall as the writing, or nearly as tall,
Halfway up on the courthouse wall.

3.

The third he took—we had all heard tell—
Was a usurer and infidel. And:
"What," said the Hangman, "have you to do
With the gallows-bound, and he a Jew?"

And we cried out: "Is this one he
Who has served you well and faithfully?"
The Hangman smiled: "It's a clever scheme
To try the strength of the gallows-beam."

The fourth man's dark, accusing song
Had scratched our comfort hard and long;
And "What concern," he gave us back,
"Have you for the doomed—the doomed and black?"

The fifth. The sixth. And we cried again:
"Hangman, Hangman, is this the man?"
"It's a trick," he said, "that we hangmen know
For easing the trap when the trap springs slow."

And so we ceased, and asked no more,
As the Hangman tallied his bloody score;
And sun by sun, and night by night,
The gallows grew to monstrous height.

The wings of the scaffold opened wide
Till they covered the square from side to side;
And the monster cross-beam, looking down,
Cast its shadow across the town.

4.

Then through the town the Hangman came
And called in the empty streets my name—
And I looked at the gallows soaring tall
And thought: "There is no one left at all

For hanging, and so he calls to me
To help pull down the gallows-tree."
And I went out with right good hope
To the Hangman's tree and the Hangman's rope.

He smiled at me as I came down
To the courthouse square through the silent town,
And supple and stretched in his busy hand
Was the yellow twist of the hempen strand.

And he whistled his tune as he tried the trap
And it sprang down with a ready snap—
And then with a smile of awful command
He laid his hand upon my hand.

"You tricked me, Hangman!" I shouted then,
"That your scaffold was built for other men...
And I no henchman of yours," I cried,
"You lied to me, Hangman, foully lied!"

Then a twinkle grew in the buckshot eye:
"Lied to you? Tricked you?" he said, "Not I.
For I answered straight and I told you true:
The scaffold was raised for none but you.

"For who has served me more faithfully
Than you with your coward's hope?" said he.
"And where are the others that might have stood
Side by your side in the common good?"

"Dead," I whispered; and amiably
"Murdered," the Hangman corrected me;
"First the alien, then the Jew...
I did no more than you let me do."

Beneath the beam that blocked the sky,
None had stood so alone as I—
And the Hangman strapped me, and no voice there
Cried "Stay!" for me in the empty square.

The Dying Girl That No One Helped

Loudon Wainwright

In the 1960s, folksinger Phil Ochs wrote a song called "Outside of a Small Circle of Friends" with these lyrics:

"O look outside the window
There's a woman being grabbed
They've dragged her to the bushes
And now she's being stabbed
Maybe we should call the cops and try to stop the pain
But Monopoly is so much fun
I'd hate to blow the game
And I'm sure it wouldn't interest anybody
Outside of a small circle of friends"

The lyrics were a reminder of the murder of Kitty Genovese in 1964, an incident that began a national debate about the responsibility of the average citizen to come to the aid of people in danger. A young woman was brutally murdered in a New York residential area while at least 38 people watched. Ever since, professional students of human behavior and amateurs alike have attempted to explain why no one was willing to become involved. In this selection, Loudon Wainwright briefly records the feelings of some of those who saw Kitty Genovese killed.

To judge from the bitter example given us by the good folks of a respectable New York residential area, Samaritans are very scarce these days. . . . if the reactions of the 38 witnesses to the murder of Catherine Genovese provide any true reflection of a national attitude toward our neighbors, we are becoming a callous, chickenhearted and immoral people. . . . An examination of the pitiful facts of Miss Genovese's terminal experience makes very necessary the ugly personal question each of us must ask: What would *I* have done?

The story is simple and brutal. As she arrived home in the early morning darkness, Kitty Genovese, a decent, pretty young woman of 28, was stalked through the streets close to her Kew Gardens apartment and stabbed again and again by a man who had followed her home and who took almost a half hour to kill her. During that bloody little eternity, . . . Kitty screamed and cried repeatedly for help. . . . "Oh, my God!" she cried out at one point. "He stabbed me! Please help me! Someone help me!" Minutes later, before the murderer came back and attacked her for the final time, she screamed, "I'm dying! I'm dying!"

The reason the murderer's actions and his victim's calls are so well documented is that police were able to find 38 of Kitty's neighbors who admitted they witnessed the awful event. They heard the screams and most understood her cry for help. Peeking out their windows, many saw enough of the killer to provide a good description of his appearance and clothing. A few saw him strike Kitty, and more saw her staggering down the sidewalk after she had been stabbed twice and was looking for a place to hide. One especially sharp-eyed person was able to report that the murderer was sucking his finger as he left the scene; he had cut himself during the attack. Another witness has the awful distinction of being the only person Kitty Genovese recognized in the audience taking in her final moments. She looked at him and called to him by name. He did not reply.

No one really helped Kitty at all. Only one person shouted at the killer ("Let that girl alone!"), and the one phone call that was finally made to the police was placed after the murderer had got in his car and driven off. For the most part the witnesses, crouching in darkened windows like watchers of a Late Show, looked on until the play had passed beyond their view. Then they went back to bed. . . .

On the scene a few days after the killer had been caught and confessed, Police Lieutenant Bernard Jacobs discussed the investigation. "The word we kept hearing from the witnesses later was 'involved,' " Jacobs said. . . . "People told us they just didn't want to get involved," Jacobs said to me. "They don't want to be questioned or have to go to court." He pointed to an apartment house directly across the quiet street. "They looked down at this thing," he went on, "from four differ-

ent floors of that building." . . . . "It's a nice neighborhood, isn't it?" he went on. "Doesn't look like a jungle. Good, solid people. We don't expect anybody to come out into the street and fight this kind of bum. All we want is a phone call. We don't even need to know who's making it.

"You know what this man told us after we caught him?" Jacobs asked. "He said he figured nobody would do anything to help. He heard the windows go up and saw the lights go on. He just retreated for a while and when things quieted down, he came back to finish the job."

Later, in one of the apartment houses, a witness to part of Kitty Genovese's murder talked. His comments . . . indicate the price in bad conscience he and his neighbors are now paying. "I feel terrible about it," he said. "The thing keeps coming back in my mind. You just don't want to get involved. They might have picked me up as a suspect if I'd bounced right out there. I was getting ready, but my wife stopped me. She didn't want to be a hero's widow. I woke up about the third scream. I pulled the blind so hard it came off the window. The girl was on her knees struggling to get up. I didn't know if she was drunk or what. I never saw the man. She staggered a little when she walked, like she had a few drinks in her. I forgot the screen was there and I almost put my head through it trying to get a better look. I could see people with their heads out and hear windows going up and down all along the street."

. . . . "Every time I look out here now," he said, "it's like looking out at a nightmare. How could so many of us have had the same idea that we didn't need to do anything? But that's not all that's wrong." Now he sounded betrayed and he told what was really eating him. Those 38 witnesses had, at least, talked to the police after the murder. The man pointed to a nearby building. "There are people over there who saw everything," he said. "And there hasn't been a peep out of them yet. Not one peep."

Questions for Discussion

1. What were some of the reasons given by the spectators for not becoming involved? Do you blame the spectators for what they did not do?
2. Does this incident tell us anything about human nature?
3. Do you feel that there should be laws requiring citizens to come to another person's aid?
4. Does thinking that everybody would act as did these thirty-eight people make it easier for the rest of us to be indifferent to pain and danger experienced by others? Why?

Definition

Samaritan—someone who comes to the aid of a person in need

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READING #12
Unit 1

NEWS SCENE

We've all learned to take responsibility for our actions, haven't we? Often, we even insist on being given a leadership role. "Hey, let me handle this; I want to do it *my* way."

And yet, throughout our country, thousands of people have voluntarily given up much of the decision-making part of their lives. These people live in dormitories, earn no wages, and own no personal property, though they do work—often as many as 18 hours a day. Some sell flowers or magazines, others work in businesses owned by the religious group they've joined, turning in all the money they earn to their leaders.

THEY CALL THEM CULTS

by Michele L. Baker

These people dress as they are told and even seem to think as their leaders teach them to.

Still, many religions require their members to abide by some or all of these practices. But the newer or more unusual religious groups are often given the name *cults*, and have been the center of a great deal of attention lately.

One of the largest of these so-called cults is the Unification Church. It was founded and is led by the Rev. Sun Myung Moon, a South Korean. His followers have come to be known as "Moonies." Here, in the words of one former member, is a glimpse into Moonie life.



Why have thousands of Americans given up much of their freedom for life in a religious group?

25 DAYS Yes, I was a Moonie—even if only for three and a half weeks. At age 22, I quit my job as a store manager—a position that had kept me running in circles over 16 hours a day. I was worn-out and felt I was wasting my college education at a job I didn't like. I decided to sort out my life while backpacking along the Eastern Seaboard.

As I set out, I was confused and unsure of myself. I am an idealist, and I was disturbed that my life lacked a strong purpose. I had always hoped to do so much for people. Yet there I was, a woman traveling alone—with no commitments to either a person or a cause.

In short, I was a ripe target for a Moonie recruiter. *And bull's-eye!* A Moonie named Isabel found me, touring a museum in a large, lonely city.

Right from the start, Isabel spoke to me in a gentle, caring voice. She knew just which questions to ask and, in no time at all, I'd told her my life's story. Then she invited me to a community supper and a free lecture.

Moved by Isabel's soothing, tranquil manner, I agreed. That night at dinner I noticed that everyone gave off the same warmth and sincerity that Isabel did. I felt immediately a part of this loving, communal family.

The lecture was excellent and right to the point: *What is the purpose of*

your life? the speaker asked. He hit home with me right away when he posed the question: *Do you want to fill your life with meaning and love?*

Naturally, I could answer nothing but a heartfelt "yes" to this question. After all, I had undertaken my trip to search for the meaning and purpose in life. At the end of his talk, the lecturer gave us a chance to attend a two-day spiritual workshop. It sounded interesting, but I was surprised to learn the bus was leaving in 30 minutes. I took the gamble, however, and off I went.

From that moment on, for the next 25 days, Isabel *never* left me alone for a single, waking moment. I was awakened daily at 7 a.m. by a sweet-singing chorus of guitar-playing Moonies. We spent each day in prayer meetings, religious songfests, lectures, and discussions.

The Moonies treated every aspect of the day with utmost seriousness. A religious song became a raucous, high-pitched cheer for God. A prayer meeting found Moonies doubled over on the floor, moaning and wailing their undying faithfulness.

During the lectures I heard about the Bible from the Moonie point of view. I was told that the Reverend Moon was the new Messiah. His teachings depicted the *perfect* way of life, the *perfect* way of loving, and the path to the *perfect* family. *Perfection*—that's what the Moonies promised to all who would follow.

After each lecture, Isabel nudged me away from the other new recruits, with whom I was not encouraged to talk.

"Come, we have so much to talk over. Now—what do you think? Isn't the life the Reverend Moon promises the life you've always dreamed of? Doesn't it make sense that he's the new Messiah?"

If I seemed to hesitate, nearby Moonies would swoop down upon us.

"You're beginning to believe as we do, aren't you, sister? An intelligent truly special individual like you will surely see the Truth before long."

Smothered by lectures and pressure to commit myself, I stayed on. And always, Isabel stayed with me. Even if I went to the rest room, she'd be outside the door.

Isabel probed and prodded ceaselessly: "Are you all right? I noticed you didn't sing as joyfully today. And while Brother Tom spoke, you seemed distracted. What were you thinking about? Is there some aspect of the Truth you question? Please, tell me."

After 18 hours of constant attention, I was led to my room, exhausted. I collapsed on the floor that was my bed, and without so much as a thought to myself, I slept.

Each day I woke up feeling more tired than the day before. I was also starting to feel unhealthy from the starchy meals of bread and bologna. Not that I was hungry. But had I ever even hinted that I was, every Moonie at the table would have given up his lunch for me. Their whole religion is based on giving and sharing.

That's why I stayed—for not one workshop, but four. And even if I was uncomfortable with some of the Moonie propaganda, I must admit I loved the attention. The Moonies treated me like a doll, to be loved and fussed over. Isabel, in particular, was totally devoted to me. And each day I grew more attached to her. I felt a growing pressure to tell her that I'd join the

Unification Church. I wanted *that* much to please her, and to repay her for her affection and praise.

But if my verbal commitment to the Moonies was lacking, my physical commitment was not. I scrubbed floors on my hands and knees in 95-degree heat. But I didn't mind. I loved the appreciation and compliments showered upon me.

My appearance had changed dramatically. Since Isabel had become the perfect mother-image, I became the perfect child. I wore only childish smocks with ankle socks. And if I did wear a blouse, I pinned it closed at the neck, to avoid suggestiveness. I seldom laughed and dared not speak one word out of the way.

"What are you doing at this camp?" my sister-in-law asked me during the one phone call I made. "What are they teaching you? When can you come home?"

I had no answers. Since I knew I could not properly explain the Reverend Moon's teachings, I fell silent. And as to when I would return home, I simply looked to Isabel for the answer. She made all my decisions, and I needed her approval before I could make a move.

But Isabel firmly reminded me that going home was wrong. My parents would be a bad influence on my spiritual training, because they had heard nothing but lies about the Reverend Moon. They would never allow me to embrace the Truth.

So I stayed, though no one forced me to. Instead, Isabel and the others filled me with guilt each time I considered leaving. Never had I been so appreciated, and I felt miserable about rejecting them all.

Still, one day, it was clear that leaving was the only answer. I insisted that I needed time to think. So I packed my things and left—but not without Isabel in tow.

The first time I brought Isabel home, I could see the hurt in my father's face. My mother's cheeks were wet with tears. Yet I could not respond. It was as if a glass wall were standing between us. After that short time with the Moonies, I was loyal only to the Reverend Moon and his "family." So I sat through dinner, talking in a monotone, my eyes glazed in emotionlessness. I had become a cult robot.

Somehow, though, my family did not panic. And my sister found a way to get me away from Isabel.

"Pattie, you've given the Reverend Moon's religion three weeks. All we ask is that you give our religion one week."

Soon after, I accepted my sister's proposal. Isabel returned to the Moonie camp alone, and I began the long, slow process of *deprogramming*. In my case, deprogramming involved speaking with three people—my cousin who is a monk, a minister-psychologist, and a nun who had researched cult life. I learned to question the Moonies' ideas, comparing them with the tenets of my own faith. And slowly, I reassumed responsibility for making my own choices.

Looking back, I cannot say that my Moonie experience was a total loss. It taught me a great deal about myself and how I must change. I know now that I became too easily swept up by a new cause, a new job, or a new friend. In the future I'll question the intensity of my dedication. Never again will I allow myself to be anyone's Moonie—never again, a blind, robot-like follower.

Signed,
Patricia

ISSUES AND QUESTIONS

WHAT IS A CULT?

Cult is one of those words that mean different things to different people. According to the dictionary, *cult* has two basic meanings:

- a system of religious beliefs
- a religion regarded as out of the ordinary or illegitimate.

Over the years, the second definition has often been considered the only definition. Perhaps the main reason people mistrust "out of the ordinary" religious groups stems from the deaths of hundreds of members of a religious group called the People's Temple. Reports state that on November 18, 1978, nearly 1,000 men, women, and children took their own lives. Witnesses say some were forced by their leader, Jim Jones, who died with them.

How widespread are the religious groups often considered cults? At present, Rabbi James Rudin of the American Jewish Committee estimates that there are 2 million active members—though 1 million Americans are former members. Two of the largest of these groups are the Unification Church and the Hare Krishnas. Both groups have accumulated millions of dollars.

But do these groups call themselves cults? We spoke to one Unification Church member who opposes the term.

"*Cult* implies that a religion is not genuine—that its origins are not spiritual, and the religion has no future. The word *cult* is a misrepresentation."

QUESTIONS TO ASK YOURSELF

We asked a Protestant minister what type of person is most likely to join a so-called cult. What personality traits might make one person more prone to joining than another?

"The typical devotee is an idealist," the minister responded. "This young person wants to change the world through religion. Cult members are often looking for security—though some may regard life in the religious group as an adventure. The saddest thing is when a person joins a religious organization out of ignorance. I've heard so many young people say that if parents, teachers, or clergymen had warned them about the dangers of certain religious groups, they'd never have joined."

We then asked the minister what questions teenagers should ask if approached by a recruiter.

"The first thing I'd want to know is this: Do the group's leaders make the decisions for everyone? If the leaders decide everything for members, rather than just offering advice, I'd be wary," he explained.

"Second, how does this group raise money? If members disguise their purpose, asking for donations but not telling who the money's for—look out.

"Last, are members of this group allowed to keep up former close relationships? If family ties are discouraged, this is another danger sign."

WHAT ABOUT BRAINWASHING?

Some groups have been accused of *brainwashing*. Brainwashing is a process by which a person forgets old beliefs while accepting new ones. Former Moonies accuse this group of three brainwashing tactics.

Isolation. New Moonie recruits are cut off from family and friends and allowed very few supervised phone conversations. A new recruit is never left alone.

Diet control. The recruitment camp diet is said to be high in starch and low in protein. This causes the level of sugar in the bloodstream to be high right after a meal, giving a person a burst of energy and enthusiasm. But late in the day, drowsiness and even depression set in. Some say the Moonies give their most powerful lectures late in the day.

Exhaustion. The average night's sleep for a Moonie recruit is six hours—say some former members. Since a tired mind ceases to function properly, it is possible that recruits find it difficult to resist the pressure to join.

But how does one Unification Church member respond to these charges?

"When I joined the church eight and one-half years ago, I was living at home—attending evening lectures and sleeping and eating as I chose. So to even suggest that the Unification Church manipulates members by brainwashing is bizarre."

WHAT IS DEPROGRAMMING?

Some parents, convinced that their child was forced to join a group, kidnap that child from the religious camp. They then put their son or daughter through the process of *deprogramming*.

Deprogramming is a step-by-step procedure by which the member weighs the doctrines of the new religion against the values he/she was brought up to believe. Ideally, the deprogramming process is a gentle one, such as the experience Patricia had (p. 7).

But in extreme cases, members are locked in dark rooms with deprogrammers who are strangers to them. Isolated from their families, deprived of food, and talked to for hours—even days—most devotees eventually "break." Ironically, this process of yanking members away from their group uses tactics similar to those that the groups are accused of using to recruit members.

Legislators, therefore, must wrestle with several questions. Is forced deprogramming legal? If so, how should it be monitored so as not to get out of hand?

Undoubtedly, many questions on cults and deprogramming need to be answered. But this article is not meant to provide quick answers. Rather, we hope to have made you aware of some aspects of this issue, so that you may begin to make up your own mind as to the answers. ■

They Call Them Cults pp. 4-9

Reading for details. Based on your reading, select the best ending for each statement.

____ 1. Patty feels that she was a ripe target for a Moonie recruiter because of her (a) college degree; (b) lack of commitments; (c) poverty.

____ 2. While in the recruitment camp, Patty allowed Isabel to (a) write letters for her; (b) choose her clothes; (c) make most of her decisions.

____ 3. Brainwashing is a process by which people are forced to (a) discard old beliefs and accept new ones; (b) work without pay; (c) study 16 hours a day.

____ 4. A religion is called a cult when the general population considers (a) it is not Christian; (b) its beliefs are not acceptable; (c) it is too violent.

____ 5. Rabbi James Rudin has estimated that there are (a) 2,000; (b) 20,000; (c) 2 million active cult members in the U.S. today.

THE WAVE

The experiment was supposed to explain the Nazi movement. But it became THE WAVE.

Main Characters		Supporting Characters
Narrator 1	Scholastic Magazine	Amy
Narrator 2	October 7, 1981	Brian
Mr. Ross		Eric
Laurie Saunders		Brad
David		Andrea
Robert		Group of Students
Christy Ross		Mr. Saunders
		Mrs. Saunders

Scene One

Narrator 1: In a high school classroom, Mr. Ross has just finished showing his students a film about Nazi Germany.

Narr 2: As the film ends, many students sit in horrified silence, the memory of human skeletons and gas chambers fresh in their minds.

Mr. Ross: The people selected for extermination by the Nazis were herded into concentration camps located all over eastern Europe. The life expectancy of the prisoners was only 270 days. They were worked, starved, and tortured. They were exterminated, using gas chambers, and their remains were disposed of in ovens. The Nazis exterminated more than 10 million men, women, and children in these concentration camps.

Narr 1: As Mr. Ross turns the lights back on, he notices one student, Robert, has fallen asleep. Mr. Ross snaps the shade open, startling Robert awake.

Narr 2: But Robert is the exception. Many students have not taken the film lightly. Several hands are raised.

Ross: Amy.

Amy: Were all Germans Nazis?

Ross: As a matter of fact, less than 10 percent of the German population belonged to the Nazi party.

Amy: Then how come nobody tried to stop them?

Ross: People said they didn't know it was happening. *(pause)* Eric.

Eric: How could you kill 10 million people without somebody noticing?

Amy: Yeah, that can't be true.

Ross: After the war, the Germans claimed they knew nothing of the concentration camps or the killings. *(pause)* Laurie.

Laurie: Eric's right. How could the Germans sit back while the Nazis slaughtered people all around—and say they didn't know about it? How could they say that? *(bell rings, class exits)*

Ross: That was a very good question, Laurie.

Narr 1: At lunch that day, Laurie can hardly eat, still upset over the film.

David: That film really got to you, huh?

Laurie: Yeah. Doesn't it make you angry?

David: Laurie, it was a long time ago. We can't change what happened.

Laurie: I know, but it still upsets me.

Brian *(sitting down)*: Hey, Davie, who's going to win the big game on Friday?

David: We'd better—the coach has been working our tails off.

Amy *(joining them)*: Would you forget about football? How about going to a dance tonight?

Laurie: David and I have to study.

Brian: You know, if you two don't stop acting like hermits, you're gonna end up like Robert over there.
Narr 2: Sitting alone, Robert holds a comic book in front of his face. He is totally engrossed, lips moving, lost to the outside world.
Narr 1: Later that day, Mr. Ross sits in the school library, flanked by a stack of books. His wife, Christy—also a teacher at school, finds him there.
Christy: What are you reading that's so fascinating here, huh?
Ross: Some terrific stuff. *(continues his reading)*
Christy: *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich.* Are you cramming for a degree in dictatorship?
Ross: One of my students asked me a question that I couldn't answer today.
Christy: Welcome to the club.
Ross: Right. *(keeps reading)*
Narr 2: That night, Mr. Ross reads the same book until past 2:00 a.m.
Narr 1: The following morning, as students enter the classroom, Mr. Ross writes on the blackboard: STRENGTH THROUGH DISCIPLINE. Then he addresses the class.
Ross: Today I'm going to talk to you about discipline. *(several grumbles)* Now wait—this can be exciting.
Student 1: Oh, sure!
Ross: Now, I'm talking to you about power. *Power* through discipline. Success? *Success* through discipline. Nobody here wants a taste of power and success? *(Students' interest builds.)* OK—here we go. David, Eric—you play football. You know it takes discipline to win. *(They nod and beam with pride.)* And what about ballet dancers, Andrea? *(She looks up.)* You know it takes long, hard hours of work for them to develop their skill. Same goes with painters and scientists. It is all *discipline, control, strength of will.*
Narr 2: As more students show interest, Mr. Ross goes on.
Ross: There's something we can do to experience power through discipline right now. Shall we try? It begins with posture. Amy, come forward.
Brian: Teacher's pet.
Ross: Proper seating posture will help the concentration, strengthen the will.
Brian: This is stupid.
Ross *(ignoring the snickers)*: First, put your feet flat on the floor.
David: Is this History or P.E.?
Ross *(as Amy and several others follow his instructions)*: Now, place your hands flat across the small of your back and force your spine straight up. Can't you breathe more easily? Relax.
Ross *(ignoring the groans)*: Now, resume the proper position—then relax. *Again.*
Narr 1: At this point, nearly all the students are playing the game. Mr. Ross walks down the aisle checking them.
Ross: Everyone—look how Robert's legs are parallel, his ankles locked, his knees bent at 90 degrees. See how straight his spine is. Chin back, head forward. Very good, Robert. *(Robert, the center of so much praise, beams with pride—others copy his posture.)* Now, I want you all to get up and walk about the room. When I give the command, I want you to return to your seats as quickly as possible and assume the proper seating posture. Come on, *up.*
Narr 2: Eager for a break, the students rise and wait for Mr. Ross's command.
Ross *(stiffly)*: Take your seats!
Narr 1: Students make a dash for their seats amid great noise and confusion. Chairs clatter and students trip.
Ross *(displeased)*: No. Let's try it again! Now, the quieter and more controlled you are, the quicker you will

reach your seats properly.

Narr 2: A bit later, Mr. Ross repeats the exercise, using a stopwatch. As he gives the signal, students enter the room in absolute silence and precision form. They take their seats and assume the attention position.

Ross: Excellent! Half the time.... Now, there are three more rules which you must obey. *One*—everybody must have pencils and notepaper for note-taking. *Two*—when asking or answering a question, you must stand at the side of your seats. *Three*—the first words when answering or asking a question are: *Mr. Ross.* All right?

Narr 1: Without exception, all students sit in the proper position, attentively awaiting Mr. Ross's next move.

Ross: Brad, who was the British Prime Minister before Churchill?

Brad: Ah—wasn't it the—

Ross *(quickly)*: You weren't listening. Remember—*discipline!* Robert, show Brad the procedure for asking a question.

Robert *(snaps to attention beside his desk and barks like a soldier)*: Mr. Ross.

Ross: That is correct. Thank you, Robert. Again, Brad.

Brad: Mr. Ross, wasn't it the—um—Prime Minister—

Ross: No, too slow. Much too slow! From now on your answers are to be as short as possible. Now sit down and try it again!

Brad *(standing swiftly)*: Mr. Ross, Chamberlain.

Ross: Now, that's the way to answer a question. *Punctual, precise.* What country did Hitler invade in September of 1939, Andrea?

Andrea: Mr. Ross, I don't know.

Ross: Still a good response, Andrea. Amy?

Amy *(standing)*: Mr. Ross, Poland.

Ross: Excellent. What was the name of Hitler's political party?

Brian *(stands to respond)*: Mr. Ross, the Nazis.

Ross: Good, Brian. Very quick. *(shouting now)* Who died in the death camps?

Eric: Mr. Ross, Jews, Gypsies, and homosexuals.

Ross: Who ran the death camps?

David: Mr. Ross, the S.S.

Ross: Excellent!

Narr 2: Suddenly the bell rings, but not a student moves. They're all caught up in the game.

Ross: Tomorrow's assignment is on the board. Class dismissed.

Narr 1: As the students dash into the hallway, everyone is talking at once.

Brian: Man, what a rush, huh?

Eric: Too bad all my classes aren't like that!

Amy: It sure beats taking notes.

Andrea: Hey, anybody who can get this class together like that is a genius.

David: Did you ever see anything like that? I was really getting into it.

Narr 2: That evening, Mr. Ross discusses the class experiment with his wife.

Ross: I can't believe how quickly they accepted the new behavior code. I mean, everyone did it immediately—it was eerie.

Christy: They reacted that way because they were playing a game.

Ross: I don't think so.

Christy: How else do you explain it?

Ross: I don't know. It was as if they wanted to be disciplined.

Christy: Are you going on with it?

Ross: No, I don't think so. I've got the whole Japanese involvement in World War II to look at tomorrow.

READING #13

Scene Two

Narr 1: When Mr. Ross enters the class the next day, he is stunned to see the students sitting in the attention position, maintaining complete silence.

Narr 2: Some have little smiles on their faces, as though they're part of a joke. But several look extremely serious.

Narr 1: After a moment's hesitation, Mr. Ross lays down the book on Japan and takes a new tack.

Ross: Well, look at you. What are you feeling?

Group of Students *(some sure, some unsure)*: Discipline?

Ross: Well, discipline is one thing. But there's something more.

Narr 2: Yesterday's line, STRENGTH THROUGH DISCIPLINE, is still on the blackboard. Underneath it, Mr. Ross writes: COMMUNITY.

Ross: It's community. Now community is that bond between people who work and struggle together. It's building a barn with your neighbors. *(Several students chuckle.)* It's feeling that you're part of something that's more important than yourself—a movement, a team, a cause. *(pause)* Now, everyone repeat our two mottos.

Class: *Strength Through Discipline, Strength Through Community.*

Ross: Now we need a symbol for our new community—something for members of this class only.

Narr 1: Mr. Ross walks to the blackboard and draws a circle with a wave inside.

Ross: A wave is a pattern of change. It has movement, direction, and impact. From now on, we will be known as "The Wave." And this will be our salute.

Narr 2: Mr. Ross raises his right arm, palm pointing down, inches from his shoulder, with hand in curled position. The class imitates him.

Ross: Robert, what is our motto?

Robert *(stands at attention, no longer distracted and slouching)*: Mr. Ross, Strength Through Discipline. Strength Through Community!

Ross: Very good, Robert. Remain standing, please. Now, Brad, Amy, Eric.

All Three: Strength Through Discipline. Strength Through Community.

Ross: Now Brian, Laurie. Louder!

Narr 1: Mr. Ross succeeds in getting the class on its feet, shouting the mottos and saluting enthusiastically.

Narr 2: That night at dinner, Laurie tells her parents about the Wave.

Laurie *(excitedly)*: It was incredible. Everybody was saluting and repeating the motto. You couldn't help but get

caught up in it. You know, really wanting to make it work.
Mrs. Saunders: I don't like it. It sounds like brainwashing and mob psychology.
Laurie: No, Mom, it's nothing like that. Honest, you'd just have to be there to feel the positive energy in class.
Mr. S: I'm for whatever will make kids pay attention these days.
Laurie: And that's really what it's doing. Even Robert Billings—the class creep—he's even a part of the group now.
Mrs. S: But you're supposed to be learning history—not how to be part of a group.
Mr. S: This country was built by people who were part of a group—the Pilgrims, the Founding Fathers!
Mrs. S: Yes, but it owes its greatness to those people who weren't afraid to be individuals.
Laurie: Stop worrying, Mom. Mr. Ross has just found a great way to get everybody to learn something. Even the slow kids are keeping up.
Mrs. S: It just doesn't sound like the right thing for you. We raised you to be an individual.
Laurie: But, Mom, haven't you always said I was a little too independent?
Mrs. S: Just remember, the popular thing is not always the right thing.
Mr. S: I'm sure Laurie's teacher knows what he's doing. Besides, as long as the other parents aren't raising any objection, why should we make a fuss?
Mrs. S: Because it's dangerous to allow a teacher to manipulate students like that. We've always taught Laurie to think for herself.
Mr. S *(changing the subject)*: By the way, where's David tonight?
Laurie: He's at home studying for tomorrow's history assignment.
Mr. S: David? Studying? Now there's something to worry about!
Narr 1: In a house nearby, the Rosses are unpacking groceries.
Christy: How's that class experiment going, Dr. Frankenstein? Have they turned on you yet?
Ross: Quite the contrary. Most of them are actually turning into human beings!
Christy: You don't say!
Ross: And their homework assignments—they do what I give them and *more!*
Christy: These can't be the same kids I have for music.
Ross: It's amazing how much more they like you when you make decisions for them.
Christy: How far can you push this?
Ross: I don't know, but I intend to find out. The funny thing is, I feel myself getting caught up in it. It's contagious.

Scene Three
Narr 2: The next day Laurie tells David about her mother's objections.
David *(annoyed)*: What do you care what your mom says?
Laurie: I didn't say I agreed with her.
David: You didn't say you disagree with her either.
Laurie: I was just telling you what she said.
David: How does *she* know? She can't possibly understand what The Wave is about unless she's seen it work.
Narr 1: Just then a car screeches dangerously near David and Laurie, missing them by inches. As the driver comes close, he smiles and gives them the Wave salute.
Laurie *(confused)*: Who was that?
David: I don't know. But he's not in our history class.
Narr 2: In history class that day ....
Ross: Now, you all have membership

cards. Turn them over. If yours has a Red X, you are a monitor and will report directly to me any members who don't obey our rules.

Narr 1: The students who have been appointed monitors are very pleased. But Laurie looks around the room, concerned about this new twist.

Ross *(dramatically)*: Discipline and Community are meaningless without *Action*. And a disciplined group with a goal can take action like a well-oiled machine. Through hard work you will learn faster and accomplish more. But only if you support one another, and only if you work together and obey the rules, can you ensure the success of the Wave. *(pause)* Now, you are all to actively recruit new members. Each new member must know our rules and pledge strict obedience to them.

Robert *(standing)*: Mr. Ross, for the first time I feel like I'm part of something great!

Amy: Mr. Ross, this is like being made a whole new person.

Andrea: Mr. Ross, I feel the same way.

David: Mr. Ross, I'm proud of the Wave.

Narr 2: Laurie continues to look on with worry in her face at the robot-like way in which her classmates are reacting.

Narr 1: Mr. Ross begins repeating the two mottos in a whisper. Soon the whole class follows suit, joining him in giving the Wave salute. Laurie does not participate.

Narr 2: Later that week, David and Laurie are arguing at their lockers.

Laurie: I'm not going.

David: Why not?

Laurie: Because I don't want to.

David: Laurie, this is a very important meeting. All the new members are going to be there.

Laurie: So what? David, I think you're taking this thing too seriously.

David: No, I'm not—you're not taking it seriously enough. Look, Laurie, you've always been a leader. The other kids look up to you. You've *got* to be at the meeting.

Laurie: That's exactly why I'm not going. Let them make up their own minds about the Wave. They're individuals.

David: I don't understand.

Laurie: I can't believe how crazy everybody's gotten. The Wave is taking over everything.

David: That's because the Wave makes sense, Laurie. It works. Everybody's on the same team. Everybody's equal.

Laurie: Oh, that's terrific. Do we all score a touchdown?

David: You know, you're against this thing because you're not special anymore. Because you're not the best student in class now!

Laurie: That's not true and you know it!

David: I think it *is* true! Now you know how the rest of us felt listening to you and Amy always giving the right answers!

Laurie: David, you're being stupid!

David: All right, if *I'm* so stupid, why don't you go find yourself a *smart* boyfriend? *(He storms off.)*

Scene Four

Narr 1: Several days later Mr. Ross walks down a crowded hallway, giving the Wave salute to passing students.

Narr 2: Ross notices some students hanging a large Wave banner in the hall. Others are handing out fliers and shouting slogans.

Brad: Here's a pamphlet—learn all about the Wave.

Eric: Work together and achieve your

goals.
Narr 1: Suddenly Mr. Ross notices that Robert is following him.
Ross: Robert, what are you doing?
Robert: Mr. Ross, I'm your bodyguard.
Ross: You're my what?
Robert: I want to be your bodyguard. You see, Mr. Ross, for the first time in my life—well, nobody makes jokes about me anymore. I'm part of something special. I just don't want anything to ever happen to you. Mr. Ross, please let me be your bodyguard.
Narr 2: Later that day, a fight takes place involving Brian and another student. A teacher rushes in to break it up. As Brian is hauled off, he shouts the Wave mottoes repeatedly.
Narr 1: Meanwhile, in the library, Laurie shows Amy an article she's written.
Amy *(astonished)*: What are you going to do with this?
Laurie: I'm submitting it to the school paper.
Amy: You can't say these things about the Wave!
Laurie: Why not? They're true. Amy, the Wave has become an obsession with everyone. People aren't thinking for themselves anymore.
Amy: Come on, you're just letting your argument with David get to you.
Laurie: But the Wave is hurting people. And everyone's going along with it like a flock of sheep!
Amy: Please don't submit this.
Laurie: I already have.
Narr 2: That night Christy finds her husband in the den surrounded by books on the Hitler Youth group.
Christy: I need to talk to you.
Ross *(snapping)*: Can't it wait? I've got to finish this before tomorrow.
Christy: Well, that's what I want to talk to you about. This Wave thing—it's just becoming too disruptive. Half of my class has been skipping just to go to yours. You've disrupted the entire school. And it isn't just me—all the teachers are complaining.
Ross: They just don't know what I'm trying to do.
Christy: Did you know that the school counselors have been questioning every student in your class? Even the principal's concerned.
Ross: Don't you think I know that? I know they're saying I'm crazy with power—on an ego trip.
Christy: Have you thought they may be right? Think of your original goals. Are they the ones you have now?
Ross: I thought you were on my side.
Christy: I am. But you've become so involved in playing this role at school that you're slipping into it at home. Just turn it off!
Ross: Not yet! Look, if I stopped now, they'd all be left hanging. They'd be confused.
Christy: Well let them be confused!
Ross: No! I have to push them until they get the point. I'm teaching these kids the most important lesson of their lives!
Narr 1: The following day, when the school paper is released, angry Wave members discuss Laurie's article.
Robert: These are all lies. She can't be allowed to say these things.
David: Ah, nobody cares what Laurie's writing, anyway.
Robert: But anybody who reads this'll get the wrong idea about the Wave.
Amy: And this isn't the first article she's written against the Wave.
David: Relax—there are always going to be people who won't believe in what we're trying to do.
Eric: But if we don't watch out, those people will ruin it for the rest of us.

Robert: Laurie Saunders is a threat. She must be stopped.
Brian: Don't worry. David and I will take care of it.
Narr 2: It's dark out that evening when Laurie exits from the school newspaper office.
Narr 1: But it is a shocked Laurie who finds the word *ENEMY* splashed in bold letters across her locker door. Then, when she walks down the hall, the lights go out.
Narr 2: Becoming frightened, Laurie starts to run. She hears footsteps behind her and slams against the bar of the exit doors. The first door doesn't open, and Laurie nearly panics—then suddenly the second door gives way, and Laurie rushes outside.
Narr 1: But she doesn't see Brian and David in a parked van waiting for her. David jumps out.
David: Let me take care of this, OK?
Brian: OK, as long as she understands how important this is. We're not playing games anymore, you know.
David *(running)*: Laurie, can you wait up? I've got to talk to you.
Laurie *(looking around)*: I'm not used to seeing you by yourself anymore. Where are your troops?

David: Laurie, will you just listen to me for a minute, please?
Laurie: We said everything we had to say the other day. Leave me alone.
David: Laurie, you've got to stop writing that stuff against the Wave. You're causing lots of problems.
Laurie: The Wave is causing the problems, David!
David: It is not! Look, Laurie, we want you with us—not against us.
Laurie: Count me out. I told you, I quit! This is not a game anymore. People are beginning to get hurt.
David: So a few people are getting hurt along the way. But it's for the good of the whole. Look, it's a new system, we can make it work.
Laurie: Not with me, you can't!
Narr 2: As Laurie turns to walk away, David grabs her arm, roughly.
Laurie: Let go of me!
David: Look, Laurie, you've got to stop writing those articles—and keep your mouth shut about the Wave.
Laurie: I will write and say anything that I want to, and you can't stop me!
David *(shaking her violently)*: We *can* and we *will!!*
Laurie *(sobbing)*: I hate you! I hate the Wave! I hate all of you!
David: Shut up!
Narr 1: Angry at the bitterness of Laurie's words, David throws her to the lawn. She slumps to the ground sobbing and gasping for breath.
Narr 2: Finally realizing how violent he has become, David bends down to comfort her.
Narr 1: Just then Brian's van inches slowly toward them. When Brian sees David holding Laurie, he speeds off.

Scene Five
Narr 2: A little while later, David and Laurie go to see Mr. Ross.
Ross: What are you two doing here?
David: Mr. Ross, we've got to talk to you.
Ross: Come in. Sit down.
David: Mr. Ross, you've got to help us.
Ross: What's wrong?
David: It's the Wave.
Laurie: Mr. Ross, we know how important this is to you—to all of us, but it's just gone too far.
David: It's taken over. There's no room to be yourself or to say what you really believe.
Laurie: And all the kids in school are really scared. Not only to say anything against the Wave—but what might happen to them if they don't go along with it.
David: Kids are actually spying on each other. Some even use the Wave as an excuse to beat up on other kids.
Ross: Yes, the principal told me about that this afternoon.
Laurie: You can't even carry on a conversation without worrying about who's listening. We're scared, Mr. Ross.
David: Laurie and I haven't talked for days because of the Wave. And tonight I lost control and almost hurt her.
Laurie: Please stop this nightmare.
Ross: You're right—and I will.
David: What are you going to do?
Ross: Well, I'll take care of it tomorrow. But I have to do it my way .... ■

READING #13

IS THAT THE END?

No, that is not how "The Wave" ends. But that's all the producers of the show will permit us to reveal.

They want you to ask yourself a few questions about this important program before it appears on TV. So as you wait to see the complete show, here are some things to think about:

- What made the Wave gain so much popularity in just two weeks?
- Is the Wave a good movement?
- Have Wave members lost their individuality, as Laurie says?
- What good lesson might Laurie and David have learned?
- Will Mr. Ross be able to stop the Wave? How? Do you think he's lost control?

Inference. An inference is a suggestion that may be picked up from a story, but was not openly stated. For instance, if we read that a young girl slammed the door and stomped upstairs to her room, we *infer* that she is angry. Read the inferences below, checking only those that are true.

____ 1. Mr. Ross felt that the story of the Nazi movement held an important lesson for his students.

____ 2. The Wave illustrates that there is something wrong with the motto: "Strength Through Discipline."

____ 3. Laurie would probably have stayed in the Wave if she had been given more leadership power.

____ 4. A disinterested student like Robert feels important in the Wave because the movement defines his life's goals for him.

____ 5. Only the poorer students at Gordon High joined the Wave.

Case Study Data Sheet 6

The Holocaust: Heidi's Dilemma

Background

Adolf Hitler (1889-1945) was chief of the German Nationalist Socialist Party (Nazi) from 1920 and Chancellor of the Reich from 1933. He held absolute power in Germany and pursued an aggressive, expansionist foreign policy, which led to the outbreak of World War II in 1939. Under Hitler, Germany controlled much of Europe. However, a turning point in the war came in 1943, and by 1945 America and her allies were able to stop Hitler and defeat Germany.

Using the concept of race struggle as the prime force behind human history, Hitler and his followers implemented the most systematic, widespread and destructive anti-Semitic policies ever known. While other "non-Aryans" were also subjected to persecution and abuse, Hitler saved his special hatred for the Jews. Jews were depicted as the source of all of Germany's ills and problems. They were viewed as an evil race whose ultimate aim was to destroy the "Aryan" race and dominate the world. The elements of this myth were previously used by German and Austrian anti-Semites at the end of the 19th Century; and, in general, anti-Semitism had been common throughout Europe for centuries. Hitler's plan, however, was the most devastating--the total extermination of the Jews. Hitler personally followed and controlled this "final solution" to the "Jewish problem."

The Holocaust, the massive genocide of six million Jews, is one of the most tragic periods of Jewish history and modern mankind as well. Millions of Jews lived under Nazi rule. Tortured by anxiety, insecure in the present, unable to anticipate the future, Jews were helpless in the face of a machine ready to crush them. Many of the victims had made important contributions to their countries in such fields as science, law, medicine and the arts. Nonetheless, young or old, rich or poor, educated or ignorant, every Jew was condemned.

The extermination of the Jews in Nazi-controlled territories was carried out in a number of ways. The Jewish victims became slave laborers to be worked to death or shot. There were mass executions of men, women and children who were forced to dig their own graves. Gold crowns on teeth were knocked out to enrich the German treasury. Fat from human bodies was converted to soap and human skin was made into lampshades, etc. Millions were gassed or burned alive in ovens.

Hitler attempted to keep the destruction of the Jews a secret. Sophisticated methods of deception, fraud and camouflage were employed to prevent the victims from learning of the massacres. The very monstrosity of the events made it seem unbelievable. Despite the secrecy, the truth about the destruction of the Jews was known to certain party and government officials quite early, and stories gradually spread throughout Germany.

Helping a Jew or other minority member could mean death to the person who exhibited such courage. Still, there were countless individual acts of sacrifice and heroism by Jews and non-Jews during this period. Denmark and Holland were two nations who took active roles in helping their Jewish citizens.

The Situation

Heidi is a young Dutch girl who lives in a small house in Amsterdam with her family. She has a best friend named Greta, but lately she has not seen too much of her and when she does see her, Greta is quiet and withdrawn. Heidi wonders if it is because of Germany's new leader, Hitler, and his policies. Greta is Jewish. Heidi has heard the bad things that are being said about the Jews. She does not believe them, because she knows Greta is a good person. One day they do manage to talk, and Greta becomes very upset and finally tells Heidi about the awful persectuion and ugly abuse that is going on. In fact, one of Greta's uncles has just been arrested for daring to speak out against Hitler. No one knows what has happened to him. Greta has heard stories of Jews being taken away in the night and never being heard of again. Greta and her family are living in fear. Upset and feeling sorry for her friend, Heidi invites Greta home for dinner.

That night after Greta leaves, Heidi tells her family what Greta has said about the ugly things done to Jews, simply because they are Jews. Heidi's parents are aware of Hitler's particular hatred for the Jews, but they believe it is not wise to speak out against the new order. They do not want to put their own family in jeopardy and so they tell Heidi it would be best not to associate with Greta.

A few hours later Heidi answers a knock on the door. It is Greta and she looks terrified with tears streaming down her face. "Heidi, I went home after dinner--my family was gone, but their dinner was still on the table, and there were spots that look like blood by the door. They have been taken, I know it. What can I do now? I have no place to go. Will you help me?"

Heidi must make a big decision. There is a secret room in the attic where Heidi often goes to be alone. She is afraid for Greta and wants to help her. But she knows her own family's safety will be in danger if she helps her friend. What should Heidi do? Should she take Greta to the secret room? Should she ask her family to help?

* * * * *

Individual Report Form

Name: _____

Directions: After reading the case study, answer questions 1, 2 A, B, C, individually, before going on to group discussion.

1. CASE STUDY DATA SHEET #_____ _____
   Title of Case Study — Name of bystander in this case

2. YOUR DECISION:

   A. What was your decision?

   B. How did you reach your decision?

   C. What is likely to happen as a result of your decision?

Directions: Appoint one person to be the group leader. The group leader will lead the discussion. Begin your discussion only after all group members have completed questions 1 and 2.

3. GROUP DISCUSSION:

   A. What was the issue involved in the case?

   B. What decision did each individual in your group reach?

   C. What do you believe as a group is the best solution to the bystander's dilemma in this case study?

   D. Turn to your Case Study Data Sheet, beginning with question 1, discuss each question as a group and write answers to each question on the back of this form.

Directions: Stop! Your teacher will conduct a Group Leader Panel Discussion.

Directions: After completion of the Group Leader Panel Discussion, answer questions 4 A, B, C, D, E on the back of this sheet.

4. ON REFLECTION;

   A. Did the discussion by the small group and panel change your opinion on this issue? If so, explain.

   B. When should a person take a stand?

   C. What are some conflicts that may arise and make it difficult for a person to take a stand?

   D. Can you recall any situations when you have been a bystander? What was the situation and what did you do?

   E. Do people in society have a responsibility toward their fellow citizens? If so, how much of one?

c Zenger Publications, 1980

* * * * *

Take out your Individual Report Form and read the directions.

Slavery Questions

1. If your decision was to get involved, would your decision have changed if:

   A. You knew your home was being watched at night?

   B. You might lose your farm if you were caught?

2. If your decision was not to get involved, would your decision have changed if:

   A. You had no children?

   B. The authorities had not come to inform you of the danger to you and your family?

3. Was race a factor in your decision? Explain.

4. Are there times when laws should be ignored? Explain.

5. Should your religious beliefs take precedence over the civil law? Explain.

The Bystander's Dilemma

Developed by
Louise Jacobsen
& Mary Furlong

c Zenger Publications, 1980

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Gateway Station 802
Culver City, California 90232 • 1980

Conversion or Emigration?
What Would You Do?

The following is based on actual historical accounts.

Emanuel Rutsa's family has lived in Spain for hundreds of years. He has become a successful financier in Seville and is raising a family of four young children.

Spain, now a Catholic state, is in the midst of an Inquisition, an attempt by the Spanish Church to stamp out all heretics. Christians convicted of heresy have been burned at the stake (or, often, have become victims of mob rule). These victims include many Jews who had been forcibly converted but still secretly retained their identity as Jews. In 1492, the state issues its Edict of Expulsion: All Jews who do not convert to Christianity are to be expelled. (There are about 150,000 Jews in Spain at this time.)

Rutsa, as a Jew, must make a difficult choice. He may leave the country and attempt to settle in a part of the world where Jews are permitted. It would mean starting life again in strange surroundings, learning a new language, leaving old friends. And he would not be allowed to take most of his wealth with him. Or he and his family can convert to the Christian faith and become part of the mainstream of Spanish society, maintaining their economic success and position.

Questions for Discussion

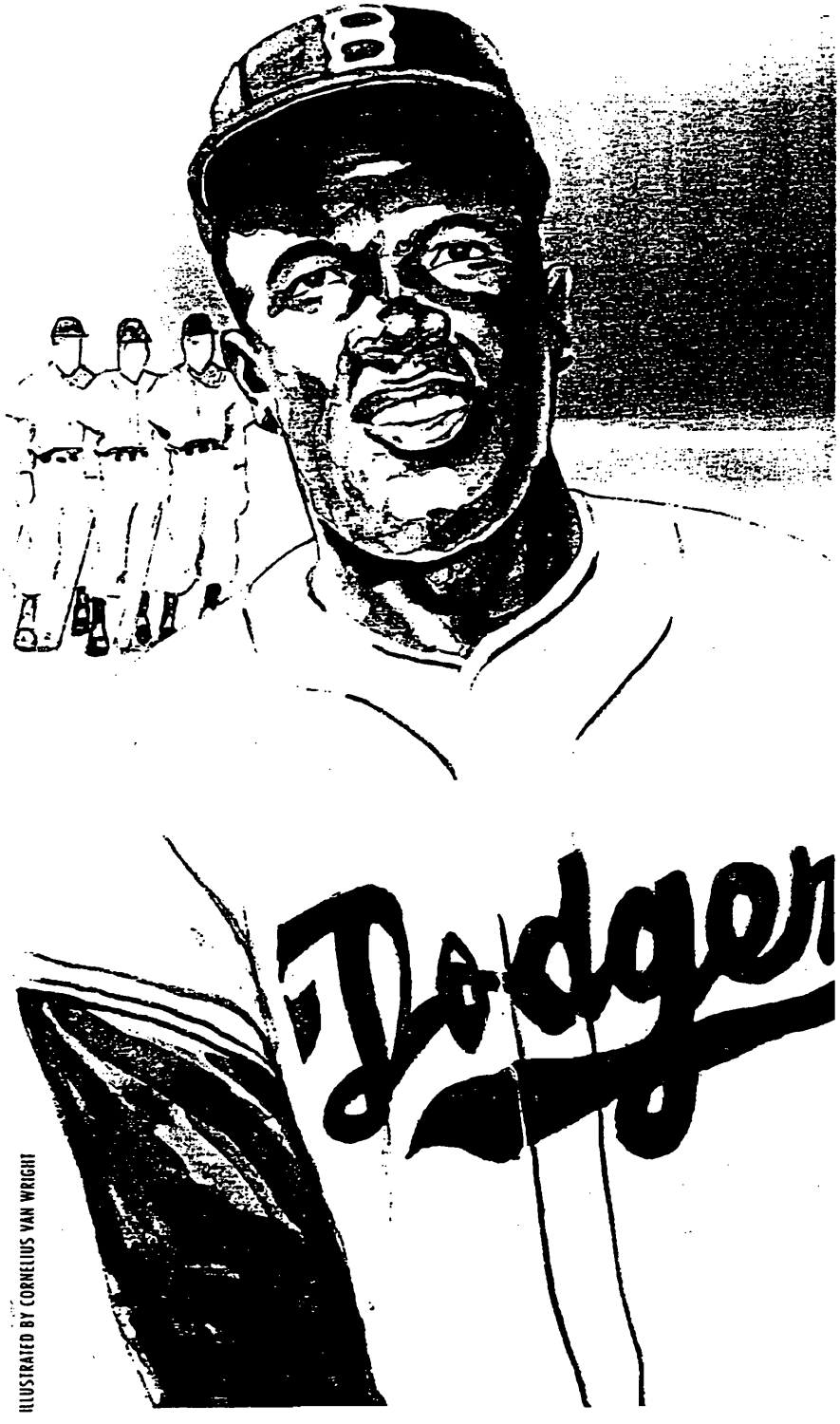
1. What should Rutsa do? Are there other options available?

2. Should Rutsa's economic success or his Jewish faith mean more to him?

3. How important is your faith to you? How far would you go to uphold it?

Unit 1
READING #15

His Name Was Jackie Robinson



ILLUSTRATED BY CORNELIUS VAN WRIGHT

Today, as baseball fans look forward to spring training and the start of the new season, it's hard to believe there was a time when African American players were not allowed in the major leagues. It is especially appropriate to learn about the player who changed that situation as we observe Black History Month.

PERFORMING THE PLAY

This play has 21 speaking roles and can easily be performed in a classroom. Students without speaking roles, or those who have completed their parts, could be background mimes and a chorus. They could hum "Take Me Out to the Ball Game" and mime ball players in action.

CAST

Narrators 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6
Branch Rickey, general manager of the Brooklyn Dodgers
Baseball scout
Jackie Robinson, second baseman for the Brooklyn Dodgers
Newskids 1 and 2
Sportswriters 1 and 2
Baseball player
Citizen
Pee Wee Reese, shortstop for the Dodgers
Red Barber, radio announcer of Dodgers games
Bernice Franklin, fan
Clay Hopper, minor-league team manager
Rachel Robinson, wife of Jackie Robinson
Ford Frick, president of the National League



ACT ONE

Narrator 1: Jack Roosevelt Robinson was an ordinary kid. He grew up in California, where his mother had moved her family to escape hard times in their native Georgia.

Narrator 2: But no matter where they went, the Robinsons could not escape people who hated them because they were black.

Narrator 1: Still, Jackie became a fine athlete. Even hearing people call him names and being cursed at by players on other teams didn't stop him.

Narrator 2: He went to college. He was a high scorer in basketball. He set records in track and field. He led the football team to win after win.

Narrator 1: While Jackie was starring in college sports, his mother had to work to support the family. This bothered Jackie so much that, in 1941, he left school to work and help out.

Narrator 2: Jackie didn't work for long. On December 7, 1941, the United States entered World War II. Jackie was drafted into the army.

Narrator 1: The U.S. Army was segregated. Black soldiers and white soldiers did not serve together. Jackie never let the racism and lack of respect defeat him, though sometimes standing up for his rights got him into trouble. But right was always on his side.

Narrator 3: In April, 1945, when Jackie got out of the army, he joined a baseball team, the Kansas City Monarchs.

Narrator 4: Baseball was segregated, too. There were separate leagues, each with professional teams for black players and white players. The Monarchs were part of the Negro Leagues.

Narrator 3: Many hotels wouldn't let the black players stay, so the men of the Negro Leagues slept on buses.

Narrator 4: Because many restaurants and diners wouldn't serve the black players, they ate at the side of the road.

Narrator 3: It was a hard way to earn a living. It would get even harder for Jackie Robinson—but in a different way. Jackie's life was about to change because of a man named Branch Rickey.

Branch Rickey: That's me. I was the general manager of the Dodgers, who were then playing baseball in Brooklyn, New York. The Dodgers were an all-white team and a lot of people wanted them to stay that way. Not me. I hated discrimination. I wanted baseball to be integrated. I believed race shouldn't be a criteria for letting a player on the field. So I came up with a plan.

Baseball scout: Rickey told me he was looking for players who would be on a new black team.

Rickey: I lied! I was really looking for a black player who would integrate the Dodgers. But I knew I had to keep that secret or I'd be fought every step of the way.

Scout: So, anyway, Mr. Rickey wants to know about the players' lives, about their background, about their temperament.

Rickey: I wanted a person of intelligence, character, courage, and outstanding athletic ability. And one day, a scout brought that person into my office.

Scout: His name was Jackie Robinson.



ACT TWO: IN RICKEY'S OFFICE

Rickey: Robinson, I want you to sign a contract with the Dodgers' organization.

Jackie Robinson (*to the audience*): I was so surprised that I could barely speak—which was fine. Branch was so busy talking I couldn't have gotten a word in edgewise!

Rickey (*pacing*): You'll have a rough time out on the field. Pitchers will throw at your head. Runners will spike you. You'll be called "nigger" and other ugly names. In some places, you won't be able to stay in hotels with the rest of the team or eat with them. But the hardest thing you'll face is that you won't be able to talk back or speak out.

Robinson: Mr. Rickey, do you want a Negro player who is afraid to fight back?

Rickey: I want a player with guts enough not to fight back.

All: His name was Jackie Robinson.



ACT THREE: SPRING TRAINING

Narrator 5: Jackie Robinson signed to play with the Montreal Royals. They were the Dodgers' top minor league team. Players graduated from the Royals to the major league Dodgers.

Narrator 6: The manager of the Royals was Clay Hopper.

Clay Hopper (*to Rickey*): Please don't do this to me. I'm white and I've lived in Mississippi all my life. If you do this, you're going to force me to move my family and home out of Mississippi.

Rickey (*to the audience*): I'd known Clay Hopper for many years. I trusted him to deal with Jackie Robinson in a dignified way—and he did. Clay really cared about baseball and knew Robinson would be good for it.

Narrator 5: The Royals had spring training in Florida, where the pressure on Jackie was strong and terrible. He didn't play as well. He got discouraged But he had the support of some men on his team, his fans, and his wife, Rachel. Some incidents stuck in her mind.

Citizen (*to Robinson*): Get out of our town! Get out now! There's no way we'll allow white people and Negroes to play on the same field.

Baseball player (*to Rickey*): I used to respect you, but no more. If you bring Jackie Robinson along to play my team, I won't play him.

Rachel Robinson (*to audience*): This opened our eyes to what things were going to be like, but it also mobilized a lot of fight in us. We were not willing to think about going back. It gave us the kind of anger and rage to move ahead with real determination. Only one man seemed able to endure.

All: His name was Jackie Robinson.



ACT FOUR: NEW YORK, 1947

Newskid 1: Extra! Extra! Jackie Robinson becomes a major leaguer!

Sportswriter 1: Welcome Jackie Robinson! The fans are rooting for you.

Rachel Robinson: I was very, very excited and very, very nervous. I was trying to figure out which players were going to be friendly and how Jackie was going to make out.

Narrator 6: During Jackie Robinson's first game against the Philadelphia Phillies, some members of that team were especially nasty to him. The players taunted and threatened him and his family.

Robinson: I have to admit that this day of all the unpleasant days of my life brought me nearer to cracking up than I have ever been.

Ford Frick: As the president of the National League, I say that any player who won't play with or against Jackie Robinson will be suspended from baseball. This is the United States of America. One citizen has as much right to play as another.

Robinson: I learned that as long as I appeared to ignore insult and injury, I was a martyred hero to many people who seemed to have sympathy for the underdog. But the minute I began to answer, to argue, to protest—the minute I began to sound off—I became a swellhead, a wise guy, "uppity." When a white guy did it, he had spirit. When a black player did it, he was "ungrateful," an "upstart," a "sorehead."



ACT FIVE: BOSTON

Sportswriter 2 (*typing his story*): The dateline is Boston. The Dodgers came here today to play the Boston Braves. The Braves players shouted at Jackie Robinson. The fans screamed dirty words and names. Jackie remained silent. Suddenly Pee Wee Reese, the popular Dodgers shortstop, walked over to his teammate. In a show of support, Pee Wee put his arm around Jackie's shoulder. The insults stopped.

Pee Wee Reese: I was born in Kentucky. I don't guess that I ever shook the hand of a black person. But as my respect for Jackie grew, he became my friend as well as my teammate. (*turns to Jackie*) You know I didn't go out of my way to be nice to you.

Robinson: Maybe that's what I appreciated most.



ACT SIX: NEW YORK, 1949

Newskid 2: Extra! Extra! Jackie Robinson leads Dodgers to second pennant in three years! Wins the National League's Most Valuable Player award!

Robinson: I got fan mail from tiny places where people who never even saw a baseball game shared one big radio.

Bernice Franklin: I lived in Tyronza, Arkansas, an all-black town. I wrote this to Jackie Robinson, "I own and operate a rural general store, and right now the farmers are gathering for your game this afternoon. . . . There is no greater thrill than a broadcast of a Dodgers' ball game. . . . We are so proud of you."

Red Barber: My name is Red Barber. I did the announcing of the Dodgers games on radio—you couldn't watch baseball on TV in those days. Branch Rickey and Jackie Robinson thanked me for the calm way I broadcast the games. I know that if I have achieved any understanding and tolerance in my life... it all stems from this.... I thank Jackie Robinson. He did far more for me than I did for him.

All: His name was Jackie Robinson.

QUESTIONS FOR KIDS TO THINK ABOUT

1. For which accomplishment is Jackie Robinson most remembered?
2. How did Jackie Robinson's early life help prepare him for his later experiences?
3. A teammate said Robinson had the qualities of "leadership and charisma." What does that mean? Why were they important?
4. In real life, Branch Rickey spent much time laying the groundwork for bringing a black player into the Dodgers. He even spoke to experts in human behavior. What does this tell you about Rickey and his plans?
5. What did Jackie Robinson do after he left the Dodgers? (Research the answer.)
6. Why is it often harder to remain calm in the face of insults than to fight back? What do you think about this?

Bonus: Who is Frank Robinson? (He was the first African American to manage a major league baseball team.) Though major league baseball has taken big strides in the area of racial equality, it still lags in the hiring of black people as managers. Watch your local newspaper's sports pages for further developments.

NOTE: Actual dialogue was used whenever possible in this play. It is based mainly on *Jackie Robinson*, a book for children by Howard Reiser, which was published in 1992 by Franklin Watts.

Sources also included other books for children, *Jackie Robinson: He Was the First*, by David A. Adler (Holiday House); *Jackie Robinson*, by Richard Scott (Chelsea House); and *Teammates*, by Peter Golenbock (HBJ Publishers). For adults, *Jackie Robinson and His Legacy*, by Jules Tygiel (Vintage Books, a division of Random House), makes fascinating reading.

WE ARE THE WORLD

There comes a time when we heed a certain call,
when the world must come together as one.
There are people dying and its time to lend a hand to life,
the greatest gift of all.

We cant' go on pretending day by day that someone,
somewhere will soon make a change.
We are all a part of God's great big family
and the truth, you know, love is all we need.

Chorus:

We are the world, we are the children,
we are the ones to make a brighter day,
so let's start giving.
There's a choice we're making,
we're saving our own lives, it's true,
we make better days, just you and me.

Send them your heart so they'll know that someone cares
and their lives will be stronger and free.
As God has shown us by turning stone to bread,
so we all must lend a helping hand.

Chorus

When you're down and out, there seems no hope at all,
but if you just believe, there's no way we can fall.
Let us realize that a change will only come
when we stand together as one.

Chorus **Repeat twice**

le\cantor\songs\misc

The Reichstag Is Burning!

by Ina Friedman

At sixteen, Arthur Kahn was eyewitness to the terror instituted by the Nazis in 1933. He lived in Berlin with his father, a prosperous lawyer; his mother, and two younger brothers.

IN the fall of 1933 a knock sounded at our door. I opened it. Two SS men in black leather coats stood there.

"Herr Richard Kahn?"

"Just a minute," I said, staring at their black boots. "I will call him."

Father came into the hall. His face turned white. "Yes?"

"You are under arrest for crimes against the state," one of the men said. They seized him under the arms and dragged him towards the door.

"And what is my crime?" my father demanded.

"Sedition. We have been informed by the janitor that you have foreign books on your shelves."

"But I am a good German," Father said. "I served the Kaiser in World War I."

"You are making a mistake," cried Mother, who came into the hall as they were dragging him away.

When they shoved him into the elevator, Father called out, "Arthur, take care of your mother and brothers. Remember, you are the oldest." And he was gone.

Mother became hysterical. "Quick, Arthur, help me burn the French and English books." In a frenzy, she began to throw books into the woodburning stove in the kitchen.

"Mother," I protested, trying to stop her, "you're no better than the Nazis."

"What do you know, Arthur! You're only sixteen."

The next morning, Mother went to the police station to ask about Father. "You are wasting your time. Don't bother us," they told her.

I remembered February 27, the evening of the Reichstag fire, a few months earlier. The dark winter sky had turned red as our parliament building burned, and the flames illuminated the entire Tiergarten district. Wolf, Fritz and I stood at the window, watching in disbelief as the fire blazed unattended. We listened for the sirens and the fire trucks, but they never came. Mother refused to look out the window.

"Alyce," Father cried, seizing her by the shoulders and thrusting her in front of the curtain. "The Reichstag is burning. Can't you see it's time to leave."

Mother broke away. "It's only a temporary madness. Things will get better. My grandfather fought for Bismarck. It's only the foreign-born Jews who will have trouble."

"Alyce, a Jew is a Jew. We must leave — for the children's sake."

"I will not leave my parents and my homeland." My small, slim mother sat down in her damask chair and picked up her needlepoint. "You always said you were a German first and a Jew second."

We all stared at Mother. This was the first time she had ever defied Father. When he and his friends met on Saturdays to plan our emigration to South Africa earlier that year, she had not protested. Now our visas had arrived, but despite the fire below, she refused to leave.

"Fool," Father said to her, "Germany does not want me. I have accepted its decree."

The day after the Reichstag fire, all individual rights guaranteed by the Weimar Republic were suspended. Only Nazis could hold public meetings. All liberal newspapers were taken over by the Nazis. Truckloads of storm troopers in their brown uniforms roared down the Kaiser Alee and stopped before the apartment house next door. We watched from behind the curtains as several prominent writers and liberal thinkers were dragged out of the building.

Jewish businesses were boycotted, and my brothers and I were expelled from school. Signs were posted on park gates and theatres: "No Jews and Dogs Allowed."

Every week, Wolf, Fritz and I would stand at the apartment window and watch the Hitler Youth parade pass. How we wished the hated Hitler Youth, in their spotless uniforms, would tumble when they stopped to form a perfect pyramid!

One mild evening in May 1933, Wolf and I were returning from a meeting. As we strolled towards the University of Berlin, we noticed a crowd gathering in front of the Opernplatz. We stopped to see what was happening.

In single file, students marched out of the library, a lighted torch in one hand and books in the other. The flames cut an eerie red rim around the darkness. The students paused before a huge pile of burning books that had been collected by SS troops from other libraries.

As each student tossed his armload of books into the flames, an SS trooper called out over the loudspeaker the names of the "subversive authors" whose books were being destroyed: "Thomas Mann, Heinrich Heine, Albert Einstein, Erich Maria Remarque . . ." Here and there, a protesting sheet, its edges singed, escaped the flames and floated across the Opernplatz.

After reading the list of the German authors, the SS trooper began to stumble through the names of condemned foreign writers: "Jack London, Upton Sinclair, Helen Keller . . ."

Josef Goebbels, Minister of Propaganda, appeared to pronounce the final epitaph. The small, gnomish man stood before the students and spectators to say, "These flames not only illuminate the final end of an old era, they also light up a new one."

A month after my father's arrest, I was in the kitchen eating a sandwich of knockwurst and *ersatz* bread. I heard scratching at the window and looked up. Father stood on the fire escape dressed in a black and white prison uniform. He held his finger to his lips.

I opened the window, and he crawled inside, smelling of disinfectant.

"Are you all right?" I asked, as he embraced me. I looked at his gaunt face. His clothes hung on his slight frame. "Where were you?"

"Spandau prison. I pretended to have a heart attack, and they put me in the hospital. When the orderly went off the floor, I hid in the laundry truck and escaped." He wolfed down the remainder of my sandwich.

Mother heard our voices and came into the kitchen. "Richard," she said. "Thank God." Wolf and Fritz appeared.

"I've been watching the apartment house for hours," Father said. "The janitor just left for his Nazi party meeting. He must not know I've been here." Father took off the uniform. "Quickly, Arthur, pack some food while I change clothes. Fritz, burn this uniform."



Ina R. Friedman

Addison-Wesley

While he changed, he rifled through the mail. There was a letter from Adolph Hitler. It read: "You have been awarded the Iron Cross for your service to the Kaiser during World War I." Father pocketed the letter and left.

A few hours after the Nazis discovered Father's escape, they came to our house. "Where is Richard Kahn?"

Mother stood there, trembling. "But you took him away. What have you done with him?" She was so petrified of the Nazis, her lying appeared believable.

"If he contacts you, you must inform us. Otherwise, there will be measures."

Mother fainted. When she came to, she said, "Arthur, you must join the Youth Aliyah. You must learn to become a farmer. Then you can go anywhere in the world. It's your only chance."

Youth Aliyah was a Zionist movement which trained young Jews to become farmers, so they could go to Palestine. The Nazis permitted this project because they wanted as many Jews as possible to leave the country. When I joined a nearby camp in Halbe, Fred Perlman, the director, taught me to milk cows and put me in charge of the barn. He also taught us Jewish songs and history, and pride in our Jewishness. After being subjected to Nazi propaganda telling us how inferior we were, we needed to develop self-esteem.

Meanwhile, the night my father left our house he had been hidden by his German employers. The next morning, he took a train to a town on the Czechoslovakian border. When he stepped onto the station platform, he saw a sign over the door: "Jews, enter this place at your own risk."

Father registered at a hotel a few blocks from the bridge leading to Czechoslovakia.

The police chief laughed at his request for a permit to visit an "insurance" client in Czechoslovakia. "No good German wants to leave Germany, sir. You are a traitor."

Im Namen des Führers und Reichskanzlers

Dem Syndikus Dr. Richard K a h n in Berlin - Wilmersdorf

ist auf Grund der Verordnung vom 13. Juli 1934 zur Erinnerung an den Weltkrieg 1914/1918 das von dem Reichspräsidenten Generalfeldmarschall von Hindenburg gestiftete

Ehrenkreuz für Kriegsteilnehmer

verliehen worden.

Berlin, den 1. März 193 5.

Der Polizeipräsident
J.A.

K. 191 /35.

Letter from Hitler awarding Dr. Richard Kahn a medal for service in World War I.

"A traitor? You are mistaken," Father replied, pulling out the letter from Hitler. "Would the Fuehrer award an Iron Cross to a traitor?"

"All right," the officer said, handing him a pass, "but leave your luggage in your hotel room."

Father walked over the bridge connecting the two countries. He had to figure out some way of retrieving his luggage.

At a small cafe overlooking the stream, he asked a waiter, "Can you go back and forth without a pass?"

"Of course. The guards know me."

"Here is the key to my room. Bring me my suitcase, and I shall share the contents with you." Father slipped him a large tip. The waiter promised to go at sunset.

At sunset, Father returned to the cafe and ordered a beer. As the accordion player struck up a polka, Father forced himself to sing and tap his feet in rhythm, just like the rest of the patrons.

Suddenly, there was a shot. The owner of the cafe rushed onto the terrace. "Someone sent my waiter for a suitcase, and it fell open, revealing hundreds of marks. The Germans are holding the waiter."

All the patrons jumped up and ran towards the bridge. Father rose, but walked out the back door and thumbed a ride to Prague.

In Prague, a Jewish relief agency provided him with lodging, but before he went to sleep, Father sent a postcard to cousins in Charleston, West Virginia. It read: "I need help. Please contact me through the Joint Distribution Committee in Prague."

These distant cousins, now living in Baltimore, Maryland, received the forwarded postcard. They immediately sent money and an affidavit, which promised the American government that they would be responsible for Father when he emigrated to the United States. Father booked passage and arrived safely.

Once in Baltimore, Father grew more and more frantic. The German government refused to release us. He and his cousin approached the State Department in Washington, D.C. At first, the State Department said there was nothing they could do.

Father pleaded with the officials. "What kind of a government refuses to release a woman and three young boys because the father fled? They must get out of Germany. Each day the situation grows worse."

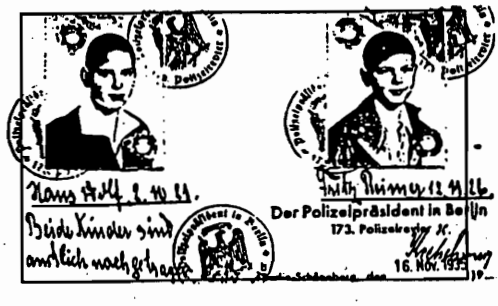
The State Department prodded the German Foreign Office. Because the 1936 Olympics were scheduled to take place in Berlin in only a few months, Germany wanted to appear reasonable to the rest of the world. Two years after Father's escape from prison, the Nazis granted us "valid for twenty-four hours only" passports. A slipsheet had been inserted with the passports: "Remember, you are a good German."

Father met us in New York. From the top of the Empire State Building, we gazed down on the skyscrapers and at Rockefeller Center, glowing with Christmas lights. In the morning, we took the train to Baltimore, filled with happiness for America and all things American. Here, life would be truly wonderful.

Father led us up the steps to our apartment on Spaulding Street. We stared at the mattresses supported by vegetable crates and at the kitchen table with its flaking blue paint. Our Baltimore cousins had stocked the kitchen, but aside from Father's books, which we had sent over the year before, the apartment was bare.

"We have a place to sleep and a place to eat," Mother said. She took out the only painting she had managed to save and hung it on the wall. "We are home. We will never talk about Germany again. As soon as we learn English, it will be the only language spoken in this house."

Arthur Kahn served with the United States Army during World War II. He is now an executive of a greeting card company. Once a year he returns to Germany to attend a convention. Each time his plane approaches the airport, he begins to perspire and to relive the deaths of his family and friends at the hands of the Nazis. "I tell myself over and over that it is time to forget . . . old prejudices should not be carried over to the next generation. But I still ask myself what I am doing on this plane."



Anna's Dilemma

What Would You Do?

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

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

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

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

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

Questions for Discussion

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

The Drowned and the Saved

Elias Lindzin, 141565, one day rained into the Chemical Kommando. He was a dwarf, not more than five feet high, but I have never seen muscles like his. When he is naked you can see every muscle taut under his skin, like a poised animal; his body, enlarged without alteration of proportions, would serve as a good model for a Hercules: but you must not look at his head.

Under his scalp, the skull sutures stand out immoderately. The cranium is massive and gives the impression of being made of metal or stone; the back limit of his shaven hair shows up barely a finger's width above his eyebrows. The nose, the chin, the forehead, the cheekbones are hard and compact, the whole face looks like a battering ram, an instrument made for butting. A sense of bestial vigour emanates from his body.

To see Elias work is a disconcerting spectacle; the Polish *Meister*, even the Germans sometimes stop to admire Elias at work. Nothing seems impossible to him. While we barely carry one sack of cement, Elias carries two, then three, then four, keeping them balanced no one knows how, and while he hurries along on his short, squat legs, he makes faces under the load, he laughs, curses, shouts and sings without pause, as if he had lungs made of bronze. Despite his wooden shoes Elias climbs like a monkey on to the scaffolding and runs safely on cross-beams poised over nothing; he carries six bricks at a time balanced on his head; he knows how to make a spoon from a piece of tin, and a knife from a scrap of steel; he finds dry paper, wood and coal everywhere and knows how to start a fire in a few moments even in the rain. He is a tailor, a carpenter, a cobbler, a barber; he can spit incredible distances; he sings, in a not unpleasant bass voice, Polish and Yiddish songs never heard before; he can ingest ten, fifteen, twenty pints of soup without vomiting and without having diarrhoea, and begin work again immediately after. He knows how to make a big hump come out between his shoulders, and goes around the hut, bow-legged and mimicking, shouting and declaiming incomprehensibly, to the joy of the Prominents of the camp. I saw him fight a Pole a whole head taller than him and knock him down with a blow of his cranium into the stomach, as powerful and accurate as a catapult. I never saw him rest, I never saw him quiet or still, never saw him injured or ill.

Of his life as a free man, no one knows anything; and in any case, to imagine Elias as a free man requires a great effort of fantasy and induction; he only speaks Yiddish, and the surly and deformed Yiddish of Warsaw; besides it is impossible to keep him to a coherent conversation. He might be twenty or forty years old; he usually says that he is thirty-three, and that he has begot seventeen children—which is not unlikely. He talks continuously on the most varied of subjects; always in a resounding voice, in an oratorical manner, with the violent mimicry of the deranged; as if he was always talking to a dense crowd—and, as is natural, he never lacks a public. Those who understand his language drink up his declamations, shaking with laughter; they pat him enthusiastically on the back—a back as hard as iron—inciting him to continue; while he, fierce and frowning, whirls around like a wild animal in the circle of his audience, apostrophizing now one, now another of them; he suddenly grabs hold of one by the chest with his small hooked paw, irresistibly drags him to himself, vomits into his face an incomprehensible invective, then throws him back like a piece of wood, and amidst the applause and laughter, with his arms reaching up to the heavens like some little prophetic monster, continues his raging and crazy speech.

His fame as an exceptional worker spread quite soon, and by the absurd law of the Lager, from then on he practically ceased to work. His help was requested directly by the *Meister* only for such work as required skill and special vigour. Apart from these services he insolently and violently supervised our daily, flat exhaustion, frequently disappearing on mysterious visits and adventures in who knows what recesses of the yard, from which he returned with large bulges in his pockets and often with his stomach visibly full.

Elias is naturally and innocently a thief: in this he shows the instinctive astuteness of wild animals. He is never caught in the act because he only steals when there is a good chance; but when this chance comes Elias steals as fatally and foreseeably as a stone drops. Apart from the fact that it is difficult to surprise him, it is obvious that it would be of no use punishing him for his thefts: to him they imply a vital act like breathing or sleeping.

We can now ask who is this man Elias. If he is a madman, incomprehensible and para-human, who ended in the Lager by chance. If he is an atavism, different from our modern world, and better adapted to the primordial conditions of camp life. Or if he is perhaps a product of the camp itself, what we will all become if we do not die in the camp, and if the camp itself does not end first.

There is some truth in all three suppositions. Elias has survived the destruction from outside, because he is physically indestructible; he has resisted the annihilation from within because he is insane. So, in the first place, he is a survivor: he is the most adaptable, the human type most suited to this way of living.

If Elias regains his liberty he will be confined to the fringes of human society, in a prison or a lunatic asylum. But here in Lager there are no criminals nor madmen; no criminals because there is no moral law to contravene, no madmen because we are wholly devoid of free will, as our every action is, in time and place, the only conceivable one.

In the Lager Elias prospers and is triumphant. He is a good worker and a good organizer, and for this double reason, he is safe from selections and respected by both leaders and comrades. For those who have no sound inner resources, for those who do not know how to draw from their own consciences sufficient force to cling to life, the only road to salvation leads to Elias: to insanity and to deceitful bestiality. All the other roads are dead-ends.

This said, one might perhaps be tempted to draw conclusions, and perhaps even rules for our daily life. Are there not all around us some Eliases, more or less in embryo? Do we not see individuals living without purpose, lacking all forms of self-control and conscience, who live not *in spite of* these defects, but like Elias precisely because of them?

The question is serious, but will not be further discussed as we want these to be stories of the Lager, while much has already been written on man outside the Lager. But one thing we would still like to add: Elias, as far as we could judge from outside, and as far as the phrase can have meaning, was probably a happy person.

Why did you kill our hero?

John Roberts, 42, teaches fourth grade at a poor, predominantly black and Hispanic school in Oklahoma City. Last year, his 9- and 10-year-olds adopted a sailor who was serving in the Persian Gulf: Petty Officer 3rd Class Harold Mansfield Jr. They wrote letters to Mansfield, kept his photograph on the bulletin board, and drew pictures of his ship, the USS Saratoga. When the war ended and Mansfield returned safely home, the children greeted him with balloons and speeches.

Three weeks later, they learned that their hero was dead — shot by a white supremacist in a grocery store parking lot in Florida.

Roberts was a school counselor and a special-education teacher before he became a fourth-grade teacher at Shidler Elementary School. In a recent telephone conversation with the editor of Teaching Tolerance, *he talked about how his children came to know Harold Mansfield, and how they dealt with issues of violence and racism following his death. Here are excerpts from Roberts' comments.*

HAROLD'S MOTHER, CONNIE, AND I USED to teach together. She taught fifth grade. Connie's husband died 11 months before Harold Jr. was killed. When I found out Harold Jr. was going to the Persian Gulf, I was talking to Connie and said I think it'd be neat if we could write to Harold and do our part. It would help us be a part of this war in a positive way.

Connie gave us four 8 x 10 photographs of Harold that were taken in his Navy uniform. I took those in, put them on the bulletin board and I told the children, "Today, I'm going to introduce you to someone very special who is fighting for us so that we can be free." I told them about Harold and some of the things he had done in high school, and the direction he had chosen for his life after high school. Then we all decided it would be fun to write to him. Maybe we could draw a picture of the USS Saratoga, the ship he was on.

At first the letters tended to be formal. But then as the months began to click off, the children started to perceive him as a friend, even though they'd never met him, because he was in our room every day on the bulletin board. We had a Catholic priest come in and bless the pictures so that he would be safe while he was away. Every time anything was mentioned about the war, he was right there. We developed a closeness to him.

I gave all the letters to Connie and she mailed them to Harold Jr. Connie came to the classroom on numerous occasions. She talked about her son and looked at

They asked him questions about his job. During the war, Harold had worked on the flight deck. He was enclosed in a clear cubicle and he had to write flight information backward so the people on the flight deck could read it. So I had some clear laminated plastic and he wrote several things backward, and had the children guess what they were. They were able to guess some of them. Then we flipped the laminate around and they saw how it was written normally, and that really got some "oohs" and "ahhs." He had written, "Everyone can be a hero," and "We can all be No. 10s."

He talked to them about the importance of getting an education. His mother was with him that day. At the end, we handed him the pictures from the bulletin board.

It had been a really meaningful experience, and we thought that day was going to be its closure. We were congratulating him about his wedding engagement, and telling him how much we appreciated him. You always hope to have a happy ending to your story, and we thought this was our happy ending. We were rejoicing in that. But things didn't quite happen the way we wanted.

HAROLD WAS KILLED ON FRIDAY, MAY 17. I had been away that weekend, and hadn't heard anything. Then Sunday night I had the 10 o'clock news on and the volume down, and I saw a picture of Harold. I thought they must be giving him some kind of award, so I turned the volume up real quick, and that's when I heard.

My first reaction was a horrible sense of loss and compassion for Connie, because she had just buried her husband, and now, 11 months later, her only son, her only link with her husband ... going through that again, I really cried for Connie. She's a very strong woman, she's incredible. I wish I could be more like her.

Then on Monday I had to tell the class. I didn't really spend a lot of time planning how I would talk about it with the children. I've dealt with death and dying issues before, and we've been very open and honest. I have a carpeted area in my classroom, so I brought them all over onto the carpet. I was a little emotional, which was fine. And I just told them what had happened. I let the class know we had a horrible thing that happened and we'd have to talk about it.

Most had heard about it, but they asked, "Is this our Harold? Can this really be our Harold?" I think we were stunned more than anything else. You can hear it and see it and talk about it, but when you really have to face it, when you have to put it on the front burner....

I don't think you should ever shelter children from the truth. I gave the children the information I had. I put the word white supremacist on the board, and I had each child get a dictionary. We looked up supremacist; we talked about this, and we talked about our feelings.

At first they wanted to strike back in the same way this man had attacked Harold. They wanted to kill him. They wanted to fry him in the electric chair. They wanted to drown him. All the horrible things you can imagine, they wanted to do those things. After we got through their anger, I said, "Boys and girls, let's be real. We don't work like that in our society. What would be some way we can positively let George David Loeb know that what he did was wrong and it hurt us?" Several of the children raised their hands and a discussion evolved, and they said, "We believe we should write to him."

No real racial animosity came out. I'm white. Most of my children are black or Hispanic. We don't make distinctions of color. I tell my children we're all born with two arms, two legs, and a wonderful functioning brain, and we can do everything we want to do.

The insanity of the whole thing was what we had trouble dealing with, more than the racial issue. We even

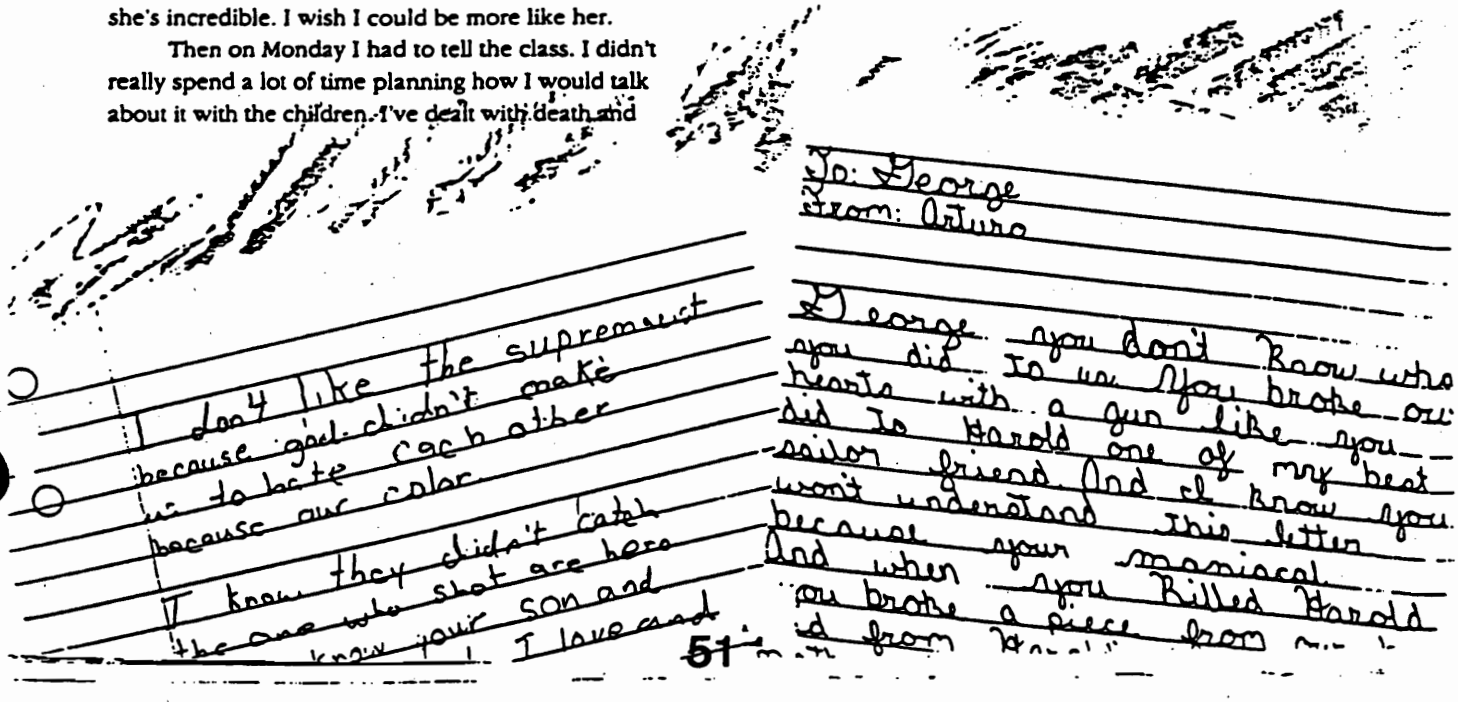




ILLUSTRATION BY JIMMY SHAOF, 12TH GRADE

the children's letters. We even had a party for her during the war. We honored the mother since we couldn't honor her son.

On April 25, when Harold Jr. came home, we had a party for him. He came at ten and stayed until one-thirty. We had a big day of it. We had 300 red, white and blue balloons, 30 of them taped around the door. When Harold came in, he wasn't in uniform — he was in purple Hammer pants and a wild purple shirt. He really looked awesome. He looked like an entertainer. The children's jaws were on the floor when I saw him. He was very gracious and he stood there in the doorway while the children took turns breaking the balloons. He had his fingers in his ears from the noise; he was laughing and the kids were hugging him. I had a huge cake we had bought that said "Welcome Home," and had a design of the USS Saratoga with some flags.

The children had written speeches for him, and we set up a lectern so they could each stand up and deliver their speeches. They were full of praises and appreciation for what he did. The boys wanted to be exactly like him when they grow up.

A fourth-grade class adopted a U.S. sailor as their hero during the Persian Gulf War. What started out as a lesson in patriotism ended as a lesson about violence, death and racism.

felt that if he had gotten into a fight, or if he was trying to escape, if there was some reason for it . . . but there was no reason for this behavior.

IN THEIR LETTERS, THE CHILDREN'S FEELings ran the gamut, the same that adults do. Some were really wanting him to die, and at the other end of the spectrum were children who wanted to forgive him. A couple of them had nightmares.

One girl wrote, "I don't think Mr. Roberts has forgiven you and I don't think some of the children have forgiven you, but I forgive you. I just wish you hadn't killed Harold."

Children are very specific in their sense of justice and fairness. Some said "We hope that you stay in jail forever."

About 20 of the children went to the funeral. We sent notes home and the parents who wanted their children to go signed the notes, and the others stayed in school. I explained to them that for me, it was good to go and say my last goodbyes. Before the funeral, I stopped and bought a red rose for each child, and as they viewed the body, they handed the rose to Connie and hugged her and said they loved her. Connie told me later that meant a lot to her.

When they saw his body — lifeless, colorless, still — it was so difficult for them. It was extremely difficult. They were concerned about his body in the casket. Connie and Harold's fiancee were draped over the casket, saying, "Please don't be dead, please don't be dead," and crying. After a few minutes, I had the students stand up quietly and we filed out of the church.

I'll never forget what one of the children said: "Mr. Roberts, we went from balloons to bullets."

It was a real harsh lesson in life, in the reality of violence in our society, and that sometimes violence is based on racism.

I was just thankful that it was getting close to the end of the year. He was killed on May 17. On April 25, we had our party for him. Eight days after his death, school was out.

Most of those children are in different fifth-grade schools now. They're dispersed around the city. Some of them have called; some still live in this area and will stop by to visit. But basically, that's the sad thing about teaching — after you've had them for a year, often you never see them again. You hope the seeds you've planted will survive. I think we will all forever be changed by this event.

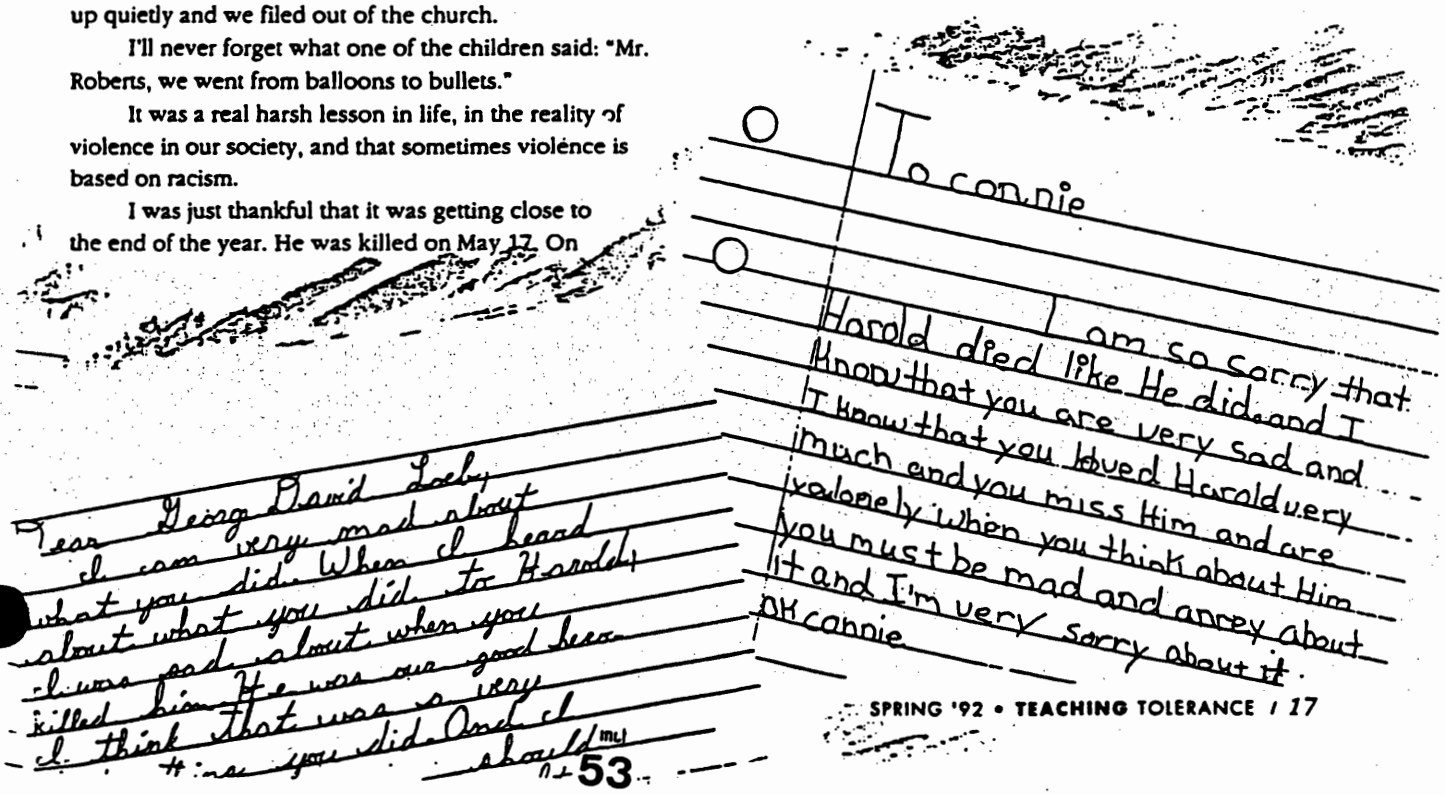
The wounds are still kind of tender. Later on, I may talk to classes about what can happen if you don't control your temper, if you allow yourself to become involved in groups that are hateful. I don't understand why we still have racial tensions in this country. We're all on this planet together. We can't go anywhere else right now, and we need to learn to function in society — to make our society work.

The last day of school, Connie came back and we had a little party for her, and we let her know we loved her. And we talked about a poem by Sara Teasdale:

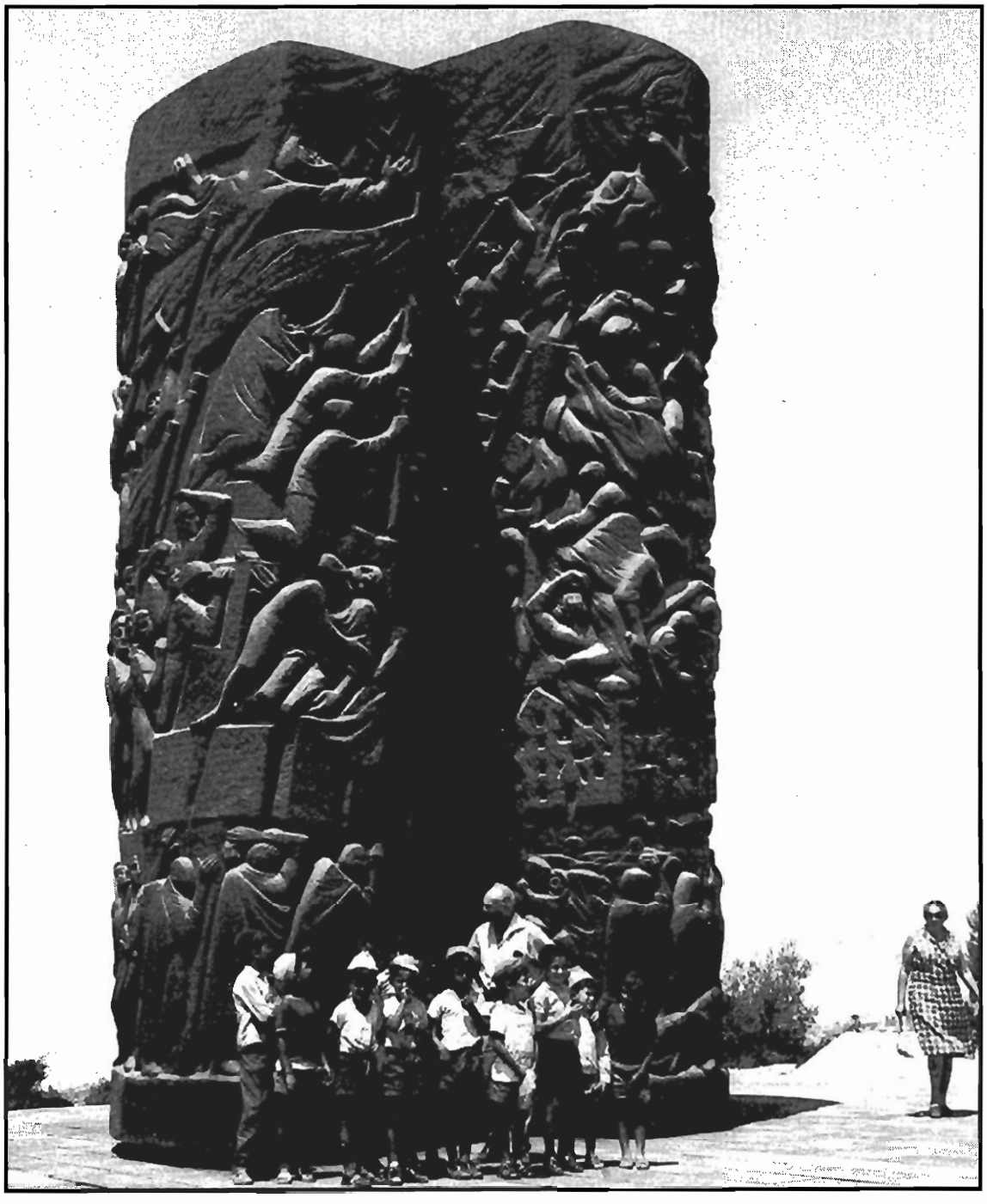
Into my heart's treasury I slip a coin
That time cannot take or a thief purloin
Oh, better than the minting of a gold-crown king
Is the safe-kept memory of a lovely thing.

Since then, I've had letters and phone calls from all over the world. I give all the information to Connie. She has a collection of everything.

George David Loeb, a member of the radical white supremacist Church of the Creator, was indicted for murder in Florida. He now awaits trial. ◆



UNIT II · An Introduction to a Study of the Holocaust and Genocide: Views of Prejudice and Genocide



"The Scroll of Fire"

UNIT II

VIEW OF PREJUDICE AND GENOCIDE

How did Germany become a breeding ground for anti-Semitic terror? Between World War I and World War II, many Germans came to regard Jews as the source of their serious economic misfortune. Clearly, scurrilous stereotypes of Jews, which had existed for two thousand years, set the between the wars stage for extremist behavior toward Jews and other minorities. Many in the volatile German 1920s and 1930s felt compelled to combat the "Jewish conspiracy" before it was too late, eventually taking extreme, murderous measures to assure a "Final Solution to the Jewish problem."

This unexpected development in a modern state demands explanations. Unit II will examine underlying sources of hate and fear. It will explore the phenomenon of prejudice and its potential for venomous and ultimately lethal expression. It will raise questions about how and why fear becomes hate and hate becomes abusive violent behaviors. It will raise questions about the recurrence of vicious behavior in our own time as well the rise of extremists groups, such as white supremacists and terrorists seeking "ethnic cleansing," who passionately believe in their mission destroy other innocent human beings.

UNIT II - An Introduciton to a Study of the Holocaust and Genocide: Views of Prejudice and Genocide

It starts with a word, an obscene gesture.
It escalates to a push and a shove, perhaps even a snub.
We label it prejudice, say nothing do nothing.
It ends in genocide, caused by fear and fed by ignorance
Then mourn its innocent victims.

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UNIT II - An Introduction to a Study of the Holocaust and Genocide: Views of Prejudice and Genocide

Introduction
Human Rights Poem
Source Materials for Teachers
Reading Materials and Questions for Students

GOALS	READINGS	TITLE		PAGE
1	Reading #1	Our Human Rights Poem		1
		Attitudes Towards Groups	Furman Anthology	2
		Self Definition - Who Am I?	Raymond Weyhenmeyer	3
		I ain't Sleepin Nexta No Nigger	Furman, Anthology	10
1	Reading #2	Prejudice and Dislike	Prejudice Book	12
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		You've Got to be Taught to Hate	South Pacific	15
1	Reading #3	Ecidujerp, Prejudice	Furman, Anthology	16
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UNIT__II__ : An Introduction to a Study of the Holocaust and Genocide: Views of Prejudice and Genocide
UNIT GOAL : Students will understand that genocide is the consequence of prejudice and discrimination

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
1. Students will be able to define and explain the nature of prejudice as a universal human phenomenon.	1. A. **Who or What Am I?** Students will explore "self" through a variety of self actualization activities. 1. Use "Attitude Toward Groups" group discussion. 2. Self Definition **(Who Am I?)** B. How do we see the world in which we live? 1. **Our Eyes Lie to Us** 2. Students will watch video and discuss **Perceiving is Believing.** 3. Students will complete a variety of classroom activities to raise their awareness of prejudice by doing a simulation from the **Prejudice Book** - Activity #24. a. "Prejudice and Dislike b. "Personal Contact Inventory" 4. Students will play the songs: **You've Got to be Carefully Taught,** discuss and analyze the meaning. 5. Students will see the video: **You've Got to be Carefully Taught.** C. Students will define "PREJUDICE": <u>SERIES 1</u> 1. Definition of prejudice 2 Functions of prejudice 3. Utilitarian function 4. Self esteem protective function 5. Value protective function - Hate Groups 6. Cognitive function	1. A. "Human Rights Poem" • 1. Furman, Harry, Ed.. **Anthology - Attitudes Towards Groups,** p. 22. 2. Self Definition created by: Raymond Weyhenmeyer, Holocaust Consultant, Ramsey High School, 266 E. Main Street, Ramsey, NJ 07446 B. 1. Eye Diagram created by Raymond Weyhenmeyer or use any major sociology text topic "Aspect of Cultural Lenses". 2. **Perceiving is Believing,** Ed Asner Motivanti Videotape, 6855 Santa Monica Blvd., Los Angeles, CA, 90038, $89.95. • 3. Shiman, David A. **The Prejudice Book,** ADL, $18.00. a. pp. 114-116 "Prejudice and Dislike" b. pp. 53-54 • 4. **You've Got to be Carefully Taught** from **South Pacific** by Rogers and Hammerstein. 5. **You've Got to be Carefully Taught,** 12 Min., available from ADL designed as discussion stimulation. (1-800-343-5540). • C. Transparency series adapted from Allport, Gordon. **The Nature of Prejudice.** (The series is a psycho-social analysis of the phenomenon of prejudice.)

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	SERIES 2 1. Forms of prejudice 2. Categories of overt prejudice behavior SERIES 3 Source of Conflict SERIES 4 Character structure of the individual SERIES 5 Consequences of Repression (prejudiced personality) SERIES 7 Tolerant Personality **2.** A. Students will use readings to define and discuss prejudice. 1. **I Ain't Sleepin' Next to No Nigger!** by Sammy Davis Jr. 2. Watch the video, **Shadow Between Friends**. A personal dilemma between Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans in Los Angeles. 3. a. "Prejudice a Universal Problem" b. "Ecidujerp, Prejudice"	• Allport, Gordon. **The Nature of Prejudice**, ADL, $19.00. A comprehensive and detailed account of the phenomenon of prejudice - its roots in psychology, history and social structure - its many forms, its manifestations in interpersonal relations and in society and how it can be reduced. Read: • Chartok, R. and Spencer, Jack. **The Holocaust Years: Society on Trial**, Bantam Books, 1978. **The Meaning of a Scapegoat**, pp. 85-88 • Allport, Gordon **Prejudice**, p. 88 **The Jew as a Scapegoat**, p. 89 • **2.** A. **For the Teacher Prejudice Project.** 1. Furman, **Anthology** p. 23 3. a. Selee, James. **Prejudice a Universal Problem**, ADL, University of Nebraska at Omaha College of Education, Chapter 8 b. Furman, Harry ed. **Anthology**, "Ecidujerp, Prejudice" by Irene Gerstein and Betty Bliss, ADL, 1983, pp. 30-33.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	c. Have students research films and identify personalities who experienced and overcame prejudice. Students will include the following activities • character sketches • skits • mock interviews • several students can role play their personality and create a panel discussion - live and video • poetry and music • essays • stories • create posters B. Students will be able to define and explain the relationship between prejudice, stereotyping, scapegoating and bigotry 1. How are prejudice and scapegoating responses to unmet needs a. What are our needs? Discuss. b. List 10 human needs (emotional). c. Conduct a "Needs Auction" d. Debrief "Needs Auction" experience. 2. Students will describe the following: a. What is stereotyping? b. What is scapegoating? (Students will use activity lessons from **Being Fair, Being Free**) 3. Students will use critical thinking skills developed from activities in **Reducing Adolescent Prejudice.** a. Student will examine **Helga's Dilemma** b. Students will examine song **Word Games**	c Personalities could include past or contemporary subjects who experienced prejudice, religious, ethnic, racial, sexist, group, handicap. **i.e. Jackie Robinson** **Marian Anderson** **Arthur Ashe** **Elie Wiesel** **John F. Kennedy** **Ceaser Chavez** B. Value Clarification materials from Raymond Weyhenmeyer 1. "Needs Auction" Activity. (See Unit III, 5I, found in Simon, Howe and Kirchenbaum: **Values Clarification**, Hart Publishing, 1972. 2. **Being Fair, Being Free**, ADL, $15.00. 20 individual lessons that help students to understand the nature of prejudice and how it conflicts with basic American values. • 3. Gabelko, Nina Hersch and Michaelis, John U. **Reducing Adolescent Prejudice** - "Helga's Dilemma". A Handbook. Teachers College Press, 1981, S.S.S.S.. Varied activity book, Chapters 1 & 7. a. Ibid pp. 150-153 • b. Furman Harry. **Anthology**, p. 27 - "Word Game"

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	4. a. Students will view **The Eye of the Storm**, which analyzes the effects of prejudice as it developed in a normal classroom. b Students will view **A Class Divided** which does a follow-up on **The Eye of the Storm**. 5. Students will view the video **Names Can Really Hurt Us** and articulate the damage name calling creates. 6. Students will discuss the role that the media play in stereotyping racial groups. Students will choose one of the following: a. create a collage b. prepare a scrapbook c. prepare a log 7. Students will read excerpts from **Biography of a First Son** "Guinea"	4. Videos: a. **Eye of the Storm,** 25 Min., ADL or S.S.S.S.. Blue/Brown eye experiment. b. **A Class Divided**. S.S.S.S. 5. Video: **Names Can Really Hurt**, ADL, 24 Min. Teenagers from ethnically and racially diverse neighborhoods talk about painful experiences. 6. Use contemporary sources, magazines, newspaper articles. • 7. Marciano, Rocky: "Rock, He Called me a Guinea", Everett M.J. Kehan, Houghton and Mifflin Co., 1977
2. Students will define and examine the contemporary examples of prejudice, scapegoating, bigotry, discrimination and genocide.	A. Students will research and report on contemporary examples. Suggested topics could include: • LA. riots • Crown Heights • Eastern Europe • South Africa • Native Americans of Central and South • Americas Rain Forests • Korean - Black Communities conflict • Terrorist activities - U.S./Worldwide • Bias Crimes • Haitians • Cubans • Mexicans • Native Americans of North America • Muslims • Bosnia • Rwanda	A. Readers Guide to Periodical Literature • Infotrack • Prodigy • Library Research • Media - Newspapers, TV programs, News programs **See Videos:** (Following are a few examples) 1. **Love Hate Prejudice Peace,** WNET, Channel 13, PBS, Carole Martin, David Diaz, S.S.S.S. 2. **Racism 101** 57 Min. PBS Frontline, ADL 3. **Trilogy of Hate**, 75 Min., Bill Moyers, S.S.S.S. 4. **Hate Crimes,** Bergen County Prosecutors office 5. **The Shadow Between Friends,** ADL, Anglo Hispanic relations 6. **I'm Not Prejudiced** by ADL 7. **Prejudice**. 75 Min., ABC special, Peter Jennings, S.S.S.S. or from WABC. 8. See ADL, Video Catalogue (1-800-343-5540)

UNIT_II_ : An Introduction to a Study of the Holocaust and Genocide: Views of Prejudice and Genocide
UNIT GOAL : Students will understand that genocide is the consequence of prejudice and discrimination

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
3. Students will define and examine the history of Anti-Semitism from ancient times to 1933.	A. Students will read and discuss 1. "Religious and Racial Anti-Semitism" by Milton Meltzer 2. Students will analyze the stereotypes about Jews a. International plot to take over the world b. Shrewd businessmen c. Chosen People concept d. Christ killers e. Control Wall street and banking f. Rich and ostentatious g. Communists h. Control Media and Congress 3. Students will discuss the concept - Social Darwinism - Race theory 4. Students will view video **Of Pure Blood** 5. Students will discuss the issues of Eugenics and Racism B. Students will read **The Princess Tale** by Geoffrey Chaucer and discuss the concept of blood libel. 1. Students will see the video **The Fixer**. Film about blood libel in Russia based on Beiliss Case of 1912. 2. Students will read scenes from **The Merchant of Venice**, W. Shakespeare, which deals with Anti-Semitism. 3. Students will compare and contrast Chaucer, Shakespeare and Marlowe's views on Anti-Semitism. 4. Students will view the film **The Longest Hatred** which examines Jewish-Christian relationships over the past 2,000 years. Note: In the 12th Century, Jews were banished from England by decree. William Shakespeare never met a Jew but in his play **The Merchant of Venice** there is a key character who is Jewish. See Act III, Scene I and Act IV - Court scenes.	A. • 1. Furman, Harry. **Anthology - Religion and Racial Anti-Semitism**, pp. 33 -35. • 2. Tillem, Ivan ed., **The Things They Say Behind Your Back**, Jewish Directory and Almanac, 1984, pp. 129-134. 3. Sunburst filmstrip **The Race Myth** 4. Video: **Of Pure Blood**, MPI Video, 15825 Rotary Dr., Oak Forest, IL, 60452 (1-800-323-0442) 5. At the library look up Reader's Guide Eugenics Genetic Engineering & Racism See Social Issues B. Chaucer, Geoffrey. **The Canterbury Tales** - "The Princess Tale" 1. Video - **The Fixer**, Ergo films. Also read book **The Fixer** by Bernard Malamud. 2. Nelson, William Allen and Jarvis, Charles Hill. **Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare**, Houghton and Mifflin, 1942, pp. 56-76. 3. Marlowe, Christopher. **Jew of Malta** 4. Video: **The Longest Hatred** S.S.S.S. (1-800-421-4246). **Part I** - uses images from art, vintage clips, madness or hatred. Covers Middle Ages, Reformation up to 3rd Reich , resurgence in Austria, Poland and Russia. **Part II** - concerns itself with the Islamic world - **Due to racist content and depth of film recommended for advanced students,** 150 Min., 2 cassettes. Preview before using.

UNIT_II : An Introduction to a Study of the Holocaust and Genocide: Views of Prejudice and Genocide
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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
3.	5. Students will create a timeline depicting the major events of Anti-Semitism, i.e. Blood libels, Crusades, Black Plague, Martin Luther, Protocols of Elders of Zion, Dreyfus Case, Doctors Plot (Russia). 6. Students will review and analyze **The Canonical Law and Nazi Anti-Jewish Measure** by Raoul Hilberg. 7. Students will review the following reading: **About the Jew** by Adolf Hitler 8. Research anti-Semitism in America. a. What were Henry Ford;s anti-Semitic theories in the 1920's which were articulated in his book, **The International Jew**. b. What was the focus of Father Charles E. Coughlin, a Detroit priest who spoke weekly in 1938-1939 on a radio program. c. Learn about the fundamentalist preacher, **Gerald L. K. Smith.** d. Research the myths of Chrisitan anti-Semitism. e. Review the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, the America First Party, and the isolationist ideas of Charles Lindbergh.	5. Jack Daw Kit, $27.95, all source materials major events of anti-Semitism, S.S.S.S. • Poliakov, Leon. **The History of Anti-Semitism,** Schocken Books, NY, 1974, pp. 226 - 226. • 6. Hilberg, Raoul. **Destruction of European Jews** "Pre-Nazi, Anti-Jewish Measure", pp. 86-87. • 7. Chartok, Rosell and Spencer, Jack. **The Holocaust Years: Society on Trial**, Bantam Books, 1978, pp. 130. Pre-Nazi Anti-Jewish measures. 8. Use the following major Holocaust Books as references. – Wyman, David S. **The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust, 1941-1945. NY:** Pantheon Books, 1984. – Wyman, David. **Paper Walls: America and the Refugee Crisis, 1938-1968.** – Gilbert, Martin. **Auschwitz and the Allies,** NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981. – Laquer, Walter. **The Terrible Secret: Suppression of the Truth About Hitler's Final Solution.** Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1980. – Dawidowicz, Lucy. **The War Against the Jews.** NY: Holt, Rinerhart and Winston, 1975. – Marrus, Michael. **The Holocaust In History.** – Hay, Malcolm. **The Roots of Christian Anti-Semitism.** NY: Anti-Defamation League, 1981. – Morse, Arthur D. **While Six Million Died: A Chronicle of American Apathy.** NY: Ace Publishing, 1968. – Wechsler, James, **Coughlin Terror**, The Nation, July 22, 1939, pp. 92-97. – See Video - **The American Experience "America and the Holocaust: Deceit and Indifference"**, 90 Min.. Order vidoe from (1-800-255-9424) $19.95 +S.H.

5. Students will investigate current extremist groups and examine whether advanced education/culture reduce the potential for genocide.	A. Students will research material, analyze information on the beliefs of the **Ku Klux Klan**. Presentation should include: 1. Klan beliefs 2. Klan strength in United States **Presentation can be done:** **in small groups** **cooperative learning** **oral reports** **computerized data base - charts/graphics** **mock interviews.** B. Students will select and study Extremist Groups in the United States. C. Students will identify whether or not an extremist group is dangerous or just a nuisance D. Students will write about Skinheads potential for Hate/Genocide 1. USA - strength 2. Germany/Europe strength 3. Home organized tools of hate groups	A. 1. Library Research a. Readers Guide to Periodical Literature b. Infotrac c. Prodigy 2. Contact **Klan Watch** - Southern Poverty Law Center, Montgomery, Alabama and their excellent free magazine for current materials. • B. Contact ADL Speakers Bureau • current status report **Curriculum for "Extremist Groups"** in U.S. • Bulletin Bias Crimes C. Contact Bias Crime and Community Relations Units, New Jersey Attorney General's office for information, speakers, Task Force update D. **The Grid for an Early Warning System.** **Shaved for Battle** Skins Target America's Youth, ADL, 1987
	E. Research and debate role of rap music/rap videos - hateful lyrics; First Amendment Freedoms. 1. Variety of activities including research, essays, debates, interviews, panel discussions can be used.	E. **Hip To Hate** hateful lyrics in Rap and Rock, 1992, ADL Use current information, newspapers, magazines, TV programs, songs, music.

UNIT II

You've Got to be Carefully Taught - 12 min.
16mm film based on the song from South Pacific that deals with prejudice. Designed as discussion simulation.

ADL
1-800-343-5540
Rental $45.00

Eye of the Storm - 25 min.
Analyses the effects of prejudice as it developed in a normal healthy classroom in Rice, Iowa. Blue-eyed brown-eyed experiment.

ADL
1-800-343-5540
$104.00

A Class Divided - 60 min.
Follow up to Eye of the Storm. The 3rd grade has grown up and their teacher does a follow up. 20 years later. To see what they have learned about prejudice.

Social Studies School Service
1-800-421-4246
$200.00

Prejudice - 75 min.
ABC Special with Peter Jennings who examines the effects of prejudice and hatred. One scene takes place in the mall at Short Hills, N.J. That really hits home with students.

Social Studies School Service
1-800-421-4246
$19.95 + Shipping and Handling

For additional films and catalogues on this topic, contact:

ADL
1-800-343-5540
Social Studies School Service
1-800-421-4246.

Reading #1

Unit 2

OUR HUMAN RIGHTS

I have a right to be happy and to be
treated with compassion in this room:
This means that no one
will laugh at me or
hurt my feelings.

I have a right to be myself in this room:
This means that no one will
treat me unfairly because
of my skin color,
fat or thin,
tall or short,
boy or girl,
or by the way I look.

I have a right to be safe in this room:
This means that no one will
hit me,
kick me,
push me,
pinch me,
or hurt me.

I have a right to hear and be heard in this room:
This means that no one will
yell,
scream,
shout,
or make loud noises.

I have a right to learn about myself in this room:
This means that I will be
free to express my feelings
and opinions without being
interrupted or punished.

I have a right to learn according to my own ability:
This means no one will call
me names because of the way I learn.

Source: Cummings, M. (1974). Individual Differences,
An Experience in Human Relations for Children,
Madison, Wisconsin: Madison Public Schools.)

READING #1
Unit 2

Attitudes Toward Groups

We begin this unit by exploring your views about certain groups. Examine each statement very carefully. In the space to the left of each statement, print (SA) if you strongly agree; (A) if you agree; (D) if you disagree; or (SD) if you strongly disagree. Apply each statement to the various groups whose initials are found at the top of the columns to the left: "I" stands for Italians; "W," White Anglo-Saxon Protestants; "J," Jews; "B," Blacks; and "P," Puerto Ricans.

Another way to do this activity within a classroom is to divide into groups of five. Each group should, after extensive discussion, come to a consensus about these ethnic and racial groups. This activity has been adapted from *The Racist Reader* by Gary McCuen.

I — W — J — B — P

1. Have many irritating habits and manners.
2. Are usually very well dressed.
3. Have superior athletic ability.
4. Will seek to exploit others.
5. Must be dealt with forcefully since democratic procedures will never make them behave properly.
6. Tend to keep to themselves and are suspicious of others.
7. Usually meddle too much and interfere with other people's business.
8. Are generally tolerant of other people.
9. Often lack initiative and dependability.
10. Are extremely ambitious, capable, and intelligent.
11. Are often lazy and ignorant.
12. Are morally superior to others.
13. Often discriminate against others.
14. Usually become wealthy by manipulating and cheating unsuspecting people.
15. Are satisfied with their lot and are fair in their dealings with others.
16. Are never satisfied and are always seeking more money and power.
17. Usually try to exert control and influence over others.
18. Are the ones behind the Communist menace in the United States.
19. Have money and power out of all proportion to their numbers.
20. Are mostly patriotic individuals who would stand up for the U.S. above all others.
21. Are largely responsible for the increase of crime and lawlessness in the U.S.
22. Put more emphasis on material than spiritual values.
23. Are fair with each other but ruthless in their dealings with other people.
24. Will probably succeed in education.
25. Prove to be as trustworthy as other people.
26. Control most of our powerful economic and political institutions.
27. Should be allowed to intermarry with any group.
28. Are the most likely to be aggressive and start fights.
29. Are almost always courteous and friendly.
30. Practice strange customs.
31. Lack imagination.
32. Are cunning and proud.
33. Will often display compassion for people in trouble.
34. Are often too emotional.

Questions for Discussion

1. Did you find any differences in your attitudes toward the various groups you examined? How do you explain these differences?
2. Substitute other ethnic, religious and racial groups for those listed above—i.e:. Poles, Vietnamese, Mexicans, Germans, Catholics, Jehovah's Witnesses. What differences do you find in your attitudes? Why?

SELF DEFINITION

LESSON USE: ANYWHERE THE TOPIC IS CONCERNED WITH HUMAN RELATIONS

SOCIOLOGY
PSYCHOLOGY
HUMAN AWARENESS
U.S. HISTORY

OBJECTIVE: THE STUDENT WILL BE ABLE TO ANALYZE THE REASONS FOR BIAS BY INVESTIGATING HIS OWN IDENTITY.

LESSON RATIONALE: THE STUDENT WILL DISCOVER THAT SOCIAL CONFLICT IS THE RESULT OF COMPETING GROUPS THAT HAVE IDENTITIES IN COMMON AND FEEL THAT OTHERS WILL GET SOMETHING IN THE SOCIETY THAT WILL BE DENIED TO THEM.

LENGTH: 2 CLASS PERIODS

CONTENT:

1. HAVE THE STUDENTS COMPLETE THE DIAGRAM THAT IS DIVIDED INTO 4 QUADRANTS.

2. THE STUDENTS MAY NEED EXPLANATION OF EACH QUADRANT.

3. QUADRANTS THREE AND FOUR ARE THE CRUX OF THE LESSON. HOW FAR WILL YOU GO TO DEFEND THE ISSUES YOU THINK ARE IMPORTANT. HEREIN LIES THE ESSENCE OF CONFLICT BASED ON BIAS.

4. DEBRIEF THE LESSON BY APPROPRIATE DISCUSSION.

INTENDED OUTCOMES:

1. THE STUDENT SHOULD RECOGNIZE THE POTENTIAL FOR BIAS IN HIMSELF.

2. THE STUDENT SHOULD RECOGNIZE THAT COMPETING INDIVIDUALS AND VALUE SYSTEMS LEAD TO PREJUDICE.

3. THE STUDENT WILL DISCOVER THAT THE BEST WAY TO RESOLVE SOCIAL CONFLICT IS BY NEGOTIATION RATHER THAN VIOLENCE. WHICH WILL PRODUCE THE DEFEND VALUE IN THE FOURTH QUADRANT.

SELF DEFINITION
ONE WORD DESCRIBERS LIST

THE IDEA IS TO USE AS MANY ONE WORD DESCRIBERS OF YOURSELF AS POSSIBLE. THINK OF THE CONCLUSION TO THIS STATEMENT I AM (A)
.....

THIS LIST CAN CONTAIN BUT NOT BE LIMITED TO: IF YOU CAN THINK OF OTHERS ADD THEM TO THE LIST.

STUDENT (SCHOOL)
MALE
FEMALE
ATHLETE (SPORT)
CHEERLEADER
ACTOR
OTHER EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITY
DAUGHTER
SON
FRIEND
SISTER
BROTHER
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
JOB
SOCIAL VOLUNTEER (FIRE, AMBULANCE, ETC)
BOYFRIEND
GIRLFRIEND
RACE (ASIAN, AFRICAN AMERICAN, CAUCASIAN)
ETHNICITY
NATIONAL ORIGIN
MOTHER
FATHER
GANG
SOCIAL GROUP (FRATERNITY, SORORITY)
PHYSICAL APPEARANCE (CUTE, THIN, TALL, SHORT)

SELF DEFINITION

ONE WORD DESCRIBERS	ARRANGED BY IMPORTANCE
WHY IT'S IMPORTANT TO ME	DEFEND VALUE 1-LOW 10-HIGH

p.16

A. DEFINITION OF PREJUDICE

PREJUDICE IS A FEELING DIRECTED AT ANOTHER PERSON OR GROUP BEFORE YOU GET TO KNOW THEM. THIS FEELING IS GENERALLY HOSTILE AND IS DIRECTED AT THAT PERSON OR GROUP BASED ON RACE, BELIEFS, OR PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS.

PREJUDICE IS PRESENT IN ALL CULTURES AND IT AFFECTS HOW THESE PEOPLE FEEL ABOUT EACH OTHER.

B. THE PURPOSE OF PREJUDICE

PREJUDICE IS CLOSELY RELATED TO:

1. THE NEED TO FEEL BETTER ABOUT YOURSELF.
2. TO PROTECT THE THINGS THAT YOU FEEL ARE IMPORTANT (YOUR BELIEF STRUCTURE).
3. THE NEED AND DESIRE TO UNDERSTAND THE YOUR WORLD BY ORGANIZING IT INTO YOUR WAY OF THINKING.

C. FEELING OF PREJUDICE ARE USEFUL TO THE PERSON WHO HAS IT.

1. HELPS US TO GAIN REWARDS AND TO AVOID GETTING HURT.
2. MAKES US FEEL BETTER ABOUT OURSELVES.
3. HELPS US TO GAIN ACCEPTANCE WITH THE PEOPLE WHO ARE IMPORTANT TO US. FRIENDS AND PARENTS.
4. HELPS OUR GROUP TO GET TIGHTER WITH OUR LEADERS BY BRINGING US TIGHTER TOGETHER. THE GANG AND THE GANG LEADER.

D. PREJUDICE PROTECTS THE WAY WE FEEL ABOUT OURSELF.

1. PREJUDICE HELPS US TO PROTECT OURSELF AND OTHERS.
2. PREJUDICE PROTECTS US FROM DEALING WITH OUR OWN FAILURES. IT GIVES US AN EXCUSE BY PUTTING BLAME ON OTHERS. (RATIONALIZATION)
3. PREJUDICE HELPS US TO JUSTIFY OUR JEALOUSY OF OTHERS BY THINKING OF THEM ONLY AS A GROUP. (STEREOTYPING)

E. THE PREJUDICED PERSON IS:

1. UNSURE ABOUT HIMSELF AND IS AFRAID (ON THE INSIDE). OUTSIDE HE MIGHT SHOW BEING TOUGH OR HARD.

2. ONE THAT LIKES TO BE THE BOSS OF THE GROUP AND HAVE THINGS HIS WAY.

3. ONE THAT DOES NOT WANT OTHERS TO ASSOCIATE WITH HIM OR HIS GROUP.

F. THE PREJUDICED PERSON THINKS:

1. THERE IS ONLY ONE WAY TO DO THINGS.

2. THAT TO SOLVE PROBLEMS WITH PEOPLE ALL THAT IS NEEDED IS MORE CONTROL OF THEM.

3. THAT SOMEONE IS ALWAYS OUT TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF YOU OR RIP YOU OFF.

G. SOURCES OF CONFLICT AMONG GROUPS:

1. A GROUP IS GETTING SOMETHING I AM NOT. JOBS, EDUCATION, HELP.

2. FEAR OF GROUP.

3. MUST DEFEND MY WAY (TURF).

4. I DON'T FEEL GOOD ABOUT MYSELF AND MUST PUT OTHERS DOWN.

H. FORMS OF PREJUDICE:

1. OPEN

   a. NAME CALLING, SPRAY PAINTING.

   b. THINGS THAT HAPPEN TO MAKE THE NEWS ON T.V. RIOTS, DEMONSTRATIONS.

2. HIDDEN (SNEAKY)

   a. SOMEONE'S FEELINGS BUT NEVER SAY IT.

   b. KEEPS A DISTANCE: THEY WANT ME ON THE SPORTS TEAM BUT WON'T INVITE ME TO THE PARTIES.

I. CATEGORIES OF PREJUDICE:

1. NAME CALLING.

2. AVOID BEING NEAR A GROUP.

3. DISCRIMINATE: A GROUP CAN'T DO OR HAVE SOMETHING.

4. VIOLENCE AGAINST A GROUP.

5. GET RID OF THAT GROUP (EXTERMINATE)

J. THE FEELING OF THE PERSON WHO IS TOLERANT (EASY GOING, COOL) OF OTHERS.

1. RESPECTS OTHERS FOR WHO THEY ARE NOT WHAT THEY ARE.

2. LIKES PEOPLE AND FEELS GOOD ABOUT THEM.

3. LIKES MANY THINGS IN LIFE.

4. THINKS OTHER GROUPS AND PEOPLE ARE INTERESTING, FUN, AND EXCITING. HE TRIES THEIR FOOD. TRIES TO LEARN ABOUT THEM AND THE WAY THEY DO THINGS AND WHY THEY DO THEM THAT WAY.

5. DOES NOT JUDGE PEOPLE WITH OUT FINDING SOMETHING OUT ABOUT THEM. LIKES TRYING TO MEET THEM PERSONALLY BEFORE MAKING THAT JUDGEMENT.

I Ain't Sleepin' Nexta No Nigger!

Sammy Davis, Jr.

In this selection taken from his autobiography, Sammy Davis, Jr. recalls his experience in army basic training. Blacks have historically been subject to a special kind of prejudice in this country. Of special interest in this story are not only the actions of Davis and his tormentors but also the attitude of the majority who were not directly involved.

He was sitting on the steps of a barracks, sewing an emblem onto a shirt. I walked over to him. "Excuse me, buddy. I'm a little lost. Can you tell me where 202 is?"

The soldier jerked his head, indicating around the corner. "Two buildings over, and I'm not your buddy, you black bastard!" He turned back to his sewing.

The corporal standing outside 202 checked my name against a list on a clipboard. "Yeah—well, you better wait over there awhile 'til we figure out what to do with you."

I was at the Infantry's Basic Training Center at Fort Francis E. Warren in Cheyenne, Wyoming.

I sat on the steps where he'd pointed. Other guys were showing up and he checked them off his list and told them, "Go inside and take the first bunk you see." I looked away for a moment and heard him saying, "Sit over there with Davis."

A tall, powerfully built guy dropped his gear alongside mine. "My name's Edward Robbins." We shook hands and he sat down next to me. One by one, men were arriving and being sent inside. They kept on coming but no one else was told to wait with us. Then, finally, there was no point in hoping against the obvious. It was clear that we were the only ones being held outside while all the white guys were going right in.

The corporal went inside. We were sitting in front of a screen door so even though he lowered his voice I could hear every word he was saying. ". . . look, we got a problem. Those niggers out there are assigned to this company. I'm gonna stick 'em down there. You two guys move your gear so I can give 'em those last two bunks." . . .

There was the sound of iron beds sliding across the wooden floor. The corporal beckoned from the doorway. "Okay, c'mon in and I'll assign you your bunks. Let's go," he snapped, "on the double." We picked up our gear and followed him through the door. I felt like a disease he was bringing in.

There were rows of cots on both sides with an aisle down the center. The guys were standing in groups. They'd stopped talking. I looked straight ahead. I could feel them staring as we followed the corporal down the aisle. He pointed to the last two cots on one side. "These are yours. Now, we don't want no trouble with you. Keep your noses clean, do as you're told, and we'll get along." He walked away.

I looked around the barracks. The bed nearest to ours was empty. All the cots were about two feet apart from each other except ours, which was separated from the rest by about six feet—like we were on an island.

A few of the men sort of smiled and half-waved hello. Some wouldn't look over at us. The nearest, a tall husky guy who must have been a laborer or an athlete, kept his back turned.

A sergeant came in and from the center of the barracks announced, "I'm Sergeant Williams. I'm in charge of this company and I. . . ." His glance fell on the space between the two beds. He turned to the corporal. "What the hell is that?"

The corporal quietly explained how he'd handled things. Sergeant Williams listened, then spoke sharply: "There is only one way we do things here and that's the Army way! There will be exactly three feet of space, to the inch, between every bed in this barracks. You have sixty seconds to replace the beds as you found them. *Move!*"

He came over to me. "What's your name, soldier?"

"Sammy Davis, Jr."

"Of all the men in this barracks did you arrive first or tenth or last or what?"

"About in the middle."

"Did you choose this bunk?"

"Well, no I was told. . . ."

He looked around. By this time the barracks had been re-arranged. "All right, Davis. Move your gear one bunk over." He turned to Edward. "You do the same."

He addressed us all. "No man here is better than the next man unless he's got the rank to prove it."

I sat on the end of my bunk, the shock gone, immense anger growing within me until my legs were shaking and it was impossible for me to keep them still. I couldn't give them the satisfaction of seeing how they'd gotten to me. I saw one of the other guys polishing his boots. That was a good idea. . . . I took off my watch and laid it carefully

on the bed. . . . Jennings [the white soldier in the bunk next to Davis] flopped onto his bunk. He sat up, reached over, and took my watch off my bed. "Say, this ain't a half-bad watch." He looked at me suspiciously.

"Put it back."

"Hold on, now. My, but you're an uppity one." He stood up. "Hey Philips . . . catch!" He tossed the watch across the barracks. I ran to get it back, but just as I reached Philips he lobbed it over my head to another guy who threw it back to Jennings. I ran after it, knowing how ridiculous I looked getting there just as Jennings threw it over my head again, that I shouldn't chase after it, that I was only encouraging them, but I was afraid they'd drop it and I couldn't stop myself.

"Atten*shun!*" Every head in the barracks snapped toward the door. Sergeant Williams walked straight to Jennings. "What've you got there?"

Jennings opened his hand and showed him my watch.

"Whose is it?"

Jennings shrugged.

"It's mine."

Sergeant Williams brought it to me. Jennings grinned. "Heck, we were just kiddin' around. I was only showing the watch to them."

"You're a wise guy, Jennings. In the army we respect another guy's property. You just drew K.P. for a week." He left the barracks.

Jennings looked at me with more hatred than I had ever seen in a man's face. "You just wait. I'll fix you for this, black boy."

Questions for Discussion

1. In what ways was prejudice expressed in the barracks?

2. How would you explain the actions of a man like Jennings? How do you explain the sergeant's actions?

3. What do you think about the reaction of the men in the barracks? What would you have done? How should a person respond to an act of prejudice?

4. How do you feel about the reaction of Sammy Davis, Jr.? How would you respond to those who would call Davis and his friends cowards?

The Prejudice Book Activities for the Classroom. by David A. Shiman

Activity: **Prejudice and Dislike**

Goal: To help students distinguish between a prejudice against a group and a dislike of an individual.

Materials: None

Procedure: First discuss term "dislike" and "prejudice" with the class. Then ask two students to read the dialogues below. For each of the dialogues below, as the students if the attitude displayed is a prejudice or a dislike. The students should be encouraged to explain the difference between the two terms in their own words.

DIALOGUE #1

Mary: I don't like that Bobby Lewis.
Josh: Why?
Mary: He's always teasing people.
Josh: How do you mean?
Mary: Oh, you know. He calls Carol "dummy" and laughs when she makes mistakes in class.
Josh: Well, she's not very smart.
Mary: That's not the point. He's just mean. And he calls me "skinny" every time he sees me.
Josh: Oh, Bobby doesn't mean any harm. He's just trying to be friendly.
Mary: I don't care. I still can't stand him.

DIALOGUE #2

John: Did you know that those new boys David and Paul Rosen are Jewish?
Ann: Yeah, what about it?
John: Well, I hope they don't try to run everything.
Ann: What do you mean?

John: Oh, you know what I mean. Jews always want to be class officers. They always want to be president of the school clubs.

Ann: But Carol Brown is Jewish and she's not bossy.

John: There are always some exceptions. You watch, those Rosen boys will be just like all the others.

DIALOGUE #3

Bob: Did you hear that somebody broke into Tommy's home last night and stole his family's stereo and television?

Alice: Yeah, wasn't it terrible. I wonder who did it.

Bob: I can guess.

Alice: Really, who do you think?

Bob: Those black guys in the high school.

Alice: Why do you think they did it?

Bob: Well, my father told me that wherever there are black people there's always a lot of crime.

DIALOGUE #4

Carol: Have you heard the good news about that Puerto Rican girl Anna Ruiz?

Larry: No, what about her?

Carol: I just learned that she's moving away at the end of the school year.

Larry: Don't you like Puerto Ricans?

Carol: It's not that. She's always picking fights with me.

Larry: I didn't know that.

Carol: Yeah, she's just like all the other Puerto Ricans. You know, always fighting and pushing.

(This dialogue is a bit more complex, involving both a dislike and a prejudice. The students might need help in sorting these out.)

PERSONAL CONTACT INVENTORY

SOURCE: SHIMAN, DAVID, A. THE PREJUDICE BOOK PPS.53-54

THINK BACK OVER YOUR LIFE AND THE AMOUNT OF CONTACT YOU HAVE HAD WITH THE GROUPS LISTED BELOW. RESPOND WITH O FOR OFTEN, N FOR NEVER, AND S FOR SOMETIMES. PUT YOUR RESPONSES ON THE SHEET PROVIDED. ANSWER THE QUESTIONS ON THE BACK OF THE RESPONSE SHEET.

1. SEE IN YOUR TOWN
2. SEE ON TV SHOWS
3. SEE ON TV NEWS PROGRAMS
4. SEE IN MOVIES
5. HEAR PARENTS TALK ABOUT
6. HEAR OTHER ADULTS TALK ABOUT
7. HEAR OTHER STUDENTS TALK ABOUT
8. HEAR CLERGYMEN TALK ABOUT
9. READ ABOUT IN NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES
10. READ STORIES ABOUT
11. STUDY ABOUT IN SCHOOL
12. ATTEND SCHOOL WITH
13. HAVE AS CLASSMATES
14. HAVE AS TEACHERS
15. BUY THINGS FROM
16. HAVE AS MEMBERS MY CHURCH OR TEMPLE GROUP
17. BELONG TO CLUB OR OUTSIDE SCHOOL GROUP
18. BE AT PARTIES WITH
19. PLAY WITH AFTER SCHOOL
20. LIVE NEAR
21. TALK WITH

CAREFULLY TAUGHT

You've got to be taught to hate and fear
You've got to be taught from year to year
It's got to be drummed in your dear little ear
You've got to be carefully taught
You've got to be carefully taught

You've got to be taught to be afraid
Of people whose eyes are ugly made
And people whose skin is a different shade
You've got to be carefully taught

You've got to be taught
Before it's too late
Before you are six or seven or eight
To hate all the people your relatives hate
You've got to be carefully taught
You've got to be carefully taught

from the musical South Pacific

Ecidujerp, Prejudice

Irene Gersten and Betsy Bliss

Prejudice is an attitude, a rigid emotional response toward all members of a particular group or social category. It is generally an unfavorable opinion formed before the facts are known, which results in hatred or intolerance.

In this selection, authors Irene Gersten and Betsy Bliss explain the meaning of prejudice. Careful attention is given to distinguishing the differences that exist between various types of prejudice. As indicated by the authors, prejudice can be motivated by, among other reasons, economic interest, conforming to group expectations, and/or the difficulty people have in accepting their own weaknesses.

Prejudice can be expressed in a variety of ways such as antilocution (bad-mouthing), avoidance, discrimination, physical attack, and genocide. As the worst expression of hate, genocide represents the systematic murder of an entire people because they belong to a specific nation, race, or religion.

Prejudice and Ignorance

Suppose that you had never met an old person. Suppose that your friends told you that "all old people are crazy." Would you believe them? You might—if you had never known an old person. That is what happens when we insist on knowing only people just like ourselves.

This kind of prejudice is really *ignorant*—prejudice due to not knowing better. It is expressed by many people who keep themselves separate and do not mix with other groups.

Ignorant prejudice was what those white residents felt when the black families began to move into their neighborhood. But when they were actually living next door to one another, they started to look at their black neighbors as individuals and to see that they were not noisy or troublemakers, but were honest, warm, hardworking people, very much like themselves.

Real Prejudice

It is important to remember that there is a difference between ignorance and prejudice. Ignorance means forming opinion without really knowing the facts. The prejudice that often results from ignorance does not necessarily mean hateful feelings.

Real prejudice, on the other hand, occurs when we choose to keep bad opinions even when we have a chance to know better. Prejudice occurs when a person refuses to change his mind—even when the facts show him that he is wrong.

Mark is an example of a person with real prejudice.

When Mark was young, all of his friends and classmates told him that all black people were "lazy" and "dirty," Mark took their word for it.

He believed them because he had never seen a person with dark skin. There were no black people in his school, his neighborhood, or his Boy Scout troop. When he went to the movies, he hardly ever saw black people in films. Those that he did see were shown as "lazy" and "dirty." The same was true on television. Mark was a very protected

person who had little touch with the world outside of his own group.

As Mark grew older and left his neighborhood, he began to see some people with dark skin. But they seemed so different from him. They looked different. They dressed differently and they even talked differently. Mark stayed away from them because they were strange and he was afraid of them. Mark covered his fear by saying that "they" were "dirty" and "lazy."

When Mark entered high school, he met Jeff, who was black. Jeff was in most of his classes and Mark was forced to see that Jeff was neat, well-dressed, and very hardworking. But Mark refused to change his bad opinions of all dark-skinned people. Even though he knew Jeff to be much like himself, his prejudice would not allow him to see Jeff as a complete individual. Mark could not see beyond Jeff's dark skin. He said to himself, "Jeff is different from other blacks. It is still true that all those people are 'dirty and "lazy.' " Mark simply could not see that "all those people" are individuals just like Jeff.

Prejudice and Profit

Why do Mark and people like him refuse to give up their prejudices even when the facts show them to be wrong? Why do people prejudge others in the first place? Why has man, for as long as we can remember, been cruel to his fellow man? Why is prejudice as much a problem today as it was four hundred years ago?

To answer these questions isn't easy. Mostly, we act in a prejudiced manner because we expect to gain something.

Each individual is a complex being, with many different needs, desires, and goals. And though people are guilty of prejudice because they believe they will gain something, what it is that they want to gain is different in almost every case. . . .

Conforming Prejudice

A very common type of prejudice comes from our need to have the same values as the group to which we belong. We tend to feel safe within our own group. It makes us feel important. To know we will be accepted by that group, we adopt the group's thinking. When the group thinking is prejudiced, we often accept this thinking because we are afraid to go against the group.

A college student recently wrote about an example of this kind of prejudice. It occurred on his first day of high school. He had been talking with a boy of his own age when one of the older students came over to him and said, "Don't you know that Harry is a Jew?" He had never before met a Jew and really didn't care whether or not Harry, whom he had started to like, was a Jew. But he admitted that the tone of the older boy's voice was enough to convince him that he had better not make Harry his friend.

When we act in this way, we are clearly in the wrong. There is nothing wrong in wanting to belong to a certain group because we want to feel a part of something. We all need friends and want to feel safe and needed. But there is something terribly wrong when we become a part of the group and are no longer an individual. By giving up what is special in each of us, we can no longer act or think on our own. We become a group body. We are afraid to make a step on our own two feet. We act in a prejudiced way not because we believe the others are not as good as we are, but because we are afraid of being "different" and of having opinions different from those of our friends, classmates, and family.

Scapegoating

There is one kind of prejudice that occurs when we want to go along with the opinions of our friends. There is a more dangerous kind of prejudice that stems from feeling unsure about ourselves and from the questions we have about our own worth as individuals. It is called scapegoating.

It is part of human nature for people to compare themselves with one another. It is part of our society for individuals to compete with one another for money and personal rewards. Often our feeling of being not as good, as attractive, as wealthy, as skilled, or as successful as others makes us need to blame someone else for our own shortcomings.

It is difficult for people to accept their own weaknesses. It is much easier to blame our problems on others. When we look down on someone else, we seem so much taller.

The word "scapegoating" comes from Biblical times. Then a scapegoat was let loose in the wilderness after the high priest had placed the sins of the people on its head. All of the failures, the shortcomings, and the shameful things that the people were guilty of were put onto the goat. Sending the goat out into the woods was the people's way of separating themselves from their guilt. They were no longer responsible for their own actions. Today we use the word scapegoat to describe a person or a group of people who are blamed unfairly.

Scapegoating is in many ways like labeling. Both are lazy ways of thinking. Both can prevent a person from seeing himself as he really is. When we put people into groups, we hide ourselves or other people behind name tags. We see only a part of what people really are, not the whole picture.

Our world is full of people like Mr. Jones.

Mr. Jones is very upset about what is happening in this country. Mr. Jones says, "The reason

we have riots is that there are outsiders in this country." He adds, "If we could only get rid of the outsiders, everything would be fine."

Riots, like most problems, have many causes. Solutions are hard to find and Mr. Jones doesn't want to bother to find out what all of the causes are. It is much easier to find someone to blame, to find a scapegoat. For Mr. Jones, "outsiders" are handy scapegoats.

It is usually easy to recognize the Mr. Joneses of the world. They are the people who can say, "If only we didn't have so-and-so, everything would be okay." These persons will find one enemy to explain everything that is wrong. "If only we didn't have Jews—" or "If only we didn't have hippies—."

But nothing is that simple.

Prejudiced people who scapegoat say the same things about all groups that are different from their own. No matter who the prejudiced person is blaming, that "enemy" is "lazy" and "dirty" and "dangerous." The prejudiced person warns everyone against "marrying those people" or "getting close to those people" or "believing anything those people say." You can substitute almost any kind of human being for "those people," but the prejudiced person's remark and warnings will be the same.

That is because the scapegoater does not hate any one person in particular. He hates a "group that is different," and his hatred covers all the members of that group.

Defending Prejudice

When people say the kinds of things that Mark, for example, said about Jeff, they do not always know that they are guilty of prejudice. Most prejudiced people try to hide their true fears from themselves as well as from others. These people feel good only when they believe that there are others who are not quite as good as they are.

Practically nobody will admit to being prejudiced. Practically everybody agrees that prejudice is cruel and ugly. That is why people have been forced to defend their prejudice. And that is why their defenses have been pretty strange!

In the nineteenth century, for example, many people tried to use a religious excuse to cover their prejudice. They said that slavery was a way of introducing the Christian religion to the Africans, who had their own, different religion. It was obvious to the majority of people that this was not a very good excuse, and so many people tried to find a better one. These people turned to the idea that some people were born better than others—smarter, nicer-looking, with better manners, and more honest.

Today we know that this is completely untrue. Today we know that, any way you look at it, there is no excuse good enough to defend prejudice.

Questions for Discussion

1. How might a person go through life learning prejudice?
2. Why is real prejudice harder to deal with than ignorant prejudice?
3. Some people hold that prejudice is an essential element of maintaining self-esteem. Others, like Professor Gordon Allport, have argued that prejudice may be the result of deprivation and frustration which create hostile impulses that are then displaced upon a logically irrelevant victim. Based upon this article, how do you react to these ideas?

Definitions

real prejudice—keeping one's prejudice even after the facts are known.
scapegoating—placing undeserving blame on a person or group.

REDUCING ADOLESCENT PREJUDICE

A HANDBOOK

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HELGA'S DILEMMA*

Handout 34

Helga and Rachel had grown up together. They were best friends despite the fact that Helga's family was Christian and Rachel's was Jewish. For many years, this religious difference didn't seem to matter much in Germany, but after Hitler seized power, the situation changed. Hitler required Jews to wear armbands with the Star of David on them. He began to encourage his followers to destroy the property of Jewish people and to beat them up on the street. Finally, he began to arrest Jews and deport them. Rumors went around the city that many Jews were being killed. Hiding Jews for whom the Gestapo (Hitler's secret police) was looking for was a serious crime and violated the law of the German government.

One night Helga heard a knock at the door. When she opened it, she found Rachel on the step huddled in a dark coat. Quickly, Rachel stepped inside. She had been at a meeting, she said, and when she returned home, she found Gestapo members all around her house. Her parents and brothers had already been taken away. Knowing her fate if the Gestapo caught her, Rachel ran to her old friend's house.

Now what should Helga do? If she turned Rachel away, the Gestapo would eventually find her. Helga knew that most of the Jews who were sent away had been killed, and she didn't want her friend to share their fate. But hiding the Jews broke the law. Helga would risk her own security and that of her family if she tried to hide Rachel. But she had a tiny room behind the chimney on the third floor where Rachel might be safe.

Question: Should Helga hide Rachel? Yes_____ No_____ Why or why not?

To be answered by all:
What are Helga's most important considerations?

(continued on next page)

*"Helga's Dilemma" is taken from Superka et al., *Values Education Sourcebook*, Social Science Education Consortium: 1976. pp. 34–35. Used by permission of the publisher.

To be answered by those who answered yes:
What if Helga only knew Rachel slightly?

To be answered by those who answered no:
What if Helga knew that Rachel could pay an enormous amount of money to the person who would hide her?

The following questions are to be answered by all:
Does Helga have any alternatives to either hiding Rachel or not hiding Rachel? What are they?

Does Rachel have the right to place her friend into jeopardy? Why or why not?

Does Helga have the right to refuse to help a friend who is in danger? Why or why not?



Major Understandings

Moral decisions sometimes do not offer easy choices. Sometimes the individual does not even have a clear idea of what is right or wrong in the particular situation. It is then that moral reasoning becomes most important. The *whys* which underly choice, and each behavior, need to be examined.

Instructional Objectives

To list the reasons why Helga should act in a given way
To list the reasons which might affect a decision
To state the consequences of any alternatives open to Helga
To state feelings, if any, about the reciprocal nature of friendship
To list the priorities to be established before making a moral decision

Teaching Strategy

PROCESS	QUESTIONS AND ACTIVITIES	CONCEPTS
	Introduction Before passing out the reading "Helga's Dilemma," introduce the dilemma by stating: At different times in our lives, each of us has to make difficult decisions. Sometimes it seems that we have to choose from two equally unpleasant choices. Sometimes we have to decide if there are some things that are more important to us than our personal safety. Before making choices such as these, we must examine very closely what we believe in, what we value. We are going to examine one such situation.	
	Development Distribute Handout 34; read the dilemma aloud while the students follow along on their sheets.	
Interpreting	Ask the students to state the issue in their own words. Then ask the students: How many vote yes? How many vote no? What are the reasons for your decision? Divide the class into groups for discussion. The groups can either be comprised of those who voted yes, or no, but for different reasons; or they can be comprised of a balance of yes and no voters. State the following to the students. In your groups, please discuss the questions on your dilemma sheet. Please select one person in the group to take notes so that you will be able to share your thoughts and conclusions with the whole class. Note: The teacher should move from group to group to assist the students in staying	Moral reasoning

PROCESS | QUESTIONS AND ACTIVITIES | CONCEPTS

with the reasoning involved in the dilemma.

Conclusion

The class should meet again as a group to share the outcomes of their small group meetings. The emphasis in the class discussion should be on the reasoning employed in coming to the various conclusions.

Evaluation

1. Review your answers to the questions following Helga's dilemma. Some students state that self-protection is the most important value involved, others state that loyalty to friends comes first, and others feel that a belief in justice was the most important value. What was the value that was the basis of your answer?

2. If you were Helga, would this still be the governing value?

   If you were Rachel, would this still be the governing value?

3. What would happen if everyone behaved the way you suggest that Helga behave?

Additional Activities

1. Working with three or four other students, compile a list of real life situations that pose a moral dilemma. Select the four best ones. Have each member of the group write a short moral dilemma about the situation. Present the dilemma to your class.

2. Working with four or five students, have each student present and discuss "Helga's Dilemma" with two or three adults. Take notes on the discussion. Combine your data with that of the other team members. How were the responses of the adults like the responses of the students in your class? How were they different?

Teachers College Press
Teachers College, Columbia University
New York and London 1981

Word Game

Stephen Stills

In this song, Stephen Stills comments on the origins of prejudice and how it affects human behavior. The song expresses much anger and frustration at the hypocrisy and hate of people with prejudices. Yet, Stills ends with a defiant faith in the ability of young people to overcome the prejudices of their elders. But recent studies have concluded that young people today hold very deep prejudices about each other.

Would you knock a man down
If you don't like the cut of his clothes
Could you put a man away
If you don't want to hear what he knows
Well it's happening right here
People dying of fear by the droves
And I know most of you
Either don't believe it's true
Or else you don't know what to do
Or maybe I'm singing about you
Who knows

It's incredibly sick
You can feel it
As across the land it flows
Prejudice is slick
When it's a word game
It festers and grows
Move along quick
It furthers one to have somewhere to go
You can feel it as its rumblin'
Let emotions keep a tumblin'
Then as cities start to crumblin'
Mostly empty bellies grumblin'
Here we go

People see somebody different
Fear is the first reaction shown
Then they think they've got him licked
The barbaric hunt begins

It must be too tough to die
American propaganda, South African lies
Will not force me to take up arms
That's my enemy's pride
And I won't fight by his rules
That's foolishness besides

And they move in slow
A human spirit is devoured
The remains left to carrion crow
I was told that life is change
And yet history remains
Does it always stay the same
Do we shrug it off and say
Only God knows

By and by somebody usually goes
Down to the ghetto
Try and help but they don't know why
Folks treat them cold
And the rich keep getting richer
And the rest of us just keep getting old
You see one must have a mission
In order to be a good Christian
If you don't you will be missing
High Mass or the evening show

And the well-fed masters reap
The harvests of the polluted seeds they've sown
Smug and self-righteous
They bitch about people they owe
And you can't prove them wrong
They're so God damn sure they know
I have seen these things
With my very own eyes
And defended my battered soul

His ignorance is gonna do him in
And nobody's gonna cry
Because his children they are growing up
And plainly tired of putting up
With bigots and their silver cups
They're fed up, they might throw up on you

Questions for Discussion

1. How does fear relate to prejudice?
2. Is it possible to be a good Christian and still have prejudices?
3. Do you agree that young people will be less prejudiced than their elders? Why?

Definitions

carrion—dead and decaying flesh, unfit for food.
ghetto—a quarter of the city in which members of a minority live, originally restricted to Jews.

"Rock, He Called Me a Guinea"

Rocky and Eugene had walked to Flagg Pond to go ice skating. It was a place where many of Brockton's teenager went for winter fun.

"We were just kind of fooling around on the ice when we spotted this nice-looking Broad," Sylvester said. "We were just beginning to get slightly interested in girls, but The Rock was still real shy. I was the only one in our gang who could throw the girls a line."

"Euey, see if you can get her to talk to us," Rocky said.

Eugene skated up to the girl and began talking. "So I was wondering if you'd like to meet my friend Rocky," he was saying, so engrossed in the progress he was making with her that he didn't notice her boyfriend skate up and tower over him.

"Who's this?" he said, glaring down at Sylvester.

"Oh, this is Eugene," the girl said. "He's a baseball player."

"Screw, you dumb little guinea," the boy said.

"You and who else is gonna make me?"

They looked comical coming across the ice - skinny little Eugene skating for his life with the girl's enraged boyfriend racing after him.

"Rock, this guy's tryin' to beat me up, " Sylvester shouted. "He called me a dumb guinea."

Sylvester saw a fight that "lasted only a couple of minutes." As soon as Rocky heard of Eugene's insult, he charged in and began punching. Rocky connected with a looping right that split the skin above the startled boy's eye. The gash spurted blood onto Rocky's shirt as the boy sprawled over backward.

"It was a nasty cut that wouldn't stop bleeding, and they had to take this kid up to Brockton Hospital for stitches," Sylvester said. "I could tell Rocky was upset because the kid got hurt so bad and the blood got on his shirt. But The Rock didn't say anything. He was still plenty mad because this guy had called us 'dumb guineas.'"

"Rock, He Called Me a Guinea"

The Power of Words. At times, words can Strike with the power of a fist.

After reading passage, "Rock, he called me a guinea," from the book; Rocky Marciano, Biography of a First Son, discuss;

1) Why did the term 'Guinea' provoke such rage from the young future heavyweight boxing champion of the world?

* Used in this context, at a time when Italians were newcomers to out country, 'Guinea' was a great insult. It implied that Italians were ignorant foreigners, that they did not belong here, etc...

2) While it is never proper to use a term such as 'Guinea,' why has it lost much of the vicious strength it held in the early 1930's, when Rocky Marciano was a young teenager?

* When prejudice against Italians ceased to be a major problem, and acceptance of Italians became the norm, 'Guinea' became less of an insult, and more of a slang term.

3) In groups, have students list the Ethnic and racial terms used by our society today. Which terms are generally considered the most offensive and insulting? Why?

* Teacher may want to perform group exercise first, as a prelude for the above questions.

Religious and Racial Anti-Semitism

Milton Meltzer

The history of the Jewish people has been marked by both accomplishment and persecution. Jews have always grappled with the problem of how to maintain their identity while living in diverse larger cultures. There is much to learn in understanding why Jews have been the subject of so much historic prejudice.

Christian anti-Semitism, which is almost as old as Christianity, stems from the refusal of Jews to accept Jesus as the Messiah and from the accusation that the Jews killed Christ. In recent times, many Church bodies have stressed that guilt for the death of Jesus is to be borne by all humanity and that Jesus willingly gave his life. In addition, many Christian scholars such as Franklin Littell and Roy Eckardt have charged that the Gospels, especially the Book of John, helped to develop the idea that the Jews killed Christ. John wrote at a time of tension between Jewish and Christian communities, when the young Church wanted to improve its relations with the ruling Roman empire. By the fourth century, Judaism became an unacceptable faith in the expanding Christian world. By the nineteenth century, anti-Semitism became a tool of the growing nationalist movements. From there it was a short step to racist anti-Semitism which described Jews as being racially inferior, unable to be "cured" by simple conversion to Christianity.

A knowledge of historic relations and tensions between the Jews and Christianity is important for an understanding of the Holocaust. The following selection by Milton Meltzer provides an overview of these relations since the time of Jesus.

Jude verrecke . . . Jew perish . . .

How did it come to that? And why in Germany?

Germany is the country where modern anti-Semitism of the racist kind began. The term itself, "anti-Semitism," was first used only a few years before Hitler was born. But the roots of anti-Semitism go much farther back in history. The religious basis for it in the Christian world is the accusation (it appears in the Gospels) that the Jews were to blame for the crucifixion of Jesus. "Christ-killer" became a synonym for Jew. The anti-Semites took that charge as sanction for the persecution of the Jews.

In the early fourth century, Constantine the Great made Christianity the state religion of the Byzantine Empire. The Church insisted that Christianity was the true religion, the only religion, and demanded the conversion of the Jews. When the Jews would not easily give up their faith, the Church used the power of the State to make them outcasts. They were denied citizenship and its rights. By the end of the century, Jews were viewed as devils, cursed by God.

A popular and enduring hatred of the Jews built up. If Jews suffered misfortune, it was only divine punishment for Christ's crucifixion. But the punishment was not left to God alone. Both Church and State took legislative steps—later imitated in Hitler's edicts—to ensure Jewish misery. Among them were decrees that made it impossible for Jews to farm the land or to engage in the crafts. Trade was almost the only choice left, and many Jews became merchants, working with and through other Jews scattered throughout the world.

As the economy of the medieval world developed, the Church lifted the restrictions it had placed on commercial activity, and Christians replaced Jews. The Church still forbade Christians to receive interest on loans, so the Jews provided the service of banking. But when banking profits became attractive, the Church eased its restrictions, and Christians then competed with Jews in finance, too. Yet, even as Christians took over the same financial functions, they libeled the Jews as avaricious and heartless—the image perpetuated by Shakespeare's Shylock.

The launching of the Crusades in 1096 marked the beginning of an oppression that for duration and intensity would be unmatched until Hitler's time. The hordes of nobles, knights, monks, and peasants who set off to free the Holy Land from the Moslem infidels began their bloody work with "the infidels at home"—the Jews. Offering the choice of baptism or death, the Crusaders slaughtered Jews on a stunning scale. Those Jews who refused baptism and sacrificed themselves "to sanctify the Name of God" became martyrs who set an example of heroism for centuries to come. What had been done in the name of Christianity made very few in the Church feel regret when the fury ended. Nested in the popular mind was the conviction that such atrocities must have been deserved. Piety became a convenient excuse for plunder.

To make the Jew an ever easier target for mobs hunting down the "Christ-killer," the Church's Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 required Jews to wear a distinctive badge on their clothing. Now no Jews could escape humiliation. As public pariahs, they were blamed for everything that

went wrong. "The guilty Jews"—the words were inseparable. Expulsion or extermination seemed to be the Jews' fate. What delayed their elimination was their usefulness. While their money could be diverted into the treasuries of king and noble, they were tolerated. When that value was gone, they were expelled. In England it happened in 1290, in France in 1306, in Spain in 1492.

It was in these centuries that Europe began moving from the medieval into the modern world. Epochal changes were taking place in economic, political, cultural, and religious life. But the mass of Jews remained cut off from the mainstream and isolated. They were compelled to live behind ghetto walls. A new humanism induced more tolerance, but not for the Jews. Persecution continued, followed often by expulsion.

The Jews of Spain and Portugal fled into Turkey, the Balkans, Palestine, northern Italy, and Holland. Some migrated to the New World, settling in Brazil and the West Indies, and soon in North America, too. The Jews of Germany made new homes in Eastern Europe. The Polish rulers welcomed them because they needed Jewish enterprise. Jews were allowed to become traders and financiers.

The flow east was heightened by the founding of Martin Luther's new faith in the sixteenth century. In his youth, Luther had been a champion of the Jews. When he failed to win them to Protestantism, he raged at them in a language that exceeded even Hitler's for violence. He renewed all the old charges—the Jews were poisoners, ritual murderers, usurers, parasites, devils. He called for the burning of their synagogues, the seizure of their books, and their expulsion from all of Germany. (Centuries later, Hitler would find it helpful to circulate Luther's anti-Jewish writings in mass editions.)

New ideas about the rights of the common man emerged later, as the Industrial Revolution developed in Western Europe. A struggle for civil emancipation began. By then there were numbers of middle-class Jews eager to break free of the ghetto and to share in the civil rights promised by the movement for Enlightenment.

It was Germany's Jews who were the first to be touched by the Enlightenment. Frederick the Great, a despotic ruler and no lover of the Jews, realized that his Prussia could prosper by encouraging enterprising Jews to found new industries and build up commerce. Many Jews seized the opportunity offered and rose to prominence as manufacturers, merchants, and bankers.

Young Jews devoted themslves to modern education so that they could make a mark in Western culture. Cracks appeared in the ghetto walls even before the French Revolution of 1789, and Napoleon's armies finished the job, bearing the banners of freedom wherever they marched. They defeated the Prussians in 1806; and in 1812 Prussia issued the Edict of Emancipation, which made Jews citizens. Jews were to have all the rights of the dominant majority. But not for long. Napoleon's downfall brought powerful reaction in its wake. Emancipation was undone in many places. The ideals of the Enlightenment were drowned in a wave of German nationalism. To be a patriot now meant to be a product of German culture and a Christian. Again the Jew was defined as an outsider. He was viewed as a parasite feeding upon the German body, which could never absorb him. His political rights were cut down or taken away altogether. An endless stream of anti-Semitic books and pamphlets polluted the culture of Germany. Some of the most distinguished intellectuals contributed to it. Feeling against the Jews mounted to the point of violence. The old cry, "Hep, hep, death to the Jews!" echoed again in Germany's streets.

Popular writing dropped all distinctions between the "good" Jew and the "bad" Jew. Even the baptized and assimilated Jew was not spared, for the anti-Semite now condemned *all* Jews. No longer was it a question of religion. It was the Jew's "race," his "blood," that damned him. A Jewish stereotype took shape in widely read novels. The Jew was depicted as puny and cowardly. The ugly features given the Jewish villain were said to be the outward signs of an evil soul.

The Germans built hatred of the Jews into what they considered to be an unchallengeable scientific system. A "theory" of anti-Semitism was created to lend scientific justification to their prejudice. Wilhelm Marr based his theory of anti-Semitism on racial identity. He said that Jews, or Semites, had an inborn character that made them a "slave race," while the Germans, or Aryans, were the "master race." The Jews couldn't help being morally and physically inferior because Nature had predetermined that. The lucky Aryans (he meant the Teutonic or Nordic peoples, such as the Germans, Austrians, Scandinavians, Dutch, English, and French) were by the same token born to be superior. The Aryans were the jewel of the world. Everything great and good was said to be the creation of this "master race." . . .

The smashing victory over the French in the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 made many Germans feel they truly belonged to a "master race." And when Otto von Bismarck's policy of "blood and iron" succeeded in molding the petty states into the German Empire in 1871, it intensified that feeling of superiority. Chancellor Bismarck proclaimed the State's highest duty was to increase its own power. Germany's destiny was to conquer the world; "lesser" peoples had to be subdued.

Militarism and the doctrine of "blood and

Murray 6/22/95

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iron" became the dominant forces in German life. Under Bismarck's leadership, the educated classes turned away from rationalism and liberalism. A new kind of pseudo-scholarship, useful to politicians who prosper on myths, held sway. Two foreign writers, the Frenchman Arthur de Gobineau and the Englishman Houston Stewart Chamberlain, contributed props for the myth of racial superiority. De Gobineau held that the Jews were a "mongrel race." Chamberlain wrote that "The Jewish race is altogether bastardized, and its existence is a crime against the holy laws of life." Both men won vast audiences in Germany by singing the praises of the "Aryan race."

Politicians began to draw upon the power of anti-Semitism for their propaganda arsenal. In 1878 speakers for a Christian Social Workers' party fired up mass meetings by blaming Jews for business failures and profiteering. The party leader, Dr. Adolf Stöcker (court preacher to the Kaiser), coined the slogan *"Deutschland erwache!"*; Hitler would borrow it later. And as Hitler would, Stöcker directed his appeal to the lower middle classes—artisans, shopkeepers, clerks, petty officials—who yearned for better incomes and higher social status. In 1879 Wilhelm Marr founded the League of Anti-Semitism "to save the German fatherland from complete Judaization." A year later the anti-Semites were able to secure 300,000 signatures to a petition demanding that the government bar the Jews from all schools and universities and from holding public office.

By 1893 candidates of anti-Semitic political parties were able to muster 400,000 votes and elect many deputies to the Reichstag. A new slogan—"The Jews Are Our Misfortune"—appeared in print and on banners. Another philosopher, the anarchist Eugene Dühring, stepped forth to sound the final note in anti-Semitism. The Jews, he wrote, are "inferior and depraved.. . . The duty of the Nordic peoples is to exterminate such parasitic races as we exterminate snakes and beasts of prey."

His was a paranoid image of the Jew as the universal enemy. Entrenched as an article of German faith, it would have the destructive power of an atomic arsenal when Hitler triggered it.

Questions for Discussion

1. Many people feel that a crucial part of growth is our response to uncomfortable new knowledge about things we cherish. How do you respond to the charge that organized Christianity might have played a major role in the historic mistreatment of Jews?
2. How did Constantine's decision to make Christianity a "state religion" affect attitudes toward Jews?
3. How could Jews avoid being killed during the Crusades?
4. How much do you think contemporary Jews and Christians know about each other's faith? How does this affect the relationship between Jews and Christians?
5. How was the Jew perceived in nineteenth-century Germany?
6. During the last few years, there has been a dramatic worldwide increase in acts of terror against Jews. Synagogues in Paris and in Vienna have been bombed and people murdered. And there are many examples of vandalism. Even in the United States, the number of anti-Jewish acts of desecrations of synagogues and cemeteries, has increased. Why?

Definition

avaricious—greedy.

Compiled and Edited by
IVAN L. TILLEM

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The Things They Say Behind Your Back: Stereotypes About Jews

William B. Helmreich

Internationalists Plotting to Take Over the World

This myth developed because nineteenth-century anti-Semites needed an image of the Jew frightening enough to make the Russian peasant see him as the enemy rather than the Czar.

To give support to these accusations, Czar Nicholas II asked the monk Sergei Nilus to come up with "proof" of an international Jewish conspiracy. Nilus obligingly produced a set of forged documents in a book called *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. The *Protocols* were partially based on an admittedly fictional work called *Biarritz*, written by Hermann Goedsche and published in 1868. It contains a rather imaginative chapter called "In the Jewish Cemetery in Prague." A secret meeting takes place in this cemetery between thirteen old, white-bearded Jews, each of whom is supposed to represent one of the twelve tribes of Israel, plus a thirteenth who speaks for "the unfortunates of the exiles." This is actually the latest in a series of meetings that have occurred once every century ever since the Jews were exiled from the land of Israel. The representatives report on how their activities, ranging from undermining the Church to fomenting revolution, have helped the Jews move toward their eventual goal of taking control of the world.

The *Protocols* was widely published, reprinted, and distributed. Millions throughout the world, including many Americans, accepted it as true. Its origins were fully discussed in Dr. Norman Cohn's *Warrant for Genocide*, which makes fascinating reading. Despite its exposure as a fraud, it is today still widely disseminated in Russia, the Arab lands, and in Latin America. Billy Carter's Libyan guests quoted from the *Protocols* during interviews given to newsmen here several years ago and were apparently unaware that the documents have been widely discredited.

It is easy to dismiss such attitudes as the views of a small minority. Yet, as Cohn points out in his book, lies of this sort can have terrible consequences:

> There exists a subterranean world where pathological fantasies disguised as ideas are churned out by crooks and half-educated fanatics for the benefit of the ignorant and superstitious. There are times when this underworld emerges from the depths and suddenly fascinates, captures, and dominates multitudes of usually sane and responsible people, who thereupon take leave of sanity and responsibility . . . It is an incontestable fact that the forgotten eccentrics described in the first half of this book built up the myth which, years later, the masters of a great European nation were to use as a warrant for genocide. (p. 18)

Shrewd Businessmen

> A Jewish agent in a Catholic insurance firm did exceptionally well for a number of years and was recommended for a top executive post. His religion posed a serious problem, however, because the company felt it would harm their relations with top members of other firms. After a good deal of agonizing, they decided to call in a leading priest to convert the Jew. A meeting was held in the private office of the company's president, during which the clergyman attempted to persuade the Jew to accept the Christian faith.
>
> Finally, after almost three hours, the two emerged.
>
> "Well, Father," asked the president. "How did you make out? Do we have a new Catholic?"
>
> "No, we don't," replied the priest, "but he did sell me a $50,000 policy."

Whether or not Jews are actually shrewder businessmen than others is impossible to prove. Certainly this is widely believed to be so, as can be seen from such popular expressions as "Jew you down." There are enough factors involved that would suggest that they might indeed have an edge in this area. For one thing, Jews have been in business for a long time. The feudal system of the Middle Ages, which lasted over a thousand years, excluded Jews. Forbidden to own land by the Church, denied entry into the various craft guilds that were so important in those times, Jews were forced to turn to moneylending in order to survive. The Church forbade its members to enter this occupation, since it regarded the charging of interest, no matter how small the amount, as sinful. The Talmud, on the other hand, permitted the charging of interest on business loans, so long as the rates were not excessive, taking the position that moneylending was necessary in order to stimulate trade and commerce. Since the Jews were damned and money was damned, the Church concluded that a marriage of the two was entirely fitting and appropriate.

As matters turned out, the Jews became indispensable to the feudal economy in this capacity. It was they who supplied the necessary funds when the farmer's crops failed or when his livestock were killed off by disease. They also supplied the necessary capital when the nobles wanted to build castles, when they went off to war, when the Church purchased jewels, and so forth. Eventually the Christian majority came to the conclusion that moneylending wasn't such a bad idea, and when this happened Jews found themselves forced out of the industry which they had pioneered in so many countries. Nevertheless, their experience in money matters and continuing discrimination against them made it inevitable that they would remain involved in various forms of business. For example, it was

moneylending that was responsible for the entry of Jews into the diamond trade. This occurred because diamonds were often used as collateral for loans. Thus, in the sixteenth century Jews controlled the diamond trade in Portugal, which traded extensively with India, then the chief source of uncut diamonds. Later, when the Jews were forced to leave Portugal, Holland, which welcomed the Jews, became the new center of the diamond market.

The Jewish religion, with its emphasis on abstract thinking, may also account for the Jew's interest and skill in business. It was not merely the worship of an abstract God that could not be seen and the rejection of idol worship, for Christianity and Islam also shared such beliefs. Rather, it was the study of the Talmud and the focus on abstract ideas—which make up so much of that work—that sharpened the mind of the Jew to the point where he was able to transfer his intellectual acumen to the economic sphere. From childhood on, when he was first exposed to the Bible, the Jew's mind was geared toward explaining the seemingly incomprehensible. As an adolescent, he might spend hours discussing the conditions under which the ancient rabbinic sages would permit someone to purchase something that had not yet come into existence. Could one, for example, purchase a grove of palm trees even if there were no trees, simply because past experience indicated that they were certain to spring up in a particular location? And, if so, was it permissible to buy the wool from a sheep before the time had come to shear it, or the as-yet-unborn calves of a cow? Even those Jews who were not as educated developed a profound respect and appreciation for such thinking.

Thus, when capitalism became important in the modern world, Jews were in a position to benefit from it. After all, interest, futures, options, stocks and, most importantly, money itself were abstractions. They were representations of concrete items, and the Jew, trained as he was to think in analogies that spanned both time and space, was equipped to function in a modern industrialized society that increasingly depended upon commerce, banking, and financial investment. In this sense it was not so much a question of superior skills as having the skills that modern society most needed.

In *The Pawnbroker* there is a famous scene in which Rod Steiger, who plays the Jewish immigrant pawnbroker, sternly lectures a young Puerto Rican boy who works for him about the importance of having and holding onto money. It is easy to see in this film the caricature of the Jew as a greedy, money-hungry man without taking into account the experiences sometimes responsible for such obsessions. Lacking a homeland for thousands of years; always dependent on the whims of others, never certain when persecution might strike, the Jew, perhaps more than any other nationality, has come to see money as a means of survival. In medieval times Jews often bartered their lives in exchange for money, which they gave to local overlords for protection from a hostile population. Unlike the Gentile, who could work the land and benefit from its use, the Jew owed his shelter, safety, food, and anything else of value he possessed to money. Small wonder that it became so important to many Jews. During the Nazi era, to take a case in point, many Jews survived because they were able to purchase protection from individual Gentiles in various occupied lands.

Jews today are far more likely to enter the professions than business-related fields. This is a natural outgrowth of the desire on the part of many Jews of a generation ago to have their children become doctors, lawyers, teachers, and so forth, because they wanted to raise both their own status ("my son, the doctor") and that of their offspring. As a result, the image of the Jew as a shrewd or good businessman may, like other stereotypes in this area, be headed for extinction. Still, such views often die a slow death, as this observer discovered during a visit to a non-Jewish resort in Pennsylvania's Pocono Mountains in 1980. An Italian comedian regaled his audience with story after story of Jews and their preoccupation with money. In one joke a Jewish watchdog was described as one who says to the burglar, "Take anything you want. It's all insured."

Have Horns

This belief is not an exaggeration but rather a complete falsehood. It is clearly confined to those who have never seen a Jew. While few Americans fall into this category, the author was asked this question once while traveling through rural Iowa. Its roots can be traced to Aquila Ponticus, who translated the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek during the second century. According to the Bible, Moses is described as descending from Mount Sinai carrying the tablets, with rays of light shining from his head. Unfortunately for the Jews, the word *koran* (shone) was incorrectly pronounced *keren*, the Hebrew word for horn. This was quite easy to do, since Hebrew relies on vowels beneath the letters for its pronunciation, and the vowels in the version consulted by Ponticus were probably missing.

This interpretation was given a powerful boost in popularity in the Renaissance. One of the greatest works during that time was Michelangelo's sculpture of Moses, and perched on his head are two small horns. The stereotype was also enhanced by the association, among Christians, of the Jew with the devil.

The "Chosen People"

> For you are a holy people unto the Lord your God: of all the peoples that are on the face of the earth the Lord your God has chosen you to be his treasured people. (Deut. 7:6)

The story is told of how God offered the Torah to several other nations before turning to the Jews, all of whom rejected it as too restrictive. The Jews, according to the legend, accepted it unquestioningly, agreeing to be bound by its commandments even before they knew what they were. Such acceptance implied a special responsibility but did not mean superiority. Thus one can understand the response to the English writer Hilaire Belloc's quip, "How odd of God to choose the Jews" that "It was not odd—the Jews chose God."

Regardless of who chose whom, there is certainly a kernel of truth to this theory, for many Jews, especially those who are observant, believe that God has a special relationship with "His people." Many view their meticulous observance of the hundreds of Biblical commandments as meriting special consideration from God. In addition, Jews have used the idea of being chosen to explain

the suffering and cruelties to which they were so often subjected by other peoples. It was often only by seeing himself as destined to play a special role in the world or in the hereafter that the Jew was able to justify his suffering.

Support for the concept of chosenness comes also from Christian fundamentalists, who cite such evidence as the survival of the Jews through the ages despite the efforts of others to destroy them, their success in so many areas, and the rebirth of the State of Israel. In his book *Israel's Final Holocaust* noted evangelist Dr. Jack Van Impe writes:

> Frederick the Great said: "No nation ever persecuted the Jew and prospered." His correct observation is proof of God's faithfulness in keeping His promise to Abraham... This tiny scattered people has had such a definite date with destiny that no power on earth could destroy them. (pp. 56, 59)

If the Jews are "chosen," they are not unique in this sense. After all, Christianity and Islam, as well as most other religions, hold out the promise of divine grace and salvation only to believers. By contrast, Judaism believes that "all the righteous of the world have a place in the world to come." Nevertheless, it ought to be recognized that no faith or doctrine can demand the undivided loyalty of its adherents unless it believes its members occupy a special place in the scheme of life.

In modern times, as Jews have increased their contact with people outside their community, many leaders have become increasingly sensitive to this stereotype. Some have responded by asking, tongue in cheek, whether being chosen is such a great privilege when one considers that the Jews have been persecuted for so many centuries and have only recently been able to re-establish their homeland. Others have taken concrete steps to deal with the term by specifically denying its validity. The Reconstructionists, one of the denominations within the Jewish faith, have eliminated all such references from their prayer book, while Orthodox Jews have repeatedly emphasized that the concept means service and accountability, not an elite status.

Killed Jesus Christ

Nearly every Jew in America has been exposed, at one time or another, to the charge that the Jews murdered Jesus. For some it has come up in innocent ways, a casual observation made by a neighbor or fellow worker; for others it was the taunt of "Christ killer!" often encountered in childhood days. Even the 1965 declaration by the Vatican that the Jews as a group could not be held responsible for what occurred did not lay the matter to rest. Here, then, in brief, is what happened.

The trouble began when Jesus entered the Temple in Jerusalem three days before his death and drove out the vendors and money-changers, predicted the destruction of the Temple, and attacked the Sadducean high priests. Followers of Jesus described him as a messiah or as "king of the Jews" and thus alarmed the Temple authorities. Fearful that such claims would bring the wrath of the Roman legions upon them (this had happened in the past with other messianic claimants), they paid one of Jesus' apostles, Judas Iscariot, to help them arrest Jesus. Why, as a loyal follower, Judas accepted the bribe is not known. In any case, Jesus was arrested at night and turned over to Pontius Pilate, the Roman procurator of Judea, who ordered him executed.

One misconception about these events is that it was the Jewish high court, known as the Sanhedrin, that ordered his execution. This is highly unlikely for several reasons. First, it was illegal for the court to meet at night, nor could it do so on the eve of a holiday, which in this instance was Passover. In fact, the court had no power of arrest. Finally, according to the Gospels, Jesus was tried at the palace of Caiaphas, the high priest. Yet the Sanhedrin never met any place but in their own court, known as the Chamber of Hewn Stone. For all of these reasons it seems far more likely that his arrest was arranged only by the aristocratic Sadducees, who were angered by his attacks upon them.

There is no evidence that the death sentence decreed by Pontius Pilate was instigated or supported by the Jews. In all likelihood the high priests merely wanted Jesus detained until after the Passover holiday. The Gospel according to John does say, however, that Pontius Pilate ordered Jesus' death because of pressure from the Jews. This seems rather improbable since Pontius Pilate was one of the most ruthless rulers in history and was, in any event, extremely unlikely to be afraid of an unarmed civilian population. This Gospel is, incidentally, the most pro-Roman, perhaps because, as the last Gospel, it was written at a time when the Christians had begun aiming their teachings at the Romans themselves. This last factor may account for the fact that it is the only Gospel to specifically blame the Jews for the crucifixion. Part of the problem here is that the Gospels are our only written record of these events and were only transcribed forty to ninety years after they occurred. They also contradict each other at various points.

Perhaps the greatest canard is the accusation that the Jews actually killed Jesus. To begin with, crucifixion was not permitted by Jewish law, even on the rare occasions when the Jewish courts sentenced someone to death. It was a Roman method of execution that was used on thousands of people, including many Jews. The flogging or scourging of Jesus prior to his crucifixion and forcing him to carry his own cross were also well-known Roman customs. In addition, executions were never carried out on Fridays by the Jews. Finally, according to Jewish law it was a requirement that as the accused was being led to his death a herald should walk before him and ask for any supporting witnesses to come forward and refute the charges. There is no record that this was done.

No one knows for certain what the Jewish population of Jerusalem was thinking as they watched Jesus being marched through the streets. Some may have felt his death justified because of his seemingly blasphemous messianic claims; others simply because the Temple priests were opposed to him. The majority, however, probably sympathized with him as just another Jewish victim of the Romans. It must be remembered that Jesus was a Jew, and his sect was only one of many Jewish groups. Moreover, he had never renounced the validity of Mosaic law. In fact, according to the Gospels it was the Jews, not the Romans, who wept at the crucifixion site. Will Durant sums up the event in *The Story of Civilization:* "Quite clearly the condemnation did not have the approval of the Jewish people."

In the face of all this, it is interesting that the charge should have survived for so long. In fact, even if it were true, why blame those not alive at the time? Apart from all the psychological and social reasons for stereotyping that have been mentioned in the first chapter, there is the seriousness of the charge of deicide. The Jews are accused of having killed the Son of God. The perception of the Jews as guilty is undoubtedly heightened by the fact that they continue to refuse to accept Jesus as the Savior, and have the nerve to regard him as a fake messiah. The Church's declaration that the Jews, past or present, could not be held accountable for his death prompted a suggestion by the humorist Harry Golden that the Jews issue a statement of their own clearing today's Christians from complicity in all the crusades and pogroms of the past two thousand years.

Control Wall Street and the Banks

This stereotype was accurate around the turn of the century, when the major stock brokerage firms were both founded and run by Jews. As an example of their power, the financier Jacob Schiff was able to float a $200 million bond issue for the Japanese government on short notice. Jews are still well represented in Wall Street brokerage houses. A glance at the names listed in the *New York Stock Exchange Directory* indicates that perhaps a quarter of them are Jewish-sounding. In addition, important companies such as Goldman Sachs, Lehman Brothers Kuhn Loeb, Bear Stearns, and Lazard Freres were started by Jews. On the other hand, some of the largest firms on Wall Street today, such as Merrill Lynch, The First Boston Corporation, and Blythe Eastman Dillon are most definitely not "Jewish" firms. Furthermore, the so-called "Jewish houses" are often so in name only. Many of the children of the early founders intermarried and quite a few are, in fact, no longer Jewish. Finally, there are probably no firms of any size in existence today on Wall Street that are exclusively Jewish in terms of those who exercise power within them.

Jewish influence in banking today is virtually nonexistent. Several banks such as Bank Leumi and Republic National Bank of New York are under Jewish ownership, but the vast majority of banks are not only controlled by non-Jews but do not, in fact, employ Jews in high positions. For example, in New York City, where two million Jews live, there are almost no Jews among the top executives of the city's seven largest banks. Elsewhere in the country the proportion is even smaller. A 1978 study by Professor Stephen Slavin of Brooklyn College of the City University of New York found that schools with low Jewish enrollment received far more visits from corporate recruiters than those with large numbers of Jewish students.

> IBM's recruiting manual, for example, lists hundreds of U.S. colleges that the company visits annually, but the list doesn't include Brandeis or Yeshiva. But the worst offenders, according to Slavin, were the large New York City banks, which send recruiters all over the country while ignoring the largely Jewish colleges in their own backyard.
>
> (Dan Rottenberg, "How to Succeed in Business Without Being Gentile." *Jewish Living*, December 1979:41)

In recent years some banks have begun to make a more concerted effort to attract Jews. There are, however, two major obstacles. The first is that, notwithstanding the increased acceptance of Jews in general, there are still many people who are simply not comfortable among Jews. American business has always been tied in with social connections, and many of these are made in private clubs that still discriminate against Jews. As a result, banks are often reluctant to hire or promote Jews because they fear it will affect their business. Naturally, they may use this argument as an excuse to perpetuate their own prejudices. A second problem is that the word is already out among Jewish graduates of business schools that advancement is very difficult for Jews who enter banking. This means that many graduates who are highly qualified do not even bother to try. Recognizing this, some banks have sponsored meetings and seminars focusing on recruiting more Jews, but thus far banking is still a very closed field to Jews.

If there are so few Jews in banking, why and how did this stereotype emerge? It is here that we encounter the kernel of truth theory. Although the major role was probably played by the bankers of the Italian city-states, Jews became heavily involved in moneylending, which eventually became known as banking, in the late Middle Ages. During the nineteenth century their influence in banking increased with the rise of banking houses such as Rothschild, Marcus and Warburg, Salomons, Kuhn and Loeb, and others. In America there was the well-known case of Haym Salomon, who helped finance the American Revolution. In the mid-nineteenth century numerous important banking houses were established in this country by German-Jewish immigrants. Moreover, families such as the Schiffs, Seligmans, Loebs, and others often acted together to offset the financial influence of the much larger Gentile concerns. This contributed to the feeling that Jews, as a group, "controlled things." Fueled by Populist politics, anti-Semitism increased. This, combined with the rise of large impersonal corporations, served to virtually eliminate the influence of Jews in banking. A B'nai Brith study done in 1939 found that less than one percent of all bankers in the United States were Jewish.

Despite the fact that what was once true is no longer the case, the stereotype about Jewish control in these areas persists, all of which attests to the staying power of prejudice in general. Moreover, the perception of Jews as controlling Wall Street or the banks carries with it the belief that the Jew often acts to promote specific Jewish interests at the expense of those who do not belong to the faith. This is actually part of the anti-Semitic image of the Jew as a world conspirator. What better place to employ this stereotype than in money matters where Jews are, for various reasons, heavily involved? The fact that the world of finance and the reasons for the ups and downs of the economy are so poorly understood by the average person makes this a very convenient area in which to target Jews as scapegoats.

Rich and Ostentatious

Teaching a course on minority relations at City College of the City University of New York, I once spent an hour discussing the general view that "all Jews are rich." The class, predominantly Afro-American and Hispanic, had just seen a short film on the Holocaust when one Black stu-

dent, a middle-aged man who had been an aide to former New York City Mayor John Lindsay, raised his hand and asked, "Why are we feeling so sorry for the Jews? Everyone knows that five years after the Holocaust they made all their money back." Others chimed in with comments such as, "Everybody knows that Jews are rich," "Money's in their blood," and so forth.

To what extent are such assertions true? On the one hand, only one of the ten wealthiest families in America is Jewish. They are the Pritzkers of Chicago, worth an estimated $850 million. Compared to the Mellons, worth between $3 and $5 *billion*, and the Gettys, whose wealth is well over $2 billion, the Pritzker fortune, large as it may be, does not put them into the category of the super-rich. On the other hand, a 1979 survey of American wealth by writer Dan Rottenberg found ten Jews among the seventy-four families in this country whose net worth was $200 million or more. Thus Jews, who constitute but three percent of the population, are indeed overrepresented among the nation's richest families.

The majority of Jews in this country are not millionaires, being both solidly middle-class and earning more, on the average, than the average American. Studies by the National Opinion Research Center and United States Census Bureau reveal that the median income of Jews is significantly higher than that of non-Jews. Demographers have pointed out, however, that this is directly related to education. When Jews and others in the population with similar educational levels are compared, the differences are less than ten percent.

All but overlooked by many is the existence of large numbers of poor Jews, mostly elderly folk living on pensions and social security. In an article called "The Invisible Jewish Poor," which appeared in the *Journal of Jewish Communal Service*, the number of American Jews living at or below the poverty level was estimated at between 700,000 and 800,000. The author, Ann Wolfe, a consultant to the American Jewish Committee, cited the case of a thirty-square-block area in "wealthy" Miami Beach's South Shore, where the *average* annual income in 1968 was $2,460 and where thousands of Jews were subsisting on less than $28 a week for food and rent.

One major reason for the common perception of Jews as rich is their concentration in retail businesses ranging from grocery stores to large department stores. As a result, they must often deal directly with the poor and the working class, many of whom are apt to focus general resentment at their economic status on an easily identifiable scapegoat. The same is true in the housing area. It is much simpler to focus on the Jewish landlord (or slumlord) than on the impersonal gas or electric company, whose wealth is far greater. It makes little difference to a poverty-stricken ghetto dweller that his Jewish landlord is middle-class. Compared to his own economic plight, the Jew is rich. As long as Jews are heavily involved in highly visible occupations of this sort, such stereotypes are likely to persist.

As far as ostentatiousness goes, it is not clear that Jews are, in fact, more showy than other groups, but the stereotype, greatly popularized by the unforgettable wedding scene in Philip Roth's *Goodbye Columbus*, is well-known. Puerto Ricans and Afro-Americans have also been accused of ostentatiousness, mostly in terms of loud clothing, fancy cars, and so forth. Behavior of this sort, where it exists, can perhaps be explained as a response by a minority group to perceived or actual rejection by the larger society. It is a way of saying, "You may think I'm nobody but my material well-being proves that, at least in one way, I have made it." For the upwardly mobile Jew, motivated as he is by a strong work ethic and a general desire to succeed, conspicuous consumption can sometimes become a way of justifying one's efforts. Doing so is obviously easier if, as is true of many Jews, one has the financial means.

Acting in what has come to be called the style of the "nouveau riche" can also be attributed to the insecurities of those who are more recent arrivals to the United States. Writing in 1930 about Jews who had immigrated to America and settled in the Borough Park section of Brooklyn, New York, the writer Michael Gold gave the following description of one such family:

> "We came into a large gaudy room glowing with red wallpaper, and stuffed like the show window of a furniture store with tables, chairs, sofas, dressers, bric-a-brac. Mrs. Cohen wore a purple silk waist, hung with yards of tapestry and lace. Diamonds shone from her ears; diamond rings sparked from every finger ... typical wife of a Jewish *nouveau riche*."
>
> (*Jews Without Money*, p.217)

It is interesting that today the Orthodox Jewish community, whose members probably include the largest chunk of recent arrivals to this country among American Jews, seems most concerned about this issue. In an address given at the 1974 convention of the strictly Orthodox organization Agudath Israel of America, Rabbi Chaim Dov Keller, a prominent leader in the community, chastised his audience for such tendencies, saying,

> Many of our people have suffered a warping of priorities, throwing themselves headlong into the pursuit of materialism. Unbelievable sums of money are spent for one night of a wedding celebration, while yeshivas [Hebrew schools] pay their teachers coolie wages for lack of funds. Plush carpets and ornate furnishings have become status symbols among a people whose aristocracy was always measured in terms of ... learning and righteousness.
>
> (*Jewish Observer*, January 1975: 10)

Generally speaking, as members of a group become more Americanized they will lose their cultural distinctiveness. Often this includes a conscious downplaying of certain traits associated with the group. One respondent whom I interviewed in a study of Jewish identity stated:

> I am super-conscious of being Jewish. I will overtip in a restaurant because I know people think Jews are cheap. I'll order in a soft voice, and my taste in cars, clothes, and the furniture I buy for our home is very conservative because I know what others think of Jews.

Control the Media

Jews play an important role in media industries in the United States. Some examples are CBS, chaired by William Paley, and ABC, headed by Leonard Goldenson, both Jews. NBC was founded by another Jew, David Sarnoff, who also created RCA. Lester Bernstein, editor of *Newsweek*, and Henry Grunwald, who occupies the post of editor-in-chief at *Time* magazine, are both Jews. The Newhouse chain of newspapers, which, with a combined daily circulation of

close to 3.3 million in 1978, is the third largest in the United States, is owned by the Newhouse family. Then, of course, there is the New York *Times*, owned by the Sulzbergers.

At the same time, it would be an exaggeration to say that Jews dominate this field. The Newhouse group includes only 31 out of a total of 291 chain-operated newspapers. A survey by political scientist Stephen Isaacs revealed that only 3.1 percent of the 1,007 newspapers in this country were owned by Jews. Moreover, the magazines with the second and third largest circulation, *Reader's Digest* and *National Geographic*, have relatively few Jews in top posts, as do the two major news services, AP and UPI. Morton Yarmon, public relations director at the American Jewish Committee, found only about half a dozen Jewish-sounding names among 200 chief editorial writers of newspapers around the country—hardly a scientific approach but interesting nonetheless.

One area where Jews have always had a major impact is Hollywood. In fact, it was Jews, for the most part, who founded the filmmaking industry. Men such as William Fox, Samuel Goldwyn, Louis Mayer, Adolph Zukor, the Selznicks, and many others got their start around the beginning of the century running nickelodeons where customers saw movies for a nickel while seated on wooden chairs. These men, known as "moguls," gravitated to filmmaking and distribution because it offered opportunities to the new immigrants unavailable in more established fields. They remained typically Jewish, often had accents, and, as a result, became identified in the public mind with the media in general.

For the anti-Semite looking for a scapegoat, the media and the Jews are a perfect match. Many people have a deep suspicion of both what they read in the papers and what TV and radio commentators tell them. "You can't trust what you read in the paper" or "Don't believe everything you see on the news" are common expressions even among those not prejudiced against Jews. (Jews also hold such views.) But for the anti-Semite suspicion of the media in terms of credibility adds fuel to his feelings vis-a-vis Jews. It matters little that most news commentators are not Jewish. He may even see persons such as Walter Cronkite, Howard K. Smith, and John Chancellor as front people for the Jewish conspiracy he imagines must be behind the news.

Most studies have demonstrated that, notwithstanding the recent tilt to conservatism, Jews are generally liberal. The presence of substantial numbers of Jews in the media might be partially responsible for its seemingly liberal bias, but there is no evidence linking the two. In fact, the giant Newhouse chain is well known for its policy of not interfering with the positions taken by its newspapers, many of which are politically and ideologically conservative.

If Jews are well represented in the media, this does not mean that they work actively to promote Jewish interests. A good case in point is the State of Israel. The overwhelming majority of Jews in this country are pro-Israel. Yet the New York *Times* has certainly not been pro-Israel in its editorials over the years. At best it could be regarded as "even-handed." Columnists such as James Reston and Anthony Lewis, while occasionally sympathetic to Israel, have generally been highly critical of its policies. In a scathing article that appeared in *The Village Voice*, reporter Sol Stern charged:

> Our most important newspaper [the New York *Times*] has turned its only page of outside opinion into an exclusive sounding board for the opposition to the democratically elected government of an allied country. This is unprecedented and scandalous.
>
> (*The Village Voice*, October 1-7, 1980: 13)

According to Stern, the Op-Ed page of the New York *Times* has carried about forty "guest" columns and articles on the Middle East since Menachem Begin's election in May 1977. Not one has appeared that supports the Begin government. Stern cites three pieces that were submitted and rejected, including one by Manhattan District Attorney Robert Morgenthau. Interestingly, the New York *Times* published an article favorable to Begin on its Op-Ed page several days after Stern's attack.

The two major news weeklies, *Time* magazine and *Newsweek*, have, over the years, published many stories favorable to the Arabs despite the involvement of Jews at the highest levels in both places. Surely it is possible for Jews to disagree with Israeli policies. The fact, however, that such disagreement or even neutrality is often expressed in the media indicates that there is a big difference between saying that many Jews work in the media and that they made a concerted effort to promote the interests of Jews as a whole. Why are so many Jews found in this field? The major reasons are probably: their generally high level of education; their interest in intellectual and literary affairs; the fact that so many Jews live in New York and Los Angeles, the communications nerve centers of the country; and the fact that Jews were able to enter this profession from the ground floor many years ago as immigrants.

Reading #8

LÉON POLIAKOV

THE HISTORY OF ANTI-SEMITISM

translated from the French by Richard Howard

SCHOCKEN BOOKS · NEW YORK

Luther

In 1542 Martin Luther published his celebrated pamphlet: *Against the Jews and Their Lies* (307). In it he advised never entering into an argument with a Jew. If it was impossible to avoid, one was to say: "Listen, Jew, don't you know that Jerusalem and your kingdom, the Temple and your ministry, were destroyed over 1460 years ago? . . . Give this nut to the Jews and let them break their teeth on it and dispute as much as they like. For the cruelty of divine wrath shows all too clearly that they are surely in error and are on the wrong path: a child would understand this. . . ."

Then for nearly two hundred pages[1] the reformer rails against the Jews in his powerful, lusty style, with a torrential outpouring of passion that makes the diatribes of his predecessors seem languid, and that no one else, perhaps, has matched to this day. Reproach and sarcasm addressed to the Jews alternate with transports of love and of faith in Christ; and between the lines we may glimpse a kind of anguished admiration. Sometimes Luther attacks the usurers and the parasites from foreign countries, and we see how, in forging the German language, he implanted at the same time a certain style of argument and thought. "In truth, the Jews, being foreigners, should possess nothing, and what they do possess should be ours. For they do not work, and we do not give them presents. Nonetheless, they keep our money and our goods and have become our masters in our own country and in their Dispersion. When a thief steals ten guldens, he is hanged; but when a Jew steals ten barrels of gold through his usury, he is prouder than the Lord himself! He boasts of it and strengthens his faith and his hatred of us, and thinks: 'See how the Lord does not abandon His people in the Dispersion. We do not work, we are idle, and we pass the time pleasantly; the cursed *goyim* must work for us, and we have their money: thus we are their lords and they our servants!'

[1] Pages 100 to 274 in the complete Erlangen edition (Vol. 32), from which these quotations are taken. Luther's relations with the Jews have been studied in detail by Reinhold Lewin in his monograph *Luthers Stellung zu den Juden*, Berlin, 1911.

"To this day we still do not know what devil brought them into our country; surely we did not go to seek them out in Jerusalem!

"No one wants them. The countryside and the roads are open to them; they may return to their country when they wish; we shall gladly give them presents to get rid of them, for they are a heavy burden on us, a scourge, a pestilence and misfortune for our country. This is proved by the fact that they have often been expelled by force: from France (which they call Tsarpath), where they had a downy nest; recently from Spain (which they call Sepharad), their chosen roost; and even this year from Bohemia, where, in Prague, they had another cherished nest; finally, in my own lifetime, from Ratisbon [Regensburg], Magdeburg, and from many other places. . . ."

Sometimes Luther makes use of one of his unique and imaginative comparisons: "They did not live so well in their countries under David and Solomon as they live in our countries, where they steal and pillage every day. Yes, we hold them captive, just as I hold captive my stone [calculus], my ulcers, or any other disease I have caught and must endure: I would rather see [these miseries] in Jerusalem, with the Jews and their following!

"Since assuredly we do not hold them captive, how have we provoked such enmity by such noble and saintly characters? We do not call their wives whores, as they do Mary, the mother of Jesus; we do not call their children sons of whores, as they do our Lord Jesus Christ.

"We do not curse them; we wish them all the good in the world, in flesh and in spirit. We give them shelter, let them eat and drink with us, we do not carry off and kill their children, nor poison their wells, we do not slake our thirst on their blood. Have we then deserved the fierce anger, the envy and hatred of these great and holy children of God?"

He then shifts to the religious level: to the defense and glorification of Christ, the only matter that really counts for Luther:

"Know, O adored Christ, and make no mistake, that aside from the Devil, you have no enemy more venomous, more desperate, more bitter, than a true Jew who truly seeks to be a Jew [*als einen rechten Juden, der mit Ernst ein Jude sein will*].

"Now, whoever wishes to accept venomous serpents, desperate enemies of the Lord, and to honor them, to let himself be robbed, pillaged, corrupted, and cursed by them, need only turn to the Jews. If this is not enough for him, he can do more: crawl up into their —— and worship the sanctuary, so as to glorify himself afterward for having been merciful, for having fortified the Devil and his children, in order to blaspheme our beloved Lord and the precious blood that has redeemed us. He will then be a perfect Christian, filled with works of mercy, for which Christ will reward him on the Day of Judgment with the eternal fire of hell [where he will roast together] with the Jews. . . ."

On a practical level, Luther proposes a series of measures against the Jews: that their synagogues be burned, their books confiscated, that they be forbidden to pray to God in their own way, and that they be made to work with their hands; or, better still, that the princes expel them from their lands and that the authorities—magistrates as well as clergy—unite toward these ends. As for himself, having thus done his duty, Luther is "excused." (*Ich habe das meine gethan: ich bin entschuldigt!*)

A few months later another pamphlet appeared: *Schem Hamephoras,* in which Luther's curses became even more frenzied. Here he is not concerned with the Jews' usury and graft, but only with their captious reasoning and their witchcraft. This is, then, a theological polemic, but in what a tone! In the preface, Luther specifies that he is not writing to convert the Jews but merely to edify the Germans: ". . . so that we Germans may know what a Jew is. . . . For it is as easy to convert a Jew as to convert the Devil. A Jew, a Jewish heart, are hard as wood, as stone, as iron, as the Devil himself. In short, they are children of the Devil, condemned to the flames of hell. . . ." Later he contrasts the apocryphal gospels of the Jews, which are specious and false, with the four canonical Gospels whose truth is evident. His exegesis is interspersed with remarks of this kind:

"Perhaps some merciful and holy soul among us Christians will be of the opinion that I am too rough with these poor and pitiable Jews, mocking and deriding them. O Lord, I am much too feeble to mock such devils. I would do so, but they are much stronger than I in raillery, and they have a God who is a past master in this art; he is called the Devil and the wicked spirit. . . ."

In other passages Luther indulges in obscene buffoonery: ". . . Cursed *goy* that I am, I cannot understand how they manage to be so skillful, unless I think that when Judas Iscariot hanged himself, his guts burst and emptied. Perhaps the Jews sent their servants with plates of silver and pots of gold to gather up Judas' piss with the other treasures, and then they ate and drank his offal, and thereby acquired eyes so piercing that they discover in the Scriptures commentaries that neither Matthew nor Isaiah himself found there, not to mention the rest of us cursed *goyim.* . . ."

Elsewhere we seem to hear a cry from some deeper level of his tormented soul:

"I cannot understand it except by admitting that they have transformed God into the Devil, or rather into a servant of the Devil, accomplishing all the evil the Devil desires, corrupting unhappy souls, and raging against himself! In short, the Jews are worse than the devils. O God, my beloved father and creator, have pity on me who, in self-defense, must speak so scandalously of Thy divine and eternal Majesty, against Thy wicked enemies, the devils and the Jews. You know that I do so in the ardor of my faith, and in Thy Majesty's honor; for in my case, the question is one that involves all my heart and all my life. . . ."

Such are the depths into which Luther allowed himself to fall, wherein scatology that outraged his most faithful colleagues[2] followed closely upon authentic religious anguish. He concluded this work by proclaiming:

"Here I break off, and I would have nothing further to do with the Jews, neither write upon them, nor against them. They have had enough of me. If there are some among them who would repent, may God take them into His mercy. . . ." A drunkard's promise: many letters attest to Luther's efforts to have the Jews expelled or their privileges withdrawn. (He was successful in this respect in Saxony, Brandenburg, and Silesia. "Truly, he has made our position very perilous!" noted Yosel [Joseph] of Rosheim at this time in his *Memoirs*) (308). Luther's last sermon at Eisleben, the city of his birth, four days before his death (February 18, 1546), was entirely devoted to the obdurate Jews, whom it was a matter of great urgency to expel from all German territory.

It would be easy to explain these excesses in the light of what is known of the aging Luther, of his bitterness and inner conflicts, his hallucinations that made him see the Devil everywhere, and his incessant obsession with the end of the world. Such comparisons, which we have already made several times with respect to other prophets, would nowhere be better justified than in Luther's case. We might also, apropos of his verbal lack of restraint, cite some relevant psychopathological considerations. For instance, the reformer was a man who slipped into blasphemy, as in his stating that at certain moments and during certain temptations, he no longer knew who was God and who was the Devil, and he actually wondered if the Devil was not God! At times he called God infinitely foolish (*stultissimus*) and described the Christian religion as the most absurd of any. On one occasion he proved that Christ must necessarily have been an adulterer, and on still another proclaimed the suppression of the Ten Commandments. One might describe him as an unbalanced genius and find in him astonishing anticipations of Freudian theory. We know, too, that he expressed himself about the pope, his archenemy, even more vehemently and obscenely than about the Jews. Such invectives, temptations, and outbursts of aggression certainly seem to combine quite naturally with the hatred of the chosen people. But Luther's character is too rich and complex, and the imprint he left on the history of his country and of our whole civilization is too profound, for us to be content with an over-simplified, unidimensional interpretation, limited to the level of individual psychology.

As we have said, Luther was not always the enemy of the Jews. At the zenith of his activity, during the heroic period when this rebellious monk, sustained and justified by his faith, defied pope and emperor and for some time attained the dizzy peaks of total freedom, he had a very different attitude toward the Jews. Apparently he hoped for some time to convert and rally to his cause the people of the Bible. This hope moved him to publish in 1523 a pamphlet with a significant title: *Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew* (*Das Jesus Christus*

[2] This stands out especially in a correspondence between Bullinger and Martin Butzer: "If the famous hern Capnio [Reuchlin] came back to life, he would say that the spirit of [the inquisitor] Tungern, Hochstraten, and Pfefferkorn was incarnated in Luther," wrote the first-named. Even the loyal Melanchthon, in a letter to the preacher Osiander, showed his disapproval. As for the Swiss congregations, they openly declared that ". . . even written by a shepherd of pigs and not by a celebrated shepherd of souls, the *Schem Hamephoras* would be difficult to excuse." (*True Confession of the Servants of the Churches in Zurich.*) Cf. H. Lewin, *op. cit.*

ein geborener Jude sei). This was a missionary text intended to show the Jews, with the help of the exegesis of various verses from Genesis and Daniel, that Christ was indeed the true Messiah. Commentaries on the meaning of the Dispersion and the servitude of the Jews were cited in support of this view. The author sympathizes with the Jews and mocks their enemies: "Our imbeciles, the papists and the bishops, the sophists and the monks, have treated the Jews in such a way that a good Christian would seek to become a Jew. If I had been a Jew, I should have preferred to turn pig before I became a Christian, seeing how these imbeciles and ignorant louts govern and teach the Christian faith. They have treated the Jews as if they were dogs and not men. They have done nothing but persecute them. The Jews are the blood relatives, the cousins and brothers of Our Lord; if His blood and flesh could be boasted of, the Jews belong to Jesus Christ much more than we do. Hence I beg my dear papists to call me a Jew, when they are tired of calling me a heretic. . . .

"That is why I advise being considerate of them. So long as we use violence and lies and accuse them of using Christian blood to eradicate their own stink, and I do not know what other absurdities; so long as we keep them from living and working among us, in our communities, and force them to practice usury—how can they come to us? If we seek to aid them, it is the law of Christian love that we must apply to them, and not the papist law. We must welcome them in friendship, let them live and work with us, and they will be of one heart with us. . . ."

To understand Luther's complete reversal between 1523 and 1543, we may note primarily that his propaganda met with no success among the Jews. Although he had some discussions with them,[8] there were very few who "came to him" and accepted conversion, and most of these seem to have recanted subsequently. "If I find a Jew to baptize, I shall lead him to the Elbe bridge, hang a stone around his neck, and push him into the water, baptizing him with the name of Abraham!" he sneered one day in 1532. "These dogs mock us and our religion!" And when, five years later, the indefatigable Yosel of Rosheim tried to intercede with him apropos of the expulsion of the Jews from Saxony, Luther refused to receive him and informed him in writing of his disappointment. His heart, he told the Jew in substance, remained kindly disposed toward the Jews, but such kindness must serve to convert them, not to confirm them in their errors. Shortly thereafter, troubling news reached him from Bohemia. On the instigation of the Jews, some reformed Christians were Judaizing, celebrating the Sabbath, and even having themselves circumcised. This news seemed to upset

[8] Especially during the crucial days of the Diet of Worms, when two Jews had come to visit him in his lodgings. It would seem that the hopes inspired by this visit caused Luther to write the pamphlet *Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew* (cf. R. Lewin, *op. cit.*).

Luther greatly; thereafter, in conversation, he referred more often to the Jews: "I hope I shall never be so stupid as to be circumcised!" he exclaimed one day. "I would rather cut off the left breast of my Catherine and of all women!" And he wrote a missive, "The Letter of Dr. Martin Luther against the Sabbatarians," in which he polemicized against the Jewish law. On December 31, 1539, he announced to his friends: "I cannot convert the Jews. Our Lord Christ did not succeed in doing so; but I can close their mouths so that there will be nothing for them to do but lie upon the ground." Three years later he put his plans into operation.

Such were the successive stages of Luther's reversal. To be sure, the Jews had profoundly disappointed him. But there was something else: during these years he himself had changed a great deal.

Between 1521 and 1543 lay the gap that separates dream from reality. There had been the war of the knights, the bloody peasant revolts, the countless sects and heresies, put down by fire and sword, with Luther's express approval. His very success had made him aware of the measure of human imperfection and of his own political responsibilities. Forced to choose, he had sided with the mighty of this world, the princes, since it was upon them that the future of the Reformation depended. Thus the splendid purity of his doctrine was tarnished. Blood was shed in his name, crimes were perpetrated to which he must accommodate himself, for better or worse. ("You do not acknowledge the peasants, but they acknowledge you!" Erasmus wrote him.) Certain aspects of his thought developed as a consequence: to inner freedom he opposed the immutable order of things established in the world by God. The necessity of obedience was emphasized: the Christian must remain loyal and submissive. Hence, by an inescapable dialectical reversal, the doctrine of total freedom becomes one of total servitude. The archangel of rebellion is transformed into an embittered and despotic bourgeois, excommunicated and banished from the empire, confined in the small territory where his prince protects him.

We can readily see that his failure among the Jews tormented Luther all the more since his rejection by the people of God was symbolic of the countless failures and disappointments that darkened his last years and which he attributed to the intervention of the Devil—and of the Jews. Did he not make them responsible (even if it was said jokingly) for the chill that, in 1546, was to carry him off in three weeks? The Devil tormented him only in dreams; the Jews were living scapegoats, within easy reach.[4]

The consequences of Luther's position with regard to the "Jewish question" were incalculable, less from the direct ef-

[4] This symbolic role of the Jews, the exceptional importance accorded to their testimony, is also found in other religious leaders: Paul of Tarsus and Mohammed speak this same language and go through the same reversal, rancor succeeding the urgent—but fruitless—entreaties of the early period. A curious parallel! And one that we might extend to the collective reactions of nations, which received the Jews favorably at the beginning of their colonization, a favor inevitably followed by the fatal rise of anti-Semitism. Both mirror and catalyst, the souls of the great leaders recapitulate the evolution of the social body, just as ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny. What fascinating speculations for those bold enough to trace these problems further!

fect of his savage texts—which during his lifetime enjoyed only a limited circulation and which subsequently, until Hitler's advent, were practically hidden under the bushel[5]—than as a result of a certain internal logic of German Lutheranism. In that species of polyphonic passion which is anti-Semitism, the religious motif of justification by faith implies the rejection of justification by works, an essentially Jewish doctrine (*jüdischer Glauben*, wrote Luther; and we have seen that for him the "Jew who truly seeks to be a Jew" is the "enemy of Christ"). The social motif of unconditional obedience to the authorities, combined with identification with a national prophet—the reformer had specified many times that he was addressing himself to the Germans alone—paved the way for the Hitlerian heresy four centuries later. In all this, Luther's ardent spirit had roused some secret yearning of his people, provoking a gradual crystallization of national awareness. In essence, "the Jewish problem was for Luther the reverse of the problem of Christ," as one of his German commentators has recently pointed out (309). This is an appalling contrast; for minds not trained to the subtleties of dialectics, but that look upon moral questions as black or white, it inevitably comes down to contrasting "good" and "evil," "God" and "Devil," with consequences we have discussed at length.[6] "If to be a good Christian is to detest the Jews, then we are all good Christians," Erasmus had said. Perhaps a true Christian who worshiped his God in the manner of a Martin Luther inevitably ended by detesting the Jews with all his soul and opposing them with all his strength.

Moreover, we must take the customs and usages of the period into consideration. We must consider the actual role of the Jews and the stereotyped notions about them. We have seen what these were before Luther; now we shall see how the question was to develop after him.

[5] *Against the Jews and Their Lies*, in Luther's lifetime, went through two editions; the *Schem Hamephoras* (part of which was later destroyed), three. On the other hand, *Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew* was reprinted nine times during the first year after its appearance (cf. R. Lewin, *op. cit.*). During the following centuries there were few reprintings of these pamphlets (cf. *Bibliotheca Hebraica* of J. C. Wolf). In the nineteeth and twentieth centuries they were to be found only in editions of Luther's complete works, until the appearance, under Hitler, of many popular editions, widely circulated among the people.

[6] This contrast is obviously not limited to Lutheran theologians; even to the Catholic theologians of our generation, it seems essential to the understanding of what they regard as the "mystery of Israel." Thus the brilliant dialectician Father C. Fessard refers to the "negative mission" or the "negative power" or the "negative unity" of Israel. He even writes: "Judaism, to the very extent that it rejects Christ, cannot help but be the enemy of all that is specifically Christian, of all that is human." (*Pax Nostra*, Paris,

Canonical And Nazi Anti-Jewish Measures - Raul Hilberg

Destruction of the European Jews

✝ Canonical (Church) Law
卐 Nazi Measure

✝ Prohibition of intermarriage and of sexual intercourse between Christians and Jews, Synod of Elvira, 306
卐 Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honor, September 15, 1935

✝ Jews and Christians not permitted to eat together, Synod of Elvira, 306
卐 Jews barred from dining cars (Transport Minister to Interior Minister, December 30, 1939)

✝ Jews not allowed to hold public office, Synod of Clermont, 535
卐 Law for the Re-establishment of the Professional Civil Service, April 7, 1933

✝ Jews not allowed to employ Christian servants or possess Christian slaves, 3d Synod of Orleans, 538
卐 Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honor, September 15, 1935

✝ Jews not permitted to show themselves in the streets during Passion Week, 3d Synod of Orleans, 538
卐 Decree authorizing local authorities to bar Jews from the streets on certain days (i.e. Nazi holidays), December 3, 1938

✝ Burning of the Talmud and other books, 12th Synod of Toledo, 681
卐 Book burnings in Nazi Germany

✝ Christians not permitted to patronize Jewish doctors, Trulanic Synod, 692
卐 Decree of July 25, 1938

✝ Christians not permitted to live in Jewish homes, Synod of Narbonne, 1050
卐 Directive by Goring providing for concentration of Jews in houses, Dec 28, 1938

✝ Jews obliged to pay taxes for support of the Church to the same extent as Christians, Synod of Gerona, 1073
卐 The "Sozialausgleichsabgabe" which provided that Jews pay a special income tax in lieu of donations for Party purposes imposed on Nazis, Dec. 24, 1940

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✝ Jews not permitted to be plaintiffs, or witnesses against Christians in the Courts, 3d Lateran Council, 1179

✠ Proposal by the Party Chancellery that Jews not be permitted to institute civil suits, September 9, 1942

✝ Jews not permitted to withhold inheritance from descendants who had accepted Christianity, 3d Lateran Council, 1179

✠ Decree empowering the Justice Ministry to void wills offending the "sound judgment of the people," July 31, 1938

✝ The marking of Jewish clothes with a badge, 4th Lateran Council, 1215, Canon 68 (Copied from the legislation by Caliph Omar II [634-44], who had decreed that Christians wear blue belts and Jews, yellow belts.)

✠ Decree of September 1, 1941

✝ Construction of new synagogues prohibited, Council of Oxford, 1722

✠ Destruction of synagogues in entire Reich, November 10, 1938

✝ Christians not permitted to attend Jewish ceremonies, Synod of Vienna, 1267

✠ Friendly relations with Jews prohibited, October 24, 1941

✝ Jews not permitted to dispute with simple Christian people about the tenets of the Catholic religion, Synod of Vienna, 1267

✝ Compulsory ghettos, Synod of Breslau, 1267

✠ Order by Heydrich, September 21, 1939

✝ Christians not permitted to sell or rent real estate to Jews, Synod of Ofen, 1279

✠ Decree providing for compulsory sale of Jewish real estate, December 3, 1938

✝ Adoption by a Christian of the Jewish religion or return by a baptized Jew to the Jewish religion defined as heresy, Synod of Mainz, 1310

✠ Adoption by a Christian of the Jewish religion places him in jeopardy of being treated as a Jew, June 26, 1942

✝ Sale or transfer of Church articles to Jews prohibited, Synod of Lavour, 1368

✝ Jews not permitted to act as agents in the conclusion of contracts between Christians, especially marriage contracts, Council of Basel, 1434

✠ Decree of July 6, 1938, providing for liquidation of Jewish real estate agencies, brokerage agencies, and marriage agencies to non-Jews.

✝ Jews not permitted to obtain academic degrees, Council of Basel, 1434

✠ Law against overcrowding of German schools and universities, April 25, 1933

Questions:

After Reading #4 comment on the following:

☞ 1. What does the comparison between "Church Law" and "Nazi Measures" help us understand?

☞ 2. Which laws do you think were the most damaging to the Jews? Why?

☞ 3. At what point would you have realized that the "Nazi Measures" were getting to a serious level? What would you have done? What would you do today?

☞ 4. Which items in our "Bill of Rights" or in our Constitution protect us from these Measures?

Pre-Nazi and Nazi Anti-Jewish Measures

PRE-NAZI STATE DEVELOPMENT	NAZI MEASURE
Per capita protection tax *(der goldene Opferpfennig)* imposed upon Jews by King Ludwig the Bavarian, 1328-1337	
The property of Jews slain in a German city considered as public property, "because the Jews with their possessions belong to the Reich chamber," provision in the 14th-century code *Regulae juris "Ad decus"*	13th Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law providing that the property of a Jew be confiscated after his death, July 1, 1943
Confiscation of Jewish claims against Christian debtors at the end of the 14th-century in Nuremberg	11th Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law, November 25, 1941
"Fines": for example, the Regensburg fine for "killing Christian child," 1421	Decree for the "Atonement Payment" by the Jews, November 12, 1938
Marking of documents and personal papers identifying possessor or bearer as a Jew	Decree providing for identification cards, July 23, 1938 (RGB1 I, 922.)
	Decree providing for marking of passports, October 5, 1938
Marking of houses, special shopping hours, and restrictions of movement, 17th century, Frankfurt	Marking of Jewish apartments, April 17, 1942.
	Decree providing for movement restrictions, September 1, 1941
Compulsory Jewish names in 19th-century bureaucratic practice	Decree of January 5, 1937 Decree of August 17, 1938

About the Jew

Adolf Hitler

The Jewish people, despite all apparent intellectual qualities, is without any true culture, and especially without any culture of its own. For what sham culture the Jew today possesses is the property of other peoples, and for the most part it is ruined in his hands.

Thus, the Jew lacks those qualities which distinguish the races that are creative and hence culturally blessed.

The Jew never possessed a state with definite territorial limits and therefore never called a culture his own. . . .

He is, and remains, the typical parasite, a sponger who like a noxious bacillus keeps spreading as soon as a favorable medium invites him. And the effect of his existence is also like that of spongers: wherever he appears, the host people dies out after a shorter or longer period.

Thus, the Jew of all times has lived in the states of other peoples, and there formed his own state, which, to be sure, habitually sailed under the disguise of "religious community" as long as outward circumstances made a complete revelation of his nature seem inadvisable. But as soon as he felt strong enough to do without the protective cloak, he always dropped the veil and suddenly became what so many of the others previously did not want to believe and see: the Jew.

Discussion Questions

Learn about Hitler and his theories. The last document writen by the Führer just before his death was a plea to the German people to carry on the "struggle" against the Jews. The document that brought his philospophy to the attention of the world twenty years earlier, *Mein Kampf (My Struggle),* also uses that term in its title. Why did Hitler view the world in terms of struggle? What does that suggest about the individual? What were his racial theories? How did he become convinced that the Jews were the source of all evil? Relate these theories to the concept of scapegoating. What events in Hitler's own life may have created the need for a scapegoat?

BELIEFS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

READING # 12

Unit 2

AFTER READING THE BELIEFS OF THE KLAN GATHER YOU THOUGHTS AND RESPOND TO THESE QUESTIONS:

1. ON THE SURFACE TO HAVE AMERICA FIRST IS A VERY GOOD IDEA, AND TO PRESERVE THE VALUES OF THE U.S. FOR POSTERITY IS ANOTHER GOOD ONE. BUT WHAT IS PERVERSE ABOUT THESE NOTIONS AS THE KLAN PERCEIVES THEM?

2. STATE THE PROBLEM IN LINE 31 LEFT COLUMN. WHY MIGHT THE KLAN PERCEIVE THIS AS A PROBLEM? IS THERE A STATED FEAR OF THIS PROBLEM TODAY? HOW IS IT EXPRESSED?

3. WHO IS OFFERED AS THE PROTECTOR OF THE ESTABLISHED VALUES? WHY MIGHT SOME PEOPLE BUY SUCH A PROGRAM?

4. WHY MIGHT YOU THINK THEY ARE SO ANTAGONISTIC OF THE LIBERAL?

5. WHICH RACE DOES THE KLAN SUPPORT? DESCRIBE IT FROM THE READING?

6. LINE 5-17 RIGHT COL. P. 536 KNOTHING SPECIFIC IS SAID BUT THE PICTURE IS CLEAR. WHAT IS THIS PICTURE AND WHY, DO YOU SUPPOSE, ISN'T IT CLEARLY STATED IN THE TEXT?

7. THE KLAN SPOKE OF A MORAL BREAKDOWN IN THE 1920'S. IT IS SPOKEN OF NOW, THEN:
   A. HOW IMPORTANT IS IT IF WE CAN'T SEEM TO GET IT OR DEFINE IT.

   B. HOW MANY BREAKDOWNS MUST OCCUR IN HISTORY BEFORE THE SOCIETY IS GONE?

8. The "politics of adolescence:" Practices of secrecy, deception - secret handshakes and passwords and other recognition signals among the elite; "bonding" on a platform of political ideology.

9. Driving a wedge between the generations; appealing to adolescents by teaching contempt for their elders and their heritage; turning youthful recruits to violence against "the establishment."

10. Sacralization of politics - by ritual initiations, political hymns, shrines, liturgies; exorcism practiced on potential defectors.

11. Infiltration of voluntary associations and other sub-political units - professional societies, boards of education, labor unions, faculties, women's societies, etc. - to subvert their stated priorities and to use them in the movement's drive for power ("Fifth Column" activity); manipulation of memberships and boards according to pre-planned tactics.

12. Setting up "fronts," for ostensibly sound purposes, but with unidentified sponsorship, as part of a hidden strategy and agenda.

13. Use of disciplined cells as the basic unit of the movement (applying against legitimate government the essential model of resistance against illegitimate government).

14. Short-cutting of due process and constitutional checks and balances on the basis of induced internal crises - within sub-political associations and, where political takeover is pending within government units.

19th century political fundamentalists are accustomed to waffle the issue, to claim that identifying and suppressing terrorist movements by law is somehow an infringement upon First Amendment liberties. Most of them seem not to be familiar with the actual wording of the First Amendment. On the contrary, dealing hard-headedly with terrorist movements is essential if our liberties are to be preserved - and also the viability of the American republic. Every one of the above 14 points is an overt act, and movements characterized by any significant number of them are outside the political covenant and should be considered to be outside the public forum, operating without bona fide.

is not more delinquency and crime among the New Americans. And I should add too that the chauvinists mentioned above are not very numerous either. These categories together include perhaps less than 5 percent of the New Americans.

The majority of the grown-up New Americans just hang back from the mainstream of life in this country, forming a tremendous mass of neutral, politically dead citizenry; while their younger fellow New Americans, boys and girls in their teens (about twelve million of them), now attending public and parochial schools and high schools, show dangerous signs of becoming the same kind of neutral, unstirring citizens, unless something is done about it. There is among them little aggressiveness, little spirit of any sort. Without a vital sense of background, perennially [continually] oppressed by the feeling that they are outsiders and thus inferior, they will live outside the mainstream of America's national life. . . .

From whatever angle one looks at it, this is a serious matter for the New Americans as individuals and for America. Thirty millions—or even twenty millions, a probable number to which most or all of my generalizations here are directly applicable—are a lot of people, and this "second generation" will be (many already are) the fathers and mothers of the third generation, and it is not impossible that in two or three decades more than half of the population of the United States will be of these new cultural and national strains.

. . . I realize, of course, that the problem I sketch above is closely tied up with the socio-economic system under which we live; that, next to their being more or less strangers here, the worst factors behind the inferiority feelings of these millions of New Americans are poverty and its sister evil, ignorance, both of them brought over by the immigrants and then fostered by conditions here; and that the cure for most of the second-generation ills lies, ultimately, in the solution of our socio-economic problem. I doubt, however, whether the latter problem will be quickly and satisfactorily solved in this country if we permit to develop in our population a vast element, running into tens of millions, which is oppressed by acute feelings of inferiority and, largely as a result of those feelings, is becoming actually inferior human material—bewildered, politically neutral, economically unaggressive, prepared to live meekly, slavishly on the dole, and culturally nowhere. If this element is left alone in the face of its growing economic difficulties and rising prejudice against it on the part of "patriotic" older Americans, there soon will be no help for it. I imagine that hundreds of thousands of New Americans already are hopeless as potential constructive elements in any sort of vital, progressive civilization and culture; they will—let me repeat—profoundly affect the future of this country in a way that no one would want to see it affected.

On the other hand, if something is done about the problem in the spirit of the above general suggestions, I believe that the majority of the New Americans and the generation that they will produce will have an opportunity to become a great body of self-respecting, constructive citizenry; and that, with the diverse racial and cultural backgrounds they inherited from their immigrant parents, they will enrich the civilization and deepen the culture in this New World.

Problems of the 1920's

THE KU KLUX KLAN

8. HIRAM WESLEY EVANS OUTLINES THE BELIEFS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

The Ku Klux Klan, revived and reorganized in 1915, gained great popularity during the following decade. At the peak of its influence in the mid-1920's, it numbered some five million supporters. In 1926 its leader, Imperial Wizard and Emperor Hiram Wesley Evans, outlined his organization's beliefs in an article in the *North American Review*.

Compare these beliefs with those expressed by William E. Borah (see p. 524) and Madison Grant (see p. 527). What views did the three men hold in common? On what points did they differ?

★

The Ku Klux Klan on last Thanksgiving Day passed its tenth anniversary. In one decade it has made a place and won a record for achievement which are almost, if not quite, unique in the history of great popular movements. It has not

merely grown from a handful to a membership of millions, from poverty to riches, from obscurity to great influence, from fumbling impotence to the leadership in the greatest cause now before the American people. All these are important, but not vital.

What is vital is that in these years the Klan has shown a power to reform and cleanse itself from within, to formulate and vitalize fundamental instincts into concrete thought and purposeful action, to meet changing conditions with adaptability but without weakness, to speak for and to lead the common people of America and, finally, to operate through the application of practical patriotism to public life with increasing success, and along the only constructive lines to be found in the present welter of our national thought. By these things the Klan has proved not only its ability to live, but its right to life and influence. . . .

The greatest achievement so far has been to formulate, focus, and gain recognition for an idea —the idea of preserving and developing America first and chiefly for the benefit of the children of the pioneers who made America, and only and definitely along the lines of the purpose and spirit of those pioneers. . . . When the Klan first appeared, the nation was in the confusion of sudden awakening from the lovely dream of the melting pot, disorganized and helpless before the invasion of aliens and alien ideas. After ten years of the Klan it is in arms for defense. This is our great achievement.

The second is more selfish; we have won the leadership in the movement for Americanism. Except for a few lonesome voices, almost drowned by the clamor of the alien and the alien-minded "Liberal," the Klan alone faces the invader. . . .

The Klan, therefore, has now come to speak for the great mass of Americans of the old pioneer stock. We believe that it does fairly and faithfully represent them, and our proof lies in their support. To understand the Klan, then, it is necessary to understand the character and present mind of the mass of old-stock Americans. The mass, it must be remembered, as distinguished from the intellectually mongrelized "Liberals."

These are, in the first place, a blend of various peoples of the so-called Nordic race, the race which, with all its faults, has given the world almost the whole of modern civilization. The Klan does not try to represent any people but these. . . .

. . . These Nordic Americans for the last generation have found themselves increasingly uncomfortable, and finally deeply distressed. There appeared first confusion in thought and opinion, a groping and hesitancy about national affairs and private life alike, in sharp contrast to the clear, straightforward purposes of our earlier years. There was futility in religion, too, which was in many ways even more distressing. Presently we began to find that we were dealing with strange ideas; policies that always sounded well, but somehow always made us still more uncomfortable.

Finally came the moral breakdown that has been going on for two decades. One by one, all our traditional moral standards went by the boards or were so disregarded that they ceased to be binding. The sacredness of our Sabbath, of our homes, of chastity, and finally even of our right to teach our own children in our own schools fundamental facts and truths were torn away from us. Those who maintained the old standards did so only in the face of constant ridicule.

Along with this went economic distress. The assurance for the future of our children dwindled. We found our great cities and the control of much of our industry and commerce taken over by strangers, who stacked the cards of success and prosperity against us. Shortly they came to dominate our government. The *bloc* system by which this was done is now familiar to all. Every kind of inhabitant except the Americans gathered in groups which operated as units in politics, under orders of corrupt, self-seeking and un-American leaders, who both by purchase and threat enforced their demands on politicians. Thus it came about that the interests of Americans were always the last to be considered by either national or city governments, and that the native Americans were constantly discriminated against, in business, in legislation, and in administrative government. So the Nordic American today is a stranger in large parts of the land his fathers gave him. . . .

. . . The fundamentals of our thought are convictions, not mere opinions. We are pleased that modern research is finding scientific backing for

SOURCE: Hiram Wesley Evans, *North American Review*, Vol. 223, No. 8 (May 1926).

these convictions. We do not need them ourselves; we know that we are right.... These convictions are no more to be argued about than is our love for our children; we are merely willing to state them for the enlightenment and conversion of others.

There are three... great racial instincts, vital elements in both the historic and the present attempts to build an America which shall fulfill the aspirations and justify the heroism of the men who made the nation. These are the instincts of loyalty to the white race, to the traditions of America, and to the spirit of Protestantism, which has been an essential part of Americanism ever since the days of Roanoke and Plymouth Rock. They are condensed into the Klan slogan: "Native, white, Protestant supremacy."

First in the Klansman's mind is patriotism—America for Americans. He believes religiously that a betrayal of Americanism or the American race is treason to the most sacred of trusts, a trust from his fathers and a trust from God. He believes, too, that Americanism can only be achieved if the pioneer stock is kept pure....

Americanism, to the Klansman, is a thing of the spirit, a purpose and a point of view, that can only come through instinctive racial understanding. It has, to be sure, certain defined principles, but he does not believe that many aliens understand those principles, even when they use our words in talking about them. Democracy is one, fair dealing, impartial justice, equal opportunity, religious liberty, independence, self-reliance, courage, endurance, acceptance of individual responsibility as well as individual rewards for effort, willingness to sacrifice for the good of his family, his nation, and his race before anything else but God, dependence on enlightened conscience for guidance, the right to unhampered development—these are fundamental. But within the bounds they fix there must be the utmost freedom, tolerance, liberalism. In short, the Klansman believes in the greatest possible diversity and individualism within the limits of the American spirit. But he believes also that few aliens can understand that spirit, that fewer try to, and there must be resistance, intolerance even, toward anything that threatens it, or the fundamental national unity based upon it.

The second word in the Klansmans' trilogy is "white." The white race must be supreme, not only in America but in the world. This is equally undebatable except on the ground that the races might live together, each with full regard for the rights and interests of others, and that those rights and interests would never conflict. Such an idea, of course, is absurd.... The world has been so made that each race must fight for its life, must conquer, accept slavery, or die. The Klansman believes that the whites will not become slaves, and he does not intend to die before his time.

Moreover, the future of progress and civilization depends on the continued supremacy of the white race. The forward movement of the world for centuries has come entirely from it. Other races each had their chance and either failed or stuck fast, while white civilization shows no sign of having reached its limit. Until the whites falter, or some colored civilization has a miracle of awakening, there is not a single colored stock that can claim even equality with the white; much less supremacy.

The third of the Klan principles is that Protestantism must be supreme; that Rome [the Roman Catholic religion] shall not rule America. The Klansman believes this not merely because he is a Protestant, nor even because the colonies that are now our nation were settled for the purpose of wresting America from the control of Rome and establishing a land of free conscience. He believes it also because Protestantism is an essential part of Americanism; without it America could never have been created, and without it she cannot go forward....

And we deny that either bigotry or prejudice enters into our intolerance or our narrowness. We are intolerant of everything that strikes at the foundations of our race, our country, or our freedom of worship. We are narrowly opposed to the use of anything alien—race, loyalty to any foreign power or to any religion whatever—as a means to win political power. We are prejudiced against any attempt to use the privileges and opportunities which aliens hold only through our generosity as levers to force us to change our civilization, to wrest from us control of our own country, to exploit us for the benefit of any foreign power—religious or secular—and especially to use America as a tool or cat's-paw for the advantage of any side in the hatreds and quarrels of the Old World. This is our intolerance; based on the sound instincts which have saved us many times from

the follies of the intellectuals. We admit it. More and worse, we are proud of it.

"But this is all of our intolerance. We do not wish harm to any man, even to those we fight. We have no desire to abuse, enslave, exploit, or deny any legal, political, or social right to any man of any religion, race, or color. We grant them full freedom—except freedom to destroy our own freedom and ourselves. In many ways we honor and respect them. Every race has many fine and admirable traits, each has made notable achievements. There is much for us to learn from each of them. But we do insist that we may learn what we choose, and what will best fit the peculiar genius of our own race, rather than have them choose our lessons for us, and then ram them down our throats.

The attitude of the Klan toward outsiders is derived logically from these beliefs. . . .

2. JOHN MOFFATT MECKLIN CRITICIZES THE BELIEFS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

Writing in 1924, John Moffatt Mecklin, Professor of Sociology at Dartmouth College, analyzed the beliefs of the Ku Klux Klan and suggested some reasons for their widespread appeal. Mecklin published his critical analysis in *The Ku Klux Klan: A Study of the American Mind.*

According to Mecklin, why do men join the Klan? What type of person finds it most appealing? Why is the Klan called an "Invisible Empire"?

★

The Klan makes a powerful appeal to the petty impotence of the small-town mind. A close observer of the Klan from Texas makes the following suggestive remark: "There is a great 'inferiority complex' on the part of the Klan membership—due in part to lack of education—Dallas and Fort Worth (where the Klan is especially strong) being largely populated by men and women reared in obscure towns and country places where public schools are short-termed and scarce."

Here we have a curious sidelight upon the psychology of the average man of native American stock who fills the ranks of the Klan. He is tossed about in the hurly-burly of our industrial and so-called democratic society. Under the stress and strain of social competition he is made to realize his essential mediocrity. Yet according to traditional democratic doctrine he is born free and the equal of his fellow who is outdistancing him in the race. Here is a large and powerful organization offering to solace his sense of defeat by dubbing him a knight of the Invisible Empire for the small sum of ten dollars. Surely knighthood was never offered at such a bargain! He joins. He becomes the chosen conservator of American ideals, the keeper of the morals of the community. He receives the label of approved "100 percent Americanism."

The Klan slogan printed on the outside of its literature is: "an urgent call for men." This flatters the pride of the man suffering from the sense of mediocrity and defeat. It stimulates his latent idealism. It offers fantastic possibilities for his dwarfed and starved personality. Membership in a vast, mysterious empire that "sees all and hears all" means a sort of mystic glorification of his petty self. It identifies his own weak, incompetent will with the omnipotent and universal will of a great organization. The appeal is irresistible.

There are, of course, others who see in this secret and powerful organization opportunities for gratifying individual ambition. Strong but unscrupulous men have availed themselves of the Klan to attain their selfish ends. On the whole, however, the high-minded and independent members of the community do not identify themselves with the Klan. It is a refuge for mediocre men, if not for weaklings, and for obvious reasons.

One finds on every page of Klan literature an insistent, imperative, and even intolerant demand for like-mindedness. It is, of course, the beliefs and traditions of the old native American stock that are to provide the basis for this like-mindedness. The Catholic is free to entertain his own ideas in religion, but he must feel, think, and act in terms of pure and unadulterated Americanism. The foreign-born member of the community is tolerated only on the presupposition that he learns the American tongue, adopts the American dress and conventionalities; in a word, assimilates as quickly and thoroughly as possible the tradi-

SOURCE: John Moffatt Mecklin. *The Ku Klux Klan: A Study of the American Mind.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1924, pp. 107–23. Reprinted by permission of Hope Davis Mecklin Brown.

tions of the old American stock.

The eternal quarrel of the Klan with the Jew and the Negro is that mental and physical differences seem to have conspired to place them in groups entirely to themselves so that it becomes to all intents and purposes impossible for them to attain with anything like completeness this like-mindedness synonymous with 100 percent Americanism. The Negro is granted a place in American society only upon his willingness to accept a subordinate position, for 100 percent Americanism means white supremacy. The Jew is tolerated largely because native Americanism cannot help itself. The Jew is disliked because of the amazing tenacity with which he resists absolute Americanization, a dislike that is not unmingled with fear; the Negro is disliked because he is considered essentially an alien and unassimilable element in society....

The Klan, though organized in 1915, owes its marvelous growth to the disturbed postwar conditions. The war, with its hymns of hate, its stories of poison gas and human carnage, its secret spyings upon fellow Americans, its accounts of Belgian atrocities, its imprisonment of radicals, its fearful tales of Bolshevist designs upon American institutions, had opened up the fountains of the great deep of national feeling. After the armistice these hates, kindled by the war and to which the nation had become habituated during years of bloodshed, were suddenly set adrift because stripped of the objects and the ends around which they had been organized by the experience of the war. As a nation we had cultivated a taste for the cruel, the brutal, the intolerant, and the unchristian that demanded gratification. Here was an unparalleled opportunity for the Klan "salesmen of hate." The Klan offered just what the war-torn, distraught emotions of the nation demanded.

The Klan has literally battened upon [gained strength from] the irrational fear psychology that followed on the heels of the war. The Klan's first move in the South was to capitalize the white's fear of the Negro owing to the Negro's new ambitions created by his fight for democracy and the increased demands for his labor. Today, for various reasons, the Negro is a negligible quantity in the Klan issue South or North. The center of the fear psychology has been shifted even in the South from the Negro to the Catholic, the Jew, and the foreigner. What keeps the Klan alive in the face of powerful opposition and its patent incompatibility with the principles of true Americanism is undoubtedly a widespread distrust of all things foreign.

The peak of this wave of antagonism to all things foreign was reached in 1920, when the Klan began to grow by leaps and bounds. This fear of alien influence did much to defeat the strenuous efforts during the campaign of 1920 to induce this country to become a member of the League of Nations. The campaign itself was one dominated not so much by reason and the genuine merits of the issue as by blind emotions. The leaders of the opposition to Wilson's policies often strengthened these fears by demagogic [emotional] appeals to the fear of entangling foreign alliances ingrained in the average American. The defeat of Wilson and his League was mainly the result of an emotional upheaval. It was the product of a fear psychology not unmixed with more unworthy emotions....

PROHIBITION

10. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES DEFENDS PROHIBITION

With the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1919, the federal government undertook to impose an unprecedented degree of control over the personal behavior of individuals. The Amendment—which prohibited the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors—aroused a storm of controversy. In 1924 the issue of prohibition was publicly debated by two nationally known figures—John Haynes Holmes, a prominent clergyman, and Clarence Darrow, a famous trial lawyer. In the following excerpt Holmes contends that prohibition was essential for social progress.

Do you agree with Holmes? To what extent, if any, should the government have the right to regulate the morals and behavior of individuals?

★

SOURCE: John Haynes Holmes, *Debate: That the United States Continue the Policy of Prohibition as Defined in the Eighteenth Amendment*, New York: The League for Public Discussion, 1924, pp. 24–26.

BELIEFS OF THE KKK
CRITCIZED

ANSWER THESE QUESTIONS FROM THE ASSIGNED READING:

1) WHAT IS THE MEANING OF THE "SMALL TOWN MIND"?

2) WHAT IS IMPLIED BY "PETTY IMPOTENCE"?

3) WHAT PART DOES IGNORANCE AND LACK OF EDUCATION PLAY IN DEVELOPING THE "SMALL TOWN MIND"?

4) WHY DOES A MEMBER OF THE KLAN NEED ITS SUPPORT?

5) WHAT IS THE MEANING OF A "DWARFED AND STARVED PERSONALITY"?

6) WHY IS THE APPEAL OF THE KLAN IRRESISTIBLE?

7) RIGHT COLUMN, LINE 34: LIST SOME OF THESE OBVIOUS REASONS.

8) FROM YOUR EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE OF 17 YEARS LIST SOME EXAMPLES OF "LIKEMINDEDNESS":

   A. IN SCHOOL

   B. AT HOME

   C. IN YOUR CHURCH OR TEMPLE

   AT WHAT POINT DOES LIKEMINDEDNESS BECOME SOCIALLY UNACCEPABLE AND PROBLEMATIC?

9) WHY ARE JEWS AND BLACKS DISLIKED BY THE KLAN? WILL THEIR HATRED STOP HERE? WHAT OTHER GROUPS MIGHT THEY ADD TO THE LIST?

10) WHAT SOCIAL SIMILARITIES DO YOU OBSERV HAPPENING NOW IN THE '90'S THAT ARE COMMENSURATE WITH THE READING WRITTEN IN THE MIDDLE '20'S?

THE "GRID" FOR AN EARLY WARNING SYSTEM

This "Grid" was developed in a series of graduate seminars that began at Emory University in 1959. It was first published in Wild Tongues: A Handbook of Social Pathology, published by Macmillan in 1969 and withdrawn by the publisher after a massive set of public attacks by both communist and rightwing extremists. In its present form it dates from my 1983 Seminar. - F. H. L.

How can a terrorist movement, with its threat to our liberties and our lives, be more precisely identified? There are certain characteristics which, put together, comprise an identification "Grid," give warning of a "kairos." No one point by itself is sufficient, but if 10 or 12 points are present in a movement we are confronted by a reptile - and not a bald eagle. What are the identifying points? (All involve action, not opinion alone.)

1. Recruitment of members and mobilization of demonstrating mobs by antisemitic appeals.

2. Recruitment of members and mobilization of demonstrations and/or mobs by racist appeals, targetting one or more ethnic/cultural/religious minorities.

3. Assaults in the media on loyal citizens, individual or in groups, often as part of a political polarizing strategy.

4. Violence practiced toward opponents (assassinations, bombings, attacks on meetings and meeting places, etc.); intimidation of targetted minorities by mass demonstrations; use of terrorist acts to destabilize democratic institutions.

5. Para-military training of members, often including linkage to the international terrorist network and training camps.

6. Organization of private armies, with in-group uniforms and insignia, not under control of legitimate authorities (police or army).

7. Authoritarian internal structures: misuse of military command structure, terminology, imagery in the political forum - where unintimidated public discussion of issues is the aeration process by which liberty and self-government flourish. (Not an adequate military defense, but the application of military language and tactics to civilian life is rightly condemned as "militarism.")

8. The "politics of adolescence:" Practices of secrecy, deception - secret handshakes and passwords and other recognition signals among the elite; "bonding" on a platform of political ideology.

9. Driving a wedge between the generations; appealing to adolescents by teaching contempt for their elders and their heritage; turning youthful recruits to violence against "the establishment."

10. Sacralization of politics - by ritual initiations, political hymns, shrines, liturgies; exorcism practiced on potential defectors.

11. Infiltration of voluntary associations and other sub-political units - professional societies, boards of education, labor unions, faculties, women's societies, etc. - to subvert their stated priorities and to use them in the movement's drive for power ("Fifth Column" activity); manipulation of memberships and boards according to pre-planned tactics.

12. Setting up "fronts," for ostensibly sound purposes, but with unidentified sponsorship, as part of a hidden strategy and agenda.

13. Use of disciplined cells as the basic unit of the movement (applying against legitimate government the essential model of resistance against illegitimate government).

14. Short-cutting of due process and constitutional checks and balances on the basis of induced internal crises - within sub-political associations and, where political takeover is pending within government units.

19th century political fundamentalists are accustomed to waffle the issue, to claim that identifying and suppressing terrorist movements by law is somehow an infringement upon First Amendment liberties. Most of them seem not to be familiar with the actual wording of the First Amendment. On the contrary, dealing hard-headedly with terrorist movements is essential if our liberties are to be preserved - and also the viability of the American republic. Every one of the above 14 points is an overt act, and movements characterized by any significant number of them are outside the political covenant and should be considered to be outside the public forum, operating without bona fide.

EXTREMIST EARLY WARNING GRID

INSTRUCTIONS:

THIS GRID WILL HELP ASCERTAIN THE DANGER LEVEL OF AN EXTREMIST GROUP. READ THE 14 GRID DESCRIPTIONS AND DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT THERE IS SUFFICIENT EVIDENCE TO DETERMINE IF THIS GROUP IS DANGEROUS OR JUST A NUISANCE.

EXTREMIST GROUP'S NAME_____

LEADER_____

PUBLICATIONS_____

BASE OF OPERATIONS_____

GRID DESCRIPTION IDENTIFICATION

NUMBER	YES	NO	COMMENT
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
6.			
7.			
8.			
9.			
10.			
11.			
12.			
13.			
14.			

CONCLUSIONS REGARDING DANGER OR NUISANCE:

UNIT III · The Rise of Nazism in Germany: Prelude to the Holocaust



"Six Million Martyrs"

UNIT III

THE RISE OF NAZISM

The purpose of Unit III is to explore the historical background to the evil of Nazi anti-semitism, paying particular attention to social, economic, and political turbulence in the 19th and 20th centuries. It will be argued that nations in crisis typically exacerbate crises by using desperate measures to resolve them.

Anti-Jewish feeling fueled anti-Jewish behavior for centuries before Hitler came to power. Since the time of the Roman Empire, Europeans in dominance regarded Jews as second-class citizens. Believing that Jews killed Christ and excoriated Christianity by rejecting Jesus as the Messiah, they prohibited Jews from the privilege of owning land and occasionally expelled them completely and irrevocably beyond national boundaries. Partly as a result, Jews lived in isolation and on the margins of mainstream society, becoming traders or money lenders. (Ironically, as the European economy evolved from an agrarian to an urban one, Jews in commerce became economically vital).

Anti-Jewish feeling did not abate with the flowering of Enlightenment ideals from the end of the 18th century on. On the contrary, as ghetto walls came down and Jews assimilated into the heart of European intellectual and cultural life, hostilities and suspicions toward Jews became fertile soil for the growth of extremist political movements. As the infamous Dreyfus trail in the French 1890s made unavoidably clear, assimilated Jews, instead of feeling more like first-class citizens, felt concomitantly less and less secure.

Hitler grew up in this dissonant climate. His troubled youth additionally prepared him for a life full of resentment. The fourth child of Klara and Alois, a customs official, Hitler was born in Braunau, Austria, on April 20, 1889 and later moved with his family to nearby Linz. His contemporaries remembered young Adolf as a lazy, ill-tempered, and poorly disciplined student. When he was 15, he quit school and moved to Vienna. The one ambition he had at the time was to become a painter, but here, too, he failed, a rejected applicant to the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts.

Hitler derived a measure of self-assurance from the influential anti-Semitic parties and ideas in prewar Vienna. As he later acknowledged, Karl Lueger's successes at using anti-Semitic calumny to mobilize a following and win mayoral elections inspired Hitler as an adolescent. He met writers, like Jorg Lanze von Liebenfels, who wrote racist pamphlets extolling Aryan heroes and disparaging Jewish "ape-men."

Hitler's experience in World War I (after moving to Munich in 1913 he enlisted in the German Army) appeared to galvanize his own burgeoning anti-Semitic views. He readily supported popular beliefs that Jews were responsible for Germany's humiliating

defeat. Upon his return to Munich, he joined the German Worker's Party, soon called the National Socialists Workers Party or Nazi Party. Homeless and without work or friends, he began in 1920 to speak publicly about what was needed to save Germany from political collapse.

Hitler was a captivating orator, attracting large audiences to the Nazi Party. In 1923, Hitler, now exhibiting extremist behavior, and his Nazi Storm Troopers laid siege on Germany's parliamentary building (the Reichstage) in a failed attempt to overthrow the country's ineffective, liberal government. Arrested and incarcerated for nine months with Rudolf Hess, Hitler found the time to organize his political viewpoints and write Mein Kampf ("My Struggle"). The book, which expounded theories about the significance of racial policies, the calamitous threat of a covert Jewish plot to take over and destroy the world, and the saving mission of the Aryan nation, soon became the manifesto of the Nazi Party.

The Great Depression that catapulted Germany and the rest of the Western world into economic turmoil set the immediate stage for Hitler's rise to power and the supremacy of racial politics. Like Lueger before him, he successfully deployed anti-Semitic diatribe to parlay social discontent and despair into a loyal political following.

Seeking national victory for the Nazi Party, he promised to create new jobs by rebuilding the German economy and rehabilitating the German Army. In 1932, the last free election of the Weimar Republic gave 14 million people (37 percent of the voters) the chance to express their support of the Nazi Party. Paul von Hindenburg, President of the German Republic, made Adolf Hitler the new Chancellor of Germany on January 20, 1933.

It didn't take Hitler long to commence a campaign of persecution against his political enemies: Communists, Socialists, and especially Jews. On February 27 Hitler's surrogates set fire to the Reichstag, using the occasion to blame Communists and other he felt were his enemies. To seize more complete political control over the nation, he took advantage of chaotic economic conditions as justification for issuing emergency decrees with the power of abrogating constitutional freedoms. Eventually, Hitler dropped all pretenses in order to accelerate his assault. He deployed his Storm Troops to terrorize his enemies. Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's Minister of Propaganda, used children's textbooks and caricatures in magazines and newspapers, like Der Sturmer, to demonize Jews as deplorable dangerous animals.

Hitler achieved legal political power upon President Hindenburg's death in August 1934, becoming both President and Chancellor of Germany. With the population's support or tacit consent, Hitler was, by 1935, in the uncompromising position to give his anti-Semitic vitriol full rein.

STUDENT READINGS
THE RISE OF NAZISM: PRELUDE TO THE HOLOCAUST

UNIT III

GOALS	READING #	TITLE	PAGE
3	Reading #1	**Jewish Life in the 20th Century Europe**	1
		Jews of Poland, Jews of Germany , Furman **Anthology**	2
3	Reading #2	**Christian and Jews of Germany, Society on Trial** 1870-1914, ADL, (Bantam Books)	3
3	Reading #3	**Can Any People Become the Victims of Genocide - Lesson#2,** From **Classroom strategies for Teaching Holocaust,** Ira Zomberg, ADL	6
4	Reading #4	**Rise of Hitler,** Sefton Delmar, Furman **Anthology**	13
4	Reading #5	**Why the Nazis came to Power in Germany,** Furman **Anthology**	15
4	Reading #6	**3rd Reich in Perspective** - Gertrude Noar, **Society on Trial**	16
		Why I Joined the Hitler Youth - William Allen	19
4	Reading #7	**What were the Sources of Nazi Voter Strength -** David Hagenauer, Ramsey High School	20
5	Reading #8	**Leni Riefenstahl - The Survival of Her Will -** Stanlev Feingold (Congress Monthly)	23
5	Reading #9	**What the Nazis Believed** - Furman **Anthology**	27
6	Reading #10	**The Messages of the Nazies: Slogans, Posters, Songs and Games** - Furman **Anthology**	30

UNIT__III__: The Rise of Nazism: Prelude to the Holocaust
UNIT GOAL : Student will understand the global and domestic conditions that led to the rise of Nazi Germany

Note: Much can be done in the Literature and Art Departments with 19th century Romanticism using an interdisciplinary approach.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
1. Students will analyze and form conclusions about the late 19th and early 20th century German politics that provided the seed bed for the rise of Nazism.	Individually or in a group study, write or report orally on the significance, meaning, or impact of these ideas and men -- romanticism, metapolitics, volk, reactionary, nationalism, Father Jahn, Siegfried, Richard Wagner, Fichte, Hegel, Treitschke, Neitzche, Bismarck and Houston Chamberlain. A. Students will study in depth the internal political evolution of Germany. (The impact of conservative thought and its incumbent authoritarianism.) Suggested materials to use for activity A: 1A, 1C, 1D, 1G, 1H, 1J, 1L, 1M, 1N, 1S, 1T, 1U, 1X, 1Y, 1Z, 1A1, 1B1, 1C1, 1D1. B. Students will review of the culture of 19th and early 20th century intellectual contributions to the University system of Germany. Emphasize both written and visual. Suggested materials to use for activity B: 1B, 1E, 1F, 1P, 1Q, 1R, 1U, 1V, 1A1. C. The significance of Germany being denied a "Place in the Sun" as a result of its late coming onto the European power scene. Suggested materials to use for activity C 1C, 1G, 1H, 1J, 1M, 1N, 1O, 1S, 1T, 1U, 1X, 1Y, 1Z, 1A1, 1B1, 1D1. Note: Students will develop a sense that Nazism was an evolutionary process in German politics. It was born out of a national identity crisis caused by the political, social, and economic collapse of Germany after W.W.I. The fragility of this national identity was the byproduct of its late entry into the family of European nations due to a slowly developing nation state.	SUGGESTED RESOURCES: 1A. Mosse, George L., **Crisis of German Ideology**: Intellectual origins of the 3rd. Reich, Schocken Books, 1964. 1B. Viereck, Peter, **Metapolitics,** The Roots of the Nazi Mind, Capricorn Books, 1941. 1C. Fitzgibbon, Constantine, **Concise History of Germany**, Viking, 1972. (Examines the character of the German people and describes their way of life and role in world affairs from a historical perspective.) 1D. Barraclough, Geoffrey, **Origins of Modern Germany**, Macmillan, 1957. 1E. Hugo, Howard E., **The Romantic Reader,** Viking Press, 1957. 1F. **The Romantics** (video cassette) narrated by James Galway. Princeton NJ: Film for the Humanities, 1990. 1G. Kurtz, Harold, **The Second Reich: Kaiser Wilhelm II and His Germany**; Am. Heritage, 1970. (The life of Kaiser Wilhelm II is projected against the background of contemporary German history.) 1H. Medlicott, W., **Bismarck and Modern Germany**; Harper, 1965.

• Readings included in this unit.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	D. Students will role play an interview in the **CBS 60 Minutes** format with any one of the figures of late 19th century Germany. These can include Richard Wagner, Otto Von Bismarck, George Hegel, Kaiser Wilhelm II and Houston Chamberlain. The interview should include a questioning of their views on such matters as democracy, anti-Semitism, and the role of Germany in present and future history. Suggested materials to use for activity D: 1B, 1C, 1D, 1E, 1G, 1H, 1J, 1K, 1L, 1M, 1N, 1P, 1P, 1Z, 1A1, 1C1, 1D1, PT. B. E. Student will create a time line for any or each of the following areas of German history. Include the major events that have significant meaning during the period of 1848-1914: 1. Political 2. Socio-economic 3. Social 4. Cultural (Kultur) - Volk Suggested materials to use for activity E: 1A, 1B, 1C, 1D, 1E, 1F, 1G, 1H, 1J, 1K, 1L, 1M, 1N, 10, 1P, 1Q, 1R, 1S, 1T, 1U, 1V, 1W, 1X, 1Y, 1A1, 1B1. 1C1. F. Student will develop a photo essay of art that best depicts the volkish emphasis prevalent in the 19th century. Suggested materials use for activity F: 1Q, 1R, 1T.	1I. Werstein, Irving, **The Franco-Prussian War: Germany's Rise as a World Power**, Messner, 1965. (The author tells the "story of the Franco-Prussian War which-- erupting in 1870- laid the ground work for two subsequent world wars, even while it united German states.") 1J. Taylor, Alan John Percivale, **Course of German History: A Survey of the Development of Germany Since 1815,** Coward-McCann, 1946. 1K. Russell, Francis, **The Horizon Concise History of Germany:** Am. Heritage, 1973. 1L. Fulbrook Mary, **A Concise History of Germany,** Cambridge Univ. Pr. 1990. (Examines the social, political, and culture changes in Germany to the present.) 1M. Fife, H.R., **German Empire Between Two Wars;** A study of political and social development of the Nation between 1871-1914, Macmillan, 1981. 1N. Eyck, Erich, **Bismarck and The German Empire,** Norton Library, 1958. 1O. Gollwitzer, Heinz, **Europe in the Age of Imperialism 1880 -1914,** Harcourt, Brace, 1969. 1P. Talmon, J.L., **Romanticism and Revolt: Europe 1815-1848**. Harcourt, Brace, 1967. 1Q. **Premodern Art**, 40 Min. video, S.S.S.S. 1R. **Romanticism** 27 Min. video, S.S.S.S.

UNIT_III_: The Rise of Nazism: Prelude to the Holocaust
UNIT GOAL : Student will understand the global and domestic conditions that led to the rise of Nazi Germany

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
		1S. **The Making of the German Nation**, filmstrip on video format, S.S.S.S. 1T. **19th Century Nationalism**, filmstrip on video format, S.S.S.S. 1U. Europe Mighty Continent Series: **Glory Europe – Hey Day Fever**, 51 Min. video, S.S.S.S. 1V Europe Mighty Continent Series: **Great War – This Generation Has No Future**, 52 Min., video. 1W. **Years of Revolt and Revolution,** 30 Min. video, S.S.S.S. 1□. **Prelude to War,** 35 Min. video, S.S.S.S. 1Y. **Bismarck -- Germany from Blood and Iron,** 30 Min. video , S.S.S.S. 1Z. History makers: **Bismarck**, study booklet, helps students to measure the impact of this personality on history. S.S.S.S. 1A1. Political and social movements, **Nationalism**, study booklet, S.S.S.S. 1B1. Computer analysis, European study disks: **Europe in Transition**, S.S.S.S. 1C1`. Simulation: **World: How Nations develop and Become Involved in Power Struggles,** S.S.S.S.

UNIT__III__: The Rise of Nazism: Prelude to the Holocaust
UNIT GOAL : Student will understand the global and domestic conditions that led to the rise of Nazi Germany

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
2. Students will demonstrate a factual knowledge of the life of Adolf Hitler with an emphasis on those behaviors that may indicate a troubled personality.	2. A. Students will create a Genealogy chart on Adolf Hitler. Suggested materials for use with activity A: 2C, 2D, 2E, 2F, 2H. B. Develop a time line of events in the life of Hitler, April 20, 1889 - April 30, 1945. Periodization and psychological study is beneficial: 1. 1889-1918 - Early Period 2. 1919-1924 - Early Political Career 3. 1924-1933 - Rise to Power 4. 1934-1939 - Prelude to Power 5. 1940-1945 W.W. II Suggested materials for use with activity 2B: 2C 2D, 23, 2F, 2H. C. Student will describe the relationship between Hitler and his parents until his 17th year. Suggested materials to use with activity 2C: 2A, 2B. D. Student can research how Hitler developed his rigid anti-Semitism during his Vienna years 1907-1914. What did he learn and from whom did he learn it? Suggested materials to use with activity 2D: 2C, 2D, 2H.	2A. Ragland, Rachel G., Saxon, Burt: **Invitation to Psychology**; 2nd ed., Scott Foresman and Co., Glenview, IL, 1989. CH. 2, **Middle Childhood and Adolescence** pp. 46-70. CH. 3, **Adult Living,** Sections 1 & 2 pp. 71-82. CH. 11, **Self and Personality**, pp. 280-304. CH. 12, **Abnormal Behavior**, pp. 308-339. 2B. Langer, Walter; **The Mind of Adolf Hitler**; Basic Books, NY, NY 1972. 2C. Bullock, Allan; **Hitler, A Study in Tyranny**; Harper Books, NY, 1958. 2D. Fest, Joachim, **Hitler**; Harcourt Brace and Jovanovich, NY, 1973. 2E. **The Life of Adolf Hitler**, Video, S.S.S.S. 2F. **Hitler**, Biography series of A&E Television. Arts and Entertainment Inc., NY. 2G. **The Twisted Cross**, video, 60 Min., S.S.S.S. 2H. **The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich**, Wm. Shirer; 60 Min., Video, S.S.S.S. 2I. Use any media material to denote the personal interpretation of Hitler's personality and life.

UNIT__III__: The Rise of Nazism: Prelude to the Holocaust
UNIT GOAL : Student will understand the global and domestic conditions that led to the rise of Nazi Germany

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	E. Students will research and discuss Hitler the trench war veteran? What kind of soldier was he? (coward or hero) Suggested materials to use with activity 2E: 2C, 2D, 2F, 2G, 2H. F. Students will create a collage depicting the personality of Hitler. Suggested materials to use with activity 2F: 2A, 2B, 2I.	
3. Students will form a generalization about Jewish life in Europe prior to the Holocaust.	3 A. Students will compare and contrast Eastern European Jews, South Eastern, and Western European Jews by developing a chart analysis of the different cultural and sub-cultural traits among the various groups. The cultural map should include but not be limited to these inputs: 1. Religious practices 2. Assimilation into mainstream and contribution to mainstream culture 3 Economic life 4. Cultural life 5. Language 6. Other Suggested materials to use with activity 3A: 3A, 3B, 3G, 3I, 3L, 3N, 3O, 3Q. B. Invite a guest from various Jewish communities to discuss Jewish Life in America. Suggested materials to use with activity 3B: 3A, 3I, 3O, 3P, 3Q.	3A. Contact local Jewish Community Resource (Appendix), Holocaust Center, college or community college, or synagogue. Locate appropriate historical and cultural materials of specific regions and areas of Europe: Germany, France, Great Britain, Poland, Russian, Greece, Italy, etc. (Each will have a unique experience, with only a common religion that binds them together and even that will have a variety of interpretations.) 3B. Johnson, Paul, **A History of the Jews**; Harper and Roe, NY, 1987. 3C. Furman, **Anthology**, Life of Jews Before the War, pp. 57-59. 3D. Paterson, Charles; **Anti-Semitism: The Road to the Holocaust and Beyond,** Walker and Col, NY, 1981. 3E. Hay, Malcolm; **The Roots of Christian Anti-Semitism**, Freedom Press Library, NY, 1981. 3F. Voles, Rachel; **Teaching About Christian Anti-Semitism, Emory Studies on the Holocaust**, Vol. II. Emory Univ., Atlanta, 1988.

UNIT__III__: The Rise of Nazism: Prelude to the Holocaust
UNIT GOAL : Student will understand the global and domestic conditions that led to the rise of Nazi Germany

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
		3G. Chartok, Rosell, and Spencer, Jack; **Holocaust Years: Society on Trial;** Bantam Books, NY. 1978. • 1. Sec. 19 - Christian and Jews in Germany, Urial Tal, pp. 59-67. • 2 .Sec. 20 - Jewish Life Between Two World Wars, Judah Pilch, pp. 67-79. 3H. **Holocaust: A Study of Genocide**, Bd. of Ed., City of NY, Div. of Curriculum and Instruction, 1985, pp. 157-197. 1. Medieval Ghetto 2. Development of anti-Semitism in Europe 3. Jewish Life in Europe 4. Anti-Semitism in 19th Century 3I. **Camera of My Family**, filmstrip on video: Jewish Family Portrait of Prewar Times and Post War Time Effects, ADL. 3J. Prager, Dennis, and Telushkin, Joseph; **Why the Jews: The Reason for Anti-Semitism;** Simon Schuster, NY, 1983. 3K.• Zormberb, Ira: **Classroom Strategies for Teaching About the Holocaust:** 10 lessons for classroom use; ADL, NY, 1983. • Lesson #2 Can any People Become the Victim of Genocide, pp. 16-23.

UNIT__III__: The Rise of Nazism: Prelude to the Holocaust
UNIT GOAL : Student will understand the global and domestic conditions that led to the rise of Nazi Germany

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
		3L. **The Merlin Family**, (Jewish American Family) 20 Min. Video, ADL. 3M. Bigot segment of **Twilight Zone**, movie, video rental. 3N. **Fiddler on the Roof**, Video musical depicting 19th century Jewish rural life in Eastern Europe. Available for rental at local video store; Blockbuster Video. 3O. **The Chosen**, Video rental also a novel, reveals insights into Hassidic life of New York. Blockbuster video rental or purchase. 3P. **School Ties**, Video rental, reveals anti-Semtisim in an upper class prep school. Available for rental or purchase. 3Q. **The Fixer**, 132 Min. film video, Russian Jew unjustly accused of "Ritual Murder". . Malamud, Bernard, **The Fixer**; Pocket Books, NY, 1966.
4. Students will assess and form conclusions surrounding events that affected the collapse of the Weimar Republic and effected the Rise of Nazism in Germany	• 4A. Students will report on the influence of political party life in Germany 1919-1933. This should list: Leaders, Platform, Membership, and Performance Results by election. Develop a generalization how this party contributed to the collapse of the Weimar Republic. Suggested materials to use with activity 4A: 4A, 4B, 4C, 4D, 4E, #'s, 29, 30, 33, 4H, 4I, 4K.	•4A. Furman, **Holocaust Anthology**, Why the Nazis Came to Power, pp. 70-71. • Furman, **Holocaust Anthology**, Rise of Hitler 4B. Gutman, **Encyclopedia of the Holocaust**, Macmillan Pub., NY, 1990. 4C. Delmar, Sefton, **Weimar Germany: Democracy on Trial**, American Heritage Press, NY, 1972.

UNIT__III__: The Rise of Nazism: Prelude to the Holocaust
UNIT GOAL : Student will understand the global and domestic conditions that led to the rise of Nazi Germany

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	4B. Students will role play and interview: write a script from an analysis of **Seven Case Studies** of people that had something to gain with the success of the Nazis. Suggested materials to use with activity 4B: 4E #'s, 30, 32. 4C. Students will graph the German economy 1919-1933. Form a generalization describing the state of the economy during the rise of Nazism. Suggested materials to use with activity 4C: 4D, 4I, 4J. 4D. Students will create a political chart and compare exercise above with the state of the economy graph above to form a generalization regarding the success of the Nazis in 1933. Suggested materials to use with activity 4D: 4D, 4I, 4J, 4E 3's 30, 31. 4E. Students will respond to a series of personal crises : 1. Brainstorm as many personal crisis examples as the class can discover: i.e. family crisis, school crisis. 2. Visible behaviors that indicate difficulty i.e. crying, swearing, rationalizing, blaming, denial. 3. Irrational responses: i.e. substance abuse, suicide and self destructive behavior. Suggested materials to use with activity 4E: 4A, 4B, 4C, 4D,4E , 29, 30, 31, 4I, 4J, 4K, 4L, 4M, 4N, 40.	4D. Carr, Edward, H., **The 20 Year Crisis, 1919-1939**, Harper Collins Publ, NY, 1964, $13.00. 4E. **Holocaust Years: Society on Trial**, ADL, 1978. Unit III: How and Why, pp. 101-125. 29 - 3rd. Reich in Perspective 30 - Seven Case Studies 31 - Herr Damm 32 - Why I Joined the Hitler Youth 33- - A Town goes Nazi 4F. **Twisted Cross**, Video 60 Min., available from local Holocaust Center, school film library or documentary section of local video store for purchase or rental. 4G. **Rise and Fall of the Third Reich**, video, 60 Min., S.S.S.S. • 4H. Hogenauer, David, **What Were the Sources of Nazi Voter Strength**, (High School History Lesson 1 1-5 hrs.), **Remembering the Voices that were Silenced:** symposium on the teaching of the Holocaust, Ramsey High School, May 5, 1992. 4I. Bullock Allan, **Hitler: Study in Tyranny**, Harper Bros., Inc., NY, 1958. 4J. Shirer, Wm., **The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich**; Simon and Schuster, NY, 1960.

UNIT__III__: The Rise of Nazism: Prelude to the Holocaust
UNIT GOAL : Student will understand the global and domestic conditions that led to the rise of Nazi Germany

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	PART II: 4F. Students will question: What irrational behaviors might a nation exhibit in response to national crisis? 1. Economic setbacks: Depression and its problems 2. Political setbacks: War, Civil War, Revolution, Chaos 3. Social Setbacks: Crime, Religion, Racism. 4. Responses: Demonstrations, Unrest, Mistrust, Voter Apathy 5. Irrational Behavior: Rise of Political Extremist Groups, Cults, Demagogues. Suggested materials to use with activity 4F: All sources suggested for Part I and 4H, 4P, 4Q,. **PART III:** 4G. Divide students into four groups. Student will discuss and develop a consensus for each group. 1. As Nazis: Why we won in Germany 1933. 2. As Communists: Why we lost in Germany 1933. 3. As Social Democrats: Why we lost in Germany 1933. 4. As Conservatives: Why we were unable to control the Nazis as we thought we could and why this resulted in losing Germany in 1933. Suggested materials to use with activity 4 G: 4A, 4D, 4I, 4J, 4K, 4L, 4O.	4K. Allen, Wm., Sheridan, **The Nazi Seizure of Power:** The experience of a single German town 1930-1935, Quadrangle, Chicago, 1965. 4L. Haffner, Sebastian, **The Meaning of Hitler**, Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1979. 4M. Smith, Daniel, Editor, **American Diplomatic History, Vol. II**; D.D. Heath Co., Lexington MA, 1964. Chapter 10, "Psychic Crisis of the 1890's" by Richard Hofstadter. 4N. Hall, Calvin, Lindzet & Gardner, **Theories of Personality**; 3rd edition, Wiley and Sons, NY, 1978. Chapter 16, "Skinner's Operant Reinforcement Theory". 4O. Ragland, Rachel & Saxon, Burt, **Invitation to Psychology**, 2nd edition, Scott Foresman and Co., Glenview IL, 1981. Chapters 15 & 16. 4P. Ember, Carol & Melvin, **Anthropology**; Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NY, 1988. 4Q. Lipset and Raab. **The Politics of Unreaso**, Harper and Row, 1970, ADL.

UNIT_III_: The Rise of Nazism: Prelude to the Holocaust
UNIT GOAL : Student will understand the global and domestic conditions that led to the rise of Nazi Germany

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	TEACHER'S NOTE: Solutions to the previous activities are best found by using support evidence for the stated quote. "If there has been one constant, it has been the perception of extreme rightist movements as those which have risen primarily against the displacement of power and status that accompany change; while left wing extremism has been seen as impelling social change, and, in that course, attempting to overthrow old power and status groups". Lispet and Raab, **Politics of Unreason**, p. 3.	
5. Students will determine why Nazi philosophy and government appealed to certain aspects and human nature of behavior.	5A. Students will view and comment: How the film **Triumph of the Will** reflects the basic human nature need for pomp, pageantry, extravaganza, and mysticism. Why and to whose benefit? What primitive instincts does this film appeal to and how does it benefit the rise of Nazism? In what ways is this film pure propaganda? Why is it among the most studied films in any modern film class? Suggested materials to use with activity 5A: 5A, 4M, 4P, 4Q. 5B. Compare and contrast the basic belief structure of the Ku Klux Klan with those of Nazism. Suggested materials to use with activity 5B. 5B, 5C, 5E, 5F, 5G. 5C. Students will brainstorm: What kind of person joins extremist groups i.e. Nazis or Klan? Compare: The brainstorm conclusions with those of John Moffatt Mecklin. Suggested materials to use with activity 5C: 4O, 4P, 4Q, 5D, 5E, 5F, 5G.	• 5A. Riefenstahl, Leni, **Triumph of the Will**, Video, 2+ hours, S.S.S.S. • 5B. Furman, **Anthology**; Nazi beliefs, p.p. 60-63. 5C. Evans, Hiram, Wesley, **Outlines the Beliefs of the Klan**, North American Review, 1926. 5D. Mecklin, John, Moffatt; **Criticizes the Beliefs of the Ku Klux Klan: A study of the American Mind**, 1924. 5E. Lipset and Raab, **The Politics of Unreason,** Extremists and Extremism, Chapter 11, ADL. 5F. **California Reich**, Video, 60 Min., S.S.S.S. 5G. **Crimes of Hate**, Video, ADL.

UNIT__III__: The Rise of Nazism: Prelude to the Holocaust
UNIT GOAL : Student will understand the global and domestic conditions that led to the rise of Nazi Germany

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	Proven Mastery of the Language of the Nazis. 5D. Students will show a minimum of proficiency in what the Nazis professed in their belief structure. Suggested materials to use with activity 5D: 5B, 5H. 5E. Students will conduct a **Needs Auction**: Simulation: Part I: (Reveals what the individual is willing to pay to have his needs met). Suggested materials to use with activity 5E: 5I. 5F. **Needs Auction:** Part II (The National Scene). Nations have needs also: Physical security, economic security, political security, world prestige, world respect. Discuss - Would a Nation sell its "Soul" to a dictator to achieve these ends? Suggested materials to use with activity 5F: 4E, 4M, 4N, 40, 4P, 4Q, 5I. 5G. Students will compare and contrast: The character of Mephistopheles with that of Adolf Hitler and Dr. Faustus and with that of the German Nation. What was being offered in each case and what was the price? Suggested materials for use with Activity 5G: 5J	5H. **Glossary of Nazism**, Simon Weisenthal Foundation. (A complete glossary of the words that best describe the intended meanings of the Nazis as well as their belief structure). 5I. Simon, Howe, and Kirchenbaum: **Values Clarification**, Hart Publishing, 1972. Materials for **Needs Auction.** 5J. Goethe, **Faust**. There is also an English version by Marlowe. **Masterplots: World's Fine Literature**, Vols. 4 & 5, Salem Press, NY, 1964. **Dr. Faustus**, video drama, Video store for rental or purchase.

UNIT__III__: The Rise of Nazism: Prelude to the Holocaust
UNIT GOAL : Student will understand the global and domestic conditions that led to the rise of Nazi Germany

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
6. Examine the role of the media and propaganda in relation to Nazi ideology.	6A. Students will define and describe: propaganda, when and why is it used. Suggested materials to use with activity 6A: 6A, 6C. 6B. Students will examine and comment: on Hitler and the Nazi Party's use of propaganda messages and media. Suggested materials to use with activity 6B: 6D, 6E, 6F, 6G, 6I. 6C. Students will debate: Political correctness in Germany 1919-1933 and success of the Nazis through the use of propaganda. Suggested materials to use with activity 6C: 6G, 6H. 6D. Students will construct and display a bulletin board: One that is an interpretation that relates to those factors that motivate the human being to act in situations of anger, compassion, fear, frustration, political action at election time i.e. negative politics in the "Sound Bite". Write a one page analysis of the visual product and relate it to human behavior and the success of the Nazis in Germany. Suggested materials to use with activity 6D: 6B, 6C, 6D.	6A. Stevens, Larry, **The Propaganda Kit**, (game). Teaches and describes the techniques of propaganda; faulty analogy, rationalizing, and attacking the "Straw Man", S.S.S.S. 6B. **Newspapers and Public Opinion: Persuasive Writing**, (Activity book), S.S.S.S. 6C. **Analyzing Persuasion:** 10 teaching aids, S.S.S.S. 6D. **Art with a Message: Protest and Propaganda, Satire and Social Comment**, VHS video from Stills, S.S.S.S. 6E. **The Wave**, ABC Afternoon Special, video, 60 Min., S.S.S.S. 6F. **Heil Hitler**: Confessions of a Hitler Youth, Video, 30 Min., S.S.S.S. 6G.• Furman, **Anthology**, p. 63, ADL "The messages of the Nazis: slogans, posters songs and games." 6H. Berman, Paul, Editor, **Debating P.C.: The Controversy over Political Correctness on College Campuses,** NY Times, February 4, 1992, Teacher Resource, Dell, 1992. 6I. **The Eternal Jew**, Video. This is a powerful propaganda piece of anti-Semitism of the worst kind. International Historical films, Box 29035, Chicago, IL, 60629, (1-312-927-2900).

UNIT__III__: The Rise of Nazism: Prelude to the Holocaust
UNIT GOAL : Student will understand the global and domestic conditions that led to the rise of Nazi Germany

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	6J. Discuss the following media reports. On December 16, 1939 **the Times** published an article entitled **A Stony Road to Extermination** which said the Germans intended to deport more than a million Jews into this "concentration area". The scheme was to set up "a place for gradual extermination". Why was nothing done about this report?	6J. Get newspaper article from **Jack Daw Kit, the Holocaust**. This collection has reproductions of historical documents and photographs. S.S.S.S.
7. Reassess Human nature in light of knowledge about Hitler's life and the Nazi Party to 1933.	7A. Students will review and discuss the following readings: 1. Society and the individual 2. Nazi philosophy and policy Suggested materials to use with activity 7A: 7A, 7B, 7C, 7D. 7B. Students will report on current world events that relate to issues in Europe during the Nazi Period. List the similarities and offer an opinion as to why history is repeating itself. Suggested materials to use with activity 7B: 7E, 7F, 7G, 7I, 7J. 7C. Students will brainstorm methods of breaking the chains of human nature. (The fact that human beings are a rational species, albeit weak of character. They can change and therefore evolve a "new" human nature.) Suggested materials to use with activity 7C. 7E, 7F, 7G, 7I, 7J.	7A. Strom, Margot, and Parsons, Wm., **Facing History and Ourselves: Holocaust and Human Behavior**, S.S.S.S. 7B. **The Wave**, Video of a High School in California that engages in an experiment in Nazism, S.S.S.S. 7C. **Klan Watch** and **Intelligence Report**, Southern Poverty Law Center. 7D. **California Reich**, Video, S.S.S.S. 7E. **New York Times** Index, School Library 7F. **Reader's Guide to Periodic Literature**, School Library. 7G. **Dispatch**, U.S. Department of State Bureau of Public Affairs, School Library. 7I. **Congressional Quarterly**, Weekly Reports, School Library 7J. Editorials on file, School Library.

UNIT III

The Life of Adolf Hitler - 101 min.
Compiled in Germany, 1961 - Moving and Still pictures that depict his private life, army days, campaign against the Jews.

Social Studies School Service
1-800-421-4246
$29.95

The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich - 120 min.
Traces the political and social climate of Germany from disintegration of the Weimar Republic through the rise of the Nazi Party and WWII, including Hitler's "Final Solution."

Social Studies School Service
1-800-421-4246
$59.98

Camera of My Family - 23 min.
Filmstrip on video. Shows the story of a prominent Jewish family. Portrait of pre-war times and post war.

ADL
1-800-343-5540
$45.00

Triumph and Will - 120 min.
German propaganda Film of 1934 - Described in Unit I - that glamorizes Hitler and the Nazis.

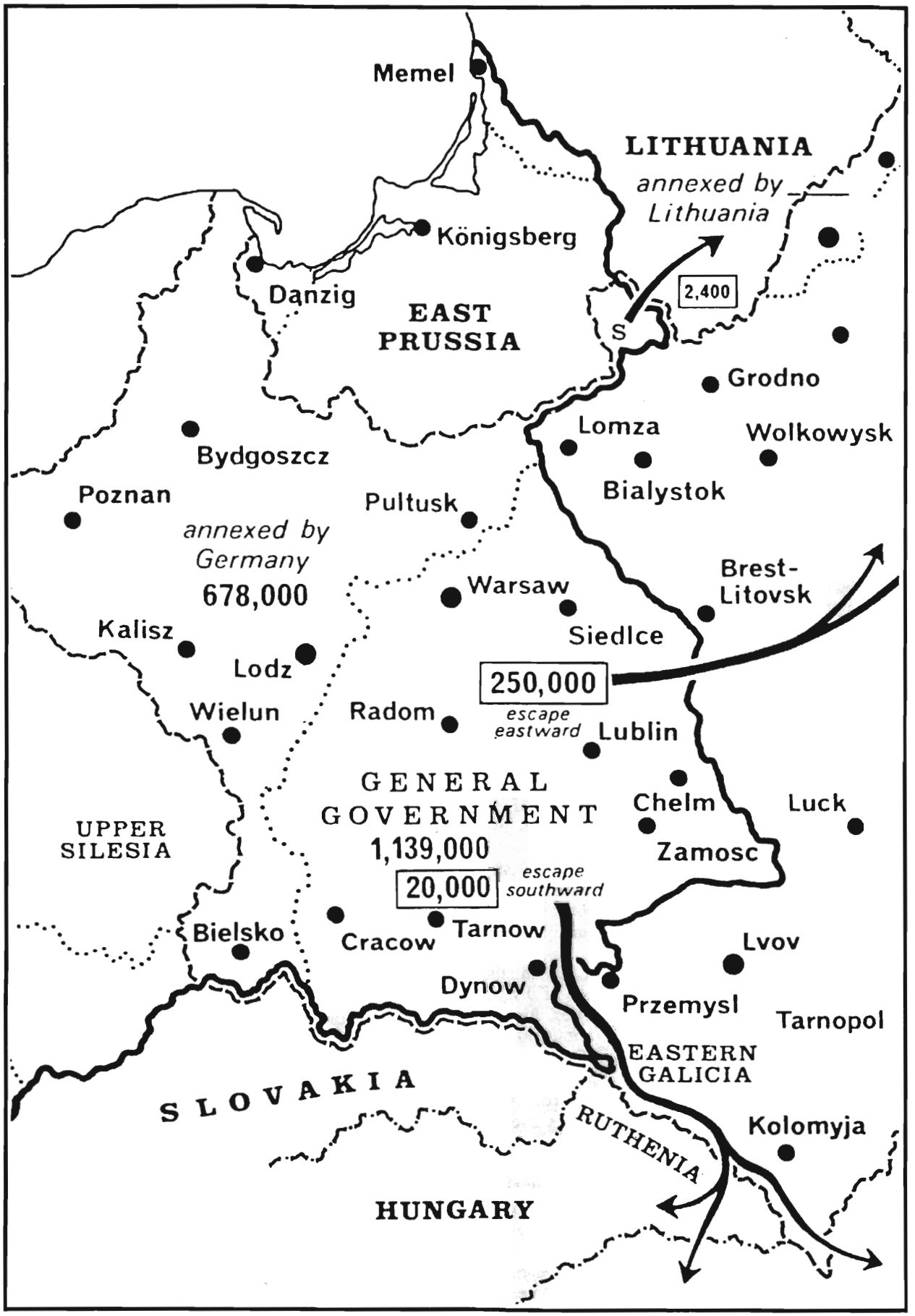
Social Studies School Service
1-800-421-4246
$19.95

Crimes of Hate - 27 min.
Consists of three overviews of the following: hate crimes, racism, anti-Semitism, and gay bashing.

ADL
1-800-343-5540
$70.00

Heil Hitler: Confessions of a Hitler Youth - 30 min.
Extremely well done film - also used in Unit I. Story of Alfons Heck.

Social Studies School Service
1-800-421-4246
$69.95



Partition of Poland, Three Major Ghettos

Jewish Life in Twentieth Century Europe

Jews have lived in Europe for more than 2,000 years. The Jews of Eastern and Western Europe developed their own culture while also contributing to the countries in which they lived. Two examples of the nature of their contributions can be found in Poland and Germany. Judah Pilch gives us an overview of the more than three million Jews who lived in Poland, more than in any other European country. A large number of them lived in the cities such as Warsaw, Vilna, and Cracow. There were over 500,000 Jews in Germany. One hundred thousand, writes Otto Friedrich, were loyal German soldiers in World War I.

Yet in the wake of the war and the revolution in Russia, Jews all over Europe faced a fierce brand of anti-Jewish feeling. In Germany the Weimar government would increasingly be seen as a Jewish concoction. Well before 1933, attempts would already be made to reduce the gains made by Jews at the beginning of the century.

The Jews of Poland

Judah Pilch

After World War I, the newly established state of Poland had a Jewish community of 3,300,000, the largest and one of the oldest in Europe and the second largest in the world. It was organized as a *Kehillah* [structured community], with power of owning all communal property, such as synagogues, cemeteries, hospitals, and with authority to direct the communal educational, religious and social-cultural institutions. Each town, large and small, was represented on a Council which was elected by direct, secret ballot.

The greatest achievement of Polish Jewry was its educational system maintained at its own cost. Here, too, the different Jewish ideological and religious groups maintained their respective types of schools, each with its own language of instruction in Hebrew, Yiddish, Polish, or bilingual. Of the total Jewish school population of 425,000 some 340,000 attended these schools. The Jewish community also maintained teacher training schools, rabbinical academies, trade schools and other cultural institutions, such as museums, libraries, and adult study courses.

In higher general education, Jewish students were greatly handicapped because of discrimination against them by the universities. As many as half of the Jewish trainees in various professions had to seek admission to foreign universities. When they returned home they had great difficulty in gaining permits to practice their professions.

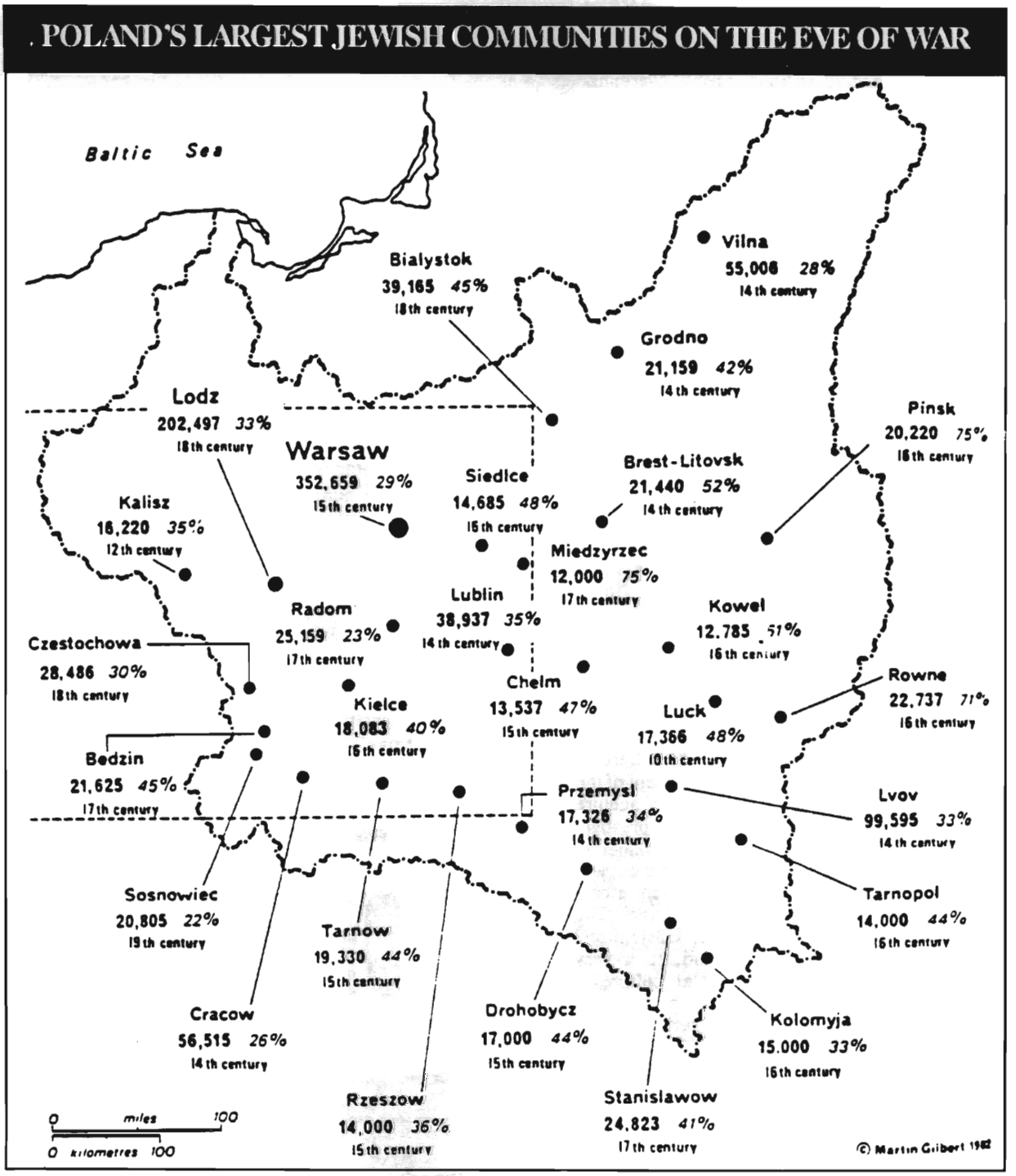
Jewish cultural life of a religious and secular character flourished throughout Poland. There was a large output of books, magazines, dailies and other publications. In higher institutions of Jewish learning, such as the famous *Yeshivoth* of Lublin and Mir, the *Yiddish Scientific Institute* (in Vilna), the Institute for the Science of Judaism (in Warsaw), scholars produced many volumes on Jewish subjects and trained students who later spread Jewish knowledge throughout the world. In the Jewish museums of Warsaw, Vilna, and Cracow one could find treasures of the past as well as creations of such contemporary artists as Marc Chagall, Henryk Glicenstein, and Arthur Szyk. A vibrant religious life, centering around thousands of synagogues, courts of hasidic rabbis, and individual homes, endowed the Jews with the strength and courage to live a traditional Jewish life in a non-Jewish world, frequently hostile. The Sabbaths and the holidays, all rites and customs were observed in an atmosphere that glowed with joy and piety.

Jewish communal life also abounded with a variety of political, social, philanthropic, and mutual aid organizations and institutions which helped the Jew to cope with the complexity of problems calling for action. There were organizations aiming to restore to the Jew individual human rights and freedom as well as collective autonomy, and to defend these rights along political lines. Numerous Zionist organizations helped in the rebuilding of Palestine.

Jews also contributed their full measure to the general culture of Poland in science, art, literature, and music. Among others, Julian Tuwim was considered the foremost contemporary poet of the Polish language, Bruno Winawer was prominent in literature, Bronislaw Huberman in music, and Szymon Ashkenazi in historiography.

The Jewish community of Poland functioned under tremendous hardships of financial limitations and governmental discrimination, which drove large Jewish masses into poverty and migration. The anti-Semitic attitudes of the government and the masses produced economic boycotts and outbreaks of violence against Jews. Nevertheless, the Jews fought their battle for survival with all possible means through internal efforts and with the aid of American Jewry, and they maintained their communal life on a high level to the very end of the interwar period. . . .

Reading #1


POLAND'S LARGEST JEWISH COMMUNITIES ON THE EVE OF WAR
Baltic Sea
Bialystok
39,165 45%
18th century
Vilna
55,008 28%
14th century
Grodno
21,159 42%
14th century
Lodz
202,497 33%
18th century
Warsaw
352,659 29%
15th century
Siedlce
14,685 48%
16th century
Brest-Litovsk
21,440 52%
14th century
Pinsk
20,220 75%
16th century
Kalisz
16,220 35%
12th century
Miedzyrzec
12,000 75%
17th century
Radom
25,159 23%
17th century
Lublin
38,937 35%
14th century
Kowel
12,785 51%
16th century
Czestochowa
28,486 30%
18th century
Chelm
13,537 47%
15th century
Rowne
22,737 71%
16th century
Kielce
18,083 40%
16th century
Luck
17,366 48%
10th century
Bedzin
21,625 45%
17th century
Przemysl
17,326 34%
14th century
Lvov
99,595 33%
14th century
Sosnowiec
20,805 22%
19th century
Tarnow
19,330 44%
15th century
Tarnopol
14,000 44%
16th century
Cracow
56,515 26%
14th century
Drohobycz
17,000 44%
15th century
Kolomyja
15,000 33%
16th century
Rzeszow
14,000 36%
15th century
Stanislawow
24,823 41%
17th century
0 miles 100
0 kilometres 100
© Martin Gilbert 1982

The Jews of Germany

Otto Friedrich

When World War I began, the Jews expressed their sense of German nationalism by swarming into the army with an ardor as lemming-like as that of the gentiles. Some 100,000 Jews (one out of every six, including the women and children) entered the German Army. Of these, 80,000 served in front-line trenches, 35,000 were decorated for bravery, and 12,000 were killed. "The Jews were pathologically patriotic," says Rabbi Prinz. "My father served in the war, and my *grandfather* was wounded in 1866, in the war against the Austrians. He was enormously proud of that." And only an American reporter thought it odd that a segregated cemetery should have been created for the Jews who had been killed. "It was a vast place," Ben Hecht said, "acres and acres of earth covered with rows of little marble slabs. . . . [My guide said:] 'They fought bravely for their Fatherland. More Jews were killed in battle than Germans. The Jewish population of Germany was only one half of one percent. The Jewish deaths in the war were three percent.' "

Only after the war, finally, did the Jews attain the full equality that had been promised them in 1812 and 1871. Numerically, they remained a tiny minority, never more than about one percent of the population. Those few, however, tended to congregate in Berlin. The 50 families of 1671 grew to a population of 3,322 in 1800, to 92,000 in 1900, to a peak of 173,000 in 1925 (about six times the 29,000 in Frankfurt, Germany's second-largest Jewish community). Even during this increase, Berlin's Jews never numbered more than five percent of the city's population, but they managed to acquire some very visible positions of power and prestige. They were enormously influential in commerce, dominating the giant Deutsche, Dresdener, and Darmstadter banks, and huge department stores like Wertheim, Tietz, and Kaufhaus Israel. The most important newspaper groups, Ullstein and Mosse, were owned by Jews, and, to a very considerable extent, the spectacular culture of Berlin in the 1920's, the culture dominated by men like Max Reinhardt and Bruno Walter and Albert Einstein, was a Jewish culture.

To the Jews, this was naturally a matter of pride, and more than one Jewish chronicler has pointed out that one-quarter of all the Nobel Prizes won by Germans in the first third of this century were won by German Jews. To many gentiles, however, even those who vehemently deny the accusation of anti-Semitism, this flowering of Jewish life represented the triumph of an alien and vaguely threatening force. Whatever the Jewish hopes for assimilation might be—and they were considerable ("Jews are political idiots," says Rabbi Prinz. "They are too optimistic, too hopeful. They do not understand an enemy")—the unusual structure of German religious life tended to keep them permanently separate.

To a nation shattered by defeat and revolution, the emergence of Jews in public life seemed a somehow sinister development, quite apart from the old religious antagonism. Even in more ordinary situations, the quantity of Jewish publishers and doctors and lawyers seemed to many anxious gentiles something other than the triumph of the fittest. "The 1920's were governed, in science, medicine, in culture, by the Jews," says one embittered survivor of that period. "The professors at the university were Jews. If a student was a Jew, he would get the best job. If you had a Jewish lawyer, you could win a case, but if you didn't, you would lose. And any job which promised to get money out of it was in the control of the Jews. For us, for the Germans, it was very bad."



Questions for Discussion

1. How did Jews contribute to both Polish and German cultures?
2. How many of the Jewish students in Poland attended Jewish schools? What might this indicate about the degree of integration of Jews into Polish society?
3. How did some Germans see the role of Jews in the economic and cultural life of Germany?

THE JEWS OF EUROPE

One of the striking and puzzling features of the Holocaust is the singling out of the Jews as the main target of hostility. What made them so vulnerable to attack? The next two readings provide some answers to this question. In the first selection, historian Uriel Tal explains that while Jews won equal rights in Germany at the end of the last century, they could never fully integrate into German society. One reason was that the German people believed "German" and "Christian" to be synonymous; a Jew, therefore, could never be considered a "true" German. The selection is from the book *Christians and Jews of the Second Reich, 1870–1914*, by Uriel Tal.

Christians and Jews in Germany 1870–1914

Uriel Tal

We began our study with a discussion of the double aspiration of the Jews in the Second Reich to integrate into the dominant society and at the same time retain their Jewish identity. This endeavor on the part of German Jews was part of a larger struggle of men to achieve freedom in modern society without forfeiting individuality. This struggle gave rise to a number of concomitant questions: how was this Jewish aspiration regarded by the German Christian society of that day; how did it affect the relations between Jews and Christians on the one hand and the Jew's conception of his role in the modern world on the other; what can we learn from this historical attempt of German Jewry to become an integral part of German society and still retain its Jewish identity, that is, achieve equality without surrendering its freedom; and, finally, what conclusions can we draw from this study concerning the interrelationship between modern Jewish history and the history of mankind or between Judaism and Christianity in the modern era and between the Second and the Third Reich.

Friedrich Paulsen explained in his *System of Ethics*, if one is proud of the fact that he is a Jew and not a German, he has no right to complain that the German people do not accept him as a judge or as a teacher of German children: "To remain a complete Jew and a complete German is impossible." When we recall that Paulsen was a prominent liberal and humanist and an outspoken opponent of anti-Semitism, his words take on added significance as a reflection of Germany's determination not to acknowledge the claims of German Jewry to civil equality while retaining its Jewish identity.

In the Second Reich, as well, religion, albeit in its secular form, occupied an important place. Contrary to the expectations of the Jews and the liberals, religion had not become a private matter limited to the sphere of the individual, nor was it cleansed of its irrational elements in accordance with the principles of the Enlightenment. On the contrary, as a result of the process of religious secularization, Christian and especially Protestant patterns of thought and behavior were impressed on the cultural, social, and political life of the Second Reich. The national movement, the political parties, the social and economic organizations, and some of the principal scientific societies—all of which were an integral part of Germany's rapid process of industrialization—defined themselves explicitly as Christian in essence. The Conservative Protestants and an increasing number of Catholics wished to establish the Second Reich on the principle of a Christian state as it had been formulated in conservative ideology throughout the greater part of the 19th century.

German nationality, contrary to the expectations of the Jews, was not acquired by conscious selection or subjective feelings of the citizen but (according to the romantic school of thought) by belonging to a historic community whose roots went back to ancient tribal and pagan sources or in the more recent past to Lutheran Christian culture or (according to the anthropological school of thought) by belonging to a community whose roots went back to groups of different ethnic, cultural, and even religious origins which, through intermarriage and mutual biological assimilation, had come to constitute the present German nation.

Neither of these two views was favorable to German Jewry in its determined effort to integrate into the dominant society while retaining its identity, the first view because of its exclusive conception of German nationality according to which it was not the conscious acknowledgment of belonging to the nation that determined German nationality, but the objective fact of belonging to an organic ethnic group whose roots went back to the pagan Germanic tribes and to the Germans who became Christians and lived under a feudal system in principalities, duchies, and other traditional social forms in the historical German states; the second view because of its inclusive conception of German nationality according to which the determining factor in nationality was not membership in the nation, but the religious and biological fusion of the various ethnic components of the nation that left no room for particularistic internal groups. This second view was the one accepted by a considerable number of intellectual liberals, including many of the leading opponents of modern anti-Semitism, such as Rudolf von Gneist and Theodor Mommsen, who urged the complete assimilation of Jews into German society and argued that the addition of the Jewish heritage and the personal talents of the Jews would constitute an immense contribution, culturally and biologically, to the growing German nation and would at the same time strengthen the cause of the liberal intellectuals in their struggle against the irrational and pagan elements in German romanticism, potent ingredients in the anti-Semitic ideology of this movement.

READING #2

Against the background of these conflicting ideologies and political parties within the Second Reich the Jews endeavored to achieve their double goal of complete integration into the social environment without surrendering their identity. Political and racial anti-Semitism during this period failed to exert any appreciable public influence, and whatever effectiveness it had was limited to short intervals and restricted regions. The members of this movement were for the most part recruited from the unstable lower middle class, that is, from marginal groups within the liberal professions, workers who had migrated from rural to urban areas where they led a precarious existence, and city dwellers of the proletarian working class. Only a small number among these social classes turned to the racial-political anti-Semitic movement, most of them being represented in Christian or socialist political and economic organizations.

As a result of this policy of social reform, in which anti-Jewish propaganda had little part, the anti-Semites in 1893, the year when they first became politically significant, received 263,861 votes in the Reichstag election or 3.4 percent of the total vote of 7,673,973. In 1898 they reached the high point of their political success when they received 284,250 votes or 3.7 percent of the total vote of 7,752,693. It is therefore obvious that even in the heyday of their political activity the anti-Semites could not muster enough votes to endorse their policy among their own rank-and-file supporters, who voted instead for the Conservative Protestant and Catholic parties on the one hand and the socialists on the other. This trend continued until the election of 1907 which was preceded by an intensive anti-Semitic campaign in which the anti-Semites sought to strengthen their image as the party of the "small man." The resolutions adopted at the conventions held in Erfurt (1895), in Halle (1896), in Cassel (1898), and in Berlin (1903) reiterated this policy of social reform in favor of the lower middle class, the impoverished farmer, the underprivileged economically and socially, and the embittered and frustrated elements in the large urban centers.

After World War I and during the Weimar Republic the mythological, non-Christian, and anti-Christian character of anti-Semitism grew stronger, thus removing one of the main obstacles to the spread of racial anti-Semitism during the Second Reich and its acceptance by growing masses of the population.

Christian anti-Semitism was not as virulent as racial anti-Semitism. It stigmatized Jewish perfidy, but it permitted the Jew to exist (though not flourish) as the living witness to the truth of Christianity. The Jew must remain to act out his preordained ignominious role as villain in the drama of salvation, at the end of which he would be crowned with glory. But he was always free to abrogate his covenant with Jehovah and accept the benevolent efforts of the church to redeem him. According to racial theory, however, baptism could not penetrate the tainted Jewish seed; the deep stain could only be removed by destroying the source of infection and its bearer, the physical Jew. The Jew must not only be excoriated but eliminated. Christianity, insofar as it had succumbed to Jewish influences, was also culpable since Christian agape, love and pity, like Jewish logos, law and reason, had alienated man from nature and weakened him in his struggle for existence. However, the Jewish stain could be removed from the Christian cloth, so to speak, by fumigation without destroying the cloth it-

In the days of the Second Reich these racial theories were not accepted by the great majority of the German people. After World War I and in the period of the Weimar Republic, however, they became increasingly popular, thus removing one of the chief obstacles in the path of the Nazi rise to power. The source of this ideology at the beginning of the Second Reich could be found in the teachings of Naudh-Nordmann, E. Dühring, C. Radenhausen, A. Wahrmund, F. Lange, and P. Förster, which were then transmitted by Theodor Fritsch, H. S. Chamberlain, and members of the anti-intellectualist Rembrandt movement to the leading Nazi ideologists, to such figures as Alfred Rosenberg on the one hand and to the heads of the Deutsche-Christen movement on the other.

Animated by this aggressive mood that sought to deprive the Enlightenment of all its gains, the racial anti-Semites put their faith in the efficacy of blood, the mysterious fountain from which all life flows and which determines the hierarchy of powers that shape history. Apriorism, whether in theology or in critical rational thought, was done away with and blood became the epistemological model whose uniqueness, contrary to the logical structure of rational thought, was that it comprehends both form and content, symbol and reality, the concept and that which is expressed by the concept. Blood became an absolute value because it erases the distinction between the symbol and that which is symbolized, between theory and practice; it attempts to create a total identity between the particular and the general, between the individual sphere and the public domain, between society and the state. It was felt that man's life must be rescued from the anemic ideals of Christianity and restored to its root and anchor in blood. Truth is not within reach of the pretentious intellect nor the reward of holiness, for both remove man from the deep sources of life. When the world demands a courageous response and genuine sacrifice, religion covers its face, unable to sustain the bravest efforts, and the untrustworthy intellect betrays man with its spurious profundities. It is then that blood clamors to be heard, and truth, long repressed, emerges through its cleansing filter. Evangelical Christianity with its morality of humility, selflessness, and excessive self-contempt, reinforced in modern times by democratic social altruism, thus constituted for the racial anti-Semites one of the principal obstructions to man's natural development. By placing spirit above matter, conscience above intuition, and speculative thought above the experience of blood, Christianity poisoned the noblest instincts in man and removed him from his natural roots. The cross is the Christian symbol for the crucifixion of the body and its vital instincts.

It would seem then that racial anti-Semitism and traditional Christianity, although starting from opposite poles and with no discernible principle of reconciliation, were moved by a common impulse directed either to the conversion or to the extermination of Jews. Thus we find that the racial anti-Semites appropriated basic Christian ideas even while reprobating them and adapted them for their own purposes. The Christian doctrine of the Incarnation, for example, whereby God became man, was interpreted by them not in the evangelical sense (John 1:14) nor in the Pauline sense (Colossians 2:9), nor even in Nietzsche's purely mythological sense, but in an empirically political and racial sense. According to the Christian

READING #2

Heilsgeschichte the Jews were the theological means to correct evil by acknowledging the principle (John 1: 14): "And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth; we have beheld his glory, glory as of the only Son from the Father"; and hence the Jews as the children of promise were eligible for salvation "in order that God's purpose of election might continue" (Romans 9:11). According to the racial anti-Semites, however, the Jews could not be the means to correct evil for they themselves were the essence of evil, evil incarnate, and must therefore be exterminated not only in the spirit (as Christianity) but also in the flesh.

When we recall the traditional Christian bias against the Jews—the collective guilt of deicide and the eternal curse of the world that rests upon them because of their unpardonable defection (Matthew 27:22, 25; I Thessalonians 2:15), the official policy of the church as formulated in such councils as the Synod of Elvira in 306, Clermont in 535, Toledo in 681, or the Third Lateran in 1179 and the Fourth Lateran in 1215, the preachments of Martin Luther against the Jews and his incitement to violence, especially after 1543 when he was disillusioned in his efforts to convert them, the blood libels and accusations in which the persecuted wandering Jew became the symbol of sin and abomination—when we recall all this, we see how Christianity created the patterns of prejudice, hatred, and calumny that could readily provide a rationale to justify organized violence. The anti-Christian elements of racial anti-Semitism were interpreted in such a way that the traditional theological concepts of Christianity were not completely rejected; only their meanings were changed by using a pseudoscientific jargon and applied to the historical realities of that day, without the salutary correction of Christian discipline and belief.

Racial anti-Semitism and the subsequent Nazi movement were not the result of mass hysteria or the work of single propagandists. The racial anti-Semites, despite their antagonism toward traditional Christianity, learned much from it, and succeeded in producing a well-prepared, systematic ideology with a logic of its own that reached its culmination in the Third Reich.

Lesson 2

Lesson Focus: Can Any People Become the Victim of Genocide?

This lesson seeks to offer students an understanding of the tragic results of anti-Semitism and group hatred in the Jewish historical experience. It seeks to provide insight into the origins of one of the oldest and most deep-rooted forms of group hatred ever to pervade an otherwise progressive civilization. It enables the teacher to raise questions about the danger of attributing "collective guilt" to all members of an ethnic or religious group. It enables students to achieve the realization that human beings must be judged as individuals.

Student Performance Objectives:

1. To define: ghetto, pogrom, blood libel, deicide, collective guilt, devil image and anti-Semitism.

2. To demonstrate an understanding of the origins of anti-Semitism.

3. To explain the danger in attributing "collective guilt" to all members of an ethnic, racial or religious group.

4. To demonstrate an understanding that although the motivations may have been different, many different peoples have been the victims of those who have wished to see them suffer or disappear.

Learning Activies:

1. "A sketch of the Jewish Historical Experience" -- homework assignment.

2. New York Daily News article, "Nab 4 Youths on Anti-Semitism Rap."

3. Graphics which can be made into overhead projections -- Medieval Jewish Expulsions (1000-1500 A.D.)

4. How can one explain anti-Semitism? -- Three answers by non-Jews.

Development of the Lesson:

1. The teacher should read excerpts for students from the article entitled "Nab 4 Youths on Anti-Semitism Rap." (Learning Activity IIB.) Students should be asked:

    a) How would you explain high school students in our country acting in this way?

    b) Could Jews only be targets of such behavior, or could any group of people have been their target?

    Students should then be told that during World War II, Jews were victims of genocide (planned mass murder). Suppose we raise the question why. The focus or aim should then be placed on the blackboard: "Can any people become the victim of genocide?"

2. Students should then be asked to consider their responses to questions raised in the homework (Learning Activity IIA), and whether they were in any way surprised by what they read.

3. The following questions should be asked in developing the lesson:

   a. It has been said that many words were created just to describe the historical experience of Jews. What is meant by the statement? (The words ghetto, anti-Semitism, pogrom, blood libel, genocide should be defined.)

   b. The teacher should show students the projection entitled "The Jews of Central Europe, 1000-1500." (Learning Activity IIC).
   Students should be asked, "What does this tell us about the Jewish historical experience in Europe?"

   c. How would you explain the tragic aspects of this experience? (Minority status everywhere in the 'diaspora,' a people without a land, and a different religion should be considered.)

4. Learning Activity Sheet IID should be distributed to students. Students should be told that Ernest Van Den Haag, Jean Paul Sartre and A. Roy Eckardt are all non-Jews who have studied the subject of anti-Semitism and who have reflected upon it.

   Students should be asked to read the first excerpt by Van Den Haag, and asked, "How does Van Den Haag explain anti-Semitism"? (The selection focuses on why the Gospels, recorded in their final form when Christianity was becoming an official religion in the Roman Empire, placed the blame for the crucifixion not upon Rome but upon "all Jews.")

   Do you believe that Van Den Haag is correct in his explanation of anti-Semitism? (Deicide, collective guilt and devil image should be defined.)

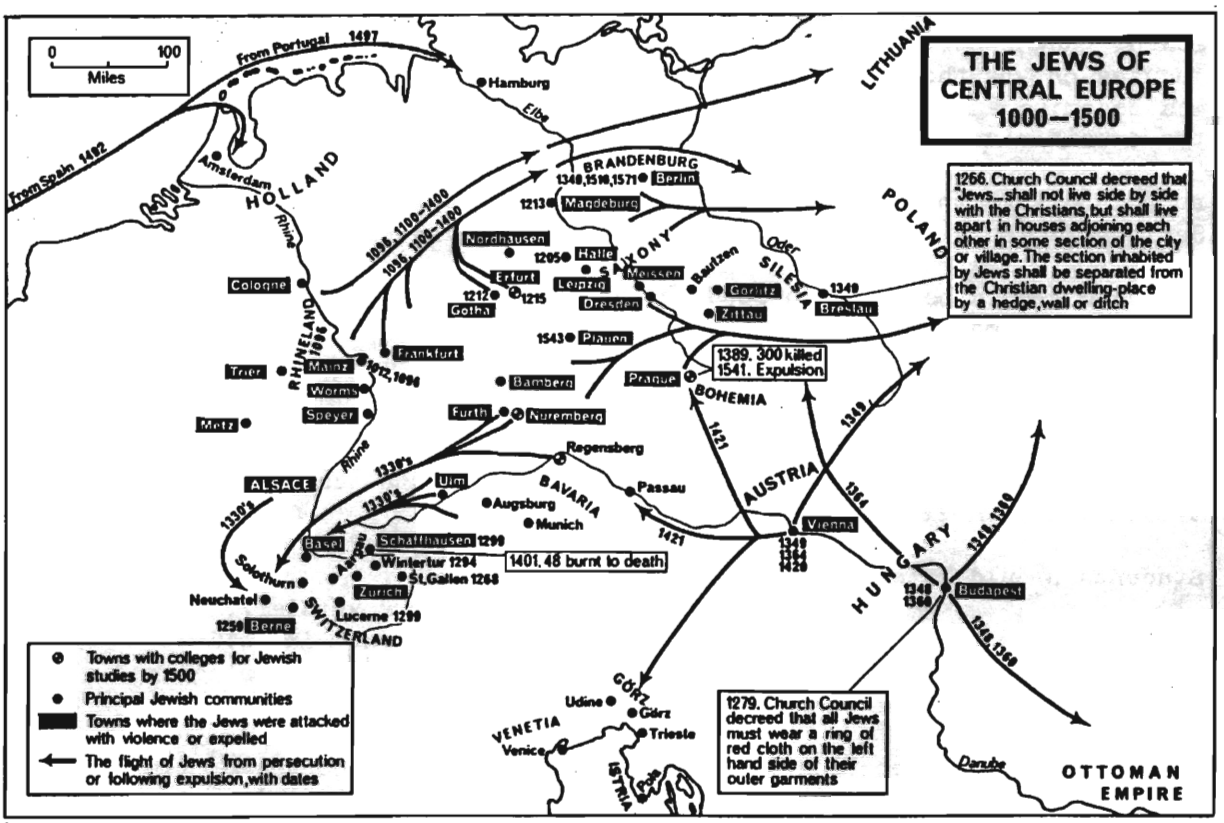
5. Students should be asked to read the quotation from Jean Paul Sartre. They should be asked, "How does Sartre explain the existence of anti-Semitism in an age which is less religious?"
   Do you believe that he is right?

6. Students should be asked to read the final quotation by A. Roy Eckardt. They should be told that it is controversial, and that as they read it they should ask themselves why.

   Students should be asked, "What is Eckardt saying?"
   "Why is his statement controversial?"
   "Do you believe there is truth in it?"
   "How do you explain a Christian theologian making such a statement?"

7. The lesson should conclude by asking students to read and answer the question raised in the aim: "Can any people become the victim of genocide?" (The characteristics of potential victims should be listed: minority status, a socially weak group without many allies, a group with a "devil image" over a long period of time are all worthy of consideration.)

8. As an application, students should be asked: "Can any people become the victim of genocide?" The extermination of Armenians, Indians (North and South America), Gypsies, Ainu (a tribe living in northern Japan) and others reveals that genocide was not something strictly applied to Jews alone, though never in such a systematic manner nor on such a scale. The fact that human systems of thought are constantly being conceived in which other groups of human beings have no right to exist is a never ending threat.



Classroom Strategies For Teaching the Holocaust

Learning Activity IIA

Ira Zornberg-A.D.L.

Homework Assignment

A Sketch of the Jewish Historical Experience

The Jews are an ancient people whose thoughts have been deeply imprinted upon western civilization. Judaism, the first monotheistic faith with its idea of a single God interested in the moral behavior of man, was outlined in the Bible and in the declarations of the prophets.

From about 1000 B.C. until 70 A.D. (with intervals), Jews lived in Israel under full or partial autonomy. The "Great Revolt" against the Romans (67-70 A.D.) ended with the destruction of the Temple. Another revolt in 132-135 A.D. resulted in the Roman expulsion of Jews from Jerusalem. The Romans changed the name of the land from Judea to Palestine. Christianity, originally a sect within Judaism, originated in the hills of Judea, and its message was spread by Matthew and Mark, both Jews, in the synagogues of the Roman Empire.

Although by the 3rd Century the majority of Jews lived in the Diaspora (lands outside of Palestine) -- it is estimated that 1/8th of the population in the far-flung Roman Empire was Jewish -- many still lived in Palestine. It was there, and in Babylon, that Jewish scholars over a period of hundreds of years created the Talmud -- a vast collection of laws and literature which guided Jewish life and served as a "portable homeland" for Jews wherever they lived.

After the Arab conquest of Spain in the 8th century large numbers of Jews migrated there. During the Golden Age of Islam Jews were poets, scholars and generals under Moslem princes. The reconciling of faith and reason in the writings of the Jewish scholar, philosopher (and physician) Moses Maimonides was carefully studied by Christian scholars in the later Middle Ages. Many Jews acted as middlemen in trade between Moslems and Christians. Others were welcomed to settle by Frankish kings and translated works preserved by the Arabs (originally Greek and Roman works) into Latin. They were weavers and vintners, millers and minters.

Wherever and whenever they were permitted, Jews not only worked for the betterment of their own lives but were also contributing members of the larger communities. Among those who have deeply affected the world in which we live are:

a. Jesus of Nazareth, whom Jews see as a teacher who preached important ethical concepts and whom Christians see as man and Son of God.

b. Baruch Spinoza, 16th century Holland, who is the father of modern Biblical criticism and theology.

c. Karl Marx, 19th century Germany (whose parents converted to Christianity and raised him as a Christian) believed in the ultimate perfection of society under Communism.

d. Sigmund Freud, 20th century Austrian probed the causes of human behavior.

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e. Albert Einstein, 20th century Germany, who revolutionized the world of science with his theory of relativity.

f. Jonas Salk, 20th century American, developer of the Salk vaccine against polio.

Some Historical Incidents of Anti-Semitism

1096 A majority of Jews in the Rhineland were either slaughtered or forcibly converted by the Crusaders. Hundreds of communities destroyed.

1205 Pope Innocent III threatened to excommunicate the King of Castile for employing Jews. He declared: "The Jews like the fratricide Cain are doomed to wander about the earth as fugitives and vagabonds and their faces must be covered in shame."

1215 The Fourth Lateran Council of the Catholic Church decreed that Jews wear special clothing to distinguish them from Christians. For many centuries Jews had to wear special hats, badges, or colors. (A special kind of identifying dress was once required of Christians and Jews by Moslems.)

1298-1348 Fifty years of horror for Jews in Germany. Jews were accused of desecrating sacramental wafers (it was said that blood flowed from them); of using the blood of Christian boys to make Passover Matzoth. Stereotypes in Christian church art were used to inflame the masses. In Germany and Austria it is estimated that 100,000 Jews were burned alive by people who called themselves "Yudenbrenner," Jew burners.

1492 After Granada, the last Moslem stronghold in Spain, fell to the Christians, and Spain was united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, Jews were ordered to convert to Catholicism or be expelled from Spain. Jews who accepted Christianity, but were believed to be practicing Judaism in secret, were tried as heretics by the Holy Office of the Inquisition and were tortured and often burned at the stake.

1550 During the Protestant Reformation (the struggle between the Catholic Church and Christians who wished to separate themselves from it) Jews received poor treatment from both sides. Jews were ordered by Pope Paul IV to live in walled-up ghettos. Martin Luther, angry that Jews would not convert to his form of Christianity, declared: "...next to the devil thou hast no enemy more cruel...than a true Jew." He also raised the question, "What shall we Christians do with this damned, rejected race of Jews?"

1648-49 By the 13th century, seeking haven from the slaughters in Germanic lands, and invited to migrate to Poland by King Cassimir, Jews began to move eastward. Many, being literate, were employed by the Polish nobility. In 1648, Chmielniki, a Cossack chieftain, attacked the Polish nobility and slaughtered Jews wherever he conquered. More than 700 Jewish communities were wiped out.

READING #3

Following the French Revolution in 1789 and the growth of democratic institutions in the late 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries there were dramatic improvements in the political, social and economic life of Jews in Western Europe. Anti-Semitism had not disappeared, but with some notable exceptions it was not of the virulent variety of previous centuries. Jews were out of the ghetto. They were granted citizenship in the countries where they had lived for centuries. They could (and did) enter the universities and other areas of life previously closed to them. They thrived in their new freedom and contributed to the societies in which they lived. Within this context let us examine modern anti-Semitism.

Modern Anti-Semitism

As all were called upon to defend the state in France during the revolution in 1789, modern nationalism was born. Some nationalists reasoned that the genius of the nation was determined by the "race" or "tribe" it united. Some nationalists reasoned that Jews were different and should be denied equality in the nation.

In 1873, Wilhelm Marr, published Victory of Judaism Over Germanism. His thesis was that Jews were conspiring to run the state and should be excluded from it. In Russia, czarist secret police published a forged collection of documents, The Protocols of The Elders of Zion; it told of secret meetings by rabbis in a cemetery, speaking ancient Chaldaic, planning to rule the world.

In 1894, Alfred Dreyfus, a Jew who was a captain in the French Army, was falsely accused and convicted of selling military secrets to the Germans. When Colonel Georges Piquart found evidence that Dreyfus was innocent, he was dismissed. French sentiment was openly anti-Semitic. When author Emile Zola (Nana), a non-Jew, tried to reopen the case, he was forced to flee to England. Officers on the Army General Staff wanted to blame the crime on a Jew. When the case was reopened, Colonel Marie Esterhazy confessed his guilt and took his own life. For a while, anti-Semitism in France seemed discredited. In 1896, Edouard Drumont wrote France Juive (Jewish France); he used the word "anti-Semite" for the first time in describing himself as one who believed that French Jews should be excluded from all aspects of French life.

In 1791, after participating in the partition of Poland, Catherine the Great ordered Jews confined to one region - "the pale." They could not own land and were confined to towns as artisans and small middlemen. Most Jews were extremely poor, yet when social unrest increased, resulting in the assassination of Czar Alexander II in 1881, Jews were blamed for all the problems of the Russian peasantry. Pogroms (planned attacks on Jews) were instigated by the czarist secret police. In 1905, Russia's loss in the Russo-Japanese War moved the government to incite the bloody Kishinev pogrom. In 1911, Mendel Beilis was accused of murdering a Christian child so he could use his blood in celebrating the Passover. Before his release -- the child's mother and her lover had murdered the child -- Beilis was kept in prison and tortured for years.

Between 1917 and 1921 after the Russian Revolution, more than 500 Jewish communities in the Ukraine were wiped out by pogroms. It is estimated that 60,000 Jewish men, women, and children were murdered.

Learning Activity IIB

Nab 4 Youths on Anti-Semitism Rap

by Thomas Raftery

A decoy cop dressed as a rabbi teamed up with his partner to arrest four Grady High School youths, it was reported yesterday, in an attempt to halt a series of anti-Semitic epithets and the stoning of yeshiva students by bus-riding youths near a Midwood yeshiva, the Transit Authority said.

The two cops from the TA Bus Crime squad also tongue-lashed three busloads of unruly youths, the TA said.

You see some of these 6-foot goons terrorizing these kids and it turns your stomach," said decoy cop Fred Mack. "Some of these yeshiva kids came here from Russia. Then this happens. It's uncalled for."

Mack dressed as a rabbi, ordered the streets cleared at 2:45 p.m. Wednesday of students and faculty members of Yeshiva Rabbi Chaim Berlin at 1593 Coney Island Ave.

Officer Joe Mastromarino, Mack's backup, prepared to halt the special TA buses carrying any students throwing such objects as bricks, broken tools, eggs and other debris found in previous incidents, authorities said.

Eggs and Epithets

One bus was ordered stopped as eggs and epithets flew out its windows at Mack.

"Some of them rushed to the side door to meet me. Then they suddenly saw the badge," Mack said.

Arrested and charged with reckless endangerment were Sean Reilly, 16, of 164 Terrace Place and Paul Palasciano, 16 of 258 16th St. Two boys, one 13, the other 14, also were taken into custody and turned over the juvenile authorities, police said.

One of the Slurs

"There were others, but we arrested only the ones we could positively identify," Mack said. "One of the slurs included, 'Yea, Hitler, burn a Jew!'"

Yeshiva officials said similar harassments have gone on for three years.

Mack and Mastromarino checked out three buses loaded with the students, they said.

"We hope we don't have to return to the area and do it again," Mack said. "If it starts up again, we'll be there. It just saddens me that this stuff is done."

A Board of Education official said that high school authorities were unaware of the problem. They are investigating.

Discussion Questions

a. How would you describe the treatment of Jews in Europe in the past 900 years.

b. How would you explain their treatment?

c. Are you surprised by anything that you have read?

The Rise of Hitler

Sefton Delmar

The Nazi party grew out of increased dissatisfaction with the Weimar Republic. In 1920, the party was a small group of disgruntled veterans taken over by a young Adolf Hitler. Ten years later, it would become one of the largest groups in the Reichstag.

Its leader, Adolf Hitler, was born in Austria in 1889. He was the son of a minor civil servant and a soft-spoken young woman. His relationship with his brutal, drunken father was very strained until the father died in 1903. Hitler's desire to be an artist was challenged by his father who wanted his son to become a civil servant. Hitler's relationship with his mother was marked by closeness and affection.

Hitler's career in education was a series of failures. Thrown out of a monastery school, he would quit high school before he was 16. In 1907, Hitler left for Vienna to live what would be the life of a tramp. In the same year, his mother died of cancer. Despite these depressing aspects of his life, Hitler would learn much from the general environment of anti-Semitism in Vienna. Dr. Karl Lueger, the mayor of Vienna, used anti-Semitism for his own political ends. George von Schonerer, Pan-German nationalist, was a bitter anti-Semite. Hitler would learn much from these men, which he combined with the romantic nationalism he had learned as a youth. Hitler devoured the "western" novels of the German writer Karl May, which depicted the great Indian fighters of the American West. He loved the music of Richard Wagner that emphasized the need for great German heroes to combat evil in the world. Wagner himself would see that evil in the Jews. It would be Hitler who would carry out these ideas.

Throughout the 1920s, the Nazis slowly gained in strength. But it was not until the late 1920s, which saw the combination of a decaying economic order and financial support of the Nazis by some wealthy industrialists, that the Nazis gained significant popular support. Hitler joined forces with Alfred Hugenberg and the Nationalist party. He also received support from Erhard Milch of Lufthansa, Fritz Tyssen of the German steel trust, Emil Kidorf of the German coal industry and others.

In the Reichstag elections of 1928, the Nazis received about 800,000 votes and only 12 seats. By 1930, the Nazis gained over 6 million votes and 107 seats. In 1932, the Nazis received almost 14 million votes, 120 seats, and became the largest political party.

In 1932, Adolf Hitler ran against General von Hindenburg for the Presidency of Germany. Chartering an aircraft from Lufthansa, Hitler became the first politician to make full use of the airplane for campaigning. Hitler received over 13 million votes although Hindenburg won the election with over 19 million.

What followed were months of political scheming. A member of the Hindenburg clique, Franz von Papen, tried to make a deal with Hitler. Von Papen believed that Hitler could be controlled if he were brought into the Hindenburg government.

This brief selection describes the few years before the actual rise of Hitler and the Nazis to power.

By the beginning of 1931 Germany had the message 'Wanted, a dictator' written all over it. And it was the army, represented by Kurt von Schleicher, the astute office-desk general who ran the political department of the Defence Ministry, who was making the appointment. At the moment he was trying out Dr. Brüning. But . . . Brüning lacked appeal for the mass of the German public. Another candidate was already after his job: Adolf Hitler.

Two things Hitler needed to secure the position: the backing of Schleicher and the support of the German masses. Hitler had a key to both in his Storm Troops. The German masses were dazzled by the Storm Troops. That had been shown in the elections when Storm Troop parades through towns and villages before the meetings had been the Nazis' biggest drawing-card at their election rallies. The army for its part would welcome the Storm Troops as a reservoir of soldiers and a valuable contribution to Germany's rearmament.

There was one man who could both organise the Storm Troops for Hitler and put him in touch with Schleicher: Ernst Röhm, a one-time Reichswehr captain and Free Corps leader, who had been one of Hitler's closest associates in the early days of the Nazi movement. . . . Within eighteen months of his return, Röhm, aided by the bank crash of 13th July 1931 and the rapid escalation in unemployment which followed (the 3,000,000 unemployed of 1930 had become 6,500,000 by the end of 1932), had expanded the numbers of Storm Troops from 80,000 men to 600,000. . . .

On 4th January 1933, a closed, curtained car called for Hitler who was staying in Godesberg near Bonn. It took him to the Cologne house of the banker Baron Kurt von Schröder. There he met Papen and a new alliance between the two was

secretly formed. At the same time the banker Schröder obligingly arranged to refill the Nazi party's empty money bags. This, as the historian Karl Dietrich Bracher has written, was the hour in which the Third Reich was born.

Last Lap

Now Hitler concentrated all the power of his party machine on the forthcoming elections in the tiny state of Lippe. Hitler treated this election as though it was a major event. He toured the villages and addressed the public in tents put up in farm pastures. The elections, on 15th January 1933, were a great success for the Nazis. Hitler, in jubilant mood, was certain that he had turned the corner. The party had polled 39,000 votes, more than forty per cent of the total electorate. The anti-Schleicher clique, led by Oskar von Hindenburg, the Field Marshal's son, were able to persuade the old man that Hitler was by no means a "burst bubble". . . .

Hugenberg too, who had been denied the Ministry of Economics by Schleicher, now joined in the Papen-Hitler cabal. On the morning of 23rd January Schleicher proposed to Hindenburg that he should declare a state of national emergency, dissolve the Reichstag, and send it on indefinite leave. Hindenburg refused. On 28th January Schleicher asked for a simple dissolution of the Reichstag. Again Hindenburg refused. "Then, your Excellency," said Schleicher, "I may as well resign." "You may," said Hindenburg. Before he took his farewell Schleicher gave Hindenburg one last piece of advice "Don't make Papen Chancellor. It will provoke a general strike and I am afraid we can't rely on the army to put down the strike by force."

Even now it looked as though there might still be a last minute hitch to prevent the fruition of the Papen-Hitler pact. Certainly Hindenburg had agreed that Hitler should be Chancellor, but Hitler was refusing to accept the other side of the deal: that Papen in addition to becoming Vice-Chancellor should also be dictator of Prussia, thus having under his control two-thirds of Germany and the largest police force in the Reich. . . .

By eleven o'clock that evening they had hatched out the compromise under which Hitler became Reich Chancellor and Papen Vice-Chancellor, while Goering would be Minister of the Interior in Prussia with control of the police. In the morning Hindenburg formally appointed the new cabinet. After fourteen years of struggle Hitler had at least reached his goal. He was Chancellor—though not yet absolute dictator. As the Storm Troops marched past the presidential palace that night, the old Field Marshal stood at his window tapping his stick in time with the music of the bands. Hitler stood at a window of the Chancellery, smiling and saluting with outstretched arm the singing and cheering crowds below.

Questions for Discussion

1. Why didn't the Communists win the upper hand in Germany after the economic crash?
2. Franz von Papen believed he could control Hitler by bringing him into his government as chancellor. Thus, Hitler came to power legally. Why do you think Von Papen thought he could control Hitler?
3. How important was the S.A. in the rise of Hitler?
4. What role did Kurt Schröder play in the rise of Adolf Hitler?

Why Did the Nazis Come to Power in Germany?

In this unit we have read about the rise of Nazism in Germany. Now it's time to sort out the reasons. Below are ten factors that contributed to the rise of Nazism. Rank the following in the order of their importance.

1. *One man,* Adolf Hitler, was most responsible. His own charisma and ability to lead the masses seduced the German people.
2. European *power politics* was most responsible. Germany responded resentfully to the vicious attempt at Versailles to emasculate the German nation. The Nazis presented themselves as the best answer to this threat of castration by other European nations.
3. Nazism was the logical outgrowth of a history of authoritarianism and militarism in Germany. Weimar was a historical accident for which the German people were totally unprepared. The Fuhrer principle satisfied what was a *historical anti-democratic need* of the German people. The Nazis represented the traditional values in German history which were acceptable to a large percentage of Germans during the 1920s.
4. Nazism rose in direct response to *fear* of a possible takeover by Bolshevism *(Communism)* stimulated by the Russian Revolution of 1917. The growth of the German Communist Party drove many moderate Germans to support the Nazis as the only alternative capable of stopping the Communists.
5. Nazism was the result of the attempt by big business and nationalist forces to stem the possibility of a socialist takeover in Germany. They feared the growth of worker consciousness resulting in loss of their own power. Thus, they *bankrolled* Hitler, paying for an enormous advertising campaign that was very successful.
6. Nazism was actually the consequence of the *"sick psyche"* of the German people. The Germans suffered from certain psychological conflicts that led to their positive response to the psychopathic call of the Nazis.
7. Nazism rode to power on the heels of a two thousand-year-old tradition of *anti-Semitism*. The Nazis claimed that they would finally solve this "Jewish problem" in Germany once and for all. The German people, not unaccustomed to anti-Semitism, responded affirmatively to the claims of the Jew-hating Nazis.
8. Nazism was the direct result of a *political plot* by aristocrat Franz von Papen and others to control Hitler's growing power from inside the Weimar government.
9. Nazism was the result of a *declining economy,* inflation and depression, that lead inevitably to its victory.
10. Nazism was a *spiritual revolt* against the Enlightenment idea that mankind could change its own nature. Nazism appealed to those who revolted against the individualism, rationalism, and mass rule (democracy) of the nineteenth century which seemed to bring Germany to the edge of ruin. Nazism expressed a basic longing for the past, for a more ordered time unlike the liberal chaos of Weimar. Many Germans held these beliefs.
11. Nazism was the direct result of the *evil nature* of human beings, of the basic desire for authority and dominance that lies buried in every person. The Nazis gave people an opportunity to express their most basic instincts: to destroy and to kill.

THE THIRD REICH

This brief history examines the reasons for the failure of democracy in Germany, and describes the means by which Hitler came to power. As you read, note these key concepts which help to explain why Germany was fertile ground for a dictatorship: extreme nationalism, idealization of the military, little experience of democracy, humiliating defeat in World War I, economic depression, unemployment.

The selection is from *The Third Reich in Perspective* by Gertrude Noar.

29. The Third Reich in Perspective

Gertrude Noar

Modern German history is the history of the failure of German democracy. The roots of Nazism lie in that history of failure.

Until late into the 19th century, long after most western peoples were united, the word "Germany" did not refer to a single nation, but to a Central European patchwork of over 100 German states ranging in size from miniscule to middling. Each was more or less independent and under the autocratic rule of a petty prince or—in the case of larger ones like Prussia and Bavaria—a king. In the Middle Ages every attempt to impose a central authority upon the German lands had proved abortive, the Holy Roman Empire being more a fiction than a fact. In the 16th century, the Lutheran Reformation had tremendous effects which still affect our lives today, but it too failed to bring about the unification of Germany.

The world-shaking French Revolution, at the end of the 18th century, with its ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity expressed politically in rule by Parliament, failed to inspire the German people to similar effort. The aristocracy and landed gentry fought all attempts to establish a parliament based on democratic suffrage. When a great wave of revolution swept Europe in 1848, democratic uprisings also took place in Berlin, the capital of Prussia, and in other German states. The German liberals, supported by most of the middle class and peasantry, came to power for the first time. But they lacked resolution and compromised with the Prussian military autocracy and the German princes. In the end many were forced to flee Germany for England or America.

Until 1848 democracy and nationalism had more or less gone hand in hand in Germany, as they had in western Europe and America. But after the failure to institute liberal reforms in 1848, this situation changed. Prussia—the strongest of the German states, thanks to a powerful army commanded by a military elite—set about uniting Germany under its own rule. Prussia's Prime Minister, Otto von Bismarck, used a policy of intimidation and conquest to bring about the unification.

The union was completed on January 18, 1871, when the Prussian King was proclaimed Kaiser of the German Reich (Emperor of the German Empire) after the defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian War. Thus Germany did not unite voluntarily on the basis of a democratic parliamentary system, which was the pattern in Western Europe and America; rather did Prussia unite the German people by conquering them. From the alliance between German nationalism and Prussian militarism there followed all those sinister events of modern German history which culminated in the catastrophe of Nazism.

William L. Shirer writes: "Bismarck's unique creation is the Germany we have known in our time . . . in which first this remarkable man and then Kaiser Wilhelm II and finally Hitler, aided by a military caste, . . . succeeded in inculcating a lust for power and domination, a passion for unbridled militarism, a contempt for democracy and individual freedom and a longing for authority. . . ."

Bismarck announced the future course of Prussian Germany in 1862 by declaring: "The great questions of the day will not be settled by resolutions and majority votes—that was the mistake of the men of 1848—but by blood and iron."

The policy of blood and iron, of war and conquest and empire, led Imperial Germany into World War I, which, after years of enormous slaughter, ended with her ignominious surrender and the abdication and flight of Kaiser Wilhelm II. The revolution that broke out in November 1918 again presented Germany with an opportunity to reconstruct herself on democratic foundations, and again she failed, although the failure did not become apparent at once.

The Weimar Republic proclaimed by the Social Democrats at the end of 1918 was established quite half-heartedly, as it were, by default. It was born out of defeat in war and not out of a triumph of democratic sentiment. And indeed the old Junker landowning and military class remained very much alive and powerful. Although the Weimar Constitution was a model liberal and democratic *document*, the Republic rested on shaky foundations so long as it failed to disarm and defeat all those hostile classes and groups which were biding their time and merely tolerating a democratic regime: the feudal Junker landlords and upper castes, the General Staff and military caste, the industrial magnates, and the heads of the Prussian bureaucracy.

The Social Democrats, or Labor party, who were the largest single political organization, vacillated. Instead of moving energetically to destroy these hostile elements, they compromised with them, just as German liberalism had compromised with the autocracy in the 19th century. Later these same reactionary elements, in spite of their dislike for Hitler as a vulgar demagogue, would finally install him in power.

The Weimar period from 1918 to 1933 was just such a time of turmoil and disorder as was needed to spawn the Nazi movement. Almost immediately after the end of the war, reactionary groups began to clamor that the army had not been defeated by the Allies at the front, but had been "stabbed in the back" at home by democrats and socialists. They said this even though they knew the General Staff had compelled the Imperial government to sue for an armistice long before there was any revolutionary disturbance, by informing it that the army could not carry on the war any longer.

Armed bands of terrorists and freebooters assassinated liberals, democrats and socialists, and supported attempts to overthrow the government. The humiliating Versailles Treaty was laid at the door of the Weimar democrats. The mark began to fall. By 1923 it was worth 4 billion to the American dollar. The savings of the middle class, the principal depositors, were wiped out and there was general impoverishment and desperation.

When the crash of 1929 ushered in the world-wide depression, factory production declined drastically, businesses closed, and millions were thrown out of work. Conditions bred fear and despair, which in turn, bred violent hatreds. Adolf Hitler knew how to play on these feelings and enlist them in the service of nationalist delirium, hatred of democracy, and the drive for military domination and conquest—which, for all his talk of a Nazi "revolution," were the more or less traditional features of Prussian Germanism.

Adolf Hitler was born on April 20, 1889, in the Austrian town of Braunau-on-the-Inn across the border from Bavaria. Austria was then a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Austrians spoke German and many, like Hitler, thought of themselves as German and looked with contempt on the other, mostly Slavic, nationalities that made up the Empire. The youthful Hitler wished passionately to become an artist, but was rejected by the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts as lacking talent. He spent four crucial years, 1909–13, in Vienna, most of the time as a down-and-out tramp shunning regular employment. During these years, Hitler crystallized his own brooding hatreds and resentments into a philosophy. Its cornerstones were: glorification of war and conquest; exaltation of the Germans as the Master Race; hatred of the Jews; contempt for democracy.

In 1913 Hitler went to Munich and when World War I broke out enlisted in the German army. After the war he stayed in the army and was assigned to spy on political parties in Munich which the military considered dangerous. One such party was the tiny German Workers party, which turned out to be violently nationalist. Hitler, instead of reporting it to the authorities, was the seventh man to join it, in 1919. The name of this party was changed to the National Socialist German Workers party in 1920 ("Nazi" is an abbreviation of the first part of the German title). Under Hitler's frenzied leadership it grew from a tiny group to a mass organization with millions of members. Eventually it became the only political party in Germany.

Hitler built the Nazi party in frank emulation of the mass party of the Social Democrats; in Vienna he had been impressed by the great demonstrations of Viennese Social working men, their popular press, and their oratory. But the Social Democratic party was democratic—what did Hitler see in it to serve his dictatorial purpose? Hitler had appreciated very early that in the modern age, German militarism and nationalism could no longer rule by means of the traditional aristocratic minorities and elites, but required the support of the "masses."

To win the mass support of unemployed factory workers, small farmers lacking land, threadbare and underfed office clerks and civil servants, shopkeepers on the verge of ruin, and disinherited middle class people, to whom the Communist party was also appealing, the Nazis needed to promise more than anti-Semitism and anti-Communism, nationalism and militarism. They needed to pretend that they would carry out a social revolution. (Hence the word "Socialist" in the party name. The Nazi "social" aims were dropped soon after the party came to power.)

At the very first public meeting of the Nazi party in 1920, Hitler's talents as a demagogue and orator had marked effect. His pounding fists, burning eyes, hoarse cries and hysterics aroused his audience to a fever pitch. He outlined a 25-point program, which became the party's official platform, that promised everything to everybody. Among other things he promised a larger "living space" (i.e., more territory) for Germany; full citizenship only for people of "German blood"; confiscation of war profits; old age pensions; low rentals to small businessmen; anti-Communism and abolition of interest on land and mortgages.

By 1923 the party membership had grown from the handful of 1920 to some 17,000, most of it concentrated in and around Munich. In November of that year, Hitler enlisted the support of General Erich von Ludendorf and attempted to carry out what has since come to be known as the "Beer Hall Putsch": he proclaimed the outbreak of the "national revolution" in a Munich beer hall and announced that the Bavarian and Reich governments were dissolved. A few shots fired by the authorities sufficed to rout the Nazi "revolutionaries." The Nazi party was banned. He was released after less than a year, at the end of 1924—the Weimar judges, for the most part the old judiciary of Kaiser Wilhelm days, being always tolerant of treason when committed by nationalists. Hitler seemed defeated and discredited.

After completing his autobiography, *Mein Kampf* (My Battle), which openly revealed his sinister political intentions, Hitler set out to rebuild the National Socialist party. No more "putsches" from now on; he had learned his lesson. Now he would capture power legally. "We shall have to hold our noses and go into the Reichstag," he said.

In the years from 1925 to the end of 1928, the Nazi membership was scarcely more than 100,000, in spite of active campaigning. But in 1929 the depression struck Germany. In the hunger, despair and chaos that it brought, Hitler at last found his chance; millions of Germans began to listen to the promises and threats he vociferated daily. Where the Nazis had polled 810,000 votes in 1928, in the fall of 1930 they polled six-and-a-half million, increasing their seats in the Reichstag from 12 to 107. They were now second only to the Social Democrats.

Meanwhile the Nazi party had grown into a vast apparatus organized down to the street and block level, and complete with special sections for children, youth, women, professional groups and labor organizations. It published innumerable newspapers and magazines. The party itself was organized like the government and became a state within a state. The brown-shirted Storm Troopers (*Sturm Abteilungen*—SA), the Nazi armed force, were bands of thugs who conquered the streets for Hitler by beating and killing opponents and breaking up their meetings. Everywhere the Nazi emblem of the swastika, the crooked cross which so perfectly expressed the sinister spirit of Hitlerism, was in evidence.

With a powerful mass organization and an electoral following of millions, Hitler now began to look to the top. In the spring of 1932, he ran for president (head of the state; the chancellor was head of the government) against the incumbent, Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg. He failed, and Hindenburg was re-elected, but the Nazi party had increased its vote to thirteen-and-a-half million. In two Reichstag elections in 1932 Hitler tried to win a majority of Germans to his party so as to become chancellor and form a government of his own. The Nazis won nearly 14 million votes in the first, and became the largest German party, but still they fell short of a majority. In the second election the Nazi vote fell off by 2 million.

At this point a union of the anti-Nazi forces could have stopped Hitler. But the Communists were attacking the Social Democrats as "social fascists" and looking to the victory of Hitler as a stage along the way to their own capture of power. They denounced the Weimar Republic as violently as the Nazis.

The conservative and reactionary groups, the ever-powerful Prussian Junkers, army and big business, who had only tolerated the Republic, were now prepared to bury it. Using Hitler as their tool, they hoped to eventually restore the Hohenzollern monarchy. Through Franz von Papen they made a deal with Hitler agreeing to back him for chancellor. In return for this they would retain the preponderance of power for themselves, including the vice-chancellorship and most of the cabinet posts. On January 30, 1933, President von Hindenburg appointed Adolf Hitler Chancellor of Germany.

The Nazi leader had no intention of serving as the Junkers' tool. In only a few months he became dictator. He used the occasion of the Reichstag fire in February 1933, which the Nazis almost certainly started themselves but which they blamed on the Communists, to attack and drive out of existence not only the Communist party but the democratic anti-Nazi parties.

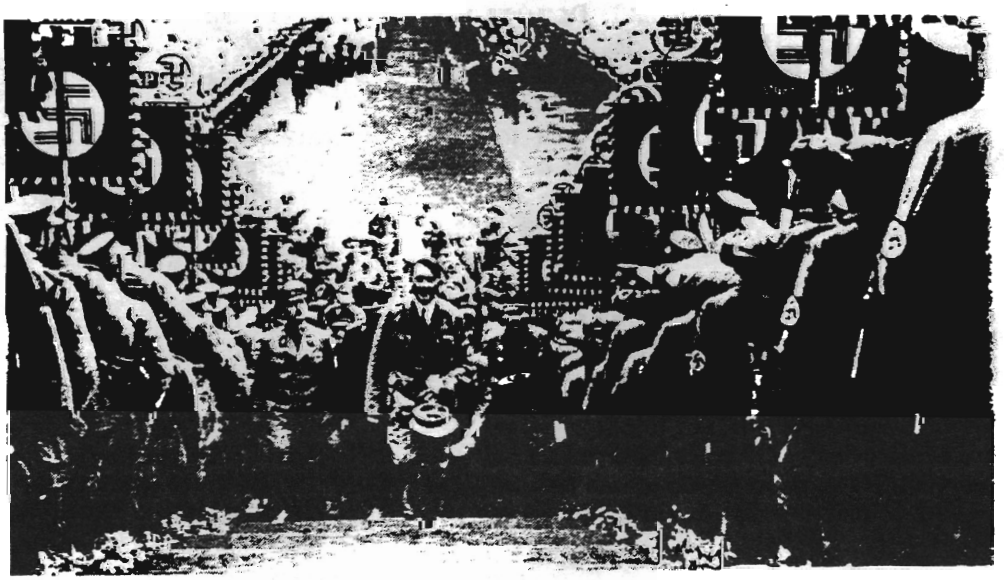
In spite of the Nazi reign of terror which was now backed up by the power of the state, Hitler still failed to capture a majority of the vote in the last free elections in March 1933. At this point the Nazis simply refused to seat the Communist delegates who had been elected, threatened other delegates with the same fate, and thus secured the two-thirds majority by which the Constitution was amended, to place all legislative functions in Hitler's hands. Now he and he alone made the laws, as well as executed them.

By the summer of 1933 the Nazis were the only party in Germany. They proceeded to nazify German life completely (their word for this process was *Gleichschaltung*), bringing it under the total domination of the political religion (ideology) of National Socialism. They nazified the Christian churches as well, and even made efforts to replace them with an outright pagan racist ("Nordic") ritual. "Totalitarianism" is the term we have coined to describe the total control of a nation's life by a mass political movement. Concentration camps, that dreadful invention of the 20th century, were set up in which to lock up opponents of the regime: liberals, radicals, Jews, religious leaders and intellectuals.

Why I Joined the Hitler Youth

William Allen

There was no pressure put on me by my father or anyone else to join the Hitler Youth—I decided to join it independently simply because I wanted to be in a boy's club where I could strive towards a nationalistic ideal. The Hitler Youth had camping, hikes, and group meetings. I was number nine in the Thalburg group when I joined in 1930. There were boys from all classes of families though mainly middle class and workers. There were no social or class distinctions, which I approved of very much. There was no direct or obvious political indoctrination until later —after Hitler came to power. Without really trying to get new members, the Thalburg Hitler Youth grew rapidly. I think most of the other boys joined for the same reason I did. They were looking for a place where they could get together with other boys in exciting activities. It was also a depression time and there were many such influences abroad from which decent boys wished to escape. In any event, I don't think the political factor was the main reason boys joined. We did march in parades and hated the SPD, but that was all general, not specific—it was all a part of it. We weren't fully conscious of what we were doing, but we enjoyed ourselves and also felt important.



Hitler surrounded by thousands of Nazi sympathizers. YIVO Institute of Jewish Research.

Lesson: What were the sources of Nazi voter strength?

1. Objectives: a. Students will demonstrate the ability to use a chart, especially one utilizing per cents.
   b. Students will demonstrate a knowledge of out coalitions are formed, learned in a separate unit of study earlier in the course.
   c. Students will discover from what sources the Nazis gained voter strength.

2. Materials needed: a. A class set of the book Bernard Feder, The Rise of the Nazi Horror: Who was Responsible? or a copy of the chart on p. 10 (copy enclosed)
   b. An overhead projector copy of the same chart.
   c. A copy of the set of questions for each student.
   d. A pen to mark copy of chart on overhead during discussion.
   e. Clear overhead projector sheets.
   f. Overhead projector.

3. Lesson Summary:
   a. Introduce main question of the lesson: What parties of groups of people switched to voting for the Nazis?
   b. Distribute chart.
   c. Let them peruse chart and ask any questions about meaning. Tell them that they can use the per cents to figure out the coalitions.
   d. Pass out question sheet with following questions on it:
      1. Would it be proper to say that the German citizens did not care about being active participants in elections? Explain why you answer as you do.
      2. Which party changed size the least?
      3. As a result of the November 6, 1932 election (the last really free election), why would a coalition be necessary. Give proof.
      4. If the Social Democrats tried to make a coalition, how might they do it? Show math.
      5. If the Nazis were to form a coalition, how might they do it? Show math.
      6. From what sources might the Nazis have gained their strength as far as you can tell from this chart? To discover some of the sources you will need to work with the figures a bit.
   e. Allow time for students to work on questions. Circulate and give individual help.
   f. Class discussion:
      1. Ans: No. A large per cent participated: 80 per cents. What is the usual per cent in an American election?
      2 through 5: Discuss. Have students list coalitions on the board. What party is essential to the forming of a coalition by either side? They will note that the Center Party is in the pivotal position.

6. List per centage points on board using 1928 compared to Nov. 1932. Students may come up with the following on their own or be led to these observations:
   National People's 5.7% points
   People who never voted before: 4.9%

   Discuss why it wouldn't be the Social Democrats when a student brings that up. Where would Soc. Democrats switch to? Communists. Problem? Then there were 9.4% loss of the Soc. Dem. but only a 6.2 % gain for Communists. Just mention that Communists were told, in small numbers, to switch and vote Nazi 3%

   Leading question: So far we have only 13.6% points of the Nazi increase accounted for. Since there is a 30.5 point increase in the Nazi vote, where did the rest come from? If no one sees it, ask them to addup all the per cents in 1928 and in Nov. 1932. They will note that 1928 there is only 72,4% and 1932 93.9%, meaning that the smaller, middle parties lost votes up to 21.5 p oints

g. Sources: Bernard Feder, The Rise of the Nazi Horror: Who Was Responsible? New York: American Book Company, 1968.

David E. Hogenauer

Columbia High School
Maplewood, New Jersey

What were the sources of Nazi voter strength? High School
1 to 1½ periods in length

13. Results of national Reichstag elections in Germany, 1928 to 1933. (Major parties)

	May 20 1928	Sept. 14 1930	July 31 1932	Nov. 6 1932	March 5 1933
% of eligible voters voting	75.6%	82%	84%	80.5%	88.8%
Communists	54 del. 10.6%	77 del. 13.1%	89 del. 14.3%	100 del. 16.86%	81 del. 12.3%
Social Democrats (liberal)	153 del. 29.8%	143 del. 24.5%	133 del. 21.6%	121 del. 20.4%	120 del. 18.3%
Center (Catholic)	78 del. 15.2%	87 del. 14.8%	97 del. 15.7%	90 del. 15%	99 del. 14%
Nat'l People's Party (conservative, right-wing)	73 del. 14.2%	41 del. 7%	37 del. 5.9%	52 del. 8.5%	52 del. 8%
Nat'l Socialist (Nazi) Party	12 del. 2.6%	107 del. 18.3%	230 del. 37.3%	196 del. 33.1%	288 del. 43.9%

William Dittmann, *Das Politische Deutschland vor Hitler*, in *The Path to Dictatorship*. Trans. by John Conway. Garden City. Doubleday, 1966. Anchor Books, Appendix C.

QUESTION: Did any party hold a majority at any point between 1928 and 1933? Which had the largest number of delegates? When? How can you explain this? Which parties grew in strength? Which declined? How can you explain the rise in Nazi vote in 1930 and 1932.

14. The Enabling Act "To combat the crisis of people and state," March 24, 1933.

Article 1. National laws can be enacted by the national cabinet. . . .

Article 2. The national laws enacted by the national cabinet may deviate from the constitution insofar as they do not affect the position of the Reichstag and the Reichsrat as such. The powers of the Reich President remain untouched.

Article 3. The national laws enacted by the national cabinet are prepared by the chancellor and proclaimed in the *Reichsgesetzblatt*. They take effect, unless otherwise specified, upon the day following their publication . . .

Article 4. Treaties of the Reich with foreign states which relate to matters of national legislation do not require the consent of the bodies participating in legislation. The national cabinet issues the necessary provisions for the execution of these treaties.

Quoted in Walter C. Langsam, *Documents and Readings in the History of Europe Since 1918*. Phila. Lippincott, 1939, 676–77.

Leni Riefenstahl: The Survival of Her Will

Stanley Feingold

LENI RIEFENSTAHL is alive. That will come as a surprise to many readers of her autobiography, *Leni Riefenstahl: A Memoir* (St. Martin's Press), and viewers of a documentary film, *The Wonderful, Horrible Life of Leni Riefenstahl*. At 91, she is the only well-known survivor of the Nazi era and both book and film confirm that her will has survived as well. Nearly 60 years after completing her extraordinary documentary films, she is unrepentant for what she did and unhappy about what she regards as her unfair fate.

At 85 she completed her autobiography, and at 90 she participated in many hours of interviews for the three-hour documentary about her life and films. The American edition of the book is called *A Memoir*, which suggests that it might be a less than comprehensive sketch. Leni Riefenstahl would not be guilty of such understatement; this is a full-length 650-page autobiography. It tells all, at least as she remembers it. The British edition is called *The Sieve of Time*, from the epigraph by Albert Einstein she or the publishers have chosen. It is a curious choice because Einstein writes: "One must take comfort in the fact that time has a sieve, through which most trivia run off into the sea of oblivion." Time may, but Leni does not. No incident, word, or facial expression is too trivial to be forgotten. Her (one suspects) more-than-total recall makes fascinating reading and viewing.

Riefenstahl's memoir and oral memory are offered as a corrective, not a *mea culpa*, to the harsh verdict that was rendered (by whom?) half a century ago, condemning her as a Nazi collaborator despite the clearances she received from denazification tribunals. If she has edited, rewritten, and reinterpreted past events, she hasn't changed her feisty temperament and uncompromising conviction in the rightness of her beliefs and behavior. Her plea is that politics mattered little to her, she has paid too high a price for what others read into her films, and she has lived for 60 years the living death of an obsessive moviemaker who has been denied the opportunity to make movies.

FOR DETAIL, *A Memoir* is unexcelled, but it provides more minutiae than any but her greatest admirers and detractors could want. The film is for everyone else interested in film history, political cinema, or the Nazi era. Its German title, *Die Nacht der Bilder (The Night of the Pictures)*, has been jazzed up for its American release as *The Wonderful, Horrible Life of Leni Riefenstahl*. Both adjectives are appropriate. The film's merits are that it takes only three hours to see (as against the much longer reading time of the memoir) and director Ray Müller's comments and questions provide balance for Riefenstahl's biases. Best of all, it offers impressive brief extracts from the major films, and even scenes from the African and underwater movies that are unlikely ever to be completed.

Riefenstahl reenacts her oft-told account of how her life changed when, standing on a train platform, she saw a poster advertising a mountain film by Arnold Fanck. On the basis of her photo and an expression of interest, Fanck wrote a script in three days which he dedicated to her and which made her into a movie star. Like much else in her life, it's hard to believe but you try hard to believe it.

It takes an act of faith to accept the facility with which she recalls the smallest details of incidents and the exact words and intonations of conversation. Riefenstahl anticipates this skepticism: "Hitler has so left his mark on my life that I can still remember every single word of my conversations with him and with the most important people in his entourage." And nearly everyone else.

On the evidence of her films, no moviemaker was ever more skillful at reshaping events. Riefenstahl could slow, stop, fast forward, and reorder reality, all the while insisting that what was seen on the screen was an objective chronological account. If she was capable of this, she surely is capable of as much invention in recalling events and encounters that took place six and seven decades ago.

Leni Riefenstahl's career raises two questions to which

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contradictory answers have been given. One is political: Was she innocent or complicit in spreading Nazism? The other is aesthetic: Are her masterworks, *Triumph des Willens (Triumph of the Will)* and *Olympia*, unique works of art and is their artistry compromised by the circumstances of their production?

A clue to Riefenstahl's ideology can be found in viewing *Das Blaue Licht (The Blue Light)*, the first film she directed and which brought her to Hitler's attention. Like the earlier mountain movies in which she starred and the Nazi films that followed, it depicts a strong and handsome body silhouetted against the sky and conquering a dramatic landscape that would be daunting to lesser individuals. The heroine in *The Blue Light* (with whom Riefenstahl identified herself) is an idealistic child of nature who is destroyed by civilization. Like her later heroes, Hitler and the Olympic athletes, she strives upward as a symbol of the victory/triumph of faith/will. These are, of course, the titles of her Nuremberg rally films, *Victory of Faith* and *Triumph of the Will*. The same symbolism is physically explicit in *Olympia*, her two films of the 1936 Olympics.



Leni Riefenstahl preparing Olympia, *1938*
(© 1994 Kino International Corp.)

For Riefenstahl, this was not Fascism, but ingrained German romanticism. She professed to be innocent and ignorant of any guilty knowledge. If *Triumph of the Will* is a Nazi apology for the purge of Ernst Röhm and the leaders of the S.A., she didn't know it because she was abroad on holiday when the purge took place. If she was ridiculed upon her arrival in America for denying the reality of *Kristallnacht*, she didn't know it because she was aboard ship and without news when it took place. If she sent Hitler a telegram when the Nazis occupied Paris, gushing "How can we ever thank you?," she was inspired by the belief that the war was over and didn't know that it continued. No matter how close she was to the propaganda, she was always out of the loop or out of town.

Two claims, her independence and her objectivity, are critical in Riefenstahl's defense. Neither withstands scrutiny. Only the closest Nazi cooperation can explain the resources lavished on her films. Her own latest count is that in filming *Triumph of the Will*, she had a crew of 170, including 18 cameramen, each with an assistant.

She insists that *Olympia* was privately financed and controlled by her. The claim is disingenuous. A private company was set up because, as the Propaganda Ministry put it, "the government does not wish to appear publicly as the producer of this film." In fact, existing records show that the Nazis founded, financed, made money from, and ordered the liquidation of the company.

At the 1934 Nuremberg party rally that Riefenstahl memorialized in *Triumph of the Will*, Minister of Propaganda Joseph Goebbels said that propaganda has "to win the heart of a people and keep it." The relationship between the man charged with doing it and the woman who did it best remains a subject of dispute. She says he was a repulsed would-be lover and jealous of her talent. In contradiction, the Ministry's records attest to his continued support for her activities.

After the second time she rebuffed Goebbels's advances, "I knew that the Propaganda Minister was now my enemy for sure." (By her account, most men loved or at least lusted after her, and they didn't take no for an answer. The list is long, including her first director, her costar, and the Führer.)

Riefenstahl recalls that "in the last week of August 1933," Hitler asked her "how far you've got with your preparations for the film on the Party rally, and whether you're getting enough support form the Minister of Propaganda." Far from getting support, Riefenstahl replied that Goebbels had not even informed her of the assignment. As the rally began on August 30, she had by her account at most only a few days to prepare. As a result, *Sieg des Glaubens (Victory of Faith)* was hastily put together, technically amateurish, and little-seen.

That's her story. Recovered fragments of Goebbels's diary tell a different story, detailing a series of meetings about the film beginning in mid-May. Which account is more truthful? Riefenstahl obtained the services of her favorite cinematographer, Sepp Allgeier, who later described the special equipment he secured and the arrangements he made with Hitler to photograph him during the rally. There were approximately 25 cameras and additional footage shot by four commercial newsreels. A photo shows where a wooden platform was built for a camera and a newspaper article described the exact locations of camera

teams. It is farfetched to imagine that all this could have been accomplished in three days and remarkable if it was achieved in three weeks. The official *Volkischer Beobachter* printed final arrangements for the film on August 26 and Riefenstahl arrived in Nuremberg on the next day.

Riefenstahl's charge of Goebbels's hostility is contradicted by the evidence that he personally twice gave her Germany's highest film awards, and was seen walking arm in arm with her at the 1938 film festival in Venice. Far from obstructing her filmmaking, when accountants enumerated minor extravagances in expenditures for her Olympic films, Goebbels wrote across the report: "Let's not be petty." When her budget was exceeded, he approved a large additional expenditure. When the government-created film company was liquidated in 1943, Goebbels transferred further administration of the films to her own film company.

DENIGRATING the 1933 Nuremberg rally film not only serves Riefenstahl's purpose in distancing herself from Goebbels; it also serves to deny the political character of the film. It has been recovered after many years during which it was believed that no prints had survived. *Victory of Faith* glorifies S.A. leader Ernst Röhm. He is seen sharing whispered conversations with Hitler, he is the only person Hitler addresses with the familiar *du* form, he is at Hitler's side during a major parade, and he is seen in close-ups with Hitler. The film received a gala Berlin premiere that began with an orchestral performance and ended with Hitler giving Riefenstahl a bouquet.

Contemporary accounts indicate that millions saw it. As for its merit, the eminent German documentary filmmaker, Walter Ruttmann, said in a 1934 interview that the biggest problem that year would be to avoid making the same film over again. But a new film had to be made because Hitler had all prints of *Victory of Faith* destroyed after he ordered the murder of Ernst Röhm, his right-hand man in that film, along with hundreds of other S.A. officers, on June 30, 1934, "the night of the long knives," just two months before the next party rally.

Hitler had learned a lesson from the failure of the 1923 Beer Hall Putsch, which had been suppressed by the army. Having achieved power in 1933, he concluded that he had to make peace with the German High Command. In return for the army's support for his regime, Hitler agreed to sacrifice Röhm, who had made no secret of his desire to have the S.A. take over the military. Riefenstahl mentions none of this. To do so would be to acknowledge the explicit political content of the earlier, almost-forgotten Nazi film and to expose the political reason for making the second and more famous film.

If killing Röhm was a sacrifice, Hitler was more than eager to abandon what the brownshirted S.A. had stood for. They had engaged in the street fighting that had helped bring him to power and encouraged the commitment to social revolution that had made National Socialism so appealing in hard times. The violence was no longer necessary and the call for social reform was abandoned to appease the army and consolidate power. The need for a new message was made more urgent by the death of Reichspresident Otto von Hindenberg. The military, having entered an alliance with Hitler, did not object when he added the title of President to that of Chancellor.

Riefenstahl's insistence that no one in the Nazi Party saw any part of her film before it was completed is astonishing in view of the political sophistication of *Triumph of the Will*. Hitler is most often seen in his brownshirt uniform, thus identifying himself with the two-and-a-half million S.A. troops whose loyalty he must gain. His declaration that "no revolution could last forever without leading to total anarchy" is a rebuke to those who shared Röhm's ideology. Viktor Lutze, the new little-known leader of the S.A., is the only speaker addressing a gathering without Hitler, and the appearance of enthusiastic approval for him is contradicted by William Shirer's eyewitness account. All this was included in the film by a director who claimed, "I have not one moment thought of Röhm." She still doesn't; Röhm gets one passing mention and Lutze none in her memoir.

The evidence of *Triumph of the Will* demonstrates that if she was that innocent, she must have been subject to political control. If she were that independent, she could not have been politically naive. The only other possibility is that she was neither innocent nor independent: she knew what she was doing and it was what her beloved Führer wanted her to do.

AGAINST all criticisms of the political import of her films, Riefenstahl maintains that *Triumph of the Will* is reportage. She insists that "not a single scene is staged. Everything is genuine. . . . It is history, pure history." The claim is pure hokum. All of the sound effects were produced in the studio, and the music by Herbert Windt added greatly to the film's impact. Albert Speer in *Inside the Third Reich* recalled the studio restaging of a speech by Rudolf Hess. Riefenstahl admits shooting a studio close-up of Julius Streicher. There are 13 sequences in the film, presented in total disregard for chronological order. Riefenstahl admits, "It is not important to get everything on the screen in the right chronological order."

To discuss the accuracy and objectivity of the film is to miss the point of it. When an event is staged with full consciousness of how it will look on film, how "real" is its reality? Riefenstahl had invented the photo opportunity, the event which occurs in order to be visually recorded. In her 1935 ghostwritten account of the making of the second rally film, she wrote: "The preparations for the Party Convention were made in concert with the preparations for the camera work. . . . To enable us to obtain novel visual effects, the city of Nuremberg gave its generous support in the building of bridges, towers and tracks." The film was the rally; the rally was the film.

She could hardly have directed the Berlin Olympic games to the extent to which she influenced the Nuremberg Party rally, but Riefenstahl could edit, reorder, and even get

athletes to redo feats that her cameramen had missed. The famous diving sequence is like no feat any human being has ever performed. As in the overtly political films, Riefenstahl sought to alternate tension and relaxation, and she built up each contest "to do a different thing." With permission from the various Olympic committees and contestants, 30 cameras were placed in towers, balloons, ditches, below and above water. Because filming might interfere with the actual events, some sequences are of practice sessions. From the panting of the runners to the breathing of horses, all of the sound was created in the studio.

GIVEN her unparalleled success in making films that were both artistic and political, it may appear surprising that she made no more Nazi films after *Olympia*. The explanation in part may be that her glorification of the simplicity of nature and natural strength was more appropriate in the new Reich than in the war Reich. Besides, Riefenstahl was neither a Nazi Party member nor a Ministry of Propaganda bureaucrat, and she was both outside the powerful studios and a woman.

A half-century has passed since the war's end and Leni Riefenstahl dreams of, embarks upon, and puts aside new film projects. She spent four years in prisons and detention camps before being cleared. She was dogged by rumor without foundation that she was Hitler's mistress. Notorious filmmakers, including Veit Harlan, director of the racist *Jew Süss*, were reinstated and resumed making movies.

The only explanation for why Riefenstahl has suffered more and suffers still is because she was more successful. Overt propaganda tracts are forgotten, but *Triumph of the Will* and *Olympia* survive, appealing for their extraordinary and unprecedented artistry and appalling for their premonitions of unspeakable horrors to come.

The publication in America last year of the autobiography and the release this year of the documentary film are bound to stir up interest in Leni Riefenstahl's films, back to *The Blue Light*, the first film she directed in 1932, and forward to *Tiefland*, the last film she completed in 1954. From the way in which she directs her director in *The Wonderful, Horrible Life*, it's possible that we haven't seen the last of her. Of what other 91-year-old can that be said? ❑

What the Nazis Believed

What was so attractive about Nazism? Before answering that, we must first understand what the Nazis believed. As one author has stated, "Nazism is an attitude towards life."

I. The Nazis valued the community rather than the individual.
   A. The overall goal was unity; as Hitler stated: "the preservation and fostering of living beings who are physically and mentally alike."
   B. As befits the term "totalitarian," the state would largely control the life of the citizen. As Robert Ley put it, "our state never releases the human being from the cradle to the grave." Individuals were to be measured by their usefulness to the state.
   C. These values were supported by the words of others in German history. The philosopher Hegel had said, "Everything that man is, he owes to the state . . . all value which man has, all spiritual reality, he only has through the state."

II. The Nazis valued authority and order.
   A. Democracy as a workable system was dead. The people needed a mystical savior to lead them. Hitler was their charismatic salvation. He was "Der Fuhrer."
   B. When the Nazis went to the people, they gave "the whole people an opportunity to demonstrate and proclaim its support of an aim announced by the Fuhrer." The Fuhrer was infallible. He gave the laws to Germany.
   C. As one Nazi stated, "The National Socialists believe in Hitler who embodies their will. . . . Only what Adolf Hitler, our Fuhrer, allows or does not allow is our conscience." "In thy service is perfect freedom."
   D. The Nazis quoted the German writer Goethe, "I would rather commit an injustice than endure disorder." Thus, the emphasis was placed on order, control, discipline, duty, and sacrifice. "Through the door of death we enter the door of true life. . . . He who does not risk his life to gain it ever anew is already dead, though he still breathes, eats, and drinks. Death is only a departure for the sake of a higher life. . . . We are born to die for Germany."
   E. To justify Hitler's decision making, the Nazis quoted Gerhart Hauptmann. "If only life would demand no more solutions from us." Since people did not want to make decisions, Hitler would do it for them.

III. The Nazis valued the concept of a select race.
   A. The Germans were a superior race, a group they called the Aryan race.
   B. Germany was destined to lead the world. Nature and fate would produce events to make this happen. The Aryan people would need more territory in which to grow. This desire to expand German boundaries was called *Lebensraum*.
   C. Only those of true German blood could be citizens. The Nazis called them the *Volk*. Concern for the Volk lead to a glorification of German "ancestry." Great Germans of the past, from Beethoven to Wagner, were honored. The Nazis studied Teutonic mythology and took pride in the heroic exploits of their ancestors. Praising the past led to an admiration for the medieval peasant. The peasant virtues of simplicity, honesty, and physical labor were glorified.
   D. As a result, Nazi education emphasized German history, biology, and physical education.
   E. One of the favorite images of the Nazis was the German painter Albrecht Durer's "The Knight, Death, and The Devil." The Nazis saw themselves as heroic, loyal, and racially pure knights of the Round Table searching for the Holy Grail.
   F. The Aryans would produce a Golden Age, a millennium which they called the "Third Reich." The First Reich was the Holy Roman Empire of Frederick Barbarossa, the Second Reich was under Otto von Bismarck. The Third Reich would last a thousand years.

IV. The Nazis saw politics as a religion.
   A. Hitler was looked upon as someone greater than Jesus.
   B. Acts against the state would be immoral in almost a religious sense.
   C. Nazism became a mission: "The Reich must direct the life of nations, individuals, and states. The Reich signifies a mission."

V. The Nazis valued emotion more than reason.
   A. Thinking was criticized. A person should act spontaneously and directly.
   B. The Nazis referred to the educated middle class as "acrobats of the intellect," "intelligence beasts with paralysis of the spine," and "hothouse plants incapable of achievement." Hitler called them "rejects of nature." An SS paper stated that I.Q. was inversely proportional to male fertility. "Intellectuals validate their claim to existence within

the community by a paucity of children."

C. The Nazis emphasized physical force and strength. Sports were important to develop the body to serve the state. As one Nazi stated, "A young man who works with a spade for six months on the western fortifications has done more for Germany than an intellectual has done during his whole life."

D. War was the ultimate expression of man's capacity for sacrifice, courage, and greatness. "The measure of the strength of a people is always and exclusively its readiness for military conflict."

VI. The Nazis believed in the use of the "big lie" to manipulate people. As Hitler wrote, "A definite factor in getting a lie believed is the size of the lie. The broad mass of the people, in the simplicity of their hearts, more easily fall victim to a big lie than a small one."

VII. The Nazis were strong nationalists.

A. The Nazis used incited appeals to German patriotism. Germany was a nation wronged by history.

B. To return to its rightful place, Germany should disregard any sense of "morality" in international life. They opposed German participation in any peace organizations such as the League of Nations.

C. The Nazis were critical of all people except those of the "Volk." The Poles were "racial anti-types"; the British were worshippers of Mammon. Of the United States, Hitler stated, "One Beethoven symphony contains more culture than America has produced in her whole history." To Hitler, America was a Philistine, mongrelized community descended from convicts and the unwanted dregs of society. The Russians were just above the Jews.

VIII. The Nazis had a strong belief in the traditional family.

A. The family was "the germ cell of the state."

B. Women were not equal to men. Their purpose: *Kindersagen,* to be blessed with children. Women were encouraged not to wear make-up (which was considered a conspiracy of the Jews) or pants.

C. Women were encouraged to have many children. The display of contraceptives and their advertisement would be banned, and birth control clinics would be closed. Abortions were called "acts of sabotage against Germany's racial future," and strict penalties would be given to doctors performing them. Men were encouraged to be adulterous if their wives were barren.

D. The Nazis, like many in the early twentieth century, were interested in eugenics. To prevent the spread of "bad genes," the Nazis would recommend the sterilization of those suffering from physical malformation, mental retardation, epilepsy, deafness, and blindness.

Advocated by Nazis	Opposed by Nazis
community	democracy
unity	equality
the fuhrer	individual freedom
mysticism	Jews
salvation	thinking
charisma	peace
order	internationalism
discipline	Marxism/Communism
duty	rationalism
sacrifice	a passive Jesus
conformity	modernity
Aryan	birth control
blood	integration of races
destiny	conscience
Volk	pluralism
Lebensraum	intellectual inquiry
physical labor	abstract art
heroism	
sense of mission	
strength	
war	
patriotism/nationalism	
Social Darwinism	
male dominance	
force/violence	
eugenics	
control	

Questions for Discussion:

1. How do you feel about judging the value of someone by examining his or her usefulness to you?

2. What did the Nazis believe about the average person's desire to make political decisions? Are they right?

3. Why were the Nazis so critical of intellectuals? Is the development of the mind or the body more important?

4. Do you think the values expressed by the Nazis were very unusual in their day? Discuss.

5. The following statement was made by Theodore Roosevelt in the early twentieth century:

> Some day we will realize that the prime duty, the inescapable duty of the good citizens of the right type is to leave his or her blood behind him in the world; and that we have no business to permit the perpetuation of citizens of the wrong type. The great problem of civilization is to secure a relative increase of the valuable as compared with the less valuable or noxious elements in the population. . . . The problem cannot be met unless we give full consideration to the immense influence of heredity. . . . I wish very much that the wrong people could be prevented entirely from breeding; and when the evil nature of these people is sufficiently flagrant, this should be done. Criminals should be sterilized and feebleminded persons forbidden to leave off-spring behind them. . . . The emphasis should be laid on getting desirable people to breed.

What values are indicated by the statement? Do you agree with the statement?

6. What kind of society is created that downplays the role of morality and conscience?

The Message of the Nazis: Slogans, Posters, Songs and Games

Slogans, games, songs and posters were important ways of emotionally carrying the message of Nazism to the German people. In a very simple manner, they spread the values of Nazism. They allowed people to participate in the Nazi movement and conveyed the feeling of a widely supported, passionate, and active break with the Weimar past.

Major Slogans

Deutschland Erwache! Judah Verrecke!—Germany Awake! Judah Perish!
Ein Reich, Ein Volk, Ein Fuhrer!—One State, One People, One Leader!
Deutschland Ist Hitler! Hitler Ist Deutschland—Germany is Hitler! Hitler is Germany!
Wer Kennt den Jude, Kennt den Taufel!—Whoever knows the Jews, knows the Devil!
Deutschland Uber Alles—Germany Above Everything
Sieg Heil!—Hail to Victory!
Heil Hitler!—Hail to Hitler!
Volk Ohne Raum—People without Space
Weltmacht Oder Niedergang!—World Power or Ruin!
Heute Deutschland! Morgen Die Welt!—Today Germany! Tomorrow the World!
Die Juden Sind Unser Ungluck!—The Jews are our misfortune!

Songs

Hold high the banner! Close the hard ranks serried!
S.A. marches on the sturdy stride
Comrades, by Red Front and Reaction killed, are buried,
But march with us in image at our side.

Gangway. Gangway now for the Brown battalions!
For the Storm Troopers clear roads o'er land.
The Swastika gives hope to our entranced millions.
The day for freedom and for bread's at hand

The trumpet blows its shrill and final blast.
Prepared for war and battle here we stand,
Soon Hitler's banner will wave unchecked at last,
The end of German slav'ry in our land. . . .

Forward. Forward. With resounding fanfares
Forward. Forward. Youth knows no peril.
Germany, you will stand resplendent
although we may die.
Forward. Forward. With resounding fanfares.
Forward. Forward. Youth knows no peril.
Be the goal ever so high,
Youth will gain it.

Our banner precedes us, fluttering in the breeze,
as we march into the future, man after man.
We'll march for Hitler through night and through danger
with the flag of youth, for freedom and bread.
Our banner precedes us, fluttering in the breeze.
Our banner signals the new time.
Our banner leads us to eternity.
Yes, our banner is worth more than death.

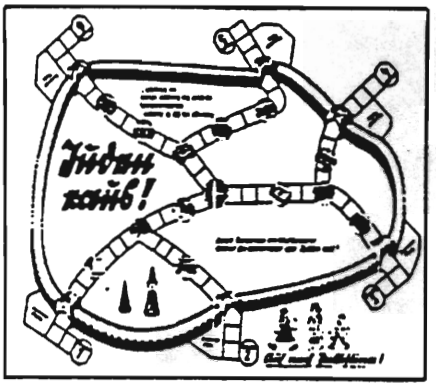
Symbols

The three most well-known symbols of the Nazis are the swastika, the runic slashes, and the Hitler salute.

- The swastika was the central symbol of the Nazi movement. In Hitler's youth, it was used by J. Lanz-Liebenfels in his secret society, the "New Temple," in Austria in 1900. After World War I, the Freecorps group known as the Ehrhardt Brigade painted the swastika on their helmets.

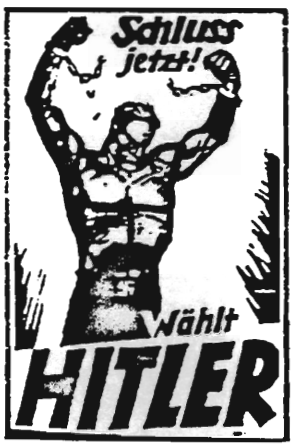
  Thus, the swastika had been used as a symbol of racial strength before the Nazis.
- The runic slashes were used by Lanz' colleague, Guido von List. They were considered another potent racial symbol and would become the symbol of the SS, the Nazi elite.
- The "Heil" greeting was used by a German youth group, the Wandervogel, as early as 1901. Rudolf Hess, an early Nazi and totally devoted to Hitler, was the first to use the salutation, "Heil Hitler!"

The Message of the Nazis: Slogans, Posters, Songs and Games



Children's board game, "Jews Get Out," sold in Germany in 1939 and 1940.

1932 Election poster: "Enough Now! Vote For Hitler!"

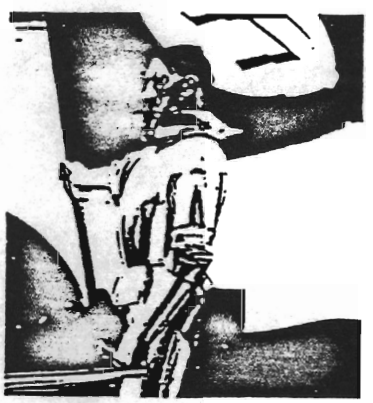


The Nazis sweep out alien elements, early 1930's.





Exhibit poster for the Wandering Jew exhibit, Munich, 1937. Artist unknown.



"The Flag Bearer," 1930's, Germany.

Questions for Discussion

1. What are the most important values expressed in the slogans and songs?
2. How is Hitler portrayed in "The Flag Bearer"? What do you think this symbol means?
3. Describe the Nazi interpretation of "The Wandering Jew."
4. Who are the "alien elements" being swept out of Germany? How are they depicted? Why?
5. What impact do you think the board game "Jews Get Out" had on the players?
6. Describe the impact of the Nazi election campaign poster. What passions does it display?

UNIT IV · From Persecution to Mass Murder: The Holocaust



"Warsaw Ghetto Uprising"

UNIT IV

FROM PERSECUTION OF MASS MURDER

Unit IV will examine the sequence of events in Nazi-occupied Europe that culminated in the mass murder of European Jewry.

With Hitler's appointment as Chancellor of Germany, on January 31, 1939, dictatorship replaced democratic, constitutional government in Germany. After five years in power, the Nazis achieved leadership over German politics, society, and culture. Precluding dissent and political checks and balances, Hitler's craven zeal for absolute authority--and his evil intention--developed without significant restraint.

From the start, the Nazis, relying on the Gestapo police as their main instrument of intimidation, terrorized Jews. Eventually, they restricted Jews' civil liberties, confiscated their property, dismissed them from civil service and universities, barred them from practicing their professions, and "Aryanized" their businesses or reassigned ownership to non-Jewish Germans.

The 1935 laws, and the decision to force Jews to wear an identifying Jewish star, accelerated the crippling process of isolating Jews from the rest of German society. To make matters worse, the free world didn't seem to care. Of the 32 countries represented at the July 1938 Evian Conference to deal with Jewish refugees seeking asylum from Nazi terror, only the Dominican Republic offered significant help. The free world's indecision amounted to rejecting Jewish pleads for protection.

On November 9th and 10th, 1938, a pogrom of anti-Jewish violence erupted throughout Germany and Austria. On that "Night of Broken Glass" (In German, called Kristallnacht), Germans destroyed synagogues,Jewish businesses, and homes, and burned Torah scrolls, Bibles and prayer books, and books by Jewish authors. About 100 Jews were killed; 30,000 Jewish men were sent to the concentration camps of Dachau, Buchenwald, and Sachsenhausen. Again, although fully aware of the Nazi campaign against Jews from newspaper reports, the world exhibited no meaningful concern.

Hitler invaded and annexed Austria and Czechoslovakia in 1938-39. On September 1, 1939 the German Army crushed Poland, provoking England and France to respond and thus commencing World War II. Subduing popular and military resistance in three short weeks, the Nazis extended their policy of isolating Jews to a new apex of brutality with the creation of Jewish ghettos in Poland over a two-year span (1939-41).

Ghettos were living quarters were Jews were held captive, pressed into hard labor, robbed of their rights and possessions, and exposed to miserable conditions. Ghetto inhabitants endured extreme despair, hunger, and poverty. Frequently, between 10 and 15 Jews lived in a space designed for barely four. Epidemic diseases, like typhus and tuberculosis, were a constant threat. Beggars, especially orphaned children, lived on the streets beside dead bodies.

Responsibility for governing ghettos belonged to Nazi-appointed organizations known as Jewish Councils (in German, Judenraets). These councils had to make impossible decisions: seeking to represent Jewish interests and needs to Nazi authorities, they ultimately had no choice but to implement ruthless Nazi demands. As a result, most councils struggled to find ways to outwit their superiors in order to alleviate conditions.

On June 22, 1941, the German Army invaded the Soviet Union. This date marked a fatal turning point in Nazi relations to Jews: Mass killings replaced physical isolations--the goal of Nazi anti-Jewish policy. Units of the SS and Special Action Squads rounded up Jews and other enemies of the state, including Communist party officials, Gypsies, and members of the intelligentsia. Victims were marched out-of-town and summarily shot, falling into mass graces. About 1.2 million Jews throughout Soviet-occupied territories perished this way. In late 1941 the Nazis decided to speed up the killing process by combining three existing operations: concentration camps, the euthanasia program, were victims where gassed to death, and forced expulsion or resettlement.

On January 20, 1942, Nazi officials met in a Berlin villa known as Wannsee. Chaired by Reinhard Heydrich, the "Wannsee Conference" ratified a more efficient method of mass murder. Cynically referred to as "the Final Solution to the Jewish Problem," the use of gas to kill Jews and crematoria to dispose of their bodies became commonplace at six death camps in all - Chelmno, Birkenau, and Belzec, as well as a Majdanek, Sobibor, and Treblinka.

Not until the winter of 1944-45 were the few surviving victims finally liberated by the allies en route to military victory. Reacting with abject grief and disbelief on his visit to a concentration camp on April 12, 1945, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Europe, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, felt compelled to describe his feelings in a letter to his Chief of Staff, General George Marshall: "The things I saw beggar description .. The visual evidence and the verbal testimony of starvation, cruelty, and bestiality were so overpowering as to leave me a bit sick ... I made the visit deliberately, in order to be in a position to give first-hand evidence to these things in the event, in the future, there develops a tendency to charge these allegations merely to propaganda."

STUDENT READINGS
FROM PERSECUTION TO MASS MURDER

UNIT IV

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1		Chronology by Shmuel Krakowski	5
1		Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service, April 7, 1933	9
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6		**Pope John Paul at Auschwitz** by Robert Reid - Furman **Anthology**	82
6		**The Ordeal of Dietrich Bonhoeffer** from Furman **Anthology**	83
7	**Reading #7**	**Life with the Enemy** by Werner Rings	84
7		**Allies, Vanquished States, and Collaborators** by Michael Marrus	85
7		**Bystanders and Collaborators**, Department of Defense Guide	86
		Articles about collaborators from the Holocaust Encyclopedia	92

STUDENT READINGS
FROM PERSECUTION TO MASS MURDER

UNIT IV

OBJECTIVES	READINGS	TITLE	PAGE
10	**Reading #10**	"Night of Broken Glass" from **The World Must Know** by Michael Berenbaum	108
10	**Reading #10**	"Search for Refuge" - Ibid	111
10		"Voyage of the St. Louis" - Ibid	112
10		"To Safety" - Ibid	113
10		"The War Begins - Ibid	114
10		"Terror in Poland" - Ibid	115
10		"Murder of the Handicapped" - Ibid	116
10		**The Road to Genocide** - U.S. Holocaust Museum	119
10		**Maps - "The Search for Countries of Refuge** - Furman, **Anthology**	121
10		**American Corporations and the Nazis** - Furman - **Anthology**	125
11	**Reading #11**	**The Liberators** - Department of Defense	128

UNIT_IV_ : From Persecution to Mass Murder: The Holocaust

UNIT GOAL : Student will understand the chronology of the Holocaust as the evolution of Nazi state policy from persecution to mass murder.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
1. The students will examine Nazi policies, laws and teachings in the years immediately following their rise to power, which prepared the foundation for the Holocaust.	A. Students will explain Nazi "Racial Theory". 1.. Nazi Concept of three "pure races" a. white (Aryan) b. yellow (oriental) c. black (African)	A.•1. Furman, Harry. **Anthology** - "The Racial Question", pp. 69-71. 2. Koehn, Ilse. **Mishling Second Degree**, Bantam Books, 1977. A young girl tells her plight as a non pure Aryan. 3. **See video: Genocide**. World at War series, Vol. 20, 51 Min. Examines the rationale and methods employed by Nazis to realize their goal of the "Master Race". Show first 20 Min., **Graphic footage**, Social Studies School Service (1-800-421-4246), $29.95. • 4. Der Sturmer. **Don't Trust a Fox on the Greensward and Never a Jew on His Plight** 1936. Used as a primer reader in elementary schools. Slides, Cassette available from Waldor Memorial Library (1-201-428-7400). Photographs and commentary by Cecile Seiden. Teacher Notes: **Shoah Magazine**, 1982-83.
	B. Students will examine the erosion of Jewish rights in Germany from 1933 to 1935. 1. Anti-Jewish riots 2. Boycotts against German Jews 3. Anti-Jewish laws	B.•Karakowski Chronology, pp. 705-709 U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum Planning Guide, 1989, pp. 13-17 (1933 legislation), Holt, Rinehart & Winston, NY, 1975. Davidowicz, Lucy S. **The War Against the Jews,** pp. 48 - 70 (Anti-Jewish legislation, 1933 - 35),
	C. Students will describe Nazi use of mass media to promote Anti-Semitism and dehumanize the Jewish people. 1. Role of Nazi propaganda minister Josef Goebbels. 2. a. View and analyze use of film to promote anti-Jewish and pre-Aryan stereotypes. b. Leni Riefenstahl's **Triumph of the Will,** pro-Aryan film.	C. 1. Scenes can be seen in above film **Genocide.** Use first 20 minutes introduction. 2. a. See Video - World War II - **The Propaganda Battle**. A walk through the 20th Century. This video compares **Triumph and Will**, German propaganda with Frank Capra's **Why We Fight**, U.S. film to offset German propaganda, PBS, (1-800-344-3337). b.. See video **Triumph of the Will**. Classic propaganda film of 1934. Social Studies School Service.

• Readings included in this unit.

UNIT GOAL : Student will understand the chronology of the Holocaust as the evolution of Nazi state policy from persecution to mass murder.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	3. a. Evaluate role of press - Julius Streicher's **Der Sturmer** and Fipp's Anti-Semitic cartoons. b. Compare the philosophies of the Nazis of 1930's to those of white supremacists of today. c. Discuss the terms of **The Nazi Language.**	3. • a. Streicher, Julius. **The Man Who Persuades a Nation to Hate Jews,** Randa' Bytwcyk Dorsett Press, 1983. "A Fierce and Filthy Rag", pp. 51-63. Analyze Fipps cartoons, create cartoons that counter images erased by Fipps (see cartoons in **The Man Who Persuades a Nation to Hate Jews.)** b. **Film Eternal Jew -(show in Genocide,** Chapter 20), S.S.S.S. , **Triumph and the Will,** S.S.S.S., Video - **1934 Nazi Propaganda Film,** 110 Min. **The California Reich,** 25 Min., Rebirth of U.S., **Nazi Party,** S.S.S.S. Contact ADL for materials. • c. Furman, Harry. **Anthology -The Nazi Language,** pp. 109-110.
2. Students will describe changes in the lives of Jews in Germany after the rise of the Nazis to power: The Nuremberg Laws.	A. Students will list and explain the **Nuremberg Laws** of 1935 and describe their effect on the Jews of Germany 1. Read and discuss: What can and should citizens, not only those directly involved, do when unjust laws are passed? 2. Compare and contrast the Nuremberg laws to "Jim Crow" American anti-Black laws.	A. ADL Poster Series **Nuremberg Laws** or S.S.S.S. • Levin, Nora. **The Holocaust,** Thomas Y. Crowell, NY. 1968, pp. 68-73 ("The Preparation"). • 1. Furman, Harry, **Anthology** "Honor the Yellow Badge" p. 87 "David Rosenstein's Dilemma" p. 87 2. Materials prepared by Frank Yusko. Wilson, William. **Power, Racism and Privilege,** Ch. 6 "Jim Crow Segregation and Growth of Biological Racism". Kennedy, Stelson, **Jim Crow Guide: The Way It Was** (Univ. Press of Florida (1-800-226-3822).

UNIT__IV__: From Persecution to Mass Murder: The Holocaust

UNIT GOAL 1 : Student will understand the chronology of the Holocaust as the evolution of Nazi state policy from persecution to mass murder.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
3. Students will investigate the escalation of Nazi policies of persecution which include: A. Kristallnacht B.. Euthanasia Program C. Isolation and Deportation of Jews D.. Einsatsgruppen E. Wannsee Conference F. Final Solution		Use guides published by Holocaust Museum in Washington DC. • **50 Years Ago: Remembering Voices that Were Silenced,** Section 4 - "Euthanasia Direct Medical Killing", pp. 61-66. Nazi Paperwork - **Final Solution,** Origins of Wannsee Protocol
A. Students will describe the events of Kristallnacht.	A. Students will examine the events that led up to Kristallnacht, the Night of Broken Glass. 1. What motivated **Hershel Grynszpan** to murder vom Rath? 2. Examine Heydrich's instructions for November 1938. 3. Students will identify Kristallnacht as an action of economic cruelty against Jews. 4. What did the world know about Kristallnacht? What happened? How did German and Austrian citizens respond? How did the media treat this? 5. What was the fate of the Jews after Kristallnacht?	A. 1. Read: • Furman, Harry, **Anthology,** "The Night of Broken Glass", pp. 88-90 - Fisher, **Kristallnacht,** pp. 38-40, Random House, NY - Thalman, Richard and Feinerman, Emmanuel. **Crystal Night**, Coward, McCann and Geoghecan, Inc., NY, 1974. Excellent documentary of events. - Simon Wiesenthal Center: **Kristallnacht** Nov. 9-10, 1938, Resource Book and Practice Guide, 9760 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, CA, 90035. (1-213-553-9036). - ADL, **Kristallnacht,** Dimension Magazine, Sept. 15, 1988, special supplement discussion guide, discounted prices. - Yahil, Leni, **The Holocaust**, "The Turnabout: Kristallnacht", pp. 109-114, Oxford University Press. • - **Documents on Holocaust**, Yad Vashem. "Regulations for elimination of Jews from economic life from Germany", Nov. 12, 1938, p. 115. - **Video: More Than Broken Glass**, 57 Min., **Memories of Kristallnacht,** Ergo Media, Teaneck, NJ, (1-800-695-3746), $39.95 and S.S.S.S.
B. Students will describe the Euthanasia program and explain its effects on the Final Solution.	B. Explain the Nazi definition of "Life Unworthy Life" (Useless) 1. Explain the role of the Medical establishment. 2. Explain the role of the Legal establishment 3. Explain Euthanasia killing techniques a. Injection b. Cremation 4. Compare and contrast Nazi definition of Euthanasia to American definition of mercy killing.	B. a. Read about Euthanasia • 1. Lifton, Robert Jay. **The Nazi Doctors,** pp. 71-79. 2. Muller, Ingo. **Hitler's Justice**, Harvard Press, pp. 126-128 (Euthanasia) 3. Yahil, Levi. **The Holocaust**, Implementation of Euthanasia's, pp., 308 -310 4. **"The German Personnel"**, pp. 16-19. b. Discuss actions of Dr. Kavorkian. Use magazines like Time and Newsweek.

UNIT_IV_ : From Persecution to Mass Murder: The Holocaust
UNIT GOAL 1 : Student will understand the chronology of the Holocaust as the evolution of Nazi state policy from persecution to mass murder.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
C. Students will explain the deportation and isolation of European Jews	C. Students will understand the conquest of Poland by Germany Students will list principal Ghettos and place them and their populations on a map. A. Examine life in the Ghettos; and look to see how the Judenrat leaders described in readings acted in the best interest of the community while faced with "choiceless" choices. B. Describe the Judenrat Leaders: 1. Adam, Czerniako of the Warsaw Ghetto 2. Mordechai Rumkvowski of the Lodz Ghetto 3. Abba Kovner, leader of the Resistance Movement of Vilna 4. Jacob Gans, of the Vilna Ghetto **Life in the Ghettos: A Moral Dilemma** by Frank Yusko: Adam **Czerniakov** was the leader of the Judenrat (Jewish Council) in the Warsaw Ghetto. The Leader of the Lodz Ghetto Judenrat was **Mordechai Rumkowski**. Both men were told by the Nazi leadership that they were to select a number of Jews to be "resettled in work camps" in the East. Both men knew this meant that they were going to be taken to their deaths. Czerniakov refused to comply with this immoral order by swallowing a poison pill he had hidden in his desk. The next morning the Nazi's selected a number of people at random. Rumkowski on the other hand complied with the order by selecting the number from among the old, young, and ill-those unlikely to survive in any case. C. Students will debate and discuss "The Shopkeeper's Dilemma".	C. See World at War Series - Vol. I A New Germany 1933-1939 (S.S.S.S.) A. Gilbert, Martin - **Atlas of Holocaust**, 1993, S.S.S.S. Ibid., **The Holocaust**, maps and photographs, Hiell and Wang, NY, 1978 Ibid. **Final Journey - The Fate of the Jews of Europe**, Mayflower Books, NY, 1979, Chapter 8 - Warsaw, Chapter 6 - Lodz. B • 1. Czerniakov, Adam. **The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakov**, Stein and Day, 1979, diary has day to day living. - Sloan, Jacob. Notes From Warsaw Ghetto, Journey of Emanuel Ringelblum, Schocken Books, 1974. 2. Dobroszycki, Lucjan, Ed. **The Chronicle of the Lodz Ghetto**, 1941 -1944, Yale University Press, 1984. 3. Kowalski, Shmuel ed. **Anthology on Armed Resistance,** Jewish Combatant Publishers House, Brooklyn, NY, 1986. 4. Look and Compare: • Grossman, Mandel. **With a Camera in the Ghetto**, Ghetto Fighters' House and Hakibbutz Hameuchad, Israel Publishing House, 1970 (Jewish Photographer). • - "Death and Life in the East European Ghettos and Concentration Camps" Ago - U. S. Holocaust Museum". • - Judenrat: A Simulation • C. Furman, Harry, **Anthology** "The Shopkeeper's Dilemma", pp. 98-99.

UNIT GOAL 1 : Student will understand the chronology of the Holocaust as the evolution of Nazi state policy from persecution to mass murder.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	3. Study daily life and struggle to survive in various ghettos.	3. - Keller, Ulrich, ed. **The Warsaw Ghetto in Photographs**, Dover Publications, $9.95, S.S.S.S. • Tatelbaum, Itzhak. **Through Our Eyes**, Children witness the Holocaust, Chapter "Children in Ghetto", $12.95. - See Video: same as above with Teacher's guide, $49.00. Both available from S.S.S.S. - **Warsaw Ghetto** - lessons prepared by Peppy Margolis and Cecile Seiden. Available from United Jewish Federation Community Relations Committee, 910 Route 10 East, Whippany, NJ, 07981. (1-201-884-4800, ext. 178 and leave message on machine).
D. Students will describe role of the Einsatsgruppen.	D. Study the Nazi activities after the decision to invade Russia. 1. Students will identify Einsatsgruppen activities and place them on a map. 2. Students will identify limitations of Einsatsgruppen that caused it to be only a step on in the **Final Solution.** a. Who were its Commanders? b. What were the physical limitations? c. Problems of evidence d. Psychological factors 1. Look at video: **Josef Schultz: A Moral Dilemma.** 3. Describe the reasons that led the commanders to behave the way they did, were they ordinary men?	• D. 1. U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council - 50 Years Ago From Terror to Systematic Murder, 1991, "Einsatsgruppen group Report, pp. 59-62. - Shirer, William. **The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich**, Simon & Schuster, NY, 1960, pp. 58 -63. 2.-Reitlinger, Gerald. **The Final Solution**, Thomas - Yoseloff, NY, 1961. 3.-Klee, Dress Reiss **The Good Old Days**, Free Press, NY. "Pushed to Psychological Limits", pp. 59-75. Also Chapter 1 - "Murder of the Jews". -. Video: **Josef Schultz**, 14 Min., ADL. -. Arad, Yitzhak. **The Operation Reinhart Death Camps,** Indiana University Press. - Browning, Christopher R., **Ordinary Men,** Harper, NY 1993 - Davidowicz, Lucy S. **The War Against the Jews,** pp. 123 -128, Milligram experiment.

UNIT__IV__: From Persecution to Mass Murder: The Holocaust
UNIT GOAL : Student will understand the chronology of the Holocaust as the evolution of Nazi state policy from persecution to mass murder.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
E. Students will identify Wannsee Conference.	E. 1. Students will identify goals of the Wannsee Conference. a. Examine actual documents. b. See parts of the video **The Wannsee Conference**. 2. Have students examine chronology of events leading up to the Wannsee Conference.	.E. 1. Nazi "Paperwork of the Final Solution", U.S. Holocaust Memorial; Council, 1991. U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, 50 Years Ago - In the Depths of Darkness, "The Final Solution" in 1942, pp. 1-13. Ibid., pp. 39-57, copies of actual documents from the conference. 2. • See video: **The Wannsee Conference**, 87 Min. A chilling re-creation of the events of Jan. 20, 1942, when 15 members of Hitler's cabinet, seven of whom are identified as "Doctor", gather in lush surroundings to plot the logistics and technology of the "Final Solution", $79.95 (Once a year in April on TV.) S.S.S.S.
F. Students will understand the events that led to "The Final Solution".	F. Students will design chronological charts that show the events that led to the final solution.	F • U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, In the Depth of Darkness pp. 15-38, Chronology of events in 1942 that led to "The Final Solution".

UNIT_IV_: From Persecution to Mass Murder: The Holocaust

UNIT GOAL 2 : Student will understand the chronology of the Holocaust as the evolution of Nazi state policy from persecution to mass murder.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
4. Students will be able to compare and contrast operation and conditions of the concentration camps and the death camps.	A. Students will describe conditions on transport trains to concentration/death camps. 1. Read excerpt of **Night** by Elie Wiesel that describes the train ride. 2. Let students examine how selections were made upon arrival to camps. 3. View teenage stories of Auschwitz video. Consider questions from teenager's point of view. B. Students will describe conditions of Nazi concentration (slave labor) camps.	A. Yitzhak, Arad: **The Operation Reinhard Death Camps,** Indiana University Press. 1. **Night,** Curriculum - 12 Lessons, Center for Learning Publication, S.S.S.S. 1993. • Furman, Harry,. **Anthology**, "Night" by Elie Wiesel, pp. 110-113. 2. Grobman, Alex and Landis, Daniel: **Critical Issues of the Holocaust**, Simon Wiesenthal Center, Chappaqua, NY, 1983. "Arrival At Camp" pp. 245 - 253. 3. Video: a. **The Triumph of Memory,** 30 Min., PBS Video (1-800-344-3337), $59.95. deals with non Jewish resistance fighters who were sent to concentration camps. b. **A Portrait of Elie Wiesel,** 60 Min., PBS. Viewers share an intimate look into Mr. Wiesel's teenage years, $69.95. c. See video or TV film: **War and Remembrance,** transport scene. Video **Auschwitz, If You Cried, You Died.,** 28 min. See Film List Unit I for address. • B. Eisenberg, Azriel. **Witness to the Holocaust,** Pilgrim Press, NY, 1981. "The Blue Pen", (Auschwitz) , pp. 227-220. • - Ibid. "Human Life Never Cease to have Meaning". Man's Search for Meaning? Victor Frankl's experience in Auschwitz, pp. 247-249. • - **Remembering the Voices that Were Silent,** U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, 1990, "Concentration Camps, pp. 57-58. - Des Pres, Terrence. **The Survivor: An Anatomy of Life in the Death Camps**, Oxford University. Press, 1978, pp. 55-80. • - Frankl, Victor. **The Doctor and the Soul**, Vintage Books, NY, pp. 94-103.

UNIT GOAL 2 : Student will understand the chronology of the Holocaust as the evolution of Nazi state policy from persecution to mass murder.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	C. Students will produce map showing location of Nazi death camps. Discuss reasons for location of death camps in Poland. Death Camps 1. Chelmno 2. Belzec 3. Sobibor 4. Treblinka 5. Majdanek 6. Auschwitz - Birkenau Special Camps 1. Bergen-Belsen 2. Theresienstadt 3. Mauthausen 4. Ravensbrook 5. Buchenwald 6. Dachau D. Students will describe operations in a death camp and explain Nazi killing methods. 1. Carbon monoxide gas a. death vans b. gas chambers 2. Zyklon B gas	C. 1. Gilbert, Martin. **Atlas of the Holocaust**, S.S.S.S., $20.00 2. U.S. Holocaust Museum (Maps of Death Camps) D. - Davidowicz, Lucy, **Holocaust Reader**, Behrman House, 1976, NJ, "Witness Mass Murder". - U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, **50 Years Ago - In the Depth of Darkness**, 1991, "Soviet POW's: The First Victims of Zyklon B Gas", pp. 100-113. - Levin, Nora, **The Holocaust**, Thomas Y. Crowell & CO, 1968, "The Final Solution", pp. 308-311.

UNIT__IV__: From Persecution to Mass Murder: The Holocaust

UNIT GOAL : Student will understand the chronology of the Holocaust as the evolution of Nazi state policy from persecution to mass murder.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
5. Review the literature, art and music of the ghettos and camps to determine the motivations, insights and interpretations of human experiences that are reflected.	A. Have students produce artistic representations of camps, based on eyewitness accounts or historical documentation. 1. Have students paint tiles expressing their feelings about the Holocaust. Mount tile on wood as permanent display in class or hallway.	A. 1. Furman, Harry: **Anthology** "Art of the Holocaust", pp. 133-136. 2. Blatter, Janet and Milton, Sybil: **Art of the Holocaust**, A Layla Production Book, NY, 1981, Published by Rutledge Press, Division of W. H. Smith, Publisher, Inc., 112 Madison Ave., NY, NY 10016. 350 art examples created in ghettos, concentration camps and hiding. Excellent example of the art that emanated from this period. 3. Fluek, Toby Knobel: **Memories of My Life in a Polish Village**, 1930- 1949, Alfred A. Knopf, NY, 1990, Life Hough Art Work. 4. Volavkova, Hana: **I Never Saw Another Butterfly** Schocken, 1993. Drawings and poems of Terezien, 1942-1944.

UNIT__IV__: From Persecution to Mass Murder: The Holocaust
UNIT GOAL : Student will understand the chronology of the Holocaust as the evolution of Nazi state policy from persecution to mass murder.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	B. Read teenage diaries and stories that cover camp experiences.	B. 1. Wiesel, Elie: **Night**, Bantam, 1982 paperback. 15-16 year old's experience in Auschwitz-Birkenau, Ramada Cable Activities, S.S.S.S. 2. Hart, Kitty, **Return to Auschwitz**, Athenium Books, NY, 1985. Remarkable story of Kitty who survived Auschwitz as teenager. 3. Spanjaard, Barry, **Don't Fence Me In,** American Teenage Story, paperback, 1981. Available from Braille Institute, 741 N. Vermont Ave., Los Angeles, Ca., 90029. Teenage story, Bergen Belsen. 4. **Anne Frank: Contemporary Classic**. Teaching Material with play, discussion. Perfection Learning. Information Package, S.S.S.S.
	C. Listen to Music which reflected this period of history and examine the songs that came forth from ghettos and camps. 1. **Partisan Song** - Hirsch Glick 2. **S'Brent** - It's Burning 3. **In the Ghetto**	C. **Songs to Remember** (Ghetto Songs) • 1. Furman, Harry, **Anthology, Partisan Song** 2. Tikva Record - 1650 Broadway, NY 3. The Joy of Jewish Memories - (Book). Most Memorable songs of 20th Century, Songs - **S'Brent** - It's burning **Shloimele, Malkele** These are no more children. Order from (1-800-768-4262).

UNIT_IV_: From Persecution to Mass Murder: The Holocaust

UNIT GOAL : Student will understand the chronology of the Holocaust as the evolution of Nazi state policy from persecution to mass murder.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
6. The student will analyze the roles of the Business, Industrial, Legal, Scientific, and Medical Professions, and the role of the Church in the Holocaust.	A. Explain the role of business and industry in the Holocaust. Read/discuss related passage B. Explain role of the Medical/Scientific Communities in the Holocaust. 1. Read/discuss related passages in **The Nazi Doctors**. 2. Discuss what the role of Doctor is, or should be in any society. 3. Read and discus "The Man Who Knew the Nazi Secret" 4. View/discuss film **Mengele**. C. Students will explain the role of the legal professions in the Holocaust. Read/discuss "Manipulating the Law". 1. View/discuss film **Judgment at Nuremberg** D. Students will examine the responses of Christians to the Holocaust. 1. Read **Theologians Ponder Causes of the Holocaust.** 2. Read and discuss **The Church and the Holocaust.** 3. Read and discuss the article **Pope John Paul at Auschwitz.** 4. Research the behavior of Pastor Martin Niemoller who spoke out against the Nazis.	A. Furman, Harry, **Anthology**, "I.G. Farben", pp. 136-138; "The • Chemist Decision" p. 162. B. -. Lifton, Robert Jay, **The Nazi Doctors**, Basic Book Publisher, NY, "Nazi Medical Experiments", p. 13 - Furman, Harry: **Anthology** "Doctor of the Death Camps", pp. 132-133. - Washington Post - "The Man Who Knew the Nazi Secret" by Charles Fenyvesi -. Lagnado and Dekell, **Children of the Flames,** (Twins at Auschwitz), Wm. Morrow and Company, NY. C. - Furman, Harry, **Anthology**, "Manipulating the Law", p. 74. - Muller, Ingo, **Hitler's Justice**, Harvard University Press. - **Judgment at Nuremberg**, United Artists, S.S.S.S. D. Video: **The Longest Hatred** - Parts 1 and 2, S.S.S.S. (1-800-421-4246). - Shirer, William - The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich, Simon Schuster, NY 1960 - Friedman, Philip. **Their Brother's Keepers**, NY: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1957. - Prager, Dennis and Telushkin, Josef, **Why the Jews?** - Ross, Robert, **So it Was True,** Univ. of MN. E. • 1. Hay, Malcom and Herbut, Paula. **The Obligation to Remember "Theologians Ponder Causes of the Holocaust"**, pp. 44 - 45. 2. Furman, Harry. **Anthology:** Lewy, Guenter. **The Church and the Holocaust,** pp. 168-172. 3 Furman, Harry. **A Search for Conscience. "Pope John Paul at Auschwitz"**, p. 186.

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	5. Read "The Ordeal of Dietrich Bonhoeffer" and answer questions orally. Dietrich Bonhoeffer was a noted German Protestant theologian and a leading member of the dissident Confessing Church. He was arrested on April 5, 1943, and charged with "subverting the armed forces." He had been recruited for establishing secret contacts with foreign churches by Admiral Canaris, head of the Abwehr (counterintelligence) and a leading opponent of Hitler. 6. Research the Archbishop Saliege of Toulouse.	• 5. Furman, Harry. **Anthology, The Ordeal of Dietrich Bonhoeffer,** pp. 173-174. additional Readings: 6. Yahil, Leni. **The Holocaust - The Fate of European Jewry**, NY: Oxford University Press, 1990, pp. 419-421. -Wyman, David S. **The Abandonment of the Jews,** pp. 9-15. - Hochut, R. **The Deputy,** play (controversial) - Grobman, Alex and Lander, Daniel, ed. **Critical Issues of the Holocaust**, Simon Wisenthal Center, "Luther and the Jews", pp. 91-94.

UNIT_IV_: From Persecution to Mass Murder: The Holocaust
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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
7. Students will analyze the responses to Nazi persecution policies by Germans and collaborators from other nations.	7. A Students will define and explain the different forms of collaboration: 1. Tactical 2. Conditional 3. Unconditional 4. Neutral B. Students will understand the important roles in the Holocaust played by collaboration of many nations. See readings. E. Research the Greek Protestant Archbishop Damaskinos. F. Learn that Catholic Archbishop Stepinac of Croatia protests the killing of Jews married to Christians on March 6, 1943. The Croatian dictator Ante Pavelic yields, but the killing of other Croatian Jews continued. G. What was the role of Kurt Gerstein who was an S.S. officer and tried to intervene to get Pope Pius XII to rescue the Jews?	•7 - Rings, Weincr. **Life With the Enemy Collaboration and Resistance in Hitler's Europe 1939-1945.** pp. 86, 106, 128., Doubleday and Co. New York, 1982. - U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. **Fifty Years Ago Darkness Before Dawn,** "Collaborators and Resistance.", pp. 10-11. • - Marrus, Michael R. **The Holocaust in History**.. "Allies, Vanquished States and Collaborators." University Press of New England, Hanover, 1987. pp. 82-83. • - A Department of Defense Guide **-Days of Remembrance of the Victims of the Holocaust**, Section 4: "Bystanders and Collaborators." pp. 73-79. - Hilberg, Raul. **The Destruction of the European Jews.** Quadrangle Books, 1961. pp. 204-205, 407-411. • - **Holocaust Encyclopedia.** Gutman, Israel, ed. Macmillan, New York, 1990. Selected articles about Collaborators.

UNIT__IV__: From Persecution to Mass Murder: The Holocaust
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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
8. Evaluate the continuing the role of mass media and propaganda in Nazi Germany including use of "Big Lie" and the corruption of language.	A. Have student read: "How did the "Big Lie Start"? 1. Who wrote the **Protocols of Zion**? 2. What symbols were used to represent the Protocols throughout history? B. Let students research the following phrase: "I regard Henry Ford as my inspiration.", Adolf Hitler. 1. Examine how Henry Ford used the 'Dearborn Independent' newspaper to further his anti-Semitic rhetoric of the **International Jew** 2. Compare and contrast sayings from **Mein Kampf** and those in the **Dearborn Independent** newspaper. Note: In the Nazi Party Headquarters on a desk next to his, Hitler hung a life-size likeness of Henry Ford.	A. • Cohn, Norman: **Warrant for Genocide. The Myth of the Jewish World, Conspiracy and the Protocol Elders of Zion**, Harper and Row Publishers, NY. "Origins of the Myth", Chapter 1-pp. 21 -40, pp. 194 - 215. "The Mythic Nazi Propaganda", Chapter 9, pp. 194-215. • Example from "Protocols of Elders of Zion" pamphlet. B. 1. Lee, Albert. **Henry Ford and the Jews**, Skinner and Day, NY, 1980 "The Truth According to Ford", pp. 13-44. "Hitler's Inspiration", pp. 45-66. Ibid. "Why Henry", pp. 159-162. Note: Henry Ford was a man who had gained the respect of his country, a humanist. Why did he become such an ardent anti-Semite? 2. Hitler, Adolf. **Mein Kampf**, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, "Consequences of Jewish Egotism", pp. 300 - 315
9. Investigate the reasons why specific groups became victims of the Nazi's.	A. Students will research the following: 1. Students will examine the persecution of Gypsies. 2. Students will examine the persecution of Jehovah's Witnesses. 3. Students will examine the persecution of Homosexuals. 4. Students will examine the persecution of the Handicapped.. 5. Students will examine the persecution of Blacks. 6. Students will examine the persecution of Anti-Nazis.	A. Friedman, Ira A. **The Other Victims,** First Prison stories of Non-Jews persecuted by the Nazis, Houghton M. Oelfin Company, Boston. B. U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council. • 1. **50 Years Ago- From Terror to Systematic Murder**. • "Road to Genocide" (Gypsies), pp. 71-73. "Bubili". A young Gypsy's fight for survival., pp. 73-76. 2. Furman, Harry, **Anthology**, " Jehovah's Witnesses", pp. 122-123. 3. a. Ibid. "The Man with the Pink Triangle", pp. 121-122. • b. Plant, Richard: **The Pink Triangle , The Nazi War,** Henry Holt, NY. 6. See readings.

UNIT__IV__: From Persecution to Mass Murder: The Holocaust

UNIT GOAL : Student will understand the chronology of the Holocaust as the evolution of Nazi state policy from persecution to mass murder.

UNIT GOAL : PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
10. Assess the response to the Holocaust of (a) United States and the Allies (b) the media and (c) the American Jewish Community.	A. The United States and its Allies. 1. **Evian Conference** in France in 1938 (32 nations met to see what refuge they could offer to the persecuted Jews.) a. Only agreement reached was to uphold existing quota system. b. Discuss: Why was this conference a true failure? c. What message did it send to the world by the silence and non-reaction of the world powers? 2. Describe how the **British White Paper of May 1939**, restricted only Jewish immigrants to Palestine to only 75,000 over the next 5 years, and also prohibited purchase of land there by Jews. 3. Never any guarantee that ships carrying refugees would reach safe harbors. a. **Voyage of the St. Louis** in May 1939. b. **The Sturma** c. **The Pentcho** - Discuss: **The Man Who Knew the Nazi Secret** and research Gerhart Reigner and the August 8, 1942 telegram. 4. What was the impact of the Bermuda Conference of April 19-30, 1943. a. Discuss: **Suicide Note of Shmuel Zygelboim**, 1993 U.S. Holocaust Guide, p. 213. 5. Vichy government only protected French Jews.	A. 1. • a. Furman, Harry: **Anthology** "The Search for Countries of Refuge" and "The Search for Refuge - A Map", p. 79-82. See videos (both available from S.S.S.S.). 2. Meltzer, Milton: **Never to Forget the Jews of the Holocaust**, NY, Harper & Row, 1976, pp. 43-47. 3. - **The Double Crossing** - The Voyage of St. Louis, 1992, 29 Min. 907 Passengers find out that no one wants Jews, $39.95. -. **Ship of Fools**, 149 Min. Voyage of luxury liner sailing in pre-Holocaust Germany of 1930's, $19.95. - Manning, Olivia. **The Story of the Struma.** Taken from **Holocaust**. Bar, Muki and Yansi, Nathan - Ed. Dept., American Zionist Youth Foundation. - Video: **The Voyage of the Damned,** S.S.S.S. Dr. Fisher excerpt from **In Memory of Millions**, Spotswood H.S. Oral History Project. - Thomas, Gordon and Morgan Max, **Voyage of the Damned**, NY, Fawcett paperback, 1974. Based on voyage of St. Louis. 4. Levin, Nora. **The Holocaust**, Thomas Y. Crowell Company., NY, p. 354. - Wyman, David S.: **The Abandonment of the Jews**, NY, Pantheon Books, 1984, pp. 341-343. 5. Marrus, Michael R. and Paxton, Robert O.: **Vichy France and the Jews**, NY, Basic Books, Inc. 1981.

UNIT_IV_: From Persecution to Mass Murder: The Holocaust
UNIT GOAL : Student will understand the chronology of the Holocaust as the evolution of Nazi state policy from persecution to mass murder.

	6. Panel discussion/role play Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin - research the view of these leaders concerning the Jews and their role in context of WW. II.	6. Use major Holocaust books as references. - Furman, Harry. "American Views of the Refugee Problem", pp. 82-83. - Wyman, David S. **The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust, 1941-1945.** NY, Pantheon Books, 1984. - Morse, Arthur D. **While Six Million Died**, Random House, 1968.
	7.. View the video, **Auschwitz and the Allies.** What was the attitude of the State Department toward immigration of Jews in the 1930's and 1940's.	7. Video - **Auschwitz and the Allies,** 120 Min. PBS (1-800-424-7963) well done, graphic documentary. American Zionist, **Why the Death Camps were not Bombed** by Herbert Druks.
	8. What role did Breckinridge Long play in the U.S. State Department?	8. Feingold, Henry. **The Politics of Rescue: The Roosevelt Administration and the Holocaust, 1938-1945,** pp. 131-137, 301-307. PBS 1994 Telecast about the Long's policy of delay and relay.
	9. What was the mission of the ransoming of Jews?	
	10. Role play British and American leaders deciding whether or not to bomb Auschwitz.	9. - Bauer, Yehuda. **The Holocaust in Historical Perspective, University of Washington Press, 1978.** • Chapter 4 - "The Mission of Jocl Brand: • pp. 109 - 119 - "Trucks for Food". - Druks, Herbert, **Why the Death Damps were not Bombed?**

UNIT_IV_: From Persecution to Mass Murder: The Holocaust
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	11. Research and discuss the effects of **Jan Karski**, the Polish underground courier who in 1942 visited the Warsaw Ghetto and the Belzec death camp. He later reported his findings to Allied, Polish, and Jewish officials in London and on July 28, 1943 gave a firsthand report about the "Final Solution" to President Roosevelt in Washington.	11. a. See Video- **Jan Karski**, Polish PBS Film Courier 1-800-424-7963) b. Cargrs, Harry James. **Voice from the Holocaust.** Story of Jan Karski University of Kentucky Press, 1993.
	12. What role did the **War Refugee Board** play in 1944? Why was it 90% of the quota was not filled? - Describe the journey of the Jews from wart torn Europe to Oswego, New York. How they were welcome and eventually permitted to stay.	12. Gruber, Ruth. **Haven: The Unknown Story of a Thousand World War II Refugees,** Coward, McCann, 1983.
	13. Trace Britain's response to Jewish refugees. - React to the statement by Lord Moyne, British High Commissioner, Egypt, 1944 "What shall I do with those million Jews? Where shall I put them?"	13. - Gilbert, Martin. **Auschwitz and the Allies.** - **Revolt Amid the Darkness** - U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1993, pp. 20-53.
	14. Consider this role of American corporations.	14. American corporations and the Nazis,. Furman, **Anthology**.

UNIT_IV_: From Persecution to Mass Murder: The Holocaust
UNIT GOAL : Student will understand the chronology of the Holocaust as the evolution of Nazi state policy from persecution to mass murder.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
B.. Access the response of world media to the destruction of the Jews in 1939-1945.	A. Read and discuss the enclosed excerpts from Lipstadt's book on the press. See Appendix. 1. Visit the **U.S. Holocaust Museum** in Washington DC., for information about American responses to the Holocaust.	A. Lipstadt, Deborah E. **Beyond Belief: The American Press and the Coming of the Holocaust 1933-1945,** NY: Free Press, 1986.
	B. Research Gerhart Riegner's transmission documenting Hitler's plan for the **Final Solution** - January 19, 1943.	B. 1. **Holocaust: The Obligation to Remember,** U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1983, pp. 14-15. See Appendix. 2. Wyman David S. **Abandonment of the Jews,** pp. 58-103.
	C. Discuss the eleven point proposal of the 1943 Madison Square Garden Rally and its impact.	C. Madison Square Garden Rally. p. 176, **The Politics of Rescue,** Holocaust Library of NY.
	D. Read and discuss article "What was happening to Jews in Europe?"	D. **Remembering the Voices that Were Silenced.** U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, 1990, pp. 85-93.
	E. Conduct a group discussion on how information about the Holocaust heard or seen is reported and believed. Consider the following. 1. Information disseminated. 2. Information believed. 3. Information internalized	E. 1. Laqueur's, Walter. **The Terrible Secret,** London: 1980, p. 159. 2. Ross, Robert, **So It was True.**

UNIT__IV__: From Persecution to Mass Murder: The Holocaust
UNIT GOAL : Student will understand the chronology of the Holocaust as the evolution of Nazi state policy from persecution to mass murder.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	F. Review the many paths by which information seeped out of Nazi occupied Europe. 1. Polish underground. 2. Refugees leaving German occupied countries. 3. German soldiers. 4. Newspaper correspondents from neutral countries stationed in Germany. 5. Make a collage by constructing a series of newspaper headlines which illustrate Jewish efforts to find a new home in various parts of the world 1937 -1945. G. 1. By early 1942, reports regularly reached England about widespread massacres of Jews in Poland and the Soviet Union. Such accounts appeared first in the Jewish Press (The Jewish Chronicle and the Zionist Review). They were also carried by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency which sent them to publications in NY. Why was there no action? 2 By the summer of 1942 these reports also appeared in non-Jewish press and started to appear with increasing frequency.	F. Marrus, Michael R. **The Holocaust in History.** 1. View video - **Jan Karski, Polish Courier,** PBS (1-800-424-7963). 2. Cargas, Harry James. Voices From the Holocaust, "Voices from the Holocaust" Jan Karski, The University Press of Kentucky. G. 1. See video - **American Experience 2 and 3, America and the Holocaust: Deceit and Indifference,** 90 Min., PBS video or (1-800-255-9424) $19.95 S.H.

UNIT__IV__: From Persecution to Mass Murder: The Holocaust
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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
C. Students will examine the major American Jewish organizations and leadership during this period.	A. Identify the major American Jewish organizations and their proposed projects. Did they provide assistance? 1. American Jewish Committee 2. American Jewish Congress 3. Jewish Labor Committee 4. B'Nai B'rit 5. World Jewish Congress B. How did Jewish leaders express themselves publicly in reaction to Holocaust events? Analyze statements about Jewish leaders in America. C. Investigate Jewish leaders and their meetings with President Roosevelt and other government officials. 1. Benjamin V. Cohen, a former advisor to Roosevelt 2. Stephen S. Wise 3. Bernard Baruch 4. Judge Samuel Rosenman 5. Lawrence Berenson - sent by Joint Distribution Committee to negotiate docking rights for the refugees of the S.S. St. Louis in Cuba. 6. Gerhart Riegner, A World Jewish Congress representative in Switzerland & his infamous cable of Hitler's **Final Solution.** 7. Peter Bergson 8. Nahun Goldman D. Discuss the role of Bernard Baruch and Samuel Rosenman.	A. 1. Wyman, David. **Paper Walls: America and the Refugee Crisis 1938-1941**, University of Massachusetts Press, 1968. 2. Morse, Arthur D., **While Six Million Died: A Chronicle of American Apathy**, NY: Random House, 1967. 3. Bauer, Yehuda, **American Jewry and the Holocaust: The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee 1939-1945,** Detroit, 1981. B. Lipstadt, Deborah E. **Beyond Belief**, NY Free Press, 1986, pp. 112-122. C. 1. Druks, Herbert. **The Failure to Rescue,** NY: Robert Speller & Son, 1977, pp. 6, 17-26. 2. Wyman, David S. **The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust 1941-1945,** pp. 204, 316, 385. 3. See Video - **Allies and Auschwitz**, previously listed. D. 1. Druks, Herbert. **The Failure to Rescue,** NY: Robert Speller & Son, 1977, p. 6. 2. Wyman, David S. **The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust 1941-1945.**

UNIT_IV_: From Persecution to Mass Murder: The Holocaust
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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	E. Brainstorm the reason why Jewish leadership was confronted with strong opposition in their efforts to rescue European Jews. 1. Mass demonstration, public-rallies, and protests. 2. World Jewish Congress and other organizations raised significant fund to rescue Jews and finance missions. 3. Attend programs of Jewish organizations. 4. The Jewish organizations called upon the Jewish community in Palestine (Under British Mandate then) to aid in the rescue of European Jews.	E. 1. Wyman, David S. **The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust 1941-1945.** 2. Jewish Telegraphic Agency. Daily News Bulletin, November 22, 1938. Lookstein, p. 40 3. Microfiche NY Times, 12/18/42 - 3/1/43. 4. Lipstadt, Deborah E. **Beyond Belief**, NY: Free Press, 1986, pp. 112-122. 5. Jewish Telegraphic Agency. Daily News Bulletin, November 22, 1938. 6. Microfiche NY Times, 12/18/42 - 3/1/43
11. Students will identify the importance of eyewitness testimony in the study of the Nazi Holocaust.	A. Read/discuss, books/articles written by survivors. B. Students can interview a Holocaust survivor or Liberator (student questions should be checked by instructor). C. Invite a Holocaust survivor or Liberator to speak to class. D. Record interviews and class presentations, creating an oral history library for your school and community. E. Visit a Holocaust Resource Library, view their taped testimonies. F. Taped testimonies can be used as a springboard to further study, for example: the story of a Ghetto Fighter can be linked to a study of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising; a testimony of a Wallenberg or Schindler survivor can be linked to a report on the Righteous among the Nations, etc.	A. Check in Appendix for listing of Holocaust Centers in the State of NJ and contact Speaker's Bureau. B. Student can begin oral testimonies through medium of video, audio cassette or written testimony. •C. Department of Defense Guide for Annual Commemorative Observances, "The Liberators". D. Check resource guide published by NJ Commission on Holocaust Education.

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
12. The student will develop a chronology of the Holocaust from 1933 to 1943.	A. Students will use the chronology charts to see the development of the Holocaust. 1. 1933 - 1939 Nuremberg Laws, Kristallnacht 2. 1939 to 1941 Deportation, Ghettoization 3. 1941 to 1945 Final Solution B. Students can use this chart to make a comparison of the anti-Jewish laws throughout history.	A. Refer to the Yad Vashem Chronology, 1977, **The Holocaust the World and the Jews,**. 1933 - 1945 by Seymour Rossel, Behrman House, Inc., NJ, 1992. Davidowicz, Lucy S. **The War Against the Jews 1933 - 1945**, NY, Bantam, 1976. B. 1. Take from: **Martyr's and Heroes**, Yad Vashem Jerusalem, 1975 with photos 2. Grahman and Landis, **Critical Issues of the Holocaust,** Simon Wiesenthal Center.
13. Students will define the term Holocaust Shoah.	A. Students will develop a definition of the Holocaust or Shoah.	A. World Publishing Co., 1970, Websters New World Dictionary, NY. 1. **Encyclopedia of the Holocaust,** Gutman, Israel, 1990 2. **The Holocaust the World and the Jews**, 1933-1945 by Seymour Rossel, p 116, Behrman House, Inc., NJ, 1992
14. Student will reassess his/her generalizations about Human Nature in light of the events in Nazi Germany.	A. Student will write a personal report or summary to reassess his/her generalizations or conclusions formulated about human nature and behavior in light of the events in Nazi Germany.	A. Refer back to Unit I of this guide "Nature of Human Behavior".

UNIT IV

Genocide - vol 20 - 51 min.
World at War series. Examines the rationale and methods employed by the Nazis to realize their goal of the "Master Race." Excellent overall film that shows the story of the Holocaust. Graphic Footage made by the B.B.C.

Social Studies School Service
1-800-421-4246
$29.95

Triumph and Will - 120 min.
Propaganda film of 1934 made by Leni Riefenstahl. Shows the opulence of the Nazi and how they base their pomp and pageantry on the Tutonic and Aryan philosophy. Can be used in Unit III.

Social Studies School Service
1-800-421-4246
$19.95

Why We Fight - 60 min.
U.S. propaganda film made by Frank Capra - famous U.S. producer - to offset German propaganda.

PBS
1-800-344-3337

California Reich - 25 min.
Rebirth of U.S. Nazi Party.

Social Studies School Service
1-800-421-4246

Through Our Eyes, Children Witness the Holocaust
Teenagers tell their experiences in the Holocaust. Video available with the Teacher's guide and the book by the same title written by Itzhak Teitelbaum.

Social Studies School Service
1-800-421-4246
$49.00 for video

Josef Schultz - 14 min.
A film that deals with the moral dilemma, should a soldier obey his officers with blind obedience. Based on actual incident which occured during WWII

ADL
1-800-343-5540

Triumph of Memory - 30 min.
Deals with non-Jewish resistance fighters that were sent to concentration camps.

PBS
1-800-344-3337
$59.95

The Longest Hatred - 150 min. (Two Tapes)
PART I - uses images from art, vintage clips, show the hatred - covers Middle Ages, Reformation up to 3rd Reich, also covers Austria, Poland and Russia.
PART II - concerns itself with Islamic world. **Due to the racist content and depth of film, recommended for advanced students.**

Social Studies School Service
1-800-421-4246

Reading #1
Unit IV

The Racial Question

Racist attitudes in Germany developed from the idea that the Aryan-Nordic race descended from the ancient Teutonic Knights of Northwestern Europe. To the Nazi, the Teuton stood for goodness, strength, courage, and beauty. Although the Aryan myth had existed prior to the Nazis, they turned it into a reality which was readily applied to society. The Nazis referred to themselves as the "master race."

The following excerpt reviews Hitler's view of the Jewish people. It was Adolf Hitler who further developed an anti-Semitism built upon biology and race rather than upon religion, economics, and politics. The lessons learned in Vienna under Karl Lueger and Carl Schonerer were now applied to the Reich.

The reading is followed by an illustration from only one of the many editions of the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," a forged document which claimed that Jews plotted to gain control of the world. Editions of the "Protocols" are still printed and distributed in Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East. Ousted Uganda dictator, Idi Amin, used to give copies to visitors as did leaders of some Arab states.

Hitler's War Against the Jews

David A. Altshuler

Hitler assembled his ideas about the Jews in *Mein Kampf* . . . he explained race as the most important principle of human life, and he tried to show that since the beginning, history was a story of the conflict between the Aryans and the Jews. "The racial question," he wrote, "gives the key not only to world history, but to all human culture." Therefore, civilizations rise and fall depending on how they take care of the "racial preservation of the nation." "In the blood alone resides the strength as well as the weakness of man," so the "resurrection of Germany" depends on "the clearest knowledge of the racial problem and hence of the Jewish problem."

The "Aryan" race was the champion of "human cultural development." By their nature and their "blood," the "Aryans" were chosen to rule the world. The whole existence of human civilization, then, depended on safeguarding the purity of the "Aryan" race. . . .

According to Hitler, the state had only one purpose—watching over the purity of the racial community. The German people "must set race in the center of all life." They have "the task, not only of assembling and preserving the most valuable stocks of basic racial elements in this people, but slowly and surely of raising them to a dominant position."

The only obstacle for Hitler to overcome was the Jew. Hitler saw the Aryan as perfect, the Jew as totally evil. As the saying went, "Whoever knows the Jew knows the Devil." Thus, Jews were regarded not only as strange and different from Germans, but also as the worst type of human beings.

Hitler claimed that the "vileness" of Jews was part of their blood, that their "race" was inferior physically, mentally, and culturally. Jews, he said, "polluted" modern life with filth and disease. They "poisoned" others with germs, but somehow managed to preserve themselves. This myth that Jews carry disease goes back to the superstitions of the Middle Ages, when Jews were accused of spreading plagues and poisoning wells. Even as late as the seventeenth century, an outbreak of disease in Vienna was explained as the kind "caused by evil spirits, by Jews, by gravediggers, and by witches." Hitler believed that Jewish "poison" had defiled German family life, culture, and the press.

How had the Jews succeeded in "defiling" Germany? Hitler believed they had done so by lying, by claiming that Judaism is a religion. "Actually," according to Hitler, "they are a race—and what a race!" He believed that Jews had no language or culture of their own, that they lived off other cultures and races until they destroyed them. The Jew's ultimate goal, Hitler wrote, was to conquer the world, to achieve "domination over the nations."

From the idea of the Jew as an evil parasite, a bloodsucker contaminating the Aryan race, it was an easy step to add the notion that Jews were destroying German economic life. Hitler described Jewish business life as follows: "The spider was slowly beginning to suck the blood out of the people's pores." That image of the Jews as a selfish, greedy businessman was the one anti-Semites had used for nearly a century.

Hitler saw Jews as trying to master the world not only in business but also in labor unions, not only in the press but also in the government. As for democracy, he wrote that "only the Jew can praise an institution which is as dirty and false as he himself." Hitler viewed Marxism, which in Russia became Communism, as a Jewish movement. Marxism, too, he said, "systematically plans to hand the world over to the Jews."

Hitler's "evidence" for this theory of Jewish plans to master the world came from the history of Russia. The Bolsheviks, a party which brought violent revolution to Russia in 1918, included many Jews, most notably the leader Leon Trotsky. Hitler believed the forged *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, and he wrote that the Jewish "conspiracy" went even further. "In Russian Bolshevism we must see the attempt undertaken by the Jews in the twentieth century to achieve world domination." All Russia, he believed, had somehow become captive of the Jews. A similar fate, he warned, faced Germany, unless it showed enough national will to resist. Hitler concluded that the Russian Empire must necessarily collapse because of this supposed "Jewish domination." His ideas of race and space, therefore, led to a foreign policy for Germany which demanded an all-out fight against Soviet Russia.

Mein Kampf, then, is a vision of a worldwide conflict betweeen Aryans and Jews. It is Hitler's own plan for the triumph of "good" over "evil." He saw himself as the Messiah who would save all people from the Jews and the Devil. "Hence today I believe that I am acting in accordance with the will of the Almighty Creator: by defending myself against the Jew, I am fighting for the work of the Lord."

Hitler's image of himself was linked to his unlimited and unending fear and hatred of the Jew. "Two worlds face one another—the men of God and men of Satan! The Jew is the anti-man, the creature of another god." The title, *Mein Kampf*, means "my struggle." After Hitler wrote of his battle against the Jews, he went out to fight that battle. . . .



Cover of Brazilian edition of *Protocols*, São Paulo, 1932.

Questions for Discussion

1. German society prior to the Nazi takeover was one of the most educated, cultured, and advanced in the world. How can you explain the widespread acceptance of racist theories in Germany?
2. How are Jews described? With what animal is the Jew associated in the illustration?
3. Who today promotes the distribution of the "Protocols" (or uses its language) and why?
4. Is there an "Aryan" race?

PROPAGANDA IN EDUCATION

INTRODUCED BY ERIC GOLDHAGEN

A revolutionary regime bent upon eradicating the "old ideology" and replacing it with a new creed concentrates its efforts on the young generation, for the young are far more malleable than those whose minds have been molded by the *ancien regime*.

The new pedagogues of the Nazi regime sought to inculcate in the young the virtue of ruthlessness, the faith in racism and, above all, the belief in the existence of the latter-day Devil—the Jew—and the necessity to wage incessant war against him.

Like the medieval Devil, the Jew was a protean figure assuming various guises. Now he is terrifying, now comical. He provokes various emotions: contempt, hatred, fear, loathing and derision.

Though the poems and songs were intended for the young, they might as well have been printed in adult publications, for the contents were not much more sophisticated. For Nazi ideology —with its tales of demons and supermen, of darkest evil battling immaculate Good, of sinister conspiracies thwarted by alert Teutonic guardians—had an infantile quality. The proclaimed aim of the Nazis to homogenize society (*gleichschalter*) extended to the mental realm as well. The collective mind was to be emptied of all complexity and fed on simple fairytale-like myths. Before sinking into murderous barbarism, Nazism regressed into puerile primitivism.

The Nazis gloried in their simplifications. Der Fuhrer, proclaimed Goebbels, is the "Great Simplifier" (*Der Grosse Vereinfacher*). The truth is simple, but alas, obfuscated by decadent intellectuals. Der Fuhrer with his cleansing sword, hacks away the obscuring thicket of verbal weeds to reveal the Truth in all its uncomplicated plainness. "What the National Socialism teaches" declared one writer, "can be understood by the simple man as well as by the professor, often times better by the former."

This propaganda bore the desired fruit, especially in the young. The inmates of the ghettos and concentration camps knew, as a rule born of their experience, that the young Nazis tended to be more cruel than the old.

Few of those who had been imbued with Nazi ideology retain that creed today. The vast majority has repressed the memory of it. And when an idea of the past does rise up in their minds it fills them with dread, pain and shame. For they then become aware of the intolerable thought that, but for the defeat of Hitler, they would have lived their lives as primitive mental barbarians.

Don't Trust
a Fox on the
Greensward,
and Never a Jew on
His Plighted Word.

Editor's Note: *The following poems are excerpts from a picture book written by Elvira Bauer and published by "Der Stuermer" in Nuremberg. The translation is an anonymous work from the University of South Florida Library.*

The Father of the Jews is the Devil

At the creation of the world
The Lord God conceived the races:
Red Indians, Negroes and Chinese,
and Jew-boys too, the rotten crew.
And, we were also on the scene:
We Germans midst this motley medley—
He gave them all a piece of earth
To fill in the sweat of their brow.
But the Jew-boy went on strike at once!
For the devil rode him from the first.
Cheating, not working, was his aim;
For lying, he got first prize
In less than no time from the Father of Lies.
Then he wrote it in the Talmud.
By the banks of Pharaoh's Nile
Pharaoh saw this folk, decided
"I'll torment the lazy blighters,
These people shall make bricks for me!"
The Jew did this all wailing and whining
Never was there such cursing and swearing,
With bent backs and over-big slippers.
Even today we see them shambling
With lip hanging down and great red noses
And looking daggers, flashing hate.
They owe Pharaoh a thousand thanks,
Who trounced them soundly for their pranks.
The Jews soon had enough of that!
The Devil brought them to our midst.
Like thieves they stole into our land
Hoping to get the upper hand.

ERIC GOLDHAGEN, *of the Harvard Divinity School, teaches the Holocaust at Harvard.*

The Eternal Jew

From the start the Jew has been
A murderer, said Jesus Christ.
And as Our Lord died on the cross
God the Father knew no other race
To torment His Son to death,
He chose the Jews for this.
That is why the Jews now claim
To be His special proteges.
When Christ the burden of the cross
Too heavy found, He sought to rest
One moment 'gainst a door.
But from the house a Jew came out
Cursed Him and upbraided Him,
Telling Him to move on further.
For 'twas a Jew that owned that house.
It was the Jew Ahasuerus . . .
Since then the Jew has borne a curse.
Two thousand years he has sought rest,
That wretched Jew Ahasuerus,
The curse has passed to all his race,
Restless he wanders far and wide,
One land to another.
He has no home to call his own,
The alien Jew, that scurvy knave.
His nomad soul finds nowhere rest,
Everywhere he's just a pest.
Four centuries have come and gone,
Ahasuerus crops up everywhere
Now in Hamburg, next Berlin,
In Denmark and in Danzig too.
Dresden, Paris have seen that Jew.
Believe me, children, it is quite clear,
Ahasuerus haunts us still
Under the skin of every Jew.
Now, children, keep a good look out
Whenever you see a Jew about.
The Jew creeps round, a regular fox,
Keep your eyes skinned, or you'll be on the rocks.



Illustrations from Elvira Bauer's book.

The Jewish Businessman

Folks, look at this rare twister, too.
It is old Aaron Kahn, the Jew.
Owner of a store is he.
And all his precious merchandise
Is sold by means of rotten lies.
Just rubbish worked off on dumb goys.
Aaron Kahn has a purse quite full.
He's emptied that of many a fool.
These suckers come most willingly
To spend their money at his store.
But when a hungry man appears
And begs for bread with melting tears,
Look at the picture over there
And see a Jewish soul laid bare.
So listen folks, wherever you are:
"Don't trust a fox on the greensward,
And never a Jew on his plighted word!"

Jews, Disappear!

In our far-flung Fatherland
Many a bit of earth is famous
For its beauty and its strength
The wealth of health bestows.
That's why it's so frequented
By people from far and near.
As on this picture may be seen
A notice-board is erected here,
Telling for all the world to know
Here Jews are hardly popular.
The German is the owner here,
So, friend Yid, best disappear!

The Jewish Teacher

It's going to be fine in the schools at last,
For all the Jews must leave.
For big and small it's all alike.
Anger and hate do not avail
Nor utmost Jewish whine or wail.
Away with all the Jewish breed.
'Tis the German teacher we desire.
Now he leads the way to cleverness,
Wanders and plays with us, but yet
Keeps us children in good order.
He makes jokes with us and laughs
So going to school is quite a joy.



CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS
1933 - 1945

Reading #1
Unit IV

Prepared by

SHMUEL KRAKOWSKI

International Events and Events in the Third Reich	*The War against the Jews*	*Jewish Activities*
	1933	
January 30, 1933 Adolf Hitler appointed *Reichskanzler* (German Chancellor)		January 30, 1933 *Jüdische Jugendhilfe* established in Berlin
February 27, 1933 The burning of the *Reichstag*; wave of arrests and Nazi terror in Germany		
March 1933 First concentration camp established in Germany: Dachau	March 9-10, 1933 Beginning of a wave of riots against German Jews by the S.A. and *Stahlhelm*	March 27, 1933 Mass demonstration in New York organized by the American Jewish Congress to protest Nazi terror in Germany
	April 1, 1933 Boycott against German Jewry	April 1, 1933 The German Jewish newspaper *Jüdische Rundschau* carries the article by Robert Weltsch, "Wear it with pride, the yellow badge," the first in a series, "To say 'Yes' to our 'Jewishness'; these headlines become the slogans of the resistance of German Jewry
	April 7, 1933 Law prohibiting Jews from working in government offices	
April 26, 1933 The Gestapo established	April 21, 1933 Law prohibiting Jewish ritual slaughter	April 26, 1933 Decision by the *Vaad Le'umi* (National Committee of the Jews of Palestine) to establish a project for the absorption of immigrants from Germany
May 10, 1933 Public burning of Jewish books and works by opponents of Nazism in German towns		Mid-May 1933 Representatives of the *Comité des Délégations Juives* submit a protest to the League of Nations about anti-Jewish discrimination in Germany (the petition of Franz Bernheim)
		Mass demonstration by the Jews of Paris to protest against the anti-Jewish campaign in Germany

International Events and Events in the Third Reich	*The War against the Jews*	*Jewish Activities*
		May 1933 Establishment of the *Jüdischer Kulturbund* in Berlin
		June 11, 1933 Conference of Jewish organizations in Silesia discusses means of safeguarding the rights of German Jews
		June 27, 1933 Mass anti-Nazi protest rally by London Jews
July 14, 1933 Law prohibiting political parties in Germany; Nazi Party now sole legal party in Germany		August 20, 1933 American Jewish Congress declares boycott against Nazi Germany
		September 8, 1933 Second World Jewish Conference in Geneva resolves to organize an anti-German boycott movement throughout the world
		September 17, 1933 Establishment of the *Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden* (Reich Representation of Jews in Germany)
October 14, 1933 Germany leaves disarmament talks at League of Nations	October 17, 1933 Law prohibiting Jews from working as journalists	October 1933 Establishment of "liaison office" for aid to German Jews by Jewish organizations in the U.S. and France
October 19, 1933 Germany leaves the League of Nations		
		November 27, 1933 "Transfer" company established in Tel Aviv to facilitate the immigration of Jews from Germany through special arrangements for the transfer of their property

International Events and Events in the Third Reich	*The War against the Jews*	*Jewish Activities*
	1934	
January 26, 1934 Germany and Poland sign a non-belligerency pact		
		February 1934 First group of young Jewish refugees from Germany arrive at Kibbutz Ein Harod
April 1, 1934 Heinrich Himmler appointed head of the S.S.	April 1934 Establishment of the Radical Nationalist Organization (O.N.R.) in Poland, an extreme anti-Semitic organization	
June 30-July 2, 1934 "Night of the Long Knives": purge of the S.A. and those opposed to Hitler's policies; Roehm and his colleagues murdered		
July 25, 1934 Attempted coup by Nazis in Austria, murder of Dollfuss, Austrian prime minister		
August 2, 1934 Death of von Hindenburg, president of Germany; Hitler assumes the responsibilities of head of state		

1935

January 7, 1935
French-Italian agreement signed by Mussolini and Laval in Rome

January 13, 1935
Saar region annexed to Germany

March 16, 1935
Renewal of conscription in Germany, in violation of the Versailles Treaty

May 31, 1935
German Jews prohibited from serving in the armed forces.

June 1935
Wave of anti-Jewish riots in Poland

September 15, 1935
Nuremberg Laws — enactment of basic anti-Jewish racial laws

October 3, 1935
Italy attacks Ethiopia

December 1935
Anti-Jewish riots in Polish universities; Jewish students restricted to special seats

Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service, April 7, 1933

The Reich Government has enacted the following Law, promulgated herewith:

Sec. 1

1) To restore a national professional civil service and to simplify administration, civil servants may be dismissed from office in accordance with the following regulations, even where there would be no grounds for such action under the prevailing Law.

2) For the purposes of this Law the following are to be considered civil servants: direct and indirect officials of the Reich, direct and indirect officials of the Länder, officials of Local Councils, and of Federations of Local Councils, officials of Public Corporations as well as of Institutions and Enterprises of equivalent status... The provisions will apply also to officials of Social Insurance organizations having the status of civil servants...

Sec. 2

1) Civil servants who have entered the service since November 9, 1918, without possessing the required or customary educational background or other qualifications are to be dismissed from the service. Their previous salaries will continue to be paid for a period of three months following their dismissal.

2) They will have no claim to temporary pensions, full pensions or survivors' benefits, nor to retain designation of rank or titles, or to wear uniforms or emblems...

Sec. 3

1) Civil servants who are not of Aryan descent are to be retired (Sec. 8 ff.); if they are honorary officials, they are to be dismissed from their official status.

2) Section 1 does not apply to civil servants in office from August 1, 1914, who fought at the Front for the German Reich or its Allies in the World War, or whose fathers or sons fell in the World War. Other exceptions may be permitted by the Reich Minister of the Interior in coordination with the Minister concerned or with the highest authorities with respect to civil servants working abroad.

UNITED STATES
HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM
100 RAOUL WALLENBERG PLACE, SW
WASHINGTON, DC 20024-2150

1) Civil servants whose previous political activities afford no assurance that they will at all times give their fullest support to the national State, can be dismissed from the service....

Reich Chancellor
Adolf Hitler
Reich Minister of Interior
Frick
Reich Minister of Finance
Graf Schwerin von Krosigk

Reichsgesetzblatt, I, 1933, p. 175

In: Arad, Y., Y. Gutman, A. Margaliot (eds.). **Documents on the Holocaust. Selected Sources on The Destruction of the Jews of Germany and Austria, Poland, and the Soviet Union.** Jerusalem: Yad Vashem in cooperation with the ADL and Ktav Publishing House, 1981, pp. 39-41.

First Regulation for the Implementation of the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service, April 11, 1933

Sec. 2

...

[Amendment] to Sec. 3

1) A person is to be considered non-Aryan if he is descended from non-Aryan, and especially from Jewish parents or grandparents. It is sufficient if one parent or grandparent is non-Aryan. This is to be assumed in particular where one parent or grandparent was of the Jewish religion.

2) Any civil servant who was not already serving on August 1, 1914, must bring proof that he is of Aryan descent or fought at the Front, or is the son or father of a soldier who fell in the World War. Such proof is to be supplied by the presentation of documents (birth certificates and marriage license of the parents, military documents).

3) In the event of Aryan descent being questionable, an opinion must be obtained from the expert on racial research attached to the Ministry of Interior...

Reichsgesetzblatt, I, 1933, p. 195

In: Arad, Y., Y. Gutman, A. Margaliot (eds.). **Documents on the Holocaust. Selected Sources on The Destruction of the Jews of Germany and Austria, Poland, and the Soviet Union.** Jerusalem: Yad Vashem in cooperation with the ADL and Ktav Publishing House, 1981, pp. 41-42.

INSTRUCTIONS BY MINISTER OF ECONOMICS ON THE POSITION OF JEWS IN GERMAN TRADE, SEPTEMBER 1933

...The legal regulations made by the Law for the protection of retail trade are completed for the time being. This means that the Reich Government will refrain from taking further measures such as have been demanded from various sides...

In this connection I see myself obliged...to point out once more that the absolutely essential further restoration of calm to the entire economy and its unified, organic reconstruction can only be achieved if those who have been appointed by the Reich Government to carry out its orders avoid any measure which could endanger the feeling of confidence in the Law as the result of their failure to observe existing laws and thereby introduce renewed uncertainty into the economy...

I therefore request that the lower-echelon offices and city magistrates in particular be emphatically instructed that such measures are to be absolutely avoided, and cancelled when necessary...

The groups directly interested in additional measures, and who have claimed up to now that their more far-reaching demands are in accordance with the economic policy of the Reich Government, are to be emphatically notified that the decision of the Reich Government in this respect has now been made unmistakably clear, as I have stated before. The Reich Government cannot permit itself to be deprived of freedom of action by the creation of established facts, as the result of unauthorized intervention, directly or indirectly, in its decisions on the legal and economic position of the enterprises concerned. It will deal with such lack of discipline as offenses against the Führer Principle and as sabotage of economic reconstruction...

In the interest of maintaining the enterprises in question as places of work of very large numbers of German employees and [blue-collar] workers, and as providers of employment for much larger numbers still, boycotts and similar measures are to be avoided where they prevent business relations with suppliers or customers (i.e., the production of black or white lists, failure to include the enterprises in supply registers, refusal to accept advertisements, discouraging of customers by the posting of observers, distribution of leaflets, posters, threats, photographing of customers or interfering with them in other ways, etc.)...

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Actions of this type have already been emphatically forbidden to members, officers and organizations of the NSDAP and its related bodies, by order of the Fuhrer's Deputy, Rudolf Hess, of July 8, 1933, as well as by a subsequent order of August 8, 1933.

I therefore request that most decisive action be taken to prevent intervention of this type in future, and that organizations and associations rescind without delay any contrary directions and decisions, and that lower-echelon offices should receive instructions in accordance with this memorandum as soon as possible.

C.V.-Zeitung, No. 39, October 11, 1933

In: Arad, Y., Y. Gutman, A. Margaliot (eds.). **Documents on the Holocaust. Selected Sources on The Destruction of the Jews of Germany and Austria, Poland, and the Soviet Union.** Jerusalem: Yad Vashem in cooperation with the ADL and Ktav Publishing House, 1981, pp. 42-43.

Der Stürmer: "A Fierce and Filthy Rag"

Der Stürmer is the most infamous newspaper in history. For twenty-two years every issue denounced Jews in crude, vicious, and vivid ways. Although Streicher employed a large staff by the end of the 1930s, he always had the final say. "Streicher and the *Stürmer*, they are one and the same," he would say proudly.

In its early years there was little to suggest the paper's future notoriety. Streicher began it during his first major battle for control of Nuremberg Nazism in 1923. Anti-Streicher forces had held an "Evening of Revelations" on April 14, 1923, at which Streicher was charged with being a liar and a coward, of having unsavory friends, of mistreating his wife, and of flirting with women, the kinds of accusations that would follow him throughout his career. Streicher's response was to begin a newspaper. Later he described how he chose the name *Stürmer*. Wandering through the woods on a fine spring day he thought about what to call his paper. While resting under a fir tree, inspiration struck. He jumped up and shouted, "I have it! Since the paper will storm the red fortress, it shall be called the *Stürmer*."[1] The story is most likely an afterthought, but the title he chose was typically Nazi. Other party organs had names like *Der Angriff* (the Attack) and *Die Flamme* (the Flame), names suggesting action and forcefulness.

The first issue appeared in early May (see figure 3). Most of it responded to the charges his opponents had made, and in reasonably persuasive style, but the Jews were not ignored. The issue concluded: "As long as the Jew is in the German household, we will be Jewish slaves. Therefore he must go. Who? *The Jew!*" The next issue carried a vehement attack on Mayor Lüppe, an attack continued in the third and fourth issues. By the fourth issue too, Streicher was printing more general attacks on the Jews. The seventh issue, appearing in June, was headlined: "Walther Rathenau: Who he was. What he wanted. What he did." Rathenau, a leading Jewish politician assassinated the year before, had been a regular Nazi target. The *Stürmer* had become a private weapon in Streicher's war against the Jews.

The Nazi leadership in Munich worried over Streicher's new enterprise; they had already had difficulties enough with his independent ways. Max Amann, later director of the German press, wrote to Streicher in August 1923 asking him to cease publication since the intraparty feud that had spurred Streicher to begin the paper now was settled. "I do not know what opinion you have on this matter; however, Herr Streicher, I have no doubt that you will no longer consider it important for the *Stürmer* to appear when as much room as necessary will be made available for reports of the local group in the *Volkswille* [the official Nazi paper in Nuremberg]."[2] Streicher, however, did have larger plans, and his position was sufficiently strong to let him ignore Amann's wishes.

In appearance the early issues were unimpressive, four small pages with no illustrations and few advertisements. The paper ceased publication entirely for several months after the 1923 *Putsch*, but Streicher resurrected it in 1924. By 1925 the paper was from outward appearances healthier. More advertising was carried, and the pages now were tabloid size. Circulation had increased. The first issues sold several thousand copies at most, but by 1927 it was selling fourteen thousand copies weekly, most of them outside Nuremberg itself. As the circulation increased, Streicher broadened the *Stürmer*'s coverage. At first he wrote mostly of the misdeeds of Jews and their friends in Nuremberg, chief of whom was Mayor Luppe. By 1930 Luppe rarely was the subject of the lead article. Streicher's changing view of his audience is suggested by a 1932 alteration in the paper's masthead slogan. Formerly it had been "A Nuremberg weekly in the struggle for truth." Now it became "A German weekly in the struggle for truth."

The mainstay of the newspaper during the Weimar period was scandal. To maintain his readership Streicher had to provide a steady supply of interesting and fresh material, an enterprise in which he had surprising success. Early in 1924 he printed a notice that the paper's price was twenty pfennig, and that those newsdealers attempting to charge more should be reported to him. It was the spectacular that made it possible to scalp a weekly newspaper.

Most of the scandal at first was political. Mayor Luppe and his administration were accused of every manner of abuse of power. If there were problems with Nuremberg housing, it was the fault of Nuremberg Jewry. If there was unemployment, Jews were to blame. But Nuremberg politics was of limited interest to the growing numbers of readers outside Nuremberg, so Streicher turned to the standbys of sensational journalism, sex and crime, preferably together. Each new alleged case of Jewish rape or sexual criminality received eager attention from the *Stürmer*'s staff. The sexual material naturally made it interesting to young people; the *Stürmer* became the Nuremberg equivalent to an American boy's clandestine copy of *Playboy*. In 1925 a gentleman who claimed to be neither Jewish nor one of Streicher's political opponents wrote to his own newspaper:

> Streicher always presents an attention-getting piece of news in his *Stürmer*. He always brings something rotten to the light of day. He wants to keep his readers in constant suspense. But what do his readers want? Sensation and filth. Streicher gives that to them. He floods his readers with tastelessness. And who are his readers? Mostly adolescents who are still wet behind the ears. Thanks to Streicher's "education," every lad is familiar with homosexuality and prostitution. One cannot blame Streicher for speaking about these matters. Every newspaper today does. The question is how one speaks of them. Streicher gives them great prominence. May not one be concerned when one sees the *Stürmer* not only in the hands of older students, but also in the possession of elementary school children?[3]

The *C. V. Zeitung*, a national Jewish monthly, made the same point in 1926, observing that many Nuremberg children read the *Stürmer*, and Mayor Luppe accused Streicher of publishing the "worst pornographic colportage literature."

Ironically, many early *Stürmer* readers seem to have been Jewish. After the war Streicher claimed Jews had given him valuable financial support by purchasing the paper. His statement is supported by an advertising circular from a Jewish newspaper in Nuremberg around 1925: "It is of great concern to the Licht Verlag that the *Stürmer* is very frequently read even in Jewish circles. We have found that large numbers of citizens of the Jewish faith buy the *Stürmer* and then take it home concealed in a copy of the *8 Uhr Blatt* or the *Morgenpresse*. THUS THE JEWS DIRECTLY SUPPORT THE *STÜRMER*."[4]

Where did Streicher's material come from? Each week there seemed to be a new scandal to report, and when there was nothing new, he would rehash an old one. Most material came from angry readers or dedicated Nazis. When the police raided the *Stürmer* office in 1927, they found that the paper received more material than it could use. Most readers, a later report concluded, were not seeking payment, but wanted to air their grievances publicly.[5] Nuremberg was a large city, and the surrounding countryside was well populated, so there was never a shortage of people out for revenge. Those who tried to sell information, in fact, were turned down. In 1926, for example, an anonymous correspondent offered to provide an incriminating letter from Mayor Luppe for five thousand marks, an offer the paper did not accept. Interestingly, Luppe received a similar offer of incriminating information about Streicher at about the same time.

What probably was typical of the source of much *Stürmer* material was later reported by Adolf Hitler:

> One must never forget the services rendered by the *Stürmer*. Without it the affair of the Jew Hirsch's perjury, at Nuremberg, would never have come out. And how many other scandals he exposed!
>
> One day a Nazi saw a Jew, in Nuremberg station, impatiently throw a letter into the waste-paper basket. He recovered the letter and, after having read it, took it to the *Stürmer*. It was a blackmailer's letter in which the recipient, the Jew Hirsch, was threatened that the game would be given away if he stopped coughing up. The *Stürmer*'s revelation provoked an inquiry. It thus became known that a country girl, who had a place in Nuremberg in the household of Herr Hirsch, had brought an action against him for rape. Hirsch got the girl to swear in court that she had never had relations with other men—then produced numerous witnesses who all claimed to have had relations with her. The German judges did not understand that Jews have no scruples when it's a question of saving one of their compatriots. They therefore condemned the servant to one and a half years in prison. The letter thrown impatiently away by Hirsch was written by one of the false witnesses subborned by him—which witness considered that he could conveniently add blackmail to perjury.[6]

Since most material did not have to be paid for, editorial expenses were low. The Nuremberg police estimated that the *Stürmer* earned substantial profits, which were used to support other Nazi activities, a view common in Nuremberg at the time.

From its first issue, the *Stürmer* was directed to that lowest common denominator that Hitler thought the proper target of propaganda. Heinz Preiss, a young scholar who attached himself to Streicher after 1933, becoming his court historian, accurately described Streicher's intent:

> Since he wanted to capture the masses, he had to write in a way that the masses could understand, in a style that was simple and easy to comprehend. He had recognized that the way to achieve the greatest effect on an audience was through simple sentences. Writing had to adopt the style of speaking if it were to have a similar effect. Streicher wrote in the *Stürmer* the way he talked. . . . The worker who came home late at night from the factory was neither willing nor able to read intellectual treatises. He was, however, willing to read what interested him and what he could understand. Streicher therefore took the content from daily life and the style from speech. He thus gave the *Stürmer* its style, a style which many intellectuals could not understand, but which fundamentally was nothing but the product of his own experience gained over the years.[7]

His sentences were in fact far shorter than the average for written German, and his vocabulary was elementary. There was never much doubt about what Streicher had to say—he avoided nearly every qualifier. As editor Ernst Hiemer put it in 1935: "The *Stürmer* is the paper of the people. Its language is simple, its sentences clear. Its words have one meaning. Its tone is rough. It has to be! The *Stürmer* is not a Sunday paper. The *Stürmer* fights for truth. A fight is not fought with kid gloves. And the truth is not smooth and slippery. It is rough and hard."[8]

Not only was what Streicher said simple and blunt, it also was repeated endlessly. A single issue might have half a dozen articles on the same theme. Major topics recurred so often that a reader had only to read a few issues before he encountered nearly all the arguments in Streicher's anti-Semitic arsenal. New evidence was always provided, but only rarely new arguments.

Streicher also realized the value of visual material. The message of a cartoon or photograph could be absorbed in seconds, not the minutes necessary even for the brief *Stürmer* articles. The first issues, it is true, carried no illustrations, but by 1925 he was running cartoons in nearly every issue, and in 1930 he added photographs.

The cartoons were certainly the most striking element in the *Stürmer*. Early in the publication of the paper Streicher discovered a cartoonist of outstanding crudity, Philippe Rupprecht, who under the pen name FIPS became identified with the *Stürmer* almost as closely as Streicher. Immigrating to Argentina after World War I, FIPS had worked as a cowboy on a cattle ranch. He returned to Nuremberg around 1924 and was hired by the *Fränkische Tagespost*, a newspaper affiliated with the Social Democrats. Sent to cover the second Luppe-Streicher trial with instructions to draw Streicher, he instead drew Luppe and a prominent Nuremberg Jew involved in the trial. The cartoons were published by the *Stürmer* in December 1925 (see figure 4), and FIPS joined the staff. With the exception of the year 1927, he remained the *Stürmer*'s only regular cartoonist until 1945, drawing thousands of vivid and revolting anti-Jewish caricatures. His style changed over his career, but the essential characteristics of a FIPS Jew remained constant. He was short, fat, ugly, unshaven, drooling, sexually perverted, bent-nosed, with piglike eyes, a visual embodiment of the message of the *Stürmer*'s articles.

Though Streicher came to have a large staff, he retained control of what appeared in the *Stürmer*. Many of the lead editorials carried his name after 1933, when it was safe to claim credit, and interior articles often were written according to his instructions. He would read much material on the Jews, underlining in red what he thought useful for

The readership of the *Stürmer* was even larger than the circulation figures suggest, for thousands of elaborate display cases were built by loyal readers throughout Germany that displayed each week's issue. A journalism handbook published during the Nazi era claimed that such display cases were to be found everywhere in Germany, giving the paper an unprecedented readership. These cases, built in areas where many people passed by, were often elaborate structures (see figure 5). Usually they were graced with slogans from the *Stürmer* such as "The Jews are our misfortune" or "German women and girls: the Jews are your destruction." The *Stürmer* regularly urged readers to keep the display cases well maintained and uncluttered. A 1936 notice to readers, for example, instructed readers to keep only the latest issue of the newspaper and *Stürmer* publishing house literature on display. "It is especially important that *Stürmer* display cases do not adversely affect the local scenery."[10] Many issues of the paper carried photographs of particularly impressive display cases, and most issues in the 1930s carried long lists of newly erected ones.

Showcases were built in places where people naturally congregated—bus stops, factory canteens, public squares, parks, and busy streets. A passerby could, within a few seconds, pause to see the latest FIPS cartoon, or devote the several minutes necessary to read any of the generally brief articles. The showcases became part of everyday life in the Third Reich.

The enormous circulation of the *Stürmer* was in itself evidence of its official popularity, but there was more. Adolf Hitler himself praised it. Hermann Rauschning, summarizing a conversation with Hitler, reports the Führer's admiration for Streicher's work:

> Anti-Semitism . . . was beyond question the most important weapon in his propagandist arsenal, and almost everywhere it was of deadly efficiency. That was why he had allowed Streicher, for example, a free hand. The man's stuff, too, was amusing, and very cleverly done. Wherever, he wondered, did Streicher get his constant supply of new material? He, Hitler, was simply on thorns to see each new issue of the *Stürmer*. It was the one periodical that he always read with pleasure, from the first page to the last.[11]

Streicher regularly cited Hitler's praise, which does not have to be strictly true, of course. But the fact that Hitler was willing to make such a statement gave the *Stürmer* considerable force.

Other leading figures of the party wrote letters praising the *Stürmer*, apparently in response to a request from the paper. Victor Lutze, chief of the Storm Troopers, wrote in 1937: "The *Stürmer* has an essential role in seeing that each German today views the Jewish question as the crucial question of the nation, and the honor of having put racial thought in popular language." Albert Forster, *Gauleiter* of Danzig, wrote:

> With pleasure I say that the *Stürmer*, more than any other daily or weekly newspaper, has made clear to the people in simple ways the danger of Jewry.
>
> Without Julius Streicher and his *Stürmer*, the importance of a solution to the Jewish question would not be seen to be as critical as it actually is by many citizens.
>
> It is therefore to be hoped that those who want to learn the unvarnished truth about the Jewish question will read the *Stürmer*.[12]

Similar letters came from Heinrich Himmler, Robert Ley, Max Amann, and other prominent Nazis.

Stürmer articles. Lesser writers could then recast the indicated material into proper form.

When Hitler took power the *Stürmer* was already one of the most popular Nazi publications, selling about twenty-five thousand copies weekly. Curiously, Streicher did not yet own the paper. Legal arrangements had never been written out, and when his printer died in 1934, the widow claimed ownership. To avoid legal proceedings, Streicher purchased all rights for forty thousand marks, not a bad price since the *Stürmer* soon made him wealthy. By the mid-1930s it was selling hundreds of thousands of copies weekly. Precise figures are hard to determine, but the circulation guaranteed advertisers climbed rapidly, particularly after Streicher hired a capable circulation manager in 1934, reaching about five hundred thousand in 1935. The print run then seems to have been around seven hundred thousand.

TABLE 2

Der Stürmer **Circulation: 1927–38**

Issue/Year	Circulation
1927	14,000
1933	25,000
No. 6 (1934)	47,000
No. 13 (1934)	49,000
No. 17 (1934)	50,000
No. 19 (1934)	60,000
No. 33 (1934)	80,000
No. 35 (1934)	94,114
No. 42 (1934)	113,800
No. 6 (1935)	132,897
No. 19 (1935)	202,600
No. 29 (1935)	244,600
No. 32 (1935)	286,400
No. 36 (1935)	410,600
No. 40 (1935)	486,000
No. 5 (1938)	473,000

The circulation growth after 1934 was assisted by enthusiastic promotion. Robert Ley, the Nazi labor leader, pushed the *Stürmer* on his membership. Various party affiliates conducted circulation drives. In 1937, for example, a Nazi district farmer's organization leader wrote his subordinates ordering them to attend to the *Stürmer* when conducting anti-Jewish agitation. "No educational material is better there than the old anti-Semitic fighting paper of the *Gauleiter* of Franconia, Julius Streicher, the *Stürmer*. With blunt plainness he reveals the crimes of the Jewish race from the beginning to the present."[9] All subordinates were to subscribe, and were to inform him that they had done so. No excuses would be accepted.

Nine special editions also were published after 1933, often timed to appear at the annual Nuremberg rally. These had themes such as ritual murder, Jewish criminality, the world Jewish conspiracy, Jewish sex crimes, and the Jews of Austria and Czechoslovakia. Print runs were as high as 2,000,000, and extensive national advertising was conducted.

The success of the *Stürmer* allowed Streicher to broaden his activity by publishing anti-Semitic books. Two garishly illustrated children's readers were published after 1936, along with a third storybook with lurid tales comparing Jews to unpleasant animals. His early speeches and editorials were published in collections edited by Heinz Preiss. Streicher's collaborator Fritz Fink wrote a guide to anti-Semitic education, copies of which were conveniently available in Braille. A series of pseudoscholarly works appeared, including a study of court Jews, a collection of anti-Jewish proverbs, and a brief work on Bismarck's treaty with Russia. Streicher also produced a series of illustrated books on the Nuremberg rallies and even put out a short-lived anti-Semitic medical journal.

Another major project was the *Stürmer* archive, first mentioned in 1933. This grew to a sizable collection of anti-Semitica, including thousands of books in Hebrew and Aramaic (languages few staff members could read) and many more in German and other languages. There were many Jewish and Gentile periodicals and a large collection of FIPS cartoons and photographs, along with assorted Jewish paraphernalia such as Torah scrolls and the tools of ritual circumcisers. The most notorious part of the collection was its large holding of pornography, which Streicher claimed was for scientific research into the Jewish question.

Much of the material was sent in by readers, to whom the paper often appealed for such items; more came from seized Jewish property. The Gestapo supplied considerable information, particularly on the theme of Jewish criminality. The Gestapo was usually cooperative, but when some offices were recalcitrant Streicher complained and as usual got action. A 1937 Gestapo memo instructs local offices to turn over to the *Stürmer* whatever it requested. And a 1940 *Stürmer* letter to the Düsseldorf Gestapo office asked particularly for material relevant to Jews and pornography, requesting all pornography in any way connected with Jews—if Jews had written, printed, published, or sold it, the *Stürmer* wanted it.[13]

Over three hundred people worked for Streicher by 1939, including, remarkably enough, a Jew named Jonas Wolk, who under the pen name Fritz Brand wrote particularly dreadful *Stürmer* articles. The Göring report noted that, while Streicher paid Wolk a good salary, he refused to shake hands with him.[14] A 1939 letter from Vienna came from a Jew who also wanted to have his material printed by the *Stürmer*[14]. The bulk of the staff, of less puzzling background, helped Streicher conduct an operation that reached the entire German-speaking world. Copies went to the United States, Canada, Brazil, Argentina, and other countries with large German populations. The world press regularly reported Streicher's doings, viewing him as a major force in Nazi Jew-baiting.

In Germany, even though the *Stürmer* lacked status as an official party paper, it had semi-official status. As a Berlin court that rejected the suit of the victim of a *Stürmer* attack stated:

> The *Stürmer* has the task of spreading and deepening the understanding of racial matters among the people, as well as supporting the movement in its vital struggle against international Jewry. Thus it is quite proper for the *Stürmer* and others to be critical of the relationships between individual citizens and the Jews. This is done not to slander the individual, rather to show the whole of Germany how each individual conducts himself with respect to Jewry. The individual has no right to complain about such criticism of his behavior, as long as it is reported objectively, since that would unreasonably hamper or even endanger the necessary work of the *Stürmer*[15]

Elsewhere in Germany, citizens were arrested for criticizing Streicher or disparaging his *Stürmer*.

As such a court case suggests, however, even the official anti-Semitism of the Third Reich failed to make Streicher's work popular with many Germans. All sorts of protests from German citizens occurred. The most common involved the sexual element in many *Stürmer* stories. Editor Ernst Hiemer responded vehemently to such complaints: "You may survey the entire thirteen volumes of the *Stürmer* and note every passage which you think endangers the youth. But we will then take the holy books and do the same." It was better to have a youth educated in the sexual threat of Jewry than one ruined through ignorance. A later issue spoke of "perfumed women with delicate nerves and men of the same sort" who objected to the *Stürmer*'s frank treatment. When Streicher attacked the Old Testament (see Chapter V), angry Christians around the nation protested vigorously. Doctors, upset when Streicher's anti-Semitic medical journal argued that vaccinations were part of the Jewish plot, denounced his idiocy.[16]

Streicher also received many anonymous letters, which he turned over to the police for investigation. *Stürmer* display cases often were vandalized. The *Stürmer* regularly attacked its critics. One Fritz Eckart earned space in the paper in 1936, for example, when he walked into his barber shop only to leave when he found a copy of the *Stürmer* on display. Thereafter he would say: "I am a Center Party man and will remain so, come what may."[17] The sixty businessmen in another town who attended a Jewish funeral were attacked, without, however, suffering adverse consequences.

Even leading Nazis sometimes worked up the courage to attack Streicher and the *Stürmer*. Otto Dietrich, the press secretary, tried to persuade Hitler to ban the *Stürmer* on several occasions, only to have Hitler respond that Streicher's "primitive methods" were most valuable in reaching the average man. Hans Lammers, Hermann Göring, Joseph Goebbels, and a number of other top party figures also tried to do something about Streicher at one time or another, with the most limited success.[18]

When Streicher did get into trouble, he could always turn to Hitler for help. In 1934, for example, the ritual-murder special edition produced international uproar, including protests from the Archbishop of Canterbury. Hitler finally permitted it to be banned, only after most copies had already been distributed, on the pretext that Streicher's comparison of the Christian sacrament of communion to Jewish ritual murder was an affront to Christians. Later that year, the *Stürmer*'s ill-advised attack on a Czechoslovakian statesman got in the way of German diplomacy, resulting in a two-week ban. In 1935 the paper attacked Hans Lammers, and a three-month ban was imposed. But Streicher visited Hitler and secured his order allowing him to resume publication. Hitler revoked another ban in 1938, once again after Streicher made a personal appeal.

By 1940 such difficulties had lessened. With the general tightening of censorship that accompanied the war, proofs of each *Stürmer* issue were sent to Berlin before publication. In November 1940, for example, the censor instructed the paper to hold back an article on Jews in Turkey, to omit an article on Switzerland, and to alter parts of other stories.[19] These changes were not critical of the anti-Jewish

tone—the worst stories passed untouched—but attempts to avoid diplomatic difficulties.

After 1940 the *Stürmer*'s circulation dropped sharply, in part due to war time paper shortages, though Hitler assured enough paper for Streicher to keep going. A more important reason was the disappearance of Jews from everyday life within Germany. In the 1920s and 1930s each issue of the paper had been filled with charges that Jews were about nefarious deeds everywhere in Germany, posing an immediate threat to each reader. But by the war years, most Jews who had not emigrated had been removed to the East, where under the ministrations of the SS and out of public view, they were annihilated in growing numbers. Lacking the element of immediate threat, large numbers of Germans lost whatever interest they had had in the Jewish question. The *Stürmer* was left a journal of international affairs, not the scandal sheet that had made it notorious. Without the appeal of immediate scandal, the circulation soon dropped to under two hundred thousand. By mid-1944, paper shortages had reduced it from its high of sixteen pages to the four pages it had had in 1923. Yet Streicher continued to the end, his final issue appearing in February 1945. Denouncing the invading Allies as tools of the international Jewish conspiracy, the issue had a limited audience.

The *Stürmer* was published for twenty-two years. Never before or since was there a newspaper that so crudely proclaimed racial hatred to so many people. Even today, the *Stürmer*'s message is available in anti-Semitic literature published the world over. Indeed, in 1976 the New Christian Crusade Church, a very right-wing organization in Louisiana, printed "The Julius Streicher Memorial Edition" of the 1934 ritual murder special edition (see figure 16). According to the introductory material: "Julius Streicher, German educator, writer, and politician, in whose memory this paper was printed, was a victim of the horrible Talmudic Blood Rite known as the Nuremberg Trials.... We now proudly present to you, the reader, for the first time in English, this new edition of Julius Stricher's [sic] most famous issue of *Der Sturmer*." The English-language version has, apparently, sold well.

Nazi Language

During the twentieth century, we have learned that words need not serve the purpose of honest communication. In fact, words are often used to hide truth and become a means of deceiving people. During the Holocaust, Nazi language not only shielded reality from their victims but also softened the truth of the Nazi involvement in mass murder. This manipulation of language is still practiced in the modern world.

German Word	Literal Meaning	Real Meaning
1. Ausgemerzt	exterminated (insects)	murdered
2. Liquidiert	liquidated	murdered
3. Erledigt	finished (off)	murdered
4. Aktionen	actions	mission to seek out Jews and kill them
5. Sonderaktionen	special actions	special mission to kill Jews
6. Sonderbehandlung	special treatment	Jews taken through death process in camp
7. Sonderbehandelt	specially treated	sent through the death process
8. Sauberung	cleansing	sent through the death process
9. Ausschaltung	elimination	murder of Jews
10. Aussiedlung	evacuation	murder of Jews
11. Umsiedlung	resettlement	murder of Jews
12. Exekutivemassnahme	executive measure	order for murder
13. Entsprechend behandelt	treated appropriately	murdered
14. Der Sondermassnahme zugeführt	conveyed to special measure	killed
15. Sicherhistspoilzeilich durchgearbeitet	worked over in security police measure	murdered
16. Lösung der Judenfrage	solution of the Jewish question	murder of Jewish people
17. Bereinigung der Judenfrage	cleaning up the Jewish question	murder
18. Judenfrei gemacht	made free of Jews	all Jews in an area killed
19. Spezialeinrichtunger	special installations	gas chambers and crematorium
20. Badeanstalten	bath houses	gas chambers
21. Leichenkeller	corpse cellars	crematorium
22. Hechenholt Foundation		diesel engine located in shack at Belzec used to gas Jews
23. Durekgeschleusst	dragged through	sent through killing process in camp
24. Endlosung	the Final Solution	the decision to murder all Jews
25. Hilfsmittel	auxiliary equipment	gas vans for murder

Question for Discussion

1. Are you aware of any use of language in American culture that also serves to hide real meaning? Do advertisers often use words deceptively? How do politicans sometimes use language to mask their real values? Give some examples from daily life.

The Nuremberg Laws of 1935.
"JIM CROW LAWS".

Section IV Objective 2 The Nuremberg Laws of 1935. After the students have read and discussed the anti-Jewish Nuremberg laws, have the students compare them to the American Anti-Black "Jim Crow" laws.

PLESSY VS FERGUSON - was a 1896 decision of the Supreme Court that upheld state laws which imposed segregation so long as equal facilities were provided. This decision of the Supreme Court became the basis for the numerous "separate, but equal" segregation laws passed through the south. These laws are collectively called the "JIM CROW LAWS".

1. Can separate facilities ever be "equal"?

No, because separate facilities, even if they are physical equal, are based on the superiority of one group, and the inferiority of another group. (This was the Supreme Court decision in "Brown vs. School".

2. Students can compare the many pictures of the "Jim Crow" facilities of the American south, with their "WHITES ONLY", and 'COLORED ONLY" signs with similar types of anti-Jewish signs all over Nazi Germany.

The Clark Doll Experiment by Frank Yusko

Thurgood Marshall, a young N.A.A.C.P. lawyer, argued in the Supreme Court against school segregation in South Carolina. In order to show the effects of segregated schools on the minds of young black children, Thurgood Marshall called on the services of the noted black Psychologist Kenneth Clark. Marshall was surprised when Dr. Clark stepped off the train in South Carolina armed with a case of baby dolls! Dr. Clark set up these dolls on a table in the local "Colored School", and brought in it's young pupils, one by one. The children saw a table which held both little black dolls, and little white dolls. Dr. Clark proceeded to ask each child a series of questions: Which is the good doll? Which is the bad doll? Which is the ugly doll? Which is the pretty doll? Show me the doll which has a nice color. Tell me which doll you would like to play with. In almost every case, the little black children gave the positive qualities to the white dolls, and the negative qualities to the black dolls. The black children also expressed a preference to play with the white dolls. Dr. Clark in the end pointed out to the children the fact that they had given the bad qualities to the black doll by asking them to "point to the doll that is like them". This often caused the children to become sad, agitated or angry, but one little boy just looked at Dr. Clark with a smirk on his face and said " the doll's a nigger, and I'm a nigger".

1. What does this passage say about segregation and stereotypes?
   People, especially young people, come to believe the negative stereotypes about themselves.

2. Make a list of the ethnic and racial stereotypes often accepted in our society. Teacher can make a list of groups, and ask students to come up with perhaps three positive and negative stereotypes for each group.

3. Can their be a positive stereotype?
   No, because all stereotypes dehumanize the individual, by giving an individual characteristic to an entire group.

Unit iv
Reading #2

NORA LEVIN

The first frontal attack on *all* individual Jews in Germany came in September 1935, with the passage of the Nuremberg Laws. Up to this time, some Jews were persecuted, hounded and beaten up. These excesses were officially deprecated, but they were also excused as the "irrepressible" reaction of Germans to years of alien—that is, Jewish—domination. In the new Germany, the Nazis said, there would be no excuse for illegality. The natural feelings of the people would be given "legal" expression. The boycott of April 1 and the book burnings were thus "legal." For two years the Nazis cultivated this policy, with careful attention to outside reactions. By 1935, the Nazis became bolder and felt convinced that no international action threatened them. The Nuremberg Laws were the result. These measures reduced the entire Jewish population of Germany to twentieth-century helots.

The Nazi bureaucrats in the Interior Ministry had brooded over these laws for some time. The stumbling block was the problem of how to define a Jew. This was exactly the problem that had blocked the anti-Semitic members of the Reichstag in the 1890's from proposing an anti-Semitic law. Who is a Jew? In the Nuremberg Laws, the Jew was defined negatively as someone ineligible to German citizenship. The law provided that only persons of "German or related blood" could be citizens, and that citizenship was acquired by a grant of a certificate of citizenship. This was called the "Law Respecting Reich Citizenship of September 15, 1935." Jews were thus robbed of their citizenship and became *Staatsangehörige*, subjects belonging to the state. The second law, the "Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor" of the same date forbade marriage and sexual relations between Jews and Germans and imposed heavy penalties for transgressions. Jews were also forbidden to employ German female servants under forty-five years of age and were forbidden to display the German flag. Thirteen supplementary decrees which followed delineate the whole course of Hitler's anti-Jewish war down to the last decree, which was published July 1, 1943, when the Reich was theoretically purged of Jews.

The pretext for the Nuremberg Laws was Hitler's anger at an organized Jewish protest against a film being shown in Berlin. After the laws were passed, Hitler said that now the Jews could lead their own lives as they could in no other country. In a conversation on September 23, 1935, between Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, Acting Minister of Economics, and a representative of President Roosevelt, S. R. Fuller, at the American Embassy in Berlin, Schacht interpreted the Nuremberg Laws for the American representative. He first pointed out the "international character" of Jews and Roman Catholics which constituted a domestic problem in many countries insufficiently understood elsewhere. When Fuller questioned him closely about the poor treatment of the Jews under the Nuremberg Laws, Schacht said: "I never was in favor of our treatment of the Jews, but the new laws announced at Nürnberg give protection to the Jews. They are now guaranteed the same rights as any other minority within Germany, such as Poland, for instance." He further explained that they could engage in their businesses with government protection.[10] This was a typical Nazi rationalization.

The Nuremberg Laws were a triumph for the extremists among the Nazis and marked a sharp progression toward an irreversible anti-Jewish policy. No Jew could thereafter escape the sweeping dragnet of intensified persecution. As the definition of Jew was elaborated, the victim became a helpless target for whatever seized the Nazi mind. The Jews of Germany withered under these new blows but did not dream that they were a mere prelude to destruction.

The administrative regulations which followed the Nuremberg Laws were based on the definition of "non-Aryan descent" first described in the decree of April 7, 1933. A person of "non-Aryan descent" was someone who had a Jewish parent or grandparent. But the Nazis were not satisfied. Were half or quarter-Jews as dangerous an influence as three-quarter or full Jews? Serious, casuistic discussions took place. Dr. Kurt Blome, secretary of the Medical Association, and later Deputy Director of the Reich Health Office, proposed that half-Jews be considered Jews because "among half-Jews the Jewish genes are notoriously dominant." This view later became party policy, but the decrees and regulations were written in the Interior Ministry, where the civil service attitude was somewhat different. The Party wanted to combat the part-Jew who was considered a carrier of "Jewish influence," whereas the civil service wanted to protect that part which was German in the part-Jew.

The authors of the final definition were Dr. Wilhelm Stuckart and Dr. Bernhard Lösener. They had to work quickly, inasmuch as the terms "Jew" and "German" had been used in the laws of September 15 and carried criminal sanctions but had not been defined. Lösener rejected the Party's proposal to equate half-Jews with full-Jews. "In principle," he wrote, "the half-Jew should be regarded as a less serious enemy than the full Jew, because in addition to Jewish characteristics, he possesses so many Germanic ones which the full Jew lacks."[11] Lösener also believed that a boycott against half-Jews would be opposed by the German people. There was the further problem of the armed forces, which would be deprived of a potential 45,000 men, and the problem of marriages between Germans and half-Jews. In view of these difficulties, Lösener proposed that half-Jews be sorted into two groups: one, those who had a Jewish religious affiliation or those married to Jews; and two, those who were not affiliated or were married to non-Jews.

These proposals were incorporated into the First Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law, issued on November 14, 1935. In this regulation, the Jew is defined as someone descended from at least three Jewish grandparents or from two if: (*a*) he belonged to the Jewish religious community on September 15, 1935, or later; (*b*) he was married to a Jew as of that date or later; (*c*) he was the offspring of a marriage contracted with a three-quarter or full-Jew after September 15, 1935.

Despite their racist slogans, in the last analysis the Nazis had to resort to religious criteria in defining a Jew. But they now had their definition, a solution to a problem that had defied an earlier generation of anti-Semites. This definition appears to be a relatively harmless measure in the light of what was to come. No Jew was physically harmed by it. But it had a much greater built-in danger than any act of Nazi violence, or even the riots of 1938. For the definition was the first of a chain of measures, one leading to another, escalating in severity and leading ultimately to the annihilation of western European Jewry. The Nazi bureaucrats in 1935 did not blueprint the destruction, but the beginning definition was crucial. Once a Jew was defined and described, he could be expropriated, isolated, ghettoized and exterminated.

The Nazis built on the old foundations of European anti-Semitism, but did much more than carry on terrible pogroms on a vaster scale. They set in motion an inexorable process of ever-accelerating destructiveness and did nothing to stop it. Earlier pogroms had been stopped short of total destruction. Under the compulsion of their own inner destructiveness and the temptation to carry their racist ideology to the literal limit, the Nazis moved from one measure to another, daring each time to plumb new depths of their will to enact their dogma. The Nuremberg Laws were the beginning. Hundreds of edicts followed, each leading to more drastic exclusion of Jews from the general community, economic misery and helplessness. Each successive blow was believed by the Jews to be the last, particularly since lulls almost always followed drastic measures. The victims did not remain in one position for long, and the changes were always for the worse, but no Jew in 1935 could foresee the end of this disintegrating process, as indeed no Nazi could.

The visible effects of the Nuremberg Laws were in themselves devastating. Jews became pariahs in German life by government decree. The ban on intermarriage and sexual relations between Aryans and Jews led to poisoned social relations. "Race defilement is worse than murder" became the new commandment for many Germans. The depraved Streicher's *Der Stürmer* suffused the minds of millions of readers with horror and fear of Jews and gave rise to easy blackmail schemes. Many Jews were brazenly accused—with no evidence—of having sexual relations with Aryan women. A casual public encounter between a Jew and Aryan could lead to the arrest of the Jew and confiscation of his business. The rantings about blood and honor were often only a front for brutal robbery of Jewish property. Furthermore, as the orders and actions of the Gestapo were no longer subject to judicial review, Jews were now at the mercy of the police, their racial lusts and their greed. The rubric of race defilement did not end with the physical being of the Jew; his animals were also a source of evil. Village councils forbade Jews the use of the community bull for their cows; veterinarians refused to clip dogs owned by Jews. German children were also pulled into the Nazi subworld. Years of indoctrination and exposure to brutality had desensitized them. As the Jew was now officially the State Enemy, they plunged eagerly into barbarous cruelties against Jewish children. If their better instincts shrank at these excesses, they blamed themselves and were ashamed of their weakness.

The Nuremberg Laws also deprived Jews of political rights and economic normalcy. They could not vote or hold public office. Jewish editors, musicians, artists and writers had already been excluded from the guilds. Dismissals of Jewish workers from business and industry soon followed. Most of the five thousand Jewish civil servants in Germany had been dismissed under the law of April 7, 1933. The rest, with the exception of teachers in Jewish schools, were chiefly Jews who had served in the government since August 1, 1914, or Jews who had fought in World War I. Under a decree issued on May 21, 1935, only those of Aryan descent could serve in the armed forces. The subsequent definition of Jew enabled the War Ministry to conscript *Mischlinge* Jews (half-Jews who were not affiliated with the Jewish religion or who were not married to Jews). Jews, as defined in the November 14 regulation, however, could not serve. Any remaining Jewish civil servants still employed in 1935 were removed by the end of the year.

The Jews of Germany had only spiritual armament with which to fight the Nuremberg Laws. Dr. Baeck composed a special prayer for the somber Yom Kippur service in 1935 which followed their passage. "We stand before our God," the prayer read. "With the same courage with which we confess our sins, individual and collective, we shall declare with deep

aversion that the lies against us, and the defamation of our religion and its teachings, are far beneath our dignity. We stand by our faith and our fate. . . . We stand before our God. . . . Before Him we bow, but we stand upright before men. . . ."

Dr. Otto Hirsch, director of the *Reichsvertretung*, distributed copies of the prayer to all synagogues in Germany to be read. As a result, both he and Dr. Baeck were arrested and confined in the S.S. prison in Columbia House. Both men suffered frequent arrest and Dr. Hirsch, intermittent tortures. In 1941, he was sent to Mauthausen concentration camp and murdered.

There was no official decree at this time directing firms to dismiss their Jewish personnel, but Party pressure and propaganda were strongly persuasive. Each company made its own decision about its Jews. Long-term contracts at first created legal difficulties, but the courts generally upheld dismissals through the usual route of rationalization. Characteristic is a case decided by the highest court in Germany, the *Reichsgericht*, in 1936. A German movie company claimed that it had the right to fire a Jewish stage manager with whom it had a long-term contract because of a clause terminating employment in case of "sickness, death, or similar causes rendering the stage manager's work impossible." The court held that the clause was applicable without qualification on the ground that the "racial characteristics" of the plaintiff amounted to sickness and death. In the thinking of Germany's highest judges, the Jews had already ceased to be living organisms.

Some firms transferred their Jewish personnel abroad, but invariably transfers were gradually reduced. As dismissals gained momentum, the conditions under which Jews were fired became harsher. Severance pay settlements and pensions were progressively reduced. Later, a decree of June 14, 1938, precipitated the firing of Jewish directors and managers. Under this decree, the Interior Ministry defined "Jewish enterprise" as any business owned by a Jew or having a Jewish legal representative or board member. By the end of the year, these dismissals were compulsory.

However, none of these measures touched what the Nazis considered the citadels of "Jewish domination," the independent Jewish stores and businesses. (In fact, the percentage of Jews in commerce in Germany was 3.3 percent of the total population.) The taking over of Jewish business establishments by German owners was called "Aryanization" (*Arisierung*). It was this process more than any other which destroyed the capacity of Jews in Germany to survive economically, for over 60 percent of the Jewish population earned a living as independent owners of stores and businesses. The first phase of Aryanization, from January 1933 to November 1938, was a period of so-called voluntary Aryanization; transfers of ownership were supposedly based on voluntary agreements. The second phase following the November pogroms, was a period of compulsory Aryanization. However, no sale of Jewish property under the Nazi regime was based on a freely negotiated contract. Jews were under pressure to sell. The longer they chose to wait, the greater the pressure and the smaller the compensation. The Nazis also aimed at cutting off Jewish-owned companies from their customers by anti-Jewish boycotts, and from their

suppliers through allocation measures.[12] The boycott of April 1, 1933, planned to fan "popular" hostility against the Jews, was later widened to include boycott action by civil servants, government agencies, suppliers and "loyal" Germans. Under such pressures, many Jewish-owned businesses sold out.

Early in 1938 there was some difficulty in finding enough German buyers for the remaining Jewish-owned businesses. The German Economy Ministry stepped in to force price levels down by requiring official approval of all contracts for the transfer of a business from a Jew to a German. In this process, the value of trademarks, goodwill, pending contracts, and any other factors enhancing the value of the enterprise were eliminated. On April 26, 1938, the Interior Ministry ordered all Jews to register all property in excess of 5,000 reichsmarks (about $2,000). There followed a decree defining "Jewish enterprise." With these preliminary measures, compulsory Aryanization began.

By the end of 1937, the Jew in Germany had no civil rights. He was not a citizen. He could not vote or attend a political meeting. He had no liberty of speech and could not defend himself in print. He could not be employed as a civil servant, or work as a writer, artist, musician or actor before the Aryan public. He could not teach or work in a public hospital or belong to any professional organization. If he were starving, he could receive no aid from the *Winterhilfe* organization. If he owned a business, his livelihood had either vanished or was in danger of evaporating. He was denied food and drugs in certain stores. He had to face the day-by-day ostracism of his neighbors and friends. Emigration was his only answer.

During 1937, 23,000 Jews left Germany, bringing the total number who had left since 1933 to 129,000. This represented a little over one fourth of the Jewish population of Germany in 1933. In the following year, 1938, conditions worsened and the urgency to leave Germany became sharper. But the opportunities diminished.

THOMAS Y. CROWELL COMPANY · NEW YORK · Established 1834

Honor The Yellow Badge

Author Unknown

I held in trembling hand
A shred of yellow cloth;
It was besmirched and creased, a ragged wedge.
Bitter revulsion and nausea roared into my mouth:
There it is, there: The Jewish, yellow badge.

A blue flash caught my eye,
A point peeped from each fold.
Six points, all bent—the Star of David, blue.
A sudden pounding took me by my throat.
My blood streamed stronger, and hot words leaped out:
There it is—there: the badge of honor of the Jew.

And I repressed my sudden spurt of fear;
It seemed then that an outcry burst forth overhead.
Which like a whirlwind tossed me, left me maimed.
And afterwards, throughout the night, till morn,
A pall took hold of me, imprisoning hand,
My body, all my limbs. And it proclaimed:

Give honor that the points are bent and twisted,
Give honor that the folds are wrapped and shifted
About the arms and shoulders of the Jew, God's pledge.
Given honor to the rag filled like a sponge
With desolation, sacred martyr's death, pogrom—
Proclaim and swear your love now to the yellow badge!

Questions for Discussion

1. Why would it be important for Jews to "honor" the yellow badge?
2. How would you feel if you were forced to wear a symbol that was meant to be degrading?
3. When were the yellow badge and the concept of the ghetto first employed?

Definitions

martyr—a person who sacrifices his or her life for a cause
pogrom—a violent, organized attack upon Jewish communities in Eastern Europe

David Rosenstein's Dilemma

What Would You Do?

What are one's obligations to oneself? family? community? Which takes precedence?

David Rosenstein is a doctor living in the city of Berlin. He has a young wife and two small children. David is well-known in the community as a good doctor who serves his patients well. As a result, he has become prosperous and well-regarded. He lives in a beautiful home and experiences many of the cultural advantages of success.

Germany has undergone dramatic change. With the rise of Hitler in 1933, there has been violence and tension in the streets. David has hoped that Hitler and the Nazis were only trying to segregate Jews; all else that Hitler said was taken as little more than campaign talk. But the Nuremburg Laws of 1935 increased the actions taken against Jews. Rosenstein can no longer vote and he is heavily taxed by the Reich. He also can no longer serve non-Jewish patients. Yet he remains a dedicated doctor to those that need him.

It is now 1938 in Germany. Dramatic changes are called for in the life of the Rosenstein family. David thinks he could leave his beloved Germany even though emigration quotas are severely restricted. As a doctor, his position could help him to leave the country if he were willing to leave his wealth in Germany. But David has been approached by a group of people who want him to participate in an organization designed to help protect and give comfort to Jews in need in the city. As an influential doctor in the community, Rosenstein's friends feel he has a responsibility to stay in Germany.

Rosenstein understands that the decision to be made is a difficult one. He is torn by his responsibility to his family, his people, his community, and himself.

Questions for Discussion

1. What should David Rosenstein do?
2. It is important to remember that by 1938, it was very difficult for many Jews, especially those of lower economic levels, to leave Germany. The Nazis demanded high fees from those Jews who wanted to leave. As of the summer of 1938, nothing happened in Germany that had not already occurred to Jews in the past. In 1938, how would Jews have known what was ahead?
3. What are the similarities and differences between Rosenstein's situation and that of Emanuel Rutsa?
4. Can one really say which is wiser—to stay or to go? Have there been historical examples of persecuted people who stayed and survived?



Map 2. The destruction of synagogues throughout Austria and Germany was widespread. Reprinted from Atlas of the Holocaust *by Martin Gilbert, with permission of Macmillan Publishing Company.*

The Night of Broken Glass

Gerald Green

On November 7, 1938, Ernst Vom Rath, a member of the German Embassy in Paris, was assassinated by Herschel Grynszpan, a young Polish Jew. Grynszpan had received a letter from his sister in which she stated that the Grynszpan family, together with all Polish Jews living in Germany, had been arrested and deported to Poland. Seeking revenge for the suffering of his family, Grynszpan, who was 17 years old, bought a hand gun, went to the German Embassy, and shot Vom Rath, who later died.

Supposedly in retaliation, the Nazis determined that all places of Jewish worship in Germany and Austria were to be destroyed. In reality, plans for such a riot had been made long before, and only awaited the appropriate moment for execution. Thus, on November 9, 1938, a "spontaneous" demonstration of anger was carried out. In fifteen hours, 101 synagogues were destroyed by fire, and seventy-six others were demolished. Seventy-five hundred Jewish-owned stores were destroyed. The streets were filled with broken glass; thus the name given to this event was *Kristallnacht*, or "The Night of Broken Glass." Then the government decided that the Jews would have to pay an "atonement payment" for having caused the

damage. Millions of dollars had to be paid by the Jews and their insurance companies to the Nazi government. A new stage in the process of death had begun. The following selection is taken from the docunovel *Holocaust* by Gerald Green. Although the characters may be fictional, the story is true.

The world now knows it as *Kristallnacht*—the night of broken glass. It marked the true beginning of the destruction of our people. I saw it; I was in the midst of it. . . .

The cowardly bastards came down the street on which Grandpa had his bookstore. Smashed windows. Burned merchandise. Beat up any Jew they could lay their hands on. Two men who tried to fight back where beaten to death on the spot—Mr. Cohen, the furrier, and Mr. Seligman, who ran a dry-goods shop.

They broke the window with the gold lettering: H. PALITZ BOOKSTORE. Grampa was a tough old bird. Like my mother, he was convinced—even at this late date!—that he was a better German than they were, that his Iron Cross would protect him, that some miracle from Heaven would make them go away.

So he came out of the store waving his cane, after the first brick had shattered the glass, and shouted at them to go away. The mob answered by throwing his books into the street—rare editions, old maps, everything—and setting them afire. They called him an old kike, knocked him down, beat his back with canes.

He kept protesting that he was Captain Heinrich Palitz, formerly of the Second Berlin Machine Gun Regiment. It made them angrier. My grandmother looked from the window, screaming for the police. Three Berlin policemen stood on the far corner and watched as the gang, seven or eight, knocked Grandpa down again and again, turned his head into a bloody pulp, ripped his jacket off.

One of them made him get on all fours and rode him, as if he were a horse.

Then he saw Heinz Muller. . . . Factory worker, union man, he was some kind of minor official in the local Nazi Party now. He was in civilian clothing, leading a singing gang. As usual, the Horst Wessel song. They wanted Jewish blood.

They dragged Grandpa to his feet—the police were still watching, smiling those flat, cold smiles—and Muller handed my grandfather a toy drum.

"You're such a f— war hero, Palitz," Muller said. "Lead the parade. Beat the drum, you old Jew liar."

Behind grandfather were a half-dozen other Jewish store owners. Their shops had been smashed, looted, burned. The street was ablaze.

That bastard Muller! My grandmother watched, weeping, terrified, as Grandpa began to beat the drum, and the Jewish merchants, with signs reading JUDE hanging on their necks, were paraded down the street.

And no one lifted a finger.

My grandmother called our house and told us what was happening. We knew. We could hear glass shattering all over our neighborhood.

My parents stood frozen in the living room.

"I shall call the police," my father said. "This is intolerable. Yes, there are laws against us, but this kind of violence . . ."

My father's pathetic belief that there still was some kind of justice in Germany almost made me cry. Being a just man, he could not believe otherwise.

"We must wait . . . wait and pray," my mother said. "It can't last forever. What good can it do them?"

"You can wait," I said. "I'm going out to get Grandpa."

My mother grabbed my sleeve and tried to hold me back. She was used to having her way, forcing her children to bend to her will.

"I forbid it, Rudi! You can't fight them all!"

"Yes," my father said. "They are looking for excuses to kill us! We mustn't fight back!"

"They've got all the excuses they need."

I pulled away from my mother and ran down the stairs. As I was putting on my sweater, Anna came running after me.

The street was a wreck. Every store had been smashed. Most were on fire. Mr. Goldbaum, a jeweler, was playing a fire hose against the remains of his shop. Everything he owned had been stolen. . . .

A truck came rumbling by. I grabbed Anna and we hid in an alley. It was an open truck. . . . There were men parading up and down with signs denouncing the Jews. Mr. Seligman, from whom my mother used to buy draperies and bed linen, was lying face down in a pool of blood and broken glass.

The truck stopped and the hoodlums jumped off. . . .

Then we saw the parade. Grandpa, his head bloodied, one eye closed, was being forced to lead it, beating on the toy drum. Every few steps, he and the other storekeepers would be beaten with clubs and chains. . . .

I stepped out of the alley. Beyond the street the sky was turning orange with fires. I could hear women wailing. And more glass breaking, as if they meant to break every Jewish-owned window in Berlin.

The mob seemed to be getting weary of its game. Muller's gang began wandering off. Grandpa was still standing erect, refusing to cry, or beg, or plead.

I walked up to him and took his hands. "Grandpa. It's me. Rudi."

Anna came running out and took his arm.

At the rear of the column of Jews, a drunken young man was rifling pockets—stealing wallets, pens, watches. Muller shouted at him. "Hey. The party says none of that. This is a patriotic demonstration, not a robbery."

"That's what you think, Muller," the man said.

"You obey orders," Muller shouted. Then he looked at me in the dim light and walked toward me. There was a moment of recognition, almost human, in his eyes, and I wonder now, could there have been something decent in this man, something that was crushed? After all, he was not, like some of the SS, a ganster or a tramp, a rootless troublemaker; he had a trade, he knew respectable people. What had impelled him to become a brute? I'm not sure I know yet; nor am I sure that it matters any more. An honorable man who turns criminal, especially if he moralizes about it, is perhaps more to be hated than a habitual burglar or murderer. . . .

Muller asked if he knew me, and Grandpa replied that I was his grandson, Rudi Weiss. In response, Muller slapped my grandfather's face and said, "Shut up, you old kike."

"He's an old man," I said. "You want to fight someone, fight me. Not a mob. Just you and me, Muller."

Five or six of them gathered around us. Anna hugged Grandpa.

Muller rubbed his chin, glared at me through the haze of smoke. People were coughing, doubled over.

"Okay, Weiss. Beat it. Take the old s— with you. Get off the street."

I suppose I should have been grateful to him, and to Hans. But something was building up in me. I knew what. Revenge. Some day I wanted the sheer joy of smashing their faces, shaming them, letting them know they could not do this to us.

We helped Grandpa to his house. He and my grandmother lived in an apartment over the bookstore. Once he stopped and picked up a burned first edition of Johnson's dictionary, then an early edition of *Faust*. He turned the charred pages sadly.

"Heinrich, Heinrich," my grandmother wept. "How could they do this to an old man?"

He wiped blood from his forehead, stiffened his back. "I'll survive." He looked at the burned books again. "But my books . . ."

"Anna and I will clean up," I said. But I saw it was useless. He would never sell a book or a print or a map again.

Questions for Discussion

1. How do you react to Grynszpan and to his assassination of Vom Rath? Explain.
2. What do the police do while the Grandfather is being attacked?
3. How do you think you would have reacted to this situation? Why?

Regulation for the Elimination of the Jews from the Economic Life of Germany, November 12, 1938

On the basis of the regulation for the implementation of the Four Year Plan ot October 18, 1936 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 887), the following is decreed:

§ 1

1) From January 1, 1939, Jews (§ 5 of the First Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law of November 14, 1935, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 1333) are forbidden to operate retail stores, mail-order houses, or sales agencies, or to carry on a trade [craft] independently.
2) They are further forbidden, from the same day on, to offer for sale goods or services, to advertise these, or to accept orders at markets of all sorts, fairs or exhibitions.
3) Jewish trade enterprises (Third Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law of June 14, 1938 — *Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 627) which violate this decree will be closed by police.

§ 2

1) From January 1, 1939, a Jew can no longer be the head of an enterprise within the meaning of the Law of January 20, 1934, for the Regulation of National Work (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 45).
2) Where a Jew is employed in an executive position in a commercial enterprise he may be given notice to leave in six weeks. At the expiration of the term of the notice all claims of the employee based on his contract, especially those concerning pension and compensation rights, become invalid.

§ 3

1) A Jew cannot be a member of a cooperative.
2) The membership of Jews in cooperatives expires on December 31, 1938. No special notice is required.

§ 4

The Reich Minister of Economy, in coordination with the Ministers concerned, is empowered to publish regulations for the implementation of this decree. He may permit exceptions under the Law if these are required as the result of the transfer of a Jewish enterprise to non-Jewish ownership, for the liquidation of a Jewish enterprise or, in special cases, to ensure essential supplies.

Berlin, November 12, 1938

Plenipotentiary for the Four Year Plan
Göring
Field Marshal General

Reichsgesetzblatt, I, 1938, p. 1580.

"Euthanasia": Direct Medical Killing

Excerpt from: Lifton, Robert J. *The Nazi Doctors. Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide.* New York: Basic Books, Inc., © 1986. pp. 71–79.

By the spring of 1940 there were six main killing centers—Hartheim, Sonnenstein, Grafeneck, Bernburg, Brandenburg, and Hadamar. Typically they were converted mental hospitals or nursing homes; at least one had been a prison. They were in isolated areas and had high walls—some had originally been old castles—so that what happened within could not be readily observed from without. "The unloading of the buses could be done in a way [so that] neither the screams of the patients nor any other occurrences could penetrate to the outside world."[55]

Hitler himself is said to have decided upon the use of carbon monoxide gas as the killing method, on the so-called medical advice of Dr. [Werner] Heyde. The decision followed upon an experiment conducted in early 1940 at Brandenburg, then being converted from a prison into a killing center. Killing by injection (using various combinations of morphine, scopolomine, curare, and prussic acid [cyanide] was directly compared with killing by means of carbon monoxide gas. Karl Brandt, "a very conscientious man [who] took his responsibility very seriously," requested the experiment; and he and [Leonardo] Conti administered the injections themselves "as a symbolic action in which the most responsible physicians in the Reich subjected themselves to the practical carrying through of the Führer's order."[56]

The four or six injected patients ("six at the most") "died only slowly," and some had to be injected again. In contrast, the gas worked perfectly. The first Nazi gas chamber had been constructed under the supervision of Christian Wirth, of the SS Criminal Police, lent to the T_4* staff. The arrangement included a fake shower room with benches, the gas being inserted from the outside into water pipes with small holes through which the carbon monoxide could escape. Present were two SS chemists with doctoral degrees, one of whom operated the gas. The other, August Becker, told how eighteen to twenty people were led naked into the "shower room": through a peephole he observed that very quickly "people toppled over, or lay on the benches"—all without "scenes or commotion." The room was ventilated within five minutes; SS men then used special stretchers which mechanically shoved the corpses into crematory ovens without contact. The technical demonstration was performed before a select audience of the inner circle of physicians and administrators of the medical killing project. Having been shown the technique, Dr. Irmfried Eberl, newly appointed head of the Brandenburg institution, took over "by himself and on his own responsibility." Both [Viktor] Brack and [Karl] Brandt expressed their satisfaction with the experiment, the latter stressing that "only doctors should carry out the gassings."[57]

*The camouflage organization created for the medical killing was the Reich Work Group of Sanatoriums and Nursing Homes (*Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft Heil- und Pflegeanstalten*, or RAG) operating from the Berlin Chancellery at its Tiergarten 4 address—hence, the overall code name "T_4".

I have referred to those initial gassings as both experiments and demonstrations; since later testimony—for instance, Brandt's remarkable statements at the Nuremberg Medical Trial—make clear that they were both. Brandt said that the original plan was to kill people by injecting narcotics, until it was realized that these would cause loss of consciousness but that death would not occur for some time. An alternative suggestion was made by a psychiatrist (presumably Heyde) to use carbon monoxide gas (which, in turn, led to the demonstration just described). Brandt recalled not liking the idea because he felt that "this whole question can only be looked at from a medical point of view," and that "in my medical imagination carbon monoxide had never played a part." Killing by gas, that is, made it much more difficult to maintain a medical aura. Brandt was able to change his mind when he recalled a personal experience of carbon monoxide poisoning in which he lost consciousness "without feeling anything," and realized that carbon monoxide "would be the most humane form of death." Yet he remained troubled because that method required "a whole change in medical conception," and gave the matter extensive thought "in order to put my own conscience right." He brought up to Hitler the difference of opinion about the two methods, and later remembered the Führer asking, "Which is the more humane way?" "My answer was clear," Brandt testified—and other leading physicians in the program agreed. Brandt concluded this segment of testimony with a meditation on medical breakthrough:

> This is just one example of [what happens] when major advances in medical history are being made. There are cases of an operation being looked on at first with contempt, but then later on one learned it and carried it out. Here the task required by state authority was added to the medical conception of this problem, and it was necessary to find with good conscience a basic method that could do justice to both of these elements.[58]

Allowing for self-serving elements and for retrospective father-son mythology in his early relationship to Hitler, Brandt's description takes us to the heart of the doctors' embrace of medicalized killing.

The Bureaucracy of Medical Deception

Throughout the "euthanasia" project, the pattern was for senior doctors to make policy and render decisions, to serve as high consultants and experts, while younger doctors did the actual killing. That was the message from Dr. Hans F. in connection with the killing of children, even if somewhat older chief doctors provided either orders or deadly innuendos. The pattern was still more true in regard to adult patients. Where senior doctors were involved in killing, they soon gave way to younger men, and some of the young doctors were quickly elevated to senior status. Killing doctors came to be chosen apparently for their combination of inexperience and political enthusiasm.[59]

At Brandenburg, for instance, Dr. [Irmfried] Eberl was twenty-nine years old when he learned to operate the gassing mechanism. The man later assigned to assist him, Dr. Aquilin Ullrich, was only twenty-six. Ullrich testified that his duties hardly required medical knowledge. He and Eberl did no more than make a "superficial inspection" of the naked patients in the anteroom of the gas chamber, which at the time he found "inexplicable"; subsequently he came to realize that "the presence of the physician at that moment was used to calm the mentally ill and camouflage the killing process."[60]

Another doctor, who first worked as an assistant at a killing center, was informed by his immediate superior that "a physician, according to the law, had the last say, and he therefore had to re-examine the arrivals." Later he was informed by Dr. [Paul] Nitsche, one of the "senior experts," that these *pro forma* "'examinations' before the death chamber served mainly to calm the conscience of the doctor who has to carry out the killing."[61] The Nazis were clearly aware of the psychological importance of the medical "as if" situation to the *doctors* involved.

For the most part, the "examination" consisted of the doctor simply checking on the fact that patient and chart coincided—the right person was being killed—and using the occasion to help decide which false diagnosis would be appropriate (consistent with the patient's record and appearance) for the death certificates soon to be issued. Reversing a decision about a patient's death at that point was extremely rare, probably limited only to a few discovered to have been war casualties of some kind.[62]* The fundamental significance of that pseudo examination was medical legitimation of murder.

*In Württemberg, only twenty-nine patients, mostly war veterans, were saved.

Many of these patients were apparently deceived. A man who worked at the Hadamar killing center told how a patient he had known for many years said to him on the way to the gas chamber, "We will have a real bath now and get other clothes."[63] When patients were not deceived and did resist, they were quickly subdued by physical force, though even this could resemble ordinary treatment of psychiatric patients. What happened next makes clear the doctor's responsibility for the entire killing sequence:

> After doors were closed, the air was sucked out of the gas chamber through a ventilator by the same doctor who carried out the earlier "examination." Then for about ten minutes, carbon monoxide was let in [by that doctor] and its effect observed through a small window. As soon as he thought that those shut in had died, he had the gas chamber emptied. First fresh air was introduced through the ventilator, and the gas was forced out. From the beginning of the gassing until the reopening of the gas chamber took about one hour. The corpses that were to be dissected were removed to a special room. However the great majority of corpses were immediately taken to the ovens and burned there.[64*]

Concerning the "humanity" of this form of killing claimed by Brandt, another man who worked at Hadamar and looked into the gas chamber through a side window spoke of "a horrible sight when the patients gradually collapsed and fell over one another," and added, "I shall never get this picture out of my mind."[66]

We shall find this sequence, including the doctor's central role in it, to be strikingly similar to the killing sequence in Auschwitz.

Given the medical cover-up of killing, *every death certificate had to be falsified*. The key principle employed in choosing the false cause of death was medical credibility: assigning a disease consistent with a patient's prior physical and mental state, a disease that he or she *could* have contracted. Designated causes of death could include almost anything—infectious diseases, pneumonia, diseases of the heart, lung, brain, or other major organs. Skill at this falsification process was an important part of the "medical experience" of the killing doctors, and younger ones learned it during their "training" with their medical superiors and predecessors. To help them, they were given written guides specifying important details necessary for consistency.

One such guide, for instance, focused upon septicemia (bacteria in the bloodstream) as a cause of death, referred to bacterial infection of the skin as a possible source, and listed the sequence of symptoms and therapy to be mentioned. The document included additional useful tips: unclean mental patients often have boils which they scratch; and, "It is most expedient to figure four days for the basic illness [bacterial infection of skin] and five days for the resultant sepsis"; and, this diagnosis "should not be used with patients who are meticulously clean" but "is preferable for young strong patients who smear readily," but in that case "seven to eight days have to be allowed for the illness to take effect, since their circulation is relatively more resistant."[67]

It is no exaggeration to say that the primary—perhaps the only—*medical* function of the killing doctors was to determine the most believable falsification of each patient-victim's death certificate.

Maintaining these medical illusions required an extensive bureaucracy of deception. Every falsification in this "bloated apparatus" had to be "covered by two more." For instance, at each killing center, there was a "Special Registry Office," which had a subdivision whose specific task it was to determine a suitable death date for each patient. On the death certificate prepared by the doctor, the date of death was always omitted, to be provided by this department. On the basis of its "timecards" and "death filed," it could prevent the recording of large numbers of deaths at a particular place during a particular time sequence.[68]

The bureaucracy of deception extended—logically, one might say—to the ashes of cremated patients, which were haphazardly mixed together so that the urn received by the family of a dead patient contained ashes that were not their relative's. (Families were told that quick cremation was necessary, especially during wartime, for public health reasons.) One of the program's leaders later said that he objected vehemently "for reasons of piety" when the policy had to be implemented because of a directive that corpses no longer be cremated individually. He claimed to have said to the administrator responsible for the order: "Even if the German people forgive you everything, they will never forgive you this."[69] While one must be skeptical about any such remembered conversation, it could suggest the existence, even then, of a glimmer of awareness of the desecration in this final medical falsification.

*In addition, as part of the scientific orientation of the program, "euthanasia" victims were photographed nude before they were killed. Dr. Friedrich Mennecke had special training in "the photographic representation of types" during his T_4 education in Heidelberg.[65] In some centers, the brain was removed for later study before the corpse was cremated.

Inevitably, there were slip-ups in the bureaucracy of deception: a family receiving two urns; or being told that a patient, whose appendix had been removed earlier, had died of appendicitis; or being notified of the death of a patient who had not actually been killed and was alive and physically well. Or people learned (especially as church groups with national contacts began to look into the matter) of the suspicious deaths of a group of patients sent out together from the same mental hospital; or of letters received by families, at the same time in various parts of Germany, announcing the deaths of patients who were known to be physically healthy shortly after their arrival at a particular institution.

In addition, people working at killing centers would drink heavily at nearby bars and sometimes reveal aspects of what they were doing. Local people employed in "euthanasia" station kitchens and laundries also spread the word. Sometimes transfer procedures were conducted where they could be seen—even on occasion in a town marketplace—so that many people witnessed the force used on some recalcitrant victims.

And there was direct sensory evidence of the killing that no bureaucratic deception could eliminate: "The heavy smoke from the crematory building is said to be visible over Hadamar every day." And: "At full capacity . . . [the chimneys at Hartheim] smoked day and night. Locks of hair went up through the chimneys and landed in the street." These bureaucratic oversights were mentioned in Nazi documents critical of the way the program was run and urging that "more sensitivity be exercised in carrying out these activities."[70] But the "mistakes" were partly a product of the regime's own conflicts and contradictions about its principle of secrecy. In spite of the elaborate cover-up at every level and the pledge to eternal secrecy taken by all involved in the killing, at several of the killing centers outsiders—for example, the local *Gauleiter* (district leader) and other prominent Nazi personages at Hartheim—were received and, on some occasions, permitted to witness the killing of patients.

There were inconsistencies concerning who was permitted to know everything and who was not. While the nature of the medical killing project was not openly discussed, it was not completely withheld either. Courses consistent with the "euthanasia" program were given at large mental hospitals such as Eglfing-Haar, not an official killing center but a place where mental patients were nonetheless killed. An estimated twenty thousand Nazi military and civilian leaders and SS men were thus exposed to films and "case demonstrations" of highly regressed patients, especially Jewish patients, as "life unworthy of life": recall Dr. [Hermann] Pfannmüller's demonstration of the "most simple method" of starving a child to death.[72]

These and other bureaucratic contradictions had to do with uncertainty concerning the official view of the program as necessary but difficult for the population to accept—that view accompanied by the sense that the program was on the one hand dirty, ugly, and unacceptable (to be hidden at all costs) and on the other a liberating therapy for the race (and therefore openly demonstrable). It is quite possible that the Nazi doctors and their companions in the bureaucracy of deception held all three images at once. . . .

From the beginning . . . Jewish patients were viewed as a group apart. They were, before long, caught up in broader Nazi extermination policies. That was the time (late 1939 to early 1940) when the doctrine of "elimination [in the sense of removal] of Judaism as a whole" was being developed. Soon after Poland was overrun by German armies (September 1939), [Reinhardt] Heydrich formulated a plan to build a "Jewish reservation" in Lublin. Although this plan never materialized, deportation trains left for Poland during the winter of 1939–40, carrying Jews (who were not mental patients) from Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia.[73]†

Though the Madagascar Plan (for the use of that island as a "reservation" for Jews) was still being given some consideration, there was in Party circles increasing talk of a "radical solution" (*Radikalerlösung*) for the "Jewish problem" which developed into the so-called Final Solution (*Endlösung*).[74]

Under T_4, Jewish inmates of institutions in Germany did not have to meet the ordinary criteria for medical killing (mental deficiency or schizophrenia, length of hospitalization, capacity to work, etc.). For them, "no special consultations or discussions . . . were necessary": "The total extermination of this group of asylum inmates was the logical consequence of the 'radical solution' of the Jewish problem being embarked upon."[75]

Only at this point does direct medical killing provide an *exact* prefiguring of the Final Solution: Jews were to be killed—to the last man, woman, and child—simply because they were Jews. For the Nazis, Jewish mental patients were unique among all Nazi victims in that they could embody both "dangerous genes" in an individual medical sense, and "racial poison" in a collective ethnic sense.

Systematic T_4 treatment of German Jews began in April 1940, with a proclamation from the Reich Interior Ministry that, within three weeks, all Jewish patients were to be inventoried. In June, the first gassings of Jews took place, as two hundred men, women, and children died in the Brandenburg facility, having been transported there in six *Gekrat* buses from the Berlin-Buch mental institution. There were more killings in July. On 30 August, another directive from the Interior Ministry ordered that Jews were to be transferred to various centers, depending on their geographic location. It was explained that employees and relatives of Aryan patients had complained about being treated and housed with Jews.[76]

†In all talk of resettlement, whether of Jewish inmates or of Jews in general, the anti-Semitic attitude of the Polish population—the possibility of stimulating Poles to pogroms or the like—was frequently mentioned.

The Bavarian collection center was Eglfing-Haar, where Dr. [Hermann] Pfannmüller had once declared proudly: "No Jews are allowed in my institution!"[77] Now the Jews transferred in were placed in two special houses (where they were separated by sex rather than degree of illness) and thrust into propaganda-film roles depicting them as "typical Jews" and "the scum of humanity." This segregation reflected the general policy that, in Schmidt's ironic words, "'Aryan' mental patients could not be expected to die together with Jewish patients, much less live together."[78]

In the fall of 1940, Jewish patients began to be transported to Nazi-occupied Poland as part of the policy of removing all Jews from Germany. In December, it was announced that henceforth Jewish patients would be transferred to a facility for mentally impaired children in Bendorf near Neuwied in the Rhineland. This was a privately owned Jewish institution going back to 1869. . . .

From September 1939, when the war began, with German troops pushing eastward, the SS began to shoot inmates (of whatever race or nationality) of mental hospitals to empty them for the use of soldiers. For example, a hospital in Stralsund, an eastern German city on the Baltic Sea, was emptied by December 1939, and its patients were taken to Danzig to be shot. Their bodies were buried by Polish prisoners, who themselves were then shot. In Chelm-Lubielski, in the General Government of Poland, patients were shot *en masse* by SS troops, sometimes after having been chased through the asylum, and then buried in mass graves. . . .

More closely related to T_4, the Germans set up two psychiatric extermination facilities at Meseritz-Obrawalde and Tiegenhof, both in the old Prussian territory of Pomerania. The policy was first to massacre Polish patients, then bring German patients into the emptied facility, and finally to kill them as well by such methods as shooting, gassing, injection, starvation, or drugs given with food. Standard T_4 letters of condolence were sent to families. There is some evidence that physically or mentally impaired German soldiers were also given "euthanasia" in both institutions. . . .[83]

Carbon monoxide gas was increasingly resorted to. . . . During two weeks in May and June of 1940, 1,558 mental patients from East Prussia were gassed in vans at a transit camp in Soldau. The killings were carried out by "the itinerant euthanasia squad known as Sonderkommando Lange [its commander]," and represented an early blending of three elements of the Final Solution: the "euthanasia" program, laboratory science and SS technology (contributing to innovations in gassing), and *Einsatzgruppen* units (here working with the new gassing technology).

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59. Heyde Trial, pp. 388–89, 255–56, 268–69, 306 (respectively); Helmut Ehrhardt, *Euthanasie und die Vernichtung "lebensunwerten" Lebens* (Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1965), p. 35; Klee, "*Euthanasie*" [3], pp. 226–32. For a discussion of the age of members and leaders of the Nazi party, see Michael Kater, *The Nazi Party: A Social Profile of Members and Leaders, 1919–1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), pp. 139–48.

60. Ullrich testimony, 4–27 September 1961, Heyde Trial, p. 388.

61. Testimony of Hans Bodo Gorgass, 15 August 1960, Heyde Trial, pp. 383–84.

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63. Testimony of Paul Reuter, 14–15 March 1946, Heyde Trial, p. 391.

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65. Ernst Klee, "Tot und seziert: Bilder eines Albums und die Schrecken der Euthanasie," *Die Zeit*, 5 October 1984.

66. Testimony of Benedikt Härtls, 9 March 1946, Heyde Trial, p. 394.

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72. On the "euthanasia" project's public relations efforts, see Klee, "*Euthanasie*" [3], pp. 76–77, 163–65, 342–44.

73. Wolfgang Scheffler, *Judenverfolgung im Dritten Reich 1933–1945* (Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1960), p. 35.

74. On the formulation of the Final Solution, see Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews, 1933–1945* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1975), pp. 70–128; Gerald Fleming, *Hitler and the Final Solution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984 [1982]); Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1967 [1961]), pp. 257–66.

75. Heyde Trial commentary, p. 451.

76. Klee, "*Euthanasie*" [3], pp. 258–60.

77. Hermann Pfannmüller, quoted in Schmidt, *Selektion* [37], p. 68.

78. Ibid., p. 67.

83. Klee, "*Euthanasie*" [3], pp. 401–16.

Death and Life in the East European Ghettos

Excerpt from: Dawidowicz, Lucy S. *The War Against the Jews 1933–1945*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1986. pp. 197–222.

As soon as the Germans occupied Poland, their Einsatzgruppen began to direct a flow of human traffic that soon radically altered the age-old patterns of Jewish settlement in Poland. The Jews were driven from hundreds of localities in the Wartheland. They were expelled from thousands of small towns and villages throughout Poland and sent to nearby big cities. In Cracow, the ancient residence of the kings of Poland, the prewar Jewish population of 56,000 swelled to 68,000 as Jews in the neighboring small towns and villages fled to the big city. When Cracow was designated as the capital of the Generalgouvernement, Governor Frank ordered the "voluntary departure" of all Jews, except for those "economically indispensable." But only a few thousand—refugees from elsewhere—complied. After three months, the Germans took matters into their own hands: in one day they expelled 32,000 Jews.

In hundreds of small towns ancient Jewish communities were uprooted. The fate of the Jews of Aleksandrów, seven miles west of Lodz, was typical. Aleksandrów, one-fourth of whose twelve thousand residents were Jews, was the hosiery center of Poland. It was also the seat of the Aleksanderer *rebbe*, one of the most distinguished hasidic dynasties in all Poland, and the hasidim gave a special Jewish character to the town. The Germans entered Aleksandrów on September 7 and the next day burned down its synagogues. After three months of terror, arrests, shootings, expropriations, impressments into forced labor, the Jews were expelled on December 17, 1939. In the depths of the Polish winter, they were marched out on the highway, men, women, children, and infants, the hale and the halt, with the few belongings they were permitted to take in sacks and baby carriages, wheelbarrows and pushcarts, bicycles, and sleds. The nearest town was Glowno, on the border of the incorporated area and the Generalgouvernement, which most managed to reach. Wayworn, some eventually arrived in Lodz, others in Warsaw.[4]

Within a few months of the German occupation, thousands of Jewish settlements were erased from the map of Poland, their inhabitants ejected without notice, forbidden to take bare necessities, condemned to exposure, hunger, and homelessness. By the end of 1940, Warsaw had taken in 78,000 refugees from Lodz, Kalisz, and some 700 other places in the Wartheland. Piotrków's Jewish population swelled from 8,000 to nearly 12,000 with the accretion of refugees. Some 330,000 Jews—one-tenth of the Jews in Poland—became homeless refugees, beggars of bread and shelter, candidates for disease and death.

The very moment the Germans entered a town or city, they turned the Jews into outcasts of society. On entering Warsaw, the Germans agreed to distribute soup to the hungry population, having extracted one million zlotys from the municipal administration for that purpose. The agreement stipulated that all the hungry in the city, without exception, were to benefit. Yet immediately the Germans began to eject the Jews from the soup lines, calling upon the Poles on the line to do the same, "because the Jews deprive the Poles of their spoonful of soup."[5] It was interesting to observe, wrote an eyewitness, how quickly the brotherhood born under the continuous danger of death disappeared and how quickly the difference between rich and poor, Christian and Jew once again became apparent.[6]

Right away the Germans started to confiscate Jewish businesses and industry and to seal off Jewish retail stores for the disposal of either the military occupation or the SS. Sometimes Jewish shops were ordered to be opened only so that they could be plundered and robbed. In large manufacturing centers military trucks carried off the goods of Jewish factories and stores. In small communities Jews were ordered to bring in all their gold and jewelry under threat of death. Hostages were taken to enforce the extortion of large sums of money from the Jewish community, but were seldom released even after the contribution had been delivered.

Terror enveloped the Jews. The Germans reenacted the Kristallnacht in every town and city they invaded and occupied.[7] All over Poland synagogues went up in flames. (Those spared the fire were desecrated, turned into stables, garages, and public latrines.) Everywhere the Germans organized pogroms, rounding up the non-Jewish population to witness and learn how to mock, abuse, injure, and murder Jews. Unbridled killing and senseless violence became daily commonplaces for the Jews; the fear of sudden death became normal and habitual.

German terror in the Generalgouvernement in 1939 was wild and wanton. . . .

Everywhere the terror was aggravated by the sadism of the SS. In Częstochowa, on a frosty night in Janauary 1940, the police surrounded a densely populated Jewish area, shouting "Juden raus!" Thousands of half-naked men and women were assembled in a large square and beaten to bleeding. Then they were kept standing for hours in the biting frost. Others—especially young girls—were taken into the synagogue now transformed into police headquarters, forced to undress, sexually shamed, and tortured.[9] In Kowel, which the Germans occupied a few days after the attack on Russia, they arrested a beloved hasidic rebbe, tortured him, and, in an act of mythic Chinese savagery, displayed his head for several days in the window of a main-street store.[10]

The refinements of cruelty were reserved especially for pious Jews and rabbis, whose traditional Jewish garb—hat and long coat—and whose beard and sidelocks identified them as quintessentially Jewish. (In Germany the National Socialists had often failed to distinguish Jews from "Aryans" by "racial" features. During the High Holy Days of 1932, a Nazi gang, bent on anti-Jewish violence, mistakenly beat up "Aryans.")[11] The Germans deliberately chose observant Jews to force them to desecrate and destroy the sacred articles of Judaism, even to set fire to synagogues. . . .

German terror was not exercised just in play, it was used also to extract work. Random seizures of Jews off the streets and even from their homes for forced labor began spontaneously, as it were, long before October 26, 1939, when [Hans] Frank issued a decree making forced labor compulsory for all Jews aged fourteen through sixty.[13] Jews were seized to clean the streets of rubble, to scrub the floors in German residences, to haul and move, load and unload, to labor beyond fatigue. Sometimes they were released at the day's end and allowed to return home, but more likely they were kept for a week or two, incommunicado, unable to inform their families of their whereabouts or even of their very existence.[14]

As the Germans consolidated their position in Poland, they set up labor camps outside the big cities, some of which—Treblinka and Majdanek—eventually became annihilation camps. Teams of forced laborers were assigned for periods of weeks and even months to construct these camps. After a stint of forest clearing, marsh draining, ditch digging, quarrying at these forced-labor installations, a normally robust man returned home sick, aged, and wasted. "Cursed Nazism now brings us physical slavery as well," observed Chaim Kaplan in his diary on September 14, 1940. . . .[15]

On November 23, 1939, [Hans] Frank issued an ordinance prescribing arm bands for all Jewish men and women in the Generalgouvernement over ten years of age—a white band, at least ten centimeters wide, with the Star of David, to be worn on the right sleeve of both inner and outer clothing. Jews were being concentrated and identified, so that none would escape the ever-tightening meshes of German control. On November 28, 1939, Frank issued a decree ordering the formation in each city of a Judenrat, whose membership roster was to be submitted to German officials for approval. In many places the decree came after the fact, for [Reinhardt] Heydrich's instructions to the chiefs of the Einsatzgruppen on September 21, 1939, had already been put in force. Frank's order specified that the Judenrat was obliged to accept German orders and was answerable for their conscientious execution. Furthermore, it stipulated that all Jews had to obey the directives that the Judenrat issued to implement German orders.

The next step was *de facto* ghettoization, soon to become *de jure*. One of the first ventures to establish a twentieth-century ghetto occurred in Warsaw, where a Judenrat had already been set up on Gestapo instructions since early October. A month later, on Saturday noon of November 4, 1939, the SS ordered Adam Czerniaków, chairman of the Warsaw Judenrat, to summon all twenty-four members to an emergency meeting at 4:00 p.m. At the appointed time, sixteen or seventeen had arrived and were waiting apprehensively. At 4:15, eight armed Gestapo officers burst in. After a roll call, the commanding officer gave those present half an hour to assemble all twenty-four members and all twenty-four alternates. People randomly available in the building and passersby were impressed to join the meeting. When the Gestapo officer returned, this time with some fifty men, he did not check credentials, but simply lined up the Judenrat members in one row and the putative "alternates" in another. He then read a decree supposedly issued by the army Command that ordered all Jews of Warsaw to move within three days into an area that was to be designated as a Jewish ghetto. The twenty-four alternates were then removed as hostages, with the warning that they would be shot if the Judenrat failed to comply with the order as specified.[19]

The Germans having left shortly before 7:00 p.m., the hour of curfew, the Judenrat decided to reconvene early next morning. Few slept that night and they returned the next morning tense and fatigued. Shmuel (Artur) Zygelboym, the representative of the socialist Jewish Labor Bund, held that the Judenrat had to refuse to carry out the order. How could they otherwise acquit themselves before the community and their children? But he received little support, for the majority feared that if they refused, the Germans would themselves forcibly carry out the ghettoization. What then of their women and children? A sense of their tragic destiny possessed them. Men wept.

Still, agreeing that they must try to halt the establishment of a ghetto, they sent a delegation to General Neumann, the top military officer in Warsaw. Neumann, astonished at this information, denied that he had issued any such order and asked the Judenrat to withhold action until he had investigated the matter. A few hours later, the Gestapo summoned

Czerniaków. Dr. Henryk Shoshkes, a member of the Judenrat, went along to give him moral support. The Gestapo officer was enraged because, by appealing to General Neumann, the Judenrat had circumvented his authority and disobeyed his warnings to deal only with the Gestapo. He savagely beat both men, while armed Gestapo men looked on. After Czerniaków apologized, the Gestapo officer, thus appeased, calmed down, even relenting sufficiently to negotiate minor expansions of the ghetto and concede a few streets to the Jews.

Meanwhile, though Warsaw had no newspapers and no radio,* news about the impending disaster swept through the Jewish community. Panic and terror seized the population. People with money and means started to look for apartments within the designated area. Thousands upon thousands of Jews besieged the offices of the kehilla, now Judenrat, pleading, weeping, clamoring for protection, for guidance, for instructions. Inside, the debate over the Judenrat's course of action continued. The Germans had not yet officially promulgated the order. On Monday, the day before the ghetto deadline, the crowds beleaguering the kehilla swelled to some ten thousand. Zygelboym decided to address them. First, Shoshkes described the situation as it then stood. Zygelboym thereupon exhorted his listeners to courage and dignity, calling on them to remain in their homes, to resist until they were forcibly moved. No one, he said, should go voluntarily into a ghetto. Some in the crowd, probably a following of Bundists, responded warmly, but the record is silent about the reaction of the whole populace.

Immediately thereafter, the Judenrat reconvened its session, while some four hundred young men, assembled as couriers to inform and instruct the Jewish population about the move into the ghetto, awaited orders. Zygelboym once again advocated resistance, but the majority held that failure to comply would bring about ghettoization and reprisals. Zygelboym then submitted his resignation. (Zygelboym's appeal for passive resistance spelled the end of his career in Warsaw. The Gestapo began to hunt for him. Two months later, he fled Poland.)

Suddenly the ghetto order was withdrawn. No one knows why—perhaps as the result of a confrontation between the German army and the SS. But the SS retreat was only *de jure*, because they had started actually to circumscribe a ghetto. As early as October barbed wire had enclosed the main streets of dense Jewish population. In December 1939 the Judenrat was compelled to set up large wooden signs, reading "Danger: Epidemic Zone," at thirty-four street corners leading into the heart of the Jewish quarter. In the spring of 1940 these entries were walled up, restricting and hindering movement between the Jewish quarter and the rest of Warsaw. The world of the Warsaw Jews was becoming a prison.

*The Germans confiscated all presses and radios; their possession was punishable by death.

Throughout Poland the Germans began to experiment with ghettos. The first try was in Piotrków in October 1939, but the plan was abandoned then and a ghetto was not established until as late as March 1942.[20] Detailed plans for a ghetto in Lodz were ready in December 1939, approved in February 1940, confirmed by Berlin in April; on May 1, 1940, the Lodz ghetto, with over 160,000 Jews, was sealed off. In Warsaw the ghetto walls began to be constructed in the summer of 1940, and by November 1940 nearly half a million Jews were enclosed and locked within its walls and guarded gates. Warsaw and Lodz, with the largest Jewish populations, were the most tightly, almost hermetically, sealed ghettos. Some ghettos had stone or brick walls; others had wooden fences with barbed wire entanglements. The Cracow ghetto was enclosed within walls in the form of Jewish tombstones, symbols of a terrifying literal character. Some ghettos, like Radom, Chelm, Kielce, with populations ranging from 15,000 to 25,000 were "open" ghettos, with access to other parts of town. . . .

In the Eastern areas, ghettos were established soon after the first sweep of the Einsatzgruppen and were subject to the same regulations that obtained in the Generalgouvernement. In most communities there were actually two ghettos—the main ghetto and a so-called small or second ghetto, which served the Germans as a transit area.

The ghetto was an evil decree. Like sinners and criminals, Chaim Kaplan noted on November 13, 1940, "we are segregated and separated from the world and the fullness thereof, driven out of the society of the human race." Moving into the ghetto was everywhere a day of lamentation, a nightmare experience. Endless processions of weary men and women, babies in their arms, children at their sides, with bags, sacks, bedrolls on their backs and around their necks, the miserable remnants of their belongings loaded on carts, wheelbarrows, or makeshift conveyances, leftovers of their past life, artifacts of a vanishing civilization, pushing, shoving, screaming, groaning, shuffled into the ghettos.

Jewish historian Emanuel Ringelblum observed in his diary on November 8, 1940: "We are returning to the Middle Ages. . . ."[21]

The only institution comparable to the Nazi ghettos was the Nazi concentration camp, that "concentrationary universe," where, in David Rousset's words, "death lived among the concentrationees at every hour of their existence." Death bestrode the Nazi ghetto and was its true master, exercising its dominion through hunger, forced labor, and disease. . . .

The isolation was compounded by the removal of telephones from private homes. (Radios had long since been confiscated.) Mail within the Generalgouvernement and outside was erratic, undependable, and censored (letters had to be written in either Polish or German). Once the Jews were inside the ghetto, the Judenrat had to assume postal functions. Telegrams and cables could be sent only through the Judenrat and required Gestapo approval. Parcels of food and clothing were more often than not confiscated by the Germans before they ever reached the ghetto post office.[24]

The ghetto's landscape sharpened the sense of isolation and imprisonment. The buildings huddled in a somber gray mass. In Warsaw the park in the former Jewish area had been excised from the ghetto, and just a few trees remained. The only other greenery were flowerpots and boxes on windowsills and balconies. Only one tree grew in the Vilna ghetto. A popular song sentimentalized:

> For them the square and boulevards,
> For me a place of misery.[25]

The ghettos were located in the oldest, most run-down parts of town, sometimes in outlying areas that lacked the basic facilities of the city proper—paved streets, lighting, adequate sewage, sanitation facilities. Ghetto dwellings were the most dilapidated, often in ruined and devastated condition because of bombings and shellings, looting, and wanton vandalism. The ghetto was congested. The air was fetid; the streets were filthy. . . .

Overcrowding precipitated the breakdown of sanitation. Three and four families lived in space adequate for one. Toilets, running water, all plumbing and sewage facilities were taxed beyond capacity and beyond repair. The mephitic exhalations of latrines and broken toilets poisoned the air. In the long winters of bitter Polish cold, the water in the pipes froze.

Staying warm took priority over cleanliness. Fuel was as scarce as disinfectants, and dearer. In Warsaw coal was called "black pearls. . . ."

Hunger subjugated the ghetto. German policy was to starve the Jews, and starvation stalked the great ghettos of the Generalgouvernement. . . .

Bread and potatoes were basic subsistence. The bread was, at best, rough and coarse, often stale, sometimes moldy or compounded of foreign bodies, like sand. . . .

Its price rose and fell, according to supply and demand. In prewar days it cost just groszy. In 1940 the price of a kilogram of bread hovered around 4 zlotys. Potatoes, Chaim Kaplan noted, are "our whole life. When I am alone in my room for a few moments of quiet, the echo of that word continues in my ears. Even in my dreams it visits me." Before the war, 100 kilograms of potatoes had cost 30 zlotys. On November 27, 1940, it had risen to 100 zlotys; in bad times, potato peelings substituted. . . .

Hunger obsessed everyone. "A dybbuk has entered my belly. My belly talks, shouts, even has complaints and drives me mad," wrote Yehuda Elberg in his Warsaw ghetto diary. . . .[36]

The apportionment of one's bread ration required skill and art, for it had to last a week or ten days. How one managed depended not only on the tormenting pangs of hunger, but on strength of character, ability to postpone immediate gratification, and family responsibility. . . .

Hunger killed, but first it wrought disabling change—mental, pschological, and physical. Hunger destroyed the normal rhythm of existence, affected the physical capacity to work and the mental ability to think. Nutrition deficiencies caused anemia, suppressed the menses. Fatigue and dizziness, apathy and depression were part of the general sense of malaise. Nausea, vomiting, and diarrhea were the daily complaints of the hungry.

Hunger weakened and debilitated its victims so as to make them fall prey to countless other diseases. . . .

Breeding on human misery, typhus is associated with times of war, famine, and disaster, when people are crowded together in abnormal conditions of filth, cold, and hunger. . . .

The solidarity of the family provided the biological basis for the preservation of life and for Jewish continuity. Parental respect, filial obedience, obligations of kinship, sanctity of the home—these were the elements in family life that gave security and stability to the individual. In times of stress, the family became the Jewish stronghold, the source of comfort and moral strength. In the ghettos family relationships deepened and broadened. . . .

The Jewish community was, of course, the extended Jewish family. In the ghettos most Jews felt a strong sense of Jewish identity, of belonging, of readiness to share Jewish fate. The proverb "What will befall all Jews, will befall each Jew" assumed new relevance. In the Lodz ghetto, German Jewish children presented a Hanukkah program in their school auditorium:

> Hunger, cold, and conflicts were forgotten. Shoemakers and tailors, physicians, lawyers, and pharmacists, all at once, we were one big family. That could not have happend in Berlin . . . but here, behind the barbed wire, something existed that united us all—our Jewishness. When they sang together, they forgot their suffering and misery; they were still alive and in song they praised God, who many times before had performed miracles. When they sang about the little lamp whose oil for one day lasted eight, the singers regained their courage and hope.[68]

At bottom, Jews shared a deep faith in their ultimate survival and in the preservation of the Jewish people. Early in the war Chaim Kaplan observed: "Our existence as a people will not be destroyed. Individuals will be destroyed, but the Jewish community will live on. . . ."

Concentration Camps

Excerpt from: Friedlander, Henry. "The Nazi Concentration Camps."
Human Responses to the Holocaust: Perpetrators and Victims, Bystanders and Resisters.
Lewiston, N.Y.: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1981. pp. 33–67.

During the first years of the Second World War the KL* system underwent a new expansion as additional groups of prisoners were introduced into the KLs. First, there were large numbers of Poles, including those intellectuals and professionals rounded up as part of the AB Aktion (*Allgemeine Befriedungsaktion*). Second, there were the growing number of resistance members from countries in Western Europe, including those rounded up under the Night and Fog Decree (*Nacht und Nebel*, or NN). Third, there were thousands of Russian POWs selected as specially dangerous from the Stalag cages.

For all these prisoners the KL Inspectorate needed new camps. KL Neuengamme became an independent camp, and a number of new ones were established: KL Auschwitz in Upper Silesia in May 1940; KL Gross Rosen in Lower Silesia in August 1940; [and] KL Stutthof in West Prussia in January 1941 (but it had already been operational as a Civilian Prison Camp since late 1939).[20]

The war also brought other changes. Until 1939 the KLs had been the only camps for the administrative, non-judicial incarceration of political enemies. In the early years of the war the KLs lost their exclusive status to a variety of new camps: transit camps, police camps, SD camps, and different types of labor camps. The most important of these, destined to have a great impact on the KL system, were the Forced Labor Camps for Jews in Eastern Europe. Hundreds of *Zwangsarbeitslager* (ZAL), ranging from the very small to the very large, were established in the East. They were established in the annexed Polish territories (Warthegau, West Prussia, Upper Silesia); the Government General (including the districts of Warsaw, Cracow, Radom, Lublin, and Galicia); the occupied Russian territories (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Belorussia, Ukraine).[21]

The German authorities imposed compulsory labor on all Jews in the Eastern territories. Most of the Jews not immediately killed were confined to large ghettos and forced to work in ghetto industries. But alongside these ghettos, the Germans established the ZALs; into these they conscripted able-bodied Jewish men and women. Thus Belzec, later a killing center, served as ZAL until September 1941; [and] Treblinka I, sister camp to the killing center, served as ZAL from 1940 to 1944. During 1940 these ZALs for Jews—often simply called *Judenlager*, or Julag—multiplied in the Government General. In October 16, 145 Jews worked on 410 construction sites most of which were not even designated as ZAL. In December ca. 10,000 Jews served in 34 ZALs in the Lublin district.[22]

The line separating small ghettos from forced labor camps was never very distinct. At first the Jews were often marched from the ghettos to their work sites every day; also in many ZALs there was room for entire families. Later, when the ghettos were dissolved and the Jews killed, only able-bodied men and women remained in the ZALs. There they were confined behind barbed wire, and men and women had to occupy separate quarters. Eventually the small ghettos were themselves transformed into ZALs. Thus the ghetto of Radom became the ZAL Radom, and the ghetto of Czestochowa became the ZAL Czestocohowa.[23]

*See Abbreviations, page 60, for this and other abbreviations in this article.

The ZALs were not a part of the KL system, and they were not supervised by the Inspectorate of the KLs. Instead they were operated by the SS and Police Leaders (SS *und Polizei Führer*, or SSPF), Himmler's representatives in the occupied territories. But they only had overall jurisdiction of the ZALs; the actual administration was left to a large variety of agencies. While the executive authority over the ZAL remained with the Sipo, the camps could be run by any German national appointed by the SSPF. Some camps were run by the Sipo, others by the uniformed Orpo; many camps were headed by German civilians, usually foremen of the German concern using the camp's Jewish labor or officials of the German labor corps known as the *Organisation Todt* (OT). A few ZALs were run by the German armed forces. While the officers in the ZALs were always German nationals—SS, police, army, or civilian—the guards were usually non-German troops. Some of these were Ukrainians, Latvians, and other Eastern nationals recruited into the SS. Trained in other camps, they were called Hiwis (from *Hilfsfreiwillige* or volunteer auxiliaries) or *Askaris* (a term used by the Germans in the First World War for native colonial troops).[24]

The nature of the ZAL and the composition of its administration was of little importance to the Jews incarcerated there. Although the treatment of the inmates differed a great deal depending on local conditions, the civilians running the ZALs were often as brutal as the SS. Unlike the KLs, the ZALs operated under no enforced regulations. The inmates were not registered; they were treated like interchangeable pieces of equipment. The KLs had draconic rules; the ZALs had none. They resembled the "wild" camps of the early 1930s. Treatment was completely arbitrary; torture and murder were everyday occurrences. The lawless conditions even increased after the start of the deportations to the killing centers, when for the Jews in ZALs death had only been postponed. . . .

The Germans who served in the ZALs were not usually SS men of long standing; many of them had never belonged to the SS or SA. Only a few had ever served in a KL. Without [Theodor] Eicke's* indoctrination, these ZAL functionaries engaged in murder and torture and were as brutal as any SS man from the KL system. . . .

Of course, not all ZAL officers lacked experience in the pre-war KLs. There were a few veterans of the KLs who also served in the ZALs. . . .

The Second World War changed the functions of the KL system. On one hand it became a large empire for slave labor, on the other it became the arena for mass murder. Already during the first days of the war persons sentenced to death without the benefit of a judicial proceeding were taken to the nearest KL and shot. . . .[34] But the most ambitious and far-reaching program of ideological murder was the destruction of the European Jews. However, it did not begin in the concentration camp.

Murder by gas chambers was first introduced in the so-called euthanasia program in 1940. Late in 1939 Hitler ordered the killing of the supposedly incurably ill. The program was administered by Reich Leader Philipp Bouhler in the Führer Chancellery. He established special agencies with the euphemistic titles of "Utilitarian Foundation for Institutional Care" (*Gemeinnützige Stiftung für Anstaltspflege*) and "Utilitarian Ambulance Service" (*Gemeinnützige Krankentransport GmbH*). The headquarters was located in Berlin at Tiergartenstrasse 4, the entire program was known as T4. Special commissions of physicians reviewed questionnaires filled out by all state institutions, and decided on the basis of the information supplied whether the institutionalized person should be killed. Those chosen were transferred to six institutions—Hartheim, Sonnenstein, Grafeneck, Bernburg, Brandenburg, and Hadamar—where specially constructed gas chambers were used to kill the patients. This radical ideological experiment in murder involved mostly German non-Jewish nationals. Public protests eventually forced the Nazi leadership to abort the program in 1941; but in secret the program continued throughout the war on a smaller scale. . . .

As we have seen, during the war years the KLs grew into a vast empire with many different, and often contradictory, functions. One of these was the extermination of ideological enemies; another was the use of slave labor. While the SS murdered millions of potential workers; the SS-WVHA demanded that the SS physicians improve camp conditions to reverse the alarming death rate and thus preserve the slave labor force.[58] Of course, conditions did not improve, and almost a million prisoners died of torture, starvations, exposure, and overwork. The mass exterminations created an atmosphere of total disregard for human life in the KLs. The only value attached to any prisoner was his ability to perform essential work. But the seemingly unlimited supply of inmates reduced even that limited value. The KLs became places where any form of human degradation and exploitation was permitted. The gruesome medical and biological experiments carried out in the KLs during the war were only the most glaring example.[59]

*First Dachau commander; became Inspector for Concentration Camps after 1934, a position he held until his death on The Russian front.

The *Judenrat* Chairman's Last Diary Entries

Adam Czerniakow, an engineer who was selected by the Nazis to serve as the chairman of the Warsaw Judenrat, constantly negotiated with his Nazi overlords to lighten the burden on the ghetto population. When he learned in July 1942 that all his efforts had been in vain and that the deportations were about to begin, Czerniakow wrote the last entry in his diary and a few hours later committed suicide. The following is extracted from The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow: Prelude to Doom, *published by Stein and Day, New York, in 1979, and reprinted by permission of Scarborough House, Chelsea, Michigan.*

July 18, 1942—In the morning with Lejkin to Brandt and Mende. A day full of foreboding. Rumors that the deportations will start on Monday evening (All?!). I asked the Kommissar whether he knew anything about it. He replied that he did not and that he did not believe the rumors. In the meantime panic in the Quarter; some speak of deportations, others of a pogrom. Today and tomorrow we are to empty the Synagogue for the foreign Jews to move in. . . .

July 19, 1942—In the morning at the Community. Incredible panic in the city. Kohn, Heller, and Ehrlich are spreading terrifying rumors, creating the impression that it is all false propaganda. I wish it were so. On the other hand, there is talk of about 40 railroad cars ready and waiting. It transpired that 20 of them have been prepared on SS orders for 720 workers leaving tomorrow for a camp.

Kohn claims that the deportation is to commence tomorrow at 8 P.M. with 3,000 Jews from the Little Ghetto (Sliska Street?). He himself and his family slipped away to Otwock. Others did the same. . . .

Because of the panic I drove through the streets of the entire Quarter. I visited 3 playgrounds. I do not know whether I managed to calm the population, but I did my best. I try to hearten the delegations which come to see me. What it costs me they do not see. Today I took 2 headache powders, another pain reliever, and a sedative, but my head is still splitting. I am trying not to let the smile leave my face.

July 20, 1942—In the morning at 7:30 at the Gestapo. I asked Mende how much truth there was in the rumors. He replied that he had heard nothing. I turned to Brandt; he also knew nothing. When asked whether it could happen, he replied that he knew of no such scheme. Uncertain, I left his office. I proceeded to his chief, Kommissar Bohm. He told me that this was not his department but Hoeheman [Hohmann] might say something about the rumors. I mentioned that according to rumor, the deportation is to start tonight at 7:30. He replied that he would be bound to know something if it were about to happen. Not seeing any other way out, I went to the deputy chief of Section 111, Scherer. He expressed his surprise hearing the rumor and informed me that he too knew nothing about it. Finally, I asked whether I could tell the population that their fears were groundless. He replied that I could and that all the talk was Quatsch and Unsinn [utter nonsense].

I ordered Lejkin to make the public announcement through the precinct police stations. I drove to Auerswald. He informed me that he reported everything to the SS Polizeiführer. Meanwhile, First went to see Jesuiter and Schlederer, who expressed their indignation that the rumors were being spread and promised an investigation. . . .

July 22, 1940 [*sic*]—In the morning at 7:30 at the Community. The borders of the Small Ghetto surrounded by a special unit in addition to the regular one.

Sturmbannführer Hofle SS and associates came at 10 o'clock. We disconnected the telephone. Children were moved from the playground opposite the Community building.

We were told that all the Jews irrespective of sex and age, with certain exceptions, will be deported to the East. By 4 P.M. today a contingent of 6,000 people must be provided. And this (at the minimum) will be the daily quota.

We were ordered to vacate a building at 103 Zelazna Street for the German personnel who will be carrying out the deportation. The furniture was kept where it was. As the Council staff with their wives and children are exempted from deportation, I asked that the JSS personnel, craftsmen, and garbage collectors, etc. also be excluded. This was granted.

I requested the release of Gepner, Rozen, Sztolcman, Drybinski, Winter, Kobryner, which was approved. By 3:45 P.M. everyone but Rozen is already back in the ghetto.

In the afternoon Lejkin sent a message that a piece of glass has allegedly been thrown at a police car. They warned us that if this were to happen again our hostages would be shot.

The most tragic dilemma is the problem of children in orphanages, etc. I raised this issue—perhaps something can be done. . . .

Sturmbannführer Hofle (Beauftragter [plenipotentiary] in charge of deportation) asked me into his office and informed me that for the time being my wife was free, but if the deportation were impeded in any way, she would be the first one to be shot as a hostage.

July 23, 1942—In the morning at the Community. Worthoff from the deportation staff came and we discussed several problems. He exempted the vocational school students from deportation. The husbands of working women as well. He told me to take up the matter of orphans with Hofle. The same with reference to craftsmen. When I asked for the number of days per week in which the operation would be carried on, the answer was 7 days a week.

Throughout the town a great rush to start new workshops. A sewing machine can save a life.

It is 3 o'clock. So far 4,000 are ready to go. The orders are that there must be 9,000 by 4 o'clock. Some officials came to the post office and issued instructions that all incoming letters and parcels be diverted to the Pawiak [prison].

The Shopkeeper's Dilemma

What Would You Do?

We have already read about the role of the Judenrat in Nazi-created ghettos. Below is one of the situations faced by Judenrat members.

Georgi Pytrosenko is a member of the Vilna Judenrat. He was a well-respected shopkeeper in the Jewish community and reluctantly accepted participation on the Judenrat. Georgi has been on the committee for fourteen months, and in that time he has aided in the distribution of food and provision for employment in the ghetto. Although conditions are terrible and typhus has broken out, most Jews have been able to survive. But now the situation has changed dramatically.

The Germans have just demanded that on Friday morning at 10:00 A.M., 6,000 men, women and children should be standing at the *Umschlagplatz* (courtyard at the train station) for "resettlement." The Judenrat has been held responsible for the selection of those people to be deported.

Several months later, Georgi learned some devastating news: those Jews sent on trains for "resettlement" were actually sent to death camps to be gassed. He was shocked by this news and realized that he was expected to help make the next selection of Jews in two days. Georgi has to decide what he is going to recommend to the Judenrat. He also has to consider whether he should tell the Jewish population what he has learned.

What should Georgi do?

Questions for Discussion

1. What alternatives were available to Georgi? What were the probable consequences of each alternative? Does he have a meaningful choice?
2. Should the Jewish population be told?
3. Do you feel that the Judenrat should be held as responsible as the Germans for murdering those who were selected?
4. On what basis should Georgi make his decision?

JUDENRAT: A Simulation

You are a member of the JUDENRAT in the Warsaw Ghetto.
With the other members of that Council, you must select five of your people in the ghetto to be removed for transport to a death camp.
The Judenrat has been called into session to discuss the people who are listed below as *"possible candidates"* for removal and eventual extermination.
In your Council, decide on <u>five</u> people who you as the Judenrat will remove from the ghetto and send to the extermination camp tomorrow morning.

1. **RABBI** — He is 55 years of age and the spiritual leader of the community.

2. **ADAM** — He is a *gentile*, but a sympathizer. His daughter is married to a member of the Third Reich. Through his daughter, he is able to get extra food and supplies for those living in the ghetto.

3. **JOSEPH** — He is the physician for the ghetto: 48 years of age.

4. **YEHUDITH** — She is a 7 year old orphan whose parents were killed during the uprising.

5. **HANNAH** — She is a 30 year old prostitute who provides "services" to the Nazis in exchange for food and clothing for the people in the ghetto

6. **MORDECHAI** — He is a violinist who speaks fluent German; he has been most successful in hearing about and knowing Nazi plans for the ghetto before they are implemented. (Mordechai will not leave the ghetto without his wife, Sarah.)

7. **SARAH** — She is the wife of Mordechai, and is six months pregnant. (She will not leave the ghetto without her husband.)

8. **SAMUEL** — He is a 28 year old strong muscle man. He has been able to protect the other people in the ghetto by assuming the physical abuse which would be directed toward others.

9. **CHAIM** — He is a 35 year old scholar, artist, and literary expert. He is keeping all of the records, art, memoirs, and journals of experience in the ghetto.

10. **VICTOR** — He is a 17 year old activist who seems to hold the people the ghetto together with is spirit, his hope, his youth and his conviction.

THROUGH OUR EYES

GHETTO LIFE

Children Witness The Holocaust

Itzhak Tatelbaum

"People started to talk about the ghetto. I had no idea what it meant..."

Liliana (age 13)

In the fall of 1939, the Nazis began to establish ghettos in Poland and throughout Eastern Europe. These were streets, usually in a poor and run-down area of a city, to which all the Jews in the city were shipped and which they could not leave. The purpose of the ghetto was to isolate the Jews from the general population and to make it easier to control their lives.

The ghettos were terribly over-crowded. At times, within an area where only 7,000 people had previously lived, some 30,000 were now crowded. The first ghettos were established within the area of occupied central Poland conquered by the Germans, called "General Government." The Lodz ghetto held about 165,000 Jews. The Warsaw ghetto was the largest one and held as many as 450,000.

The Judenrat (Jewish council) were appointed by the Nazi authorities to run the ghettos. They were responsible to the Nazis and had to execute their orders. Refusal to obey meant severe punishment and often death. They were forced to collect large sums of money from the Jews. They had to supply Jewish men for forced labor. They had to organize the transfer of the Jews from the ghettos to places of their so-called "resettlement".

"I've learned here to appreciate ordinary things. Things that, if we had them when we were still free, we didn't notice at all. Like riding a bus or train, or walking freely along the road to the water, say or go buy ice cream. Such an ordinary thing and it's out of our reach."

Charlotte (age 14)

"I feel as if I were in a box. There is no air to breathe. Wherever you go you encounter a gate that hems you in... I feel that I have been robbed, my freedom is being robbed from me, my home, and the familiar Vilna streets I love so much. I have been cut off from all that is dear and precious to me."

Yitskhok (age 15)



"More and more people were robbed on the streets, especially for food. It happened to me once. I was coming home with a loaf of bread under my arm, when a young man ran up to me, grabbed the bread, bit off a big piece, and threw the rest back to me. Everything happened so fast that I did not have time to pick up the rest of the loaf; a group of small children grabbed it and ate it. I ran home, crying and shaking.

Liliana

Ghetto Theft
I grab, I'm beaten for the bread,
But whips and sticks can't hurt me.
What's life to me, what's death to me?
There's nothing left to scare me.
Here come a couple down the street.
It's night -- no one can see me.
I jump, I grab, and then they scream.
Too late; my teeth have bitten.
I thank you, G-d, for every night
That you have given man.
For while they sleep, my day begins.
A life of ghetto thieving.

Irene, Warsaw ghetto

I think what peculiarly ugly things occur in the ghetto! On the one hand, the ugliness of stealing a pot of food, and on the other to strike a woman crudely in the face because she is probably hungry."

Yitskhok (age 15)

From Tomorrow On

by Motele (age 12)

From tomorrow on, I shall be sad --
From tomorrow on.
Today I will be gay.
What's the use of sadness -- tell me that.
Because the evil winds begin to blow?
Why should I grieve for tomorrow -- today?
Tomorrow may be good, so sunny.
Tomorrow the sun may shine for us again;
We shall no longer need to be sad.
From tomorrow on, I shall be sad --
From tomorrow on.
Not today.
No, today I will be glad.
And every day, no matter how bitter it be,
I will say:
From tomorrow on, I shall be sad --
Not today.

She ate only a tiny piece, wrapping
the rest in a bit of newspaper:

"This will be for
my little brother."

The Einsatzgruppen Reports

The Organization of the Einsatzgruppen

At the beginning of May 1941, potential recruits for the *Einsatzgruppen* gathered in the Border-Police School in Pretsch on the River Elbe, northeast of Leipzig. Due to lack of space, some were accommodated in Duben and Bad-Schmiedberg. There, similar units were organized and prepared for the occupation of the Balkans, the Soviet Union and even for Operation Sea-Lion, the invasion of Britain.

There were no specific instructions as to who should be sent to Pretsch, and the RSHA manpower section turned to various departments of the Sipo and SD in its search for candidates. A large contingent from the Berlin-Charlotenburg Sipo Senior Commanders School, as well as 100 Kripo (*Kriminalpolizei*, or Criminal Police) cadets, were also assigned there.

The commanders of the *Einsatzgruppen* and *Einsatzkommandos* were chosen by Himmler and Heydrich from a list compiled by the RSHA Department One. Of the 75 selected, 42 were members of the SD. In addition to Sipo and SD officers, a support staff of drivers, translators, radio operators and clerks was also assembled.

These latter came from all over Germany, though most were members of the SS. Some were conscripted in accordance with the emergency law of 1938. Three of the *Einsatzgruppen* were reinforced by companies from the 9th Police Reserve Battalion.

In Pretsch, companies from the Waffen SS Battalion for Special Duties set up from the First SS Infantry Battalion were attached to *Einsatzkommando 9 and Sonderkommando* 4a. (Waffen-SS were drawn from the Wehrmacht.) Later pursuant to Himmler's directive of July 27, 1941, other units received similar reinforcements.

The division into sub-units and areas of activity was as follows:

Unit	*Sub-unit*	*Area*	*Est. Strength*
EG-A	SK 1a, 1b; EK 2, 3, 1C (Leningrad)	Baltic countries	1,000
EG-B	SK 7a, 7b; EK 8, 9, VK Moscow	Belorussia, Smolensk district	655
EG-C	SK 4a, 4b; EK 5, 6	North and Central Ukraine	750
EG-D	SK 10a, 10b; EK 11a, 11b, 12	South Ukraine Crimea, Caucasus	600

(EG = *Einsatzgruppen*; EK = *Einsatzkommando*; SK = *Sonderkommando*; VK = *Vorkkommando*.)

The *Einsatzgruppen* were attached to the commanders of the rear area army groups by June 25, 1941, and had to send forward subunits to join the staff of the Higher SS stationed at the groups' headquarters.

Thus, *Einsatzgruppe A*, headed by SS-Standartenführer (Colonel) Dr. Walter Stahlecker, joined Army Group North in Danzig. *Einsatzgruppe B*, headed by SS Brigadeführer (General) Arthur Nebe joined Army Group Center in Malo Yaroslavets. *Einsatzgruppe C*, headed at the time by SS Brigadeführer Dr. Otto Rasch, attached to Army Group South at Kiev. *Einsatzgruppe D*, headed by SS-Standartenführer Professor Otto Ohlendorf, joined the headquarters of the Eleventh Army in Piatra-Neamt (Romania) on July 4, 1941.

Notably, the *Einsatzgruppen* included many high-ranking officers, intellectuals and lawyers. Otto Ohlendorf, who commanded *Einsatzgruppe D*, had earned degrees from three universities and achieved a doctorate in jurisprudence. One of the commanders of *Einsatzgruppe C*, Ernst Biberstein, was a Protestant pastor, theologian and church official.

The Reports

As did all other units in the German military bureaucracy, the *Sonderkommandos* and *Einsatzkommandos* reported on their extermination activities to their respective *Einsatzgruppe* headquarters which sent the information to Berlin. There the RSHA compiled concise reports in the name of the Chief of Sipo and the SD. Copies were distributed to high-ranking army, police and SS officers, diplomats, members of the foreign office and even to industrialists as they related to economic factors in the Soviet territories.

The Einsatzgruppen Reports were discovered by the U.S. Army in Gestapo headquarters in Berlin after the war. They were initially impounded by a research analyst attached to the Berlin branch of the Office of the Chief of Council for War Crimes (OCCWC, established under Council Law Number 10 of the Allied occupation authorities). The head of the office, Benjamin Ferencz, who became Chief U.S. Prosecutor at the Einsatzgruppen War Crimes Trials, turned them over to U.S. Army custody. They were sealed and transported to Nuremberg to the office of General Telford Taylor, Chief of Council for War Crimes, for use in preparing for the Einsatzgruppen War Crimes Trial.

During the first days of the Einsatzgruppen Trial the authenticity of the reports was established beyond doubt, after which the German defendants did not challenge their validity.

The original reports were sent to the National Archives in Washington, D.C. after the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials. In 1960 they were given to the Bundesarchiv (the West German national archives) in Koblenz. Photocopies of all the reports remain in the National Archives in Washington and at Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Museum and Memorial in Jerusalem.

Excerpt from: Yitzhak Arad, Shmuel Krakowski and Shmuel Spector, eds.,
The Einsatzgruppen Reports. New York: Holocaust Library, 1989. pp. v-xv; 168; 171-174.

[Only two of the reports are reproduced below.]

Chief of the Security Police and Security Service

Berlin, October 2, 1941

48 copies
(36th copy)

Operational Situation Report USSR No. 101

Einsatzgruppe C
Location: Kiev

Sonderkommando 4a in collaboration with Einsatzgruppe HQ and two Kommandos of police regiment South, executed 33,771 Jews in Kiev on September 29 and 30, 1941.

Einsatzgruppe D
Location: Nikolayev

The Kommandos continued the liberation of the area from Jews and Communist elements. In the period covered by the report, the towns of Nikolayev and Kherson in particular were freed of Jews. Remaining officials there were appropriately treated. From September 16 to 30, 22,467 Jews and Communists were executed. Total number, 35,782. Investigations again show that the high Communist officials everywhere have fled to safety. On the whole, leading partisans or leaders of sabotage detachments have been seized.

Chief of the Security Police and Security Service

Berlin, October 7, 1941

48 copies
(36th copy)

Operational Situation Report USSR No. 106

. . . . . .

Einsatzgruppe B
Location: Smolensk

. . . . . .

Mood and general conduct of the population

. . . . . .

It can be observed that, just as before, the population in the area of our activities abstains from any self-defense action against the Jews. True, the population reports uniformly about the Jewish terror against them during Soviet rule. They also complain to the German offices about new attacks from the side of the Jews (like unauthorized return from the ghetto to their previous homes, or hostile remarks against the Germans made by the Jews). However, in spite of our energetic attempts, they are not ready for any action against the Jews. The decisive reason here seems to be the fear of Jewish revenge in case of a return of the Reds. Even very active elements who help us find Jewish Communists and members of the intelligentsia and show themselves very efficient in their cooperation prefer to remain invisible and anonymous in the decisive moments.

Reports on a stable, good mood in the population can be found only in those areas where economic life is somewhat normal, as, for instance, in the town Klintsy that has not been destroyed at all; also in Vitebsk.

. . . . . .

Einsatzgruppe C
Location: Kiev

I. Kiev

. . . . . .

As a result of [war] destruction, especially of houses, and the forced order to evacuate endangered streets, about 23,000 persons became homeless and were forced to spend the first days of the occupation in the open. They accepted this inconvenience quietly and did not cause panic.

Meanwhile, locked and empty apartments, insofar as they had not been burned and damaged, were put at the disposal of the population. A corresponding number of apartments have also become available through the liquidation, thus far around 36,000 Jews on September 29 and 30, 1941. The housing of the homeless is assured and has also been taken care of in the meantime.

The population of Kiev before the start of the war numbered around 850,000. For the time being, no exact indication concerning its national composition can be given. The number of Jews is said to have been about 300,000. The total number of ethnic Germans living in Kiev is presently being counted by a Kommando. The final results will be available in ten days. The temporary appointed city administration has begun immediately to register all the inhabitants of Kiev. As a first measure, all males aged 15-60 must report.

Except for a small part, the non-Jewish population, as far as can now be established, seems to welcome the German Army, or at least to display loyal behavior. During the first days of the occupation, serious unrest could be detected within the population because of rumors that the Germany Army was leaving the city. These rumors were successfully squelched with proper official announcements. The population cooperates very readily by furnishing information on explosives or secret membership in the NKVD, the Party and the Red Army. Unlike the first days, one could note that this information was 90% correct. The reason for this is that the city inhabitants are less frightened than is the rural population, since they do not fear the possibility of a return of the Bolsheviks. The supply situation in Kiev is extremely poor. There are no food stocks and these must be provided. A staff in charge of economic affairs was created

U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum
Washington, D.C.

by the appointed city administration. Its main task was, for the time being, the supplying of the most vital food. This economic staff supplied the required transportation and, thus, the most urgent needs could be met by bringing in supplies from the nearby collective farms.

II. Executions and other measures

The population was extremely infuriated against the Jews because of their preferential economical status under Soviet rule. It could also be proved that the Jews had participated in arson. The population expected adequate reprisals from the Germans. For this purpose, in agreement with the city military command, all the Jews of Kiev were ordered to appear at a certain place on Monday, September 29, by 6 o'clock. This order was publicized by posters all over the town by members of the newly organized Ukrainian militia. At the same time, oral information was passed that all the Jews of Kiev would be moved to another place. In cooperation with the HQ of EGC and two Kommandos of the police regiment South, Sonderkommando 4a executed 33,771 Jews on September 29 and 30.[1] Gold and valuables, linen, and clothing were secured. Part of it was given to the NSV (*National-Sozialistische Versorgung* = Nazi Welfare) for the ethnic Germans, and part to the appointed city administration for distribution among the needy population. The action was carried out smoothly and no incidents occurred. The population agreed with the plan to move the Jews to another place. That they were actually liquidated has hardly been made known. However, according to the experience gained so far, this would not meet with any opposition. The army has also approved the measures taken. The Jews that have not yet been caught or who will return will be treated accordingly. At the same time, a number of NKVD men and commissars were arrested and finished off.

The Bandera members lost power with the arrests made by the Kommandos. Their activity was restricted to the distribution of leaflets and posters. Three arrests were made; more are pending.

The HQ of EGC as well as Sonderkommando 4a and Einsatskommando 5, both stationed in Kiev, have made connections with the proper offices. Constant cooperation with these offices was achieved, and imminent problems are discussed daily. Because of the vast amounts of information, each time [with each action] detailed operation reports must be submitted about the activity of the Einsatzkommandos.

III. Zhitomir, actions against the Jews

The Militia headquarters, according to a suggestion of Sonderkommando 4a, arranged a temporary, local concentration of the Jews in Zhitomir. This resulted in a quieter atmosphere, for example, in the markets, etc. At the same time, obstinate rumors diminished and it seemed that together with the concentration of the Jews, the Communists, too, lost much ground. However, it became obvious after a few days that concentration of the Jews without building a ghetto did not suffice, and that the old difficulties emerged again after a short while. Complaints about the impertinence of the Jews in their various places of work stemmed from several quarters. It was noted that strong propaganda activity among the Ukrainians, claiming that the Red Army would return very soon into the areas that had been taken away from them, had their origin in the Jewish quarter. The local militia was shot at, at night, and even in daytime from an ambush. It was also established that Jews exchanged their belongings for money in order to move into the Western Ukraine where a civil administration already exists.

All these phenomena could be observed. However, it was possible to get hold of the involved Jews only in the rarest cases, as they had sufficient opportunities to evade arrest. Therefore, a conference was called together with military H.Q. on September 10, 1941. The resulting decision was the final and radical liquidation of the Jews of Zhitomir, since all the warnings [threats] and special measures [punishments] had not led to any perceptible change.

On September 19, 1941, from 4 o'clock [a.m.], the Jewish quarter was emptied after having been surrounded and closed the previous evening by 60 members of the Ukrainian militia. The transport [deportation] was accomplished in 12 trucks, part of which had been supplied by military headquarters and part by the city administration of Zhitomir. After the transport had been carried out and the necessary preparations made with the help of 150 prisoners, 3,145 Jews were registered and shot.

About 25-30 tons of linen, clothing, shoes, dishes, etc. that had been confiscated in the course of the action were handed over to the officials of the NSV in Zhitomir for distribution. Valuables and money were conveyed to the Sonderkommando 4a.

[1] This took place in the ravine of Babi Yar outside Kiev.

Unit iv
Reading # 3



Nazi Paperwork of the "Final Solution": Origins and Authentication of the Wannsee Protocol



Commentary and documents courtesy of Robert Wolfe, Director,
Captured Germans Records Staff, National Archives,
Washington, D.C.

Reproduced microfilm frames follow this article.
Original documents are located in the National Archives, Washington, D.C.

On January 20, 1942, fifteen German officials, most of them ranking roughly at the level of an American Cabinet Undersecretary, participated for some two hours in an inter-agency meeting held in a villa at *Am Grosse Wannsee* 56-58 on the western outskirts of Berlin. The meeting was convened by Reinhardt Heydrich, Chief of Security Police, to coordinate the "final solution of the Jewish question," an attempted genocide already well underway.

A 15-page summary of the discussion—the so-called *Wannsee Protokoll*—received from Heydrich by the German Foreign Office on March 2, 1942, is numbered "16," the only surviving copy of thirty numbered copies. Found in 1945 among the voluminous records of the German Foreign Office captured by American troops at an evacuation site in the Harz Mountains, this Wannsee summary is part of a two-folder file labeled *Endlösung der Judenfrage* (Final Solution of the Jewish Question). These folders contain 330 pages of documentation on that malign subject, filed in approximate reverse chronological sequence from January 25, 1939 through November 20, 1943. Extensive excerpts were entered into evidence at some of the American-conducted war crimes trials at Nuremberg under the document designation NO 2685.* The original records are now deposited in the German Foreign Office Archives in Bonn.

In the immediate aftermath of the so-called *Kristallnacht* pogrom, Hermann Göring was instructed by Adolf Hitler to coordinate a program for "Aryanization of the German economy." A meeting to that purpose involving a number of cabinet heads, for whom Heydrich of the Security Police served as expert adviser, was held at Göring's Reich Air Ministry on November 12, 1938. The minutes of parts of that meeting were reconstructed in August 1945 from the 1938 stenograph notes by Dr. Fritz Dörr, a Reichstag stenographer (Nuremberg Document PS-1816, Prosecution Exhibit USA 261).

On January 24, 1939, Göring took the next step, just a week before Hitler threatened (in a wildly-applauded Reichstag speech recorded on newsreels immediately available to audiences around the world): "If international finance Jewry . . . should again succeed in plunging the peoples of Europe into another world war, the result will be . . . the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe." Göring, in his capacity as head of the Four Year plan, wrote to the Minister of Interior, the nominal head of Himmler's police:

[microfilm frame 372113]

> "Emigration of Jews from Germany is to be promoted with all means. . . . [A] Reich Central for Jewish Emigration is to be established. . . . Direction of the Reich Central is to be assumed by the Chief of Security Police [Heydrich]."

On July 31, 1941, when during the first weeks of the assault on the Soviet Union the *Einsatzgruppen* had already

* The entire file is reproduced on National Microfilm Publication T 120, Serials 1512-13, Roll 780, frames 371885-372223. The original records are now deposited in the German Foreign Office Archives in Bonn.

graph of the letter to Hofmann. On that second page the typewritten address is also altered in ink, accompanied by the handwritten marginal explanation:

"According to a telephone conversation with *Stubaf.* [SS Major Rolf] Günther on 4.12.41 [Dec. 4, 1941], street changed."

As Rademacher's notation of 8/12 indicates, the meeting scheduled for December 9, 1941 was postponed indefinitely. (Governor-General Hans Frank already knew on December 16 that the meeting would be convened sometime in January 1942, as a speech to his staff in Cracow on that day attests: Frank Diary, vol. 17, Nuremberg Document 2233). On January 8, 1942, Heydrich re-invited the same officials for January 20. Signed copies, identical except for annotations, of that invitation (and acceptances) are in both Luther's Foreign Office and Hofmann's Race and Resettlement Main Office files. Heydrich's renewed invitation reads:

[microfilm frame 372039]

"The conference which had been scheduled for December 9, 1941, concerning questions related to the final solution of the Jewish question, I had to cancel at the last minute because of suddenly announced events and the related preoccupation of some of the invited gentlemen.

Since the questions to be considered permit no further delay, I therefore invite you anew to a

discussion followed by brunch
on *20 January 1942 at 12 o'clock*
Berlin, Am Grossen Wannsee 56–58.

The circle of invited gentlemen listed in my last letter of invitation remains unchanged.

Heil Hitler !
Your
[signed] Heydrich "

This copy bears a Foreign Office incoming-correspondence stamp dated January 12, and an annotation in ink by Luther indicating it was to go to Rademacher and be placed before Luther on the morning of January 13 ("January 18" crossed out). On the bottom is a notation dated January 21, the day after the Wannsee meeting, in what appears to be Rademacher's hand: "Protocol of the meeting is still to be received. To the files."

On the evidence of the foregoing contemporary Nazi paperwork surviving in the files of two fully separate Third Reich agencies, there can be no doubt that the January 20, 1942, meeting at Am Grosse Wannsee 56–58 *did* take place. Copy 16 of the 15 page summary of the discussion, received by the German Foreign Office on March 2, 1942, was transmitted under a covering letter, dated February 26, 1942:

[microfilm frame 372023]

"Dear Party Comrade Luther!

Annexed, I send you the protocol of the discussion which took place on January 20, 1942. Now that the base lines in respect to the practical execution of the final solution to the Jewish question have been gratifyingly confirmed and full agreement reigns therein on the part of the participating agencies, may I request you delegate your subject adviser [Sachreferent] to the necessary detailed discussions for the purpose of readying the draft wished by the Reich Marshal in which are to be listed the organizational, technical, and material prerequisites for taking in hand the tasks of the [final] solution.

The first discussion of this kind I intend to have held on March 6, 1942, 10:30 o'clock, in Berlin, Kurfürstenstrasse 116. May I ask you to cause your agent to get in touch with my assigned specialist, SS Lt. Col. [Sturmbannführer Adolf] *Eichmann*.

Heil Hitler !
Your
[signed] Heydrich

1 Annex ! "

This covering letter bears a handwritten annotation:

"Party Comrade Rademacher

Please reply in writing that you are the designee and will attend.

(initialled in purple pencil) Lu[ther]"

Shown are reproductions of two of the fifteen pages of the Wannsee Protocol listing the attendees [pages 1 and 2; microfilm frames 372024-5].

Among those attending were Heydrich, who presided; Adolf Eichmann, who purportedly took the notes from which the summary protocol was derived; the head of the Gestapo, Heinrich Müller; Luther; Hofmann; and Roland Freisler, the fanatic presiding judge of the Peoples' Court [the latter's rantings, at the trial of military and civilian participants in the July 20, 1944, attempted assassination of Hitler, are frequently shown in television documentaries].

Not shown here are pages 5, 9, and 10, from which the following translations are excerpted:

[page 5, microfilm frame 372028]

"In view of the dangers of wartime emigration and . . . the potentialities of the east, the Reich Leader SS and Chief of German Police [Himmler] has prohibited the emigration of Jews. . . . This is henceforth replaced, as a further potential solution, after appro-

priate prior sanction from the Führer, by the evacuation of the Jews to the east. These actions are, however, only to be addressed as alternative possibilities, but here already will be accumulated those practical experiences, which in view of the coming final solution of the Jewish question are of weighty significance. . . . Around 11 million Jews come under consideration, divided among individual countries as follows."

[statistical chart, page 6, frame 372029]

[page 7, frame 372030]

"Jews shall be assigned to work in a suitable way in the east. In large work gangs, separated by sex, Jews capable of work will be put into road construction, whereby undoubtedly a major part will fall out through natural attrition."

[page 8, frame 372031]

"The eventually surviving remainder, because they undoubtedly will be the part with the most resistance, will have to be handled accordingly, since they represent a natural selection which, if turned loose, would provide the nucleus of a new Jewish buildup. . . . Europe will be combed out from west to east . . . the evacuated Jews will first be brought group by group into transit ghettos, from there to be transported to the east."

Robert Wolfe
National Archives

October 11, 1990

Fifty Years Ago:
FROM TERROR TO SYSTEMATIC MURDER

❖

Days of Remembrance
April 7-14, 1991

❖

U.S. Holocaust Museum, Washington, D.C.

Night

Elie Wiesel

In 1940, Auschwitz, originally a Polish military barracks, was turned into one of the largest concentration and death camps. Built in southwestern Poland on a major railway line between Cracow and Vienna, the camp grew to 40 square miles and contained more than 100,000 prisoners. Gas chambers were built in 1942 in the section of the camp called Birkenau.

Elie Wiesel is probably the best known survivor of Auschwitz. In the following selection from his autobiographical work *Night*, Wiesel describes his family's arrival at Auschwitz in 1944, and the process of "selection" which was to determine which of them lived or died.

The Nazi system extended to the identification of different people by the color of the patches on their clothes. Black was worn by Gypsies, green by professional criminals (many of whom were as anti-Jewish as the SS guards), pink by homosexuals, purple by Jehovah's Witnesses, red by Communists and other "politicals," and yellow by Jews. Such identification was also intended to separate inmates from each other.

The cherished objects we had brought with us thus far were left behind in the train, and with them, at last, our illusions.

Every two yards or so an SS man held his tommy gun trained on us. Hand in hand we followed the crowd.

An SS noncommissioned officer came to meet us, a truncheon in his hand. He gave the order:

"Men to the left! Women to the right!"

Eight words spoken quietly, indifferently, without emotion. Eight short, simple words. Yet that was the moment when I parted from my mother. I had not had time to think, but already I felt the pressure of my father's hand: we were alone. For a part of a second I glimpsed my mother and my sisters moving away to the right. Tzipora held Mother's hand. I saw them disappear into the distance; my mother was stroking my sister's fair hair, as though to protect her, while I walked on with my father and the other men. And I did not know that in that place, at that moment, I was parting from my mother and Tzipora forever. I went on walking. My father held onto my hand.

Behind me, an old man fell to the ground. Near him was an SS man, putting his revolver back in its holster.

My hand shifted on my father's arm. I had one thought—not to lose him. Not to be left alone.

The SS officers gave the order:

"Form fives!"

Commotion. At all costs we must keep together.

"Here, kid, how old are you?"

It was one of the prisoners who asked me this. I could not see his face, but his voice was tense and weary.

"I'm not quite fifteen yet."

"No. Eighteen."

"But I'm not," I said. "Fifteen."

"Fool. Listen to what *I* say."

Then he questioned my father, who replied:

"Fifty."

The other grew more furious than ever.

"No, not fifty. Forty. Do you understand? Eighteen and forty."

He disappeared into the night shadows. A second man came up, spitting oaths at us.

"What have you come here for, you sons of bitches? What are you doing here, eh?"

Someone dared to answer him.

"What do you think? Do you suppose we've come here for our own pleasure? Do you think we asked to come?"

A little more, and the man would have killed him.

"You shut your trap, you filthy swine, or I'll squash you right now! You'd have done better to have hanged yourselves where you were than to come here. Didn't you know what was in store for you at Auschwitz? Haven't you heard about it? In 1944?"

No, we had not heard. No one had told us. He could not believe his ears. His tone of voice became increasingly brutal.

"Do you see that chimney over there? See it? Do you see those flames? (Yes, we did see the flames.) Over there—that's where you're going to be taken. That's your grave, over there. Haven't you realized it yet? You dumb bastards, don't you understand anything? You're going to be burned. Frizzled away. Turned into ashes."

He was growing hysterical in his fury. We stayed motionless, petrified. Surely it was all a nightmare? An unimaginable nightmare?

I heard murmurs around me.

"We've got to do something. We can't let ourselves be killed. We can't go like beasts to the slaughter. We've got to revolt."

There were a few sturdy young fellows among us. They had knives on them, and they tried to incite the others to throw themselves on the armed guards.

One of the young men cried:

"Let the world learn of the existence of Auschwitz. Let everybody hear about it, while they can still escape. . . ."

But the older ones begged their children not to do anything foolish:

"You must never lose faith, even when the sword hangs over your head. That's the teaching of our sages. . . ."

The wind of revolt died down. We continued our march toward the square. In the middle stood the notorious Dr. Mengele (a typical SS officer: a cruel face, but not devoid of intelligence, and wearing a monocle); a conductor's baton in his hand, he was standing among the other officers. The baton moved unremittingly, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left.

I was already in front of him:

"How old are you?" he asked, in an attempt at a paternal tone of voice.

"Eighteen." My voice was shaking.

"Are you in good health?"

"Yes."

"What's your occupation?"

Should I say that I was a student?

"Farmer," I heard myself say.

This conversation cannot have lasted more than a few seconds. It had seemed like an eternity to me.

The baton moved to the left. I took half a step forward. I wanted to see first where they were sending my father. If he went to the right, I would go after him.

The baton once again pointed to the left for him too. A weight was lifted from my heart.

We did not yet know which was the better

side, right or left; which road led to prison and which to the crematory. But for the moment I was happy; I was near my father. Our procession continued to move slowly forward.

Another prisoner came up to us:

"Satisfied?"

"Yes," someone replied.

"Poor devils, you're going to the crematory."

He seemed to be telling the truth. Not far from us, flames were leaping up from a ditch, gigantic flames. They were burning something. A lorry drew up at the pit and delivered its load—little children. Babies! Yes, I saw it—saw it with my own eyes . . . those children in the flames. (Is it surprising that I could not sleep after that? Sleep had fled from my eyes.)

So this was where we were going. A little farther on was another and larger ditch for adults.

I pinched my face. Was I still alive? Was I awake? I could not believe it. How could it be possible for them to burn people, children, and for the world to keep silent? No, none of this could be true. It was a nightmare. . . . Soon I should awake with a start, my heart pounding, and find myself back in the bedroom of my childhood, among my books. . . .

My father's voice drew me from my thoughts:

"It's a shame . . . a shame that you couldn't have gone with your mother. . . . I saw several boys of your age going with their mothers. . . ."

His voice was terribly sad. I realized that he did not want to see what they were going to do to me. He did not want to see the burning of his only son.

My forehead was bathed in cold sweat. But I told him that I did not believe that they could burn people in our age, that humanity would never tolerate it. . . .

"Humanity? Humanity is not concerned with us. Today anything is allowed. Anything is possible, even these crematories. . . ."

His voice was choking.

"Father," I said, "if that is so, I don't want to wait here. I'm going to run to the electric wire. That would be better than slow agony in the flames."

He did not answer. He was weeping. His body was shaken convulsively. Around us, everyone was weeping. Someone began to recite the Kaddish, the prayer for the dead. I did not know if it has ever happened before, in the long history of the Jews, that people have ever recited the prayer for the dead for themselves.

"*Yitgadal veyitkadash shmé raba.* . . . May His Name be blessed and magnified. . . ." whispered my father.

For the first time, I felt revolt rise up in me. Why should I bless his name? The Eternal, Lord of the Universe, the All-Powerful and Terrible, was silent. What had I to thank Him for?

We continued our march. We were gradually drawing closer to the ditch, from which an infernal heat was rising. Still twenty steps to go. If I wanted to bring about my own death, this was the moment. Our line had now only fifteen paces to cover. I bit my lips so that my father would not hear my teeth chattering. Ten steps still. Eight. Seven. We marched slowly on, as though following a hearse at our own funeral. Four steps more. Three steps. There it was now, right in front of us, the pit and its flames. I gathered all that was left of my strength, so that I could break from the ranks and throw myself upon the barbed wire. In the depths of my heart, I bade farewell to my father, to the whole universe; and in spite of myself, the words formed themselves and issued in a whisper from my lips: "*Yitgadal veyitkadash shmé raba.* . . . May His Name be blessed and magnified. . . . My heart was bursting. The moment had come. I was face to face with the Angel of Death. . . .

No. Two steps from the pit we were ordered to turn to the left and made to go into a barracks.

I pressed my father's hand. He said:

"Do you remember Madame Schächter, in the train?"

Never shall I forget that night, the first night in camp, which has turned my life into one long night, seven times cursed and seven times sealed. Never shall I forget that smoke. Never shall I forget the little faces of the children, whose bodies I saw turned into wreaths of smoke beneath a silent blue sky.

Never shall I forget those flames which consumed my faith forever.

Never shall I forget that nocturnal silence which deprived me, for all eternity, of the desire to live. Never shall I forget those moments which murdered my God and my soul and turned my dreams to dust. Never shall I forget these things, even if I am condemend to live as long as God Himself. Never.

The barracks we had been made to go into was very long. In the roof were some blue-tinged skylights. The ante-chamber of Hell must look like this. So many crazed men, so many cries, so much bestial brutality!

There were dozens of prisoners to receive us, truncheons in their hands, striking out anywhere, at anyone, without reason. Orders:

"Strip! Fast! *Los!* Keep only your belts and shoes in your hands. . . ."

We had to throw our clothes at one end of the barracks. There was already a great heap there. New suits and old, torn coats, rags. For us, this was the true equality: nakedness. Shivering with the cold.

Some SS officers moved about in the room,

looking for strong men. If they were so keen on strength, perhaps one should try and pass oneself off as sturdy? My father thought the reverse. It was better not to draw attention to oneself. Our fate would then be the same as the others. (Later, we were to learn that he was right. Those who were selected that day were enlisted in the *Sonder-Kommando*, the unit which worked in the crematories. Bela Katz—son of a big tradesman from our town—had arrived at Birkenau with the first transport, a week before us. When he heard of our arrival, he managed to get word to us that, having been chosen for his strength, he had himself put his father's body into the crematory oven.)

Blows continued to rain down.

"To the barber!"

Belt and shoes in hand, I let myself be dragged off to the barbers. They took our hair off with clippers, and shaved off all the hair on our bodies. The same thought buzzed all the time in my head—not to be separated from my father.

Freed from the hands of the barbers, we began to wander in the crowd, meeting friends and acquaintances. These meetings filled us with joy—yes, joy—"Thank God! You're still alive!"

But others were crying. They used all their remaining strength in weeping. Why had they let themselves be brought here? Why couldn't they have died in their beds? Sobs choked their voices.

Suddenly, someone threw his arms around my neck in an embrace: Yechiel, brother of the rabbi of Sighet. He was sobbing bitterly. I thought he was weeping with joy at still being alive.

"Don't cry, Yechiel," I said. "Don't waste your tears. . . ."

"Not cry? We're on the threshold of death . . . Soon we shall have crossed over. . . . Don't you understand? How could I not cry?"

Through the blue-tinged skylights I could see the darkness gradually fading. I had ceased to feel fear. And then I was overcome by an inhuman weariness.

Those absent no longer touched even the surface of our memories. We still spoke of them—"Who knows what may have become of them?"—but we had little concern for their fate. We were incapable of thinking of anything at all. Our senses were blunted; everything was blunted as in a fog. It was no longer possible to grasp anything. The instincts of self-preservation, of self-defense, of pride, had all deserted us. In one ultimate moment of lucidity it seemed to me that we were damned souls wandering in the half-world, souls condemned to wander through space till the generations of man came to an end, seeking their redemption, seeking oblivion—without hope of finding it.

Toward five o'clock in the morning, we were driven out of the barracks. The Kapos beat us once more, but I had ceased to feel any pain from their blows. An icy wind enveloped us. We were naked, our shoes and belts in our hands. The command: "Run!" And we ran. After a few minutes of racing, a new barracks.

A barrel of petrol at the entrance. Disinfection. Everyone was soaked in it. Then a hot shower. At high speed. As we came out from the water, we were driven outside. More running. Another barracks, the store. Very long tables. Mountains of prison clothes. On we ran. As we passed, trousers, tunic, shirt, and socks were thrown to us.

Within a few seconds, we had ceased to be men. If the situation had not been tragic, we should have roared with laughter. Such outfits! Meir Katz, a giant, had a child's trousers, and Stern, a thin little chap, a tunic which completely swamped him. We immediately began the necessary exchanges.

I glanced at my father. How he had changed! His eyes had grown dim. I would have liked to speak to him, but I did not know what to say.

The night was gone. The morning star was shining in the sky. I too had become a completely different person. The student of the Talmud, the child that I was, had been consumed in the flames. There remained only a shape that looked like me. A dark flame had entered into my soul and devoured it.

So much had happened within such a few hours that I had lost all sense of time. When had we left our houses? And the ghetto? And the train? Was it only a week? One night—*one single night?*

How long had we been standing like this in the icy wind? An hour? Simply an hour? Sixty minutes?

Surely it was a dream.

Questions for Discussion

1. What advice is the young Wiesel given?
2. How were the prisoners initially dehumanized?
3. Why would the Nazis put a sign like "Arbeit Macht Frei" (Work Makes You Free) over the Auschwitz gate? Note that it was originally a slogan created by a founder of the International Labor Organization.
4. At one point in Rolf Hochhuth's play, *The Deputy*, Doctor Mengele states:

   "The truth is, Auschwitz refutes creator, creation, and the creature. Life as an idea is dead.

Concentration and Death Camps

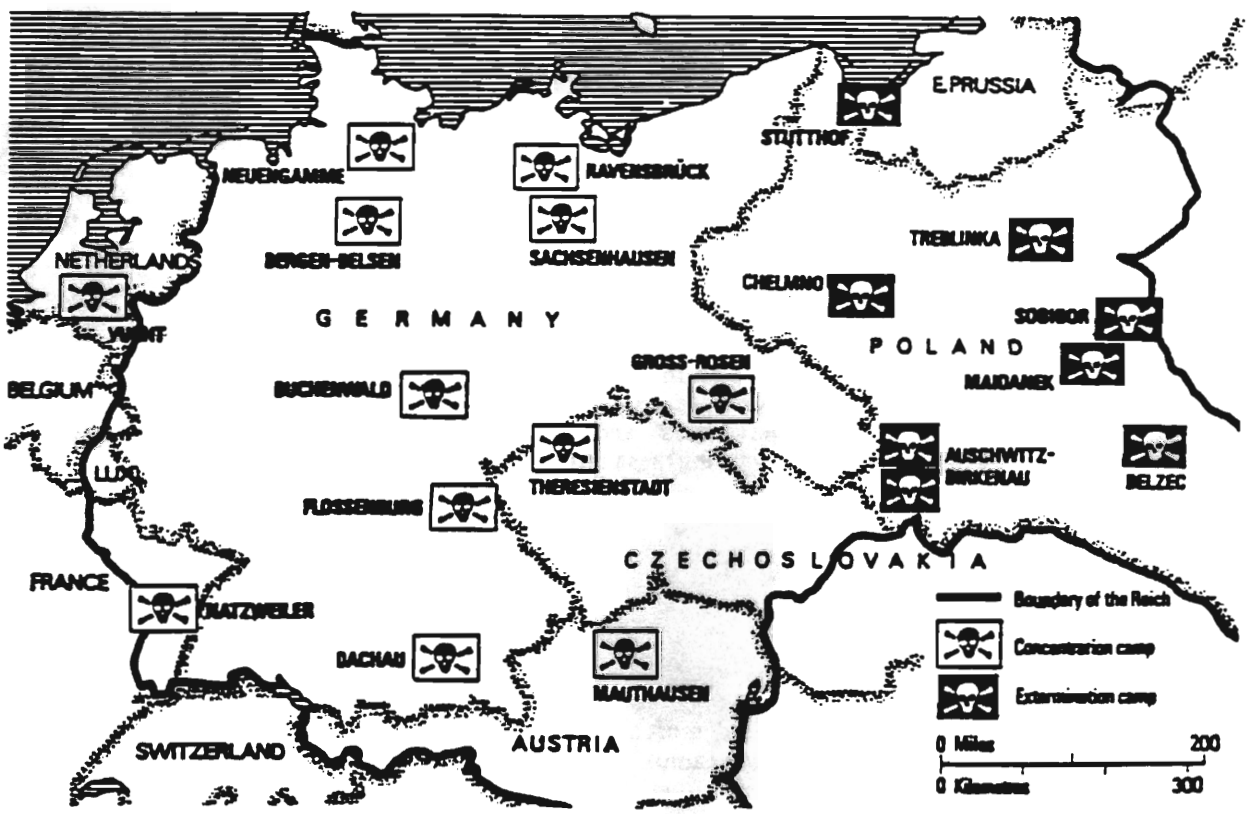
In an effort to deal with groups of people whom the Nazis considered to be "subhuman," a variety of concentration camps were established throughout Europe from 1933 until the end of World War II. The early camps began as detention centers in the mid-1930s for Communists, homosexuals, and political dissidents. With the onset of the war in 1939, the need for laborers resulted in the creation of forced labor camps in which prisoners became virtual slaves. Here, Jews and others were subjected to the most inhuman treatment, often resulting in death through illness, starvation, beatings, or execution.

In 1942, with the adoption of the "Final Solution," the Nazi plan to murder all European Jews, the emphasis shifted from concentration camps to death camps. The sole purpose of those camps was to murder millions of Jews by gassing them and burning their remains.

In December 1941, Chelmno, the first death camp, was established. The camp consisted of little more than a garage and several trucks in which carbon monoxide was the killing tool for about one thousand Jews a day. By July 1942, the camps at Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka were created. By the fall of 1943, these camps in northern Poland had already accomplished their tasks and ceased to function.

The locations of the hundreds of concentration camps and death camps reveal much about the Nazi mentality and raise some significant questions for discussion.

Austria	Ebensee, Gusen, Mauthausen	*France*	Agde, Argeles-sur-mer, Barcares, Beaune la Rodande, Camp du Richard, Compiegne, Drancy, Fort-Barraux, Gurs, Les Milles, Natzweiler-Struthof, Nexon, Pithiviers, Saint-Cyprien
Belgium	Breendonck, Malines		
Bulgaria	Somovit		
Czechoslovakia	Novaky, Patronka, Petrzalka, Terezin, Zilina		
Estonia	Aigali, Ereda, Goldfield, Kalevi, Klooga, Lagedi, Liiva, Vaivara		



Map of major concentration and death camps.

Galicia	Borislav, Buchach, Lvov, Plaszow
Germany	Arbeitsdorf, Bergen-Belsen, Bochum, Brunswick, Buchenwald, Cottbus, Dachau, Dora, Esterwegen, Flossenburg, Grossrosen, Lichtenburg, Nevengamme, Niederhagen, Oranienburg, Ravensbruck, Sachsenhausen, Wells
Greece	Haidon
Hungary	Kistaresa
Italy	Bolzano, Fossoli, Mantua, Raab
Latvia	Kaiserwald, Salaspils
Libya	Giado, Homs
Lichtenburg	Lichtenburg
Lithuania	Kaunas, Ponary
Netherlands	Amersfoort, Vught, Westerbork
Poland	Auschwitz, Belzec,* Belzyce, Birkenau,* Bogusze, Bronna Gora, Budzyn, Burggrabben, Chelmno,* Chodosy, Chryzanow, Ciezanow, Elbing, Gerdaven, Heiligenbeil, Jaktorow, Jesau, Karczew, Kelbasin, Kielce, Kosaki, Lackie, Wielkie, Majdanek,* Miedzyrzec Podalski, Mielec, Mlyniewo, Nisko, Peikinia, Plew, Pomiechowek, Praust, Radomsko, Sasov, Schippenbeil, Seerapen, Skarzysko-Kamienna, Sobibor,* Stolp, Stutthof, Thorn, Treblinka,* Tyszowce, Zaglebia, Zaprudy, Zaslaw, Zawarnice, Zbaszyn
Rumania	Caracal, Markulesci
Russia	Akmechetka, Bogdanovka, Bratslav, Domanevka, Golta, Kamenka-Bugskaya, Koldychevo, Maly Trostinek, Odessa, Paczara, Sekiryani, Targu-Jiu, Tiraspol, Vapnyarka, Volkoysk, Yedintsy, Zborov
Yugoslavia	Ada, Djakovo, Jadovna, Jasenovac, Loborgrad, Saymishte

*Death Camps

Questions for Discussion

1. Where were most of the concentration and death camps located? How can their location be explained? Were there any economic or other advantages for the Nazis in the placement of these camps?

2. Do you believe it was possible for millions of people to have been tortured and murdered in the death camps without the local population being aware of what was happening? Explain.

3. Historian Raul Hilberg has written on the role of Europe's railways in transporting victims to the camps. Thousands of written orders were sent from office to office, from railway depot to railway depot listing the number of "passengers" and the cost of shipping them. How do you think the railroad workers involved in forwarding these orders rationalized their actions?

4. What is the term "extermination" most associated with? Are we adopting the language of the Nazis when we refer to "extermination camps"?

Note to Map

After the successful German invasion of Poland in September 1939, Gestapo chief Reinhard Heydrich suggested the creation of ghettos for the Jews both in the western areas of Poland annexed to Germany and in the General Government, the remaining parts of the conquered territories. The suggestion was quickly taken up. And soon millions of Polish Jews were confined in tightly sealed Jewish districts in Warsaw, Lodz, and smaller cities such as Cracow, Lublin, and Radom. By the time the Wannsee Conference convened on 20 January 1942 to plan the full implementation of the "Final Solution," hundreds of ghettos as well as transit, concentration, and labor camps existed in Greater Germany.

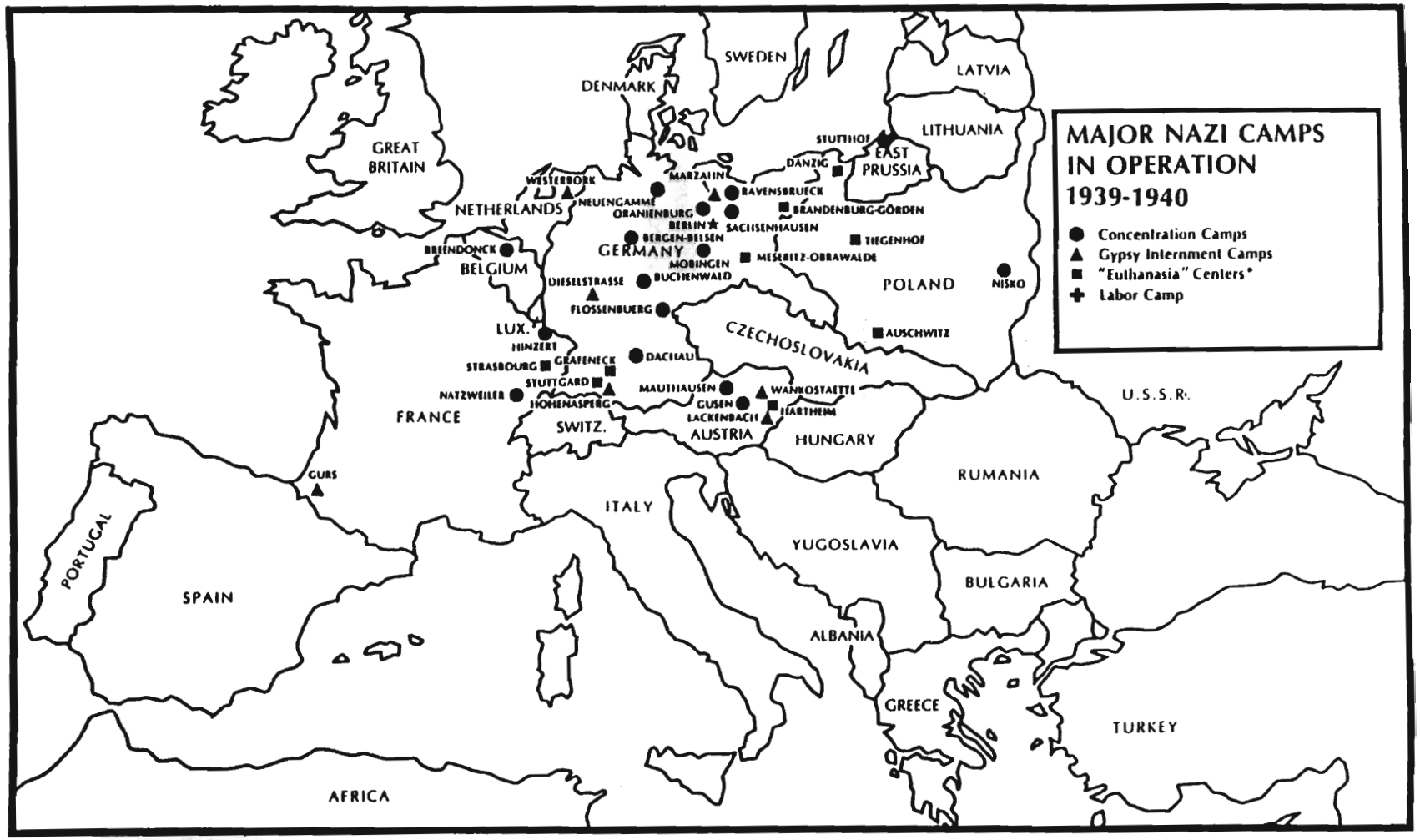
The situation was starkly different in eastern Poland and in the Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. These areas had been occupied by the Soviet Union in September 1939 per agreement with Nazi Germany. When Germany violated the nonaggression pact and invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, these lands, as well as great stretches of the Russian Republic, Byelorussia, and the Ukraine, were conquered by the *Wehrmacht*.

In the Polish areas that Germany occupied in 1939, the Nazis first created ghettos and then, after a pause of two years, began to deport and murder the ghetto inhabitants. During the interim many ghetto residents were used as slave laborers, and conditions of life deteriorated as a result of overcrowding, disease, and malnutrition. In the Soviet and Baltic areas taken in 1941, the Germans killed many thousands of Jews, as well as Gypsies, before—not after—the establishment of ghettos. The *Einsatzgruppen*, special mobile killing squads following in the wake of the German army, together with the Order Police, *Waffen* SS, and native anxiliary units of Latvians and Lithuanians, largely carried out the killings. Usually, only those Jews able to do heavy labor were placed in ghettos in the conquered Soviet lands—after the other Jews had been killed.

The Germans established ghettos in Lvov and Bialystok, located in what had been eastern Poland; in Kovno and Vilna, the largest cities in conquered Lithuania; in Riga, the Latvian capital; and in Minsk, the capital of Byelorussia. Ghettos were also established in many small towns in these newly seized territories. These ghettos resembled those in western and central Poland during and after the mass deportations in 1942. And, like the ghettos in western Poland and the General Government, they were doomed. During 1943 the ghettos in territory conquered from the Soviets were dissolved, and their inhabitants murdered. Only the ghetto in Kovno continued to exist—until June 1944.

Meanwhile, the Germans built concentration camps across Poland and sent streams of Jews to them. Gypsies, Polish political prisoners, Soviet prisoners of war, and others deemed "enemies" of the Reich were also dispatched to the camps. During 1942 killing centers were activated at Belzec, Chelmno, Majdanek, Sobibor, and Treblinka as well as at Birkenau in the Auschwitz complex of camps. Concentration camps were also established in the territories taken from the Soviet Union in the 1941 invasion. The camp built at Maly Trostinets in eastern Byelorussia was the scene of mass shootings in 1942. By the end of 1942, the year when the Nazis proceeded with the systematic implementation of the "Final Solution," millions had been killed in the east.

The heavy lines on the adjacent map indicate Poland's borders on 31 August 1939. The Germans divided these territories into the administrative districts shown on the map. All locations are approximations.



Major Nazi Camps in Operation 1939–1940. *Please note that all locations are approximate.*

**** "Euthanasia" centers were frequently converted mental hospitals, nursing homes or prisons.***

Camp information provided by Dr. Sybil Milton, Resident Historian, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.



Main Nazi Concentration Camps and Ghettos in Nazi-occupied Poland and Russia, 1942



The Railways and Deportation Routes

Art of the Camp Inmates

It should not be surprising that the highest expression of human beings, their ability to create, is not deterred even by the most harsh of circumstances. Despite the worst of materials, some concentration camp artists produced creative work which served as both consciously-drawn history of what was happening but also as an expression of the spirit that remained unblunted by even these conditions. Thus, this art is often considered an example of spiritual resistance. The following are but a few examples of the art of camp inmates—both during and after their Holocaust experiences.



David Friedman, "Two Prisoners in K2," original etching.

Born in what is now Czechoslovakia in 1893, David Friedman became a sign painter and then a professional artist. He survived Auschwitz because the Nazis had him paint their portraits. After the war, he lived in Israel and then the United States where he painted billboards and created hundreds of drawings, paintings, and etchings on his Holocaust experiences.

Felix Nussbaum was born into a comfortable middle-class family in 1904, studied painting in Germany, and migrated in 1933. During the Nazi invasion of Belgium, he was arrested in Brussels and deported. He was sent to Gurs, a transit camp in the foothills of the Pyrenees (in France) in which 15,000 internees were held in 1940. He escaped, but was recaptured and sent to Auschwitz where he is believed to have died.

David Ludwig Bloch was born in Germany in 1910, studied art, was expelled from the Academic Art Institute in 1938, and was sent to Dachau. Released in 1940, he fled to Shanghai. The two works shown here, "The March," and "The Righteous," were made after the war.

Karl Schwesig was an outspoken non-Jewish anti-Nazi who drew posters during the Spanish civil war, moved to the Pyrenees in 1938, and was later arrested and interned in Gurs. The drawing presented here, "Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite," was drawn in the margins of stamps sent from Gurs. It is a wry comment on the contradiction between the famous French motto and the real policy of the French government in collaborating with the Nazis in rounding up Jews.

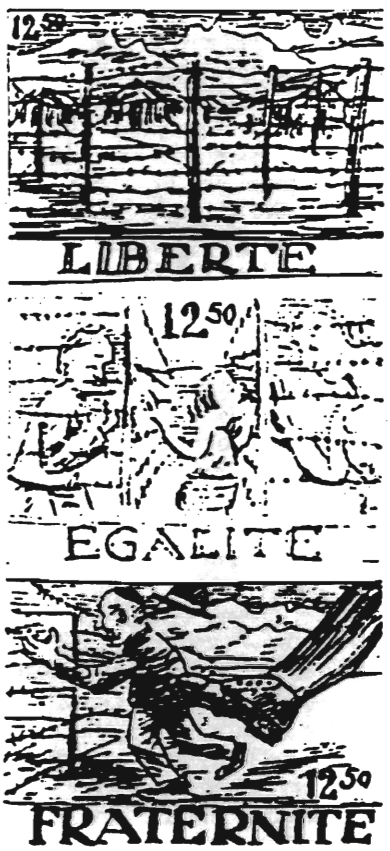
Bedrich Fritta was a Czech painter and graphic artist born in 1907. He went to Theresienstadt in December, 1941. Three years later he was arrested with other artists and eventually deported to Auschwitz where he died.

Finally, Max Lingner was born in Leipzig in 1889. A soldier in World War I, he was severely wounded. He later participated in the German Revolution of November 1918. As a dedicated socialist, Lingner was arrested in 1939 and spent five years in various internment camps and eventually Gurs. Many of his Gurs paintings carry optimistic messages at the bottom.

Questions for Discussion

1. What feelings does Nussbaum try to convey in his drawing? What common objects can you see portrayed?
2. Look closely at Bloch's "The Righteous." What is the artist saying? How do you think camp inmates dealt with these feelings in the camps?
3. What is the irony expressed in Schwesig's mock postage stamps? Consider the difference between what we sometimes say and what we do. Why would anyone in a camp try to convey a message in the form of a postage stamp?
4. There has been a good deal of recent debate about whether recently published Holocaust art books really express the meaning of that experience to the contemporary viewer. How do you react to this criticism? What is it about a work of art that makes it "powerful"? Which of these do you think is the most powerful? The most poignant? The angriest? The most moving? How do you respond to them as works of art?
5. How do you react to Fritta's birthday card to his son, Tommy?

Karl Schwesig, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." Mock postage stamps from Gurs, March, 1941. Indian and colored inks on perforated stamp margins. 1½" × 1".



David Ludwig Bloch, "The Righteous."





Felix Nussbaum, "Camp Gurs," 1940.

Bedrich Fritta, "To Tommy on his third birthday in Theresienstadt—January 22, 1944." One of ten drawings the artist made for his son's birthday while they were both in Theresienstadt. Three years later Fritta was transferred to Auschwitz where he died. Tommy was later adopted by artist-survivor Leo Haas. (See p. 99.)





Max Lingner, "Three Women Behind Barbed Wire Fence," Gurs, 1941.



David Ludwig Bloch, "The March."

THE MAN WHO KNEW THE NAZI SECRET

Unit iv
Reading #6

BY CHARLES FENYVESI

In 1942 a German industrialist risked his life by revealing the secret of Hitler's order to exterminate European Jewry.

Only one person is still alive who knows this man's identity. He is Gerhart Riegner. He is now a portly, pink-cheeked gentleman of 71. Dressed in a three-piece suit, of a heavy woolen cloth of midnight blue, he looks like the mayor of a Swiss town: stolid, somber and exceedingly respectable.

During the war, Riegner was — and is still — the representative in neutral Geneva of the World Jewish Congress. Then he was a brilliant young legal counsel; now his title is secretary general. Then he was a refugee from Germany, one of the few the Swiss agreed to admit. He still travels with the *laissez-passer* of a stateless refugee; after close to 50 years of residence, he hasn't been able to bring himself to apply for Swiss citizenship and passport.

"It took two days to persuade myself that the industrialist was telling the truth," Riegner now says, "and finally I came to the conclusion that it was possible and probable." Riegner then went to the American and British diplomatic representatives and asked them to transmit the information to their governments and to key Jewish leaders.

That now-famous telegram — sent Aug. 8, 1942 — and others that followed were curtly dismissed in the State Department and Whitehall as "the opinion of one Jew in Geneva."

The State Department advised the U.S. legation in Switzerland that Riegner's charges were "unsubstantiated" and waited for 20 days to send a copy to Rabbi Stephen Wise, the key American Jewish leader of the time, to whom Riegner had originally addressed his cable. "[Undersecretary of State] Sumner Welles told Wise not to publish it," Riegner says. "In wartime it was an order."

For several months, no Allied or neutral official believed the industrialist, who heard about the plan during his many visits to Hitler's headquarters. He had free access to top Nazis because his factories, with their 30,000 skilled workers, were pressed into the service of the German war machine. The industrialist's fervent hope was that once the world learned of the death camps, it would do something to stop them.

"Nobody really believed it," Riegner says. "Not even Jews who knew it. For instance, at the height of the extermination policy, I counted four million Jews as dead. My own office in New York — where I sent all my reports and which was directed by a great Jewish leader — published the figure of only 1.5 million."

The recent controversy over the Holocaust Inquiry Commission led by former Supreme Court Justice Arthur J. Goldberg deals in large part with what American Jewish organizations did or did not do in response to Riegner's cable. Riegner says he welcomes an impartial inquiry by independent scholars. But, he charges, the commission as it is now constituted is "ideologically fueled by people determined to rewrite history." The people Riegner criticizes are associates of Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, "who want to indict the Zionist establishment" of neglecting rescue work.

Riegner tells how another American Jewish leader sent him a list of 30,000 addresses of Jews in Poland and asked the Geneva office to send food packages to those addresses. "That was in 1943 or '44," Riegner says. "What madness! They saw all my reports and knew that none of those addresses were valid. Those people were . . ."

Riegner doesn't complete the sentence. He stares into space, purses his lips and declares slowly, flatly, impassively: "They knew it but they didn't believe it."

Riegner, however, was convinced. At 30, he was "an unexcitable, serious young man," he recalls, "always a well-balanced type." Having studied law in Germany and then in France, he intended to become a professor of jurisprudence. He saw himself as following in the footsteps of his father, once Germany's minister of justice, and a person drawn to the philosophy of law. "I come from a typically German-Jewish bourgeois family very deeply embedded in German culture, a humanistic tradition, interested in philosophy, history, art," Riegner says. "But also roots in Jewishness."

From the time Riegner saw Nazis beating up Jews and other political enemies on the streets and in the universities, he was a stiff pessimist in the face of what he calls "the Jewish optimism of the centuries — a kind of wishful thinking, really."

Unlike many other Jews, who dismissed Nazism as an episode and predicted that Hitler would soon run out of steam, Riegner argued that Jews should leave Germany while they still could — he left in May 1933, four months after Hitler became chancellor. He read *Mein Kampf* and listened to Nazi slogans and songs. "From my first encounter with Nazi terror, I took the Nazis seriously," he says. "Hitler made many speeches in which he threatened to destroy the totality of Jews.

"Why people didn't believe is a question I have always struggled with. It was so terrible that the human mind refused to accept it. An encounter with absolute evil is something very few people are prepared to accept. It is a paradox: The most positive experience is that people can't accept evil. That means that man is basically good."

At the time Riegner had no doubt: The industrialist was telling the truth, and all other evidence supported the report.

Headquartered in Geneva, only a few miles from Germany and France, Riegner collected

information, all of which confirmed the industrialist's report. The list of witnesses grew every week. A Jew who survived two massacres (36,000 dead) in the ghetto of Riga and reached Switzerland; a Swiss employe in the consulate in Prague briefed by Czech Jews on deportations; a Polish Jew who was smuggled out of Russia by a disaffected German officer warning him about the extermination camps he had seen; messages, smuggled out by French railway workers, of mass roundups of West European Jews for transportation to concentration camps in the east.

There was even testimony from a Danish Jew close to Field Marshal Hermann Goering — "Goering had such strange associations," Riegner explains, "and we asked ourselves how reliable he was" — who somehow smuggled to Geneva a sheaf of the railroad schedules for Jewish transports. In a supreme example of bureaucratic punctiliousness, the German railways billed the Berlin Jewish community for the cost of the deportations.

Riegner kept filing the reports, kept asking for action. "We never did enough," he says. "Sure, we could have done more. All of us. In 1944 Wise finally got the American government to agree to a free port admitting 1,000 Yugoslav Jews. It was a procedure to postpone immigration problems. It could have been done with thousands of others. Also, we could have put stronger pressures on the neutrals — Sweden, Turkey — to accept more refugees. We could have brought more people to England, to North Africa.

"Hitler could have been stopped several times, but once he started rolling, only thousands, maybe tens of thousands of Jews could have been saved. Not millions."

The industrialist, ostensibly in Geneva on business, met Riegner three times, each time warning of the rising number of Jews being killed. He passed on details such as the kind of chemicals used in the gas chambers.

The industrialist was frustrated that nothing was happening, Riegner says. "In December 1942, finally, there was a condemnation of the massacres of Jews [from] London, Washington and Moscow. The British Parliament rose in two minutes of silence. But they wouldn't act."

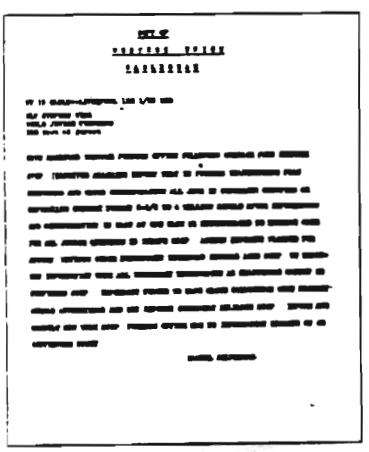
Riegner says he does not know why the industrialist wanted to remain unknown. Fear of revenge against his family might have been a reason, Riegner says. He adds that it is possible that the industrialist never told his family about his role. "I wrote to his wife after his death," Riegner says, "and I alluded to his service. I think his wife might have known. Perhaps. But not his children. I don't know. For me, what mattered was that he was a democrat, deeply anti-Nazi — a man of great moral standards who wanted to relieve his conscience."

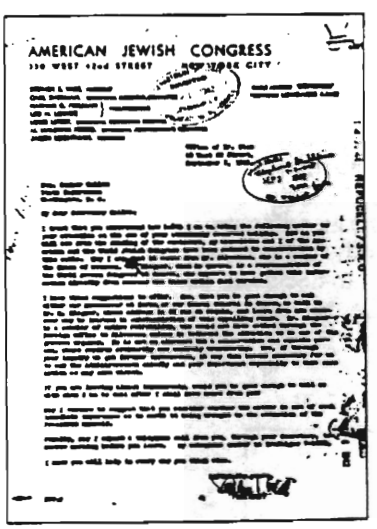
On one occasion, Riegner concedes, he was forced to reveal the industrialist's name. When he made "a desperate attempt" in the fall of 1942 to convince the Americans of the truth of the death camps, Riegner wrote down the industrialist's name, put it in a sealed envelope and handed it over to the head of the American legation in Bern. This was a few days after the industrialist had warned Riegner that he now had definite information on Hitler's direct order to exterminate all Jews. Riegner put all the evidence together in a document of 25 pages, to be transmitted to Washington.

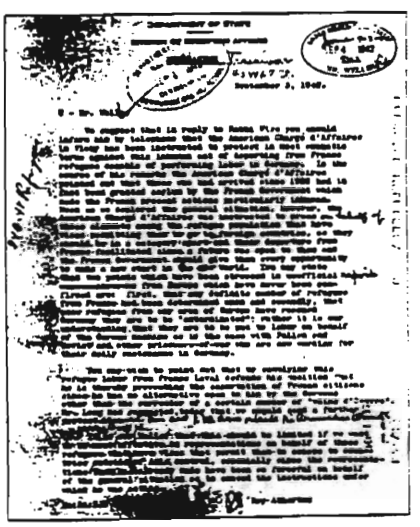
But the envelope has disappeared, Riegner says, and an inkling of a sly grin spreads across his impassive face. The sealed envelope is not in the American archives, Riegner says, the U.S. diplomat is dead and no researcher has come up with the industrialist's name.

"I gave my word not to give out his name," Riegner now says. "I am bound to my word. He never asked for anything else. Many people have approached me to give out his name, but I did not break my word. I never will."









(Top) Gerhart Riegner in a 1983 photo. (Bottom, left to right) After Riegner sent his telegram to Samuel Silverman, a member of Parliament, Silverman sent a message to Rabbi Stephen Wise in New York. Wise then wrote to Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles. The European Affairs division of the State Department immediately drafted a proposed reply for Welles.

I. G. Farben

Richard L. Rubenstein

I.G. Farben was a major German corporation. The company not only continued to prosper during the Nazi period but also directly profited from Nazi policy. I.G. Farben made a business decision to use slave labor by building plants near the death camp of Auschwitz. I.G. Buna and I.G. Monowitz were built in 1940 as Farben investments. Both installations paid off handsomely in profits.

In this selection from *The Cunning of History*, Richard L. Rubenstein discusses I.G. Farben's wartime history. He also raises painful issues concerning the responsibility of a corporation that makes money from murder and the lenience with which we treated such policy after the Holocaust was over.

Some of Germany's largest and most advanced corporations, such as I. G. Farben, seized the opportunity to utilize the camp prisoners as a labor force. In 1933 I. G. Farben was not an anti-Semitic corporation. It employed many Jews. Jews had helped to build the huge corporate empire. . . . However, as the process of eliminating Jews from German life intensified in the thirties, I. G. Farben naturally got rid of its Jewish officials. . . .

By 1939 I. G. Farben was fully integrated into the new German order. During the war, it was faced with a severe labor shortage at a time when Germany's military and civilian needs for *Buna*, synthetic rubber, were expanding rapidly. It was decided to build a new plant for the manufacture of synthetic rubber. I. G. Farben officials met with officials of the Economy Ministry to decide on the location of the new factory. After several meetings, the corporation executives were convinced . . . of the advantages of constructing several plants at Auschwitz. The Auschwitz site had good supplies of water, coal, and other needed ingredients. The problem of an assured labor supply was solved by Himmler who promised that all available skilled workers at Auschwitz would be placed at the giant corporation's disposal. . . . In February 1941, Auschwitz appeared to be an excellent corporate investment to some of Germany's most respectable business leaders. Their mentality was not very different from that of corporate executives who close down plants in such high labor cost areas as Stuttgart and Philadelphia and relocate them in Manila and Singapore. This should occasion neither surprise nor shock. I. G. Farben was one of the first great corporate conglomerates. Its executives merely carried the logic of corporate rationality to its ultimate conclusion. . . . the per-





fect labor force for a corporation that seeks fully to minimize costs and maximize profits is slave labor in a death camp . . . I. G. Farben's investment in I. G. Auschwitz ultimately reached $1,000,000,000 in today's money. The construction work required 170 contractors. . . . When the factories commenced operations, the SS provided guards to supervise the workers. . . .

The diet of the inmates was the same starvation diet of watery turnip soup given to all Auschwitz inmates, save that the corporation added a ration of extra "*Buna* soup," not out of consideration for the workers' well-being but to maintain a precisely calculated level of productivity. . . .

Given the almost inexhaustible supply of labor, the company adopted a deliberate policy of working the slaves to death. Nor was the policy hidden from the top echelons of I. G. Farben's managerial elite. They were very much involved in the operation and made frequent trips to Auschwitz to see how things were going. . . . [On] one occasion, five of I. G. Farben's top directors made an inspection tour of I. G. Auschwitz. As one of the directors passed a slave scientist, Dr. Fritz Lohner-Beda, the Director remarked, "The Jewish swine could work a little faster." Another I. G. Farben director responded, "If they don't work, let them perish in the gas chamber." Dr. Lohner-Beda was then pulled out of his group and kicked to death.

One of the five directors present on that occasion was Dr. Fritz Ter Meer, I. G. Farben's executive in charge of synthetic rubber and petrochemical operations including I. G. Auschwitz. . . . Dr. Ter Meer visited the United States on a number of occasions before America's entry into World War II. He had excellent relations with his American corporate counterparts, especially Mr. Frank Howard, chief executive officer of Standard Oil of New Jersey, as well as other top Standard Oil executives. (Jersey Standard has been incorporated into the Exxon corporation). . . .

Dr. Ter Meer was equally at home as the executive officer responsible for I. G. Auschwitz. . . . Nor did Dr. Ter Meer express any regret about I. G. Auschwitz after the war. When queried by a British officer . . . whether he regretted the experiments conducted upon concentration camp victims by I. G. Farben's pharmaceutical subsidiaries, such as Bayer, Dr. Ter Meer is reported to have replied that "no harm had been done to these KZ (concentration camp) inmates as they would have been killed anyway."

My point in stressing Dr. Ter Meer's American corporate connections is not to suggest that corporate executives are possessed of some distinctive quality of villainy. It is to emphasize the extent to which the same attitude of impersonal rationality is required to run successfully a large corporation, a death camp slave labor factory and an extermination center. . . . At least in Germany, the top executives of all three enterprises often felt at home with each other. . . .

About 35,000 slaves were used at I. G. Auschwitz. Over 25,000 died. The life expectancy of the average slave in the factory was estimated at between three and four months. Coal was a necessary ingredient in the manufacture of Buna. In the nearby coal mines of I. G. Auschwitz, the life expectancy of the average slave was about one month. Only one incentive was necessary to keep the slaves working at maximum capacity, terror. . . . If the slaves did not keep up with the schedule, they were gassed; if they did keep up with it, the work itself killed them within a few months. . . . One wonders what refinements might have been added, had the SS possessed computers. . . . I. G. Farben also derived handsome profits from the manufacture by its subsidiaries of Zyklon B, the gas used in Auschwitz's chambers.

Zyklon B was the commercial name for a gas used to exterminate rodents and vermin. It had been developed by . . . DEGESH (German Vermin Combating Corporation). . . . In March 1944 the Dessau plant was damaged in an air raid. At the time Auschwitz was the only remaining murder center in operation, and the SS was trying to finish off 750,000 Hungarian Jews before it was too late. Because of the bombing, it was impossible to produce Zyklon B with its characteristic odor. The SS was less concerned with the odor than with the effect of the gas. One of its officials requested that five tons of Zyklon B be delivered without the odor-producing element. This troubled a DEGESH official who expressed concern that, without the telltale odor, the company might somehow be in danger of losing its monopoly! There was no concern that the gas was being used to kill millions of men and women; there was concern that the company's monopoly in the production of the lethal substance might be compromised. . . .

To repeat, the business of mass murder was both a highly complex and successful corporate venture. The men who carried out the business part of the venture were not uniformed thugs or hoodlums. They were highly competent, respectable corporate executives who were only doing what they had been trained to do—run large corporations successfully. As long as their institutions functioned efficiently, they had no qualms whatsoever concerning the uses to which they were put. . . .

Thousands participated in the society of total domination and the murder process. The vast majority of those *directly* involved were never punished. Most of those still alive hold positions of responsibility and influence in both Germanies. . . . These men did "solve" Germany's Jewish prob-

lem. This fact was clearly understood by German society which rewarded them and found places of responsibility for them after the war.

Every so often some SS guard who was a participant in one of the mobile killing units that cold-bloodedly shot to death tens of thousands of Jews or who performed some particularly vile task in one of the camps is identified in West Germany and brought to trial. . . A few may receive token sentences, such as three or four years for killing ten thousand people, with time off for the period already spent in jail before sentencing. However, as we have seen, almost all of those involved in the corporate enterprises at Auschwitz were speedily restored to places of leadership in the West German business elite. The tendency towards greater leniency for the business executives reflects an almost universal bias in advanced technological societies. "White-collar crimes," such as large scale embezzlement and corporate fraud, may result in the actual loss of far greater sums of money than the average bank robber or petty thief, yet the "white-collar criminal" is almost always the recipient of greater leniency in the courts.

If there were in reality any *credible* moral standard binding on all human beings. . . . it would be possible to inquire whether the SS guards who received heavier sentences, as they sometimes did, were not unfairly treated in comparison with the business executives. Is there not the suspicion that it is easier to sentence an SS guard than a corporate manager, although the "clean" violence of the latter did the greater damage?

Questions for Discussion

1. What is your reaction to I.G. Farben's early policy toward Jewish employees during the Third Reich? What should they have done?
2. Why was Auschwitz selected as a site for investment?
3. What was Fritz Ter Meer's excuse for using slave labor in the I.G. Farben plants? What is your view of this argument?
4. Who do you think would be more responsible for what happened during the Holocaust: an SS camp guard or an I.G. Farben executive?
5. Do corporations have any ethical responsibilities? How harshly should "white collar" participants like I.G. Farben be judged?
6. Should ethical responsibilities ever take precedence over business responsibilities?
7. Why does Rubenstein mention Ter Meer's "American corporate connections?" Discuss.
8. Who was responsible for the production of Zyklon B?

Definitions

Buna—synthetic rubber factory at Auschwitz
KZ—concentration camps
IG—*Interessen Gemeinschaft*—Community of Interests. Used in relation to cartels and monopolies.



THEOLOGIANS PONDER HOLOCAUST'S CAUSES

BY PAULA HERBUT

"I was picked out by Dr. [Josef] Mengele, along with about 200 other children. We were sent to Birkenau Camp D, where the experiments were. I was experimented twice through injections and twice with chemicals. We were children. We didn't know what the drugs were. It made you very sick, make you vomit. I was passed out eight hours, I think. Some of the children died."

Alex Dekel, 51, of New York, Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society worker.
Born in Cluj, Romania.
Sent to Auschwitz-Birkenau when he was 12.

Lea Spiro, a Holocaust survivor now living in Los Angeles, still remembers the taunts of Christian children when she was growing up in the 1930s in Radom, Poland.

"You could play with the kids in the courtyard, and all of a sudden they would say, 'Hey, you're a Jew, you killed Jesus,' " she said. From the taunts of children to the forced wearing of a Star of David to five concentration camps, she told of the tightening net of isolation with the onslaught of Nazi Germany.

The taunts of children came from erroneous theology. But, according to theologians examining the Holocaust, such theology was taught for centuries in churches around the world, leading to pogroms, to persecution, and finally to the climate permitting Hitler's plan to kill the worldwide Jewish population.

Spiro was one of more than 10,000 survivors who came to the American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors in Washington. Six million Jews — one-third the world's Jewish population — perished in the Holocaust.

For Jews, the establishment and support of the State of Israel is one outcome of the Holocaust. Another is reexamination of Jewish theology and Jewish identity. Christians, meanwhile, are sorting through centuries of church-promoted anti-Semitism, trying to eliminate anti-Semitic teachings, and revising concepts of Christianity in relation to Judaism.

The Rev. Dr. Franklin Littell, founder of the Philadelphia-based National Institute on the Holocaust and a professor of religion at Temple University in Philadelphia, said the Holocaust leads to a "credibility crisis" for both the modern university, which produced "technically competent barbarians," and Christianity. "This monstrous crime was committed by baptized Catholics, Protestants, and Orthodox Christians, none of them rebuked, let alone excommunicated."

"One cannot escape the implications of the Christian responsibility, because Christians have taught for centuries, and preached, contempt for the Jewish people," said Littell, a United Methodist minister.

"The question also arises, why didn't Christians help the Jews more than they did? How did a terrorist movement like the German Nazi power come to power with the kind of ideology it was proclaiming without church leaders digging in and preaching against it ever coming to power?

"It was all there in perfectly clear writing in the party platform and in Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. Some were afraid that the communists were going to take over Europe. Some were such fanatical patriots they would have supported the devil himself if he were German, and he was. And a good many of them were just naturally compromisers and accommodators, bureaucrats."

The Rev. Dr. John T. Pawlikowski, a Roman Catholic priest and professor of social ethics at the Catholic Theological Union in Chicago, said that "traditional, primarily Christian anti-Semitism served as an indispensable seed bed for the popular acceptance of the Nazi genocidal plan."

Faulty theology included the charge that Jews killed Jesus and the perpetual wandering concept, which said Jews were to roam the world without a state of their own as a sign of punishment for not accepting Jesus as the Messiah, he said. There also were the fables: in the Catholic Church, there was the "blood libel charge" from the Middle Ages, that Jews killed Christian children and drank the blood during a seder. There are probably some who "still believe it," Pawlikowski said.

Lay Catholic Holocaust scholar Harry Cargas, professor of literature and language at Webster University at St. Louis and author of *A Christian Response to the Holocaust*, called the Holocaust "the greatest Christian tragedy since the crucifixion . . ."

"In history," he said, "we had ghettoization of Jews, expulsion from nations, the Inquisition . . . Then it turned from theological anti-Semitism to racial anti-Semitism. That started in the 19th century.

"Hitler didn't just happen on the scene. He did what he did only because it was possible to do. In the middle 1930s, Hitler embarked on a 'euthanasia' campaign, killing the feeble, mentally unproductive, the aged. He killed about 50,000 people. The Christian churches spoke out, and Hitler abandoned the euthanasia program. What would have happened if there had been a [Papal] encyclical for the Jews? There's reason to believe it would have saved millions of lives."

Pope Pius XII was "silent," he charged.

"The annihilations went on, with impunity," Cargas said. Heinrich Himmler, "who insisted that members of the SS must believe in God, could thus, unchallenged by serious moral attacks, speak of the honor and decency of the work of slaughter: 'We can say that we have performed this task in love of our people. And we have suffered no damage from it in our inner self, in our soul, in our character,' " he said.

Among Cargas' suggestions are that the Catholic Church excommunicate Hitler, that the Christian liturgical calendars include an annual memorial service for Jewish victims of the Holocaust, that the Christian churches insist on the essential Jewishness of Christianity, and that the Christian emphasis on missionizing be "redirected toward perfecting individual Christian lives" instead.

Jews who tried to escape the Holocaust when it was still possible were turned away by many safe countries, including the United States.

The support of Israel as refuge is one result.

The Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel "mirror each other," said Rabbi Daniel Landes in the book of essays *Genocide: Critical Issues of the Holocaust*.

"As the Holocaust can be understood as Jewish powerlessness and victimization, Israel is the expression of Jewish power and self-determination," said Landes, director of research projects at the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles.

"We lost 80 percent of all the rabbis, scholars, artists, poets, historians," said Rabbi Michael Berenbaum, a Holocaust scholar and executive director of the Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington. "The Jewish people learned the perils of powerlessness and homelessness, and that's the reason for our deep commitment to Israel.

The Holocaust raises "questions about God, with the simple question, where was God during the Holocaust; about the nature of man, and about the nature of the people of Israel," said Rabbi Seymour Siegel, executive director of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council.

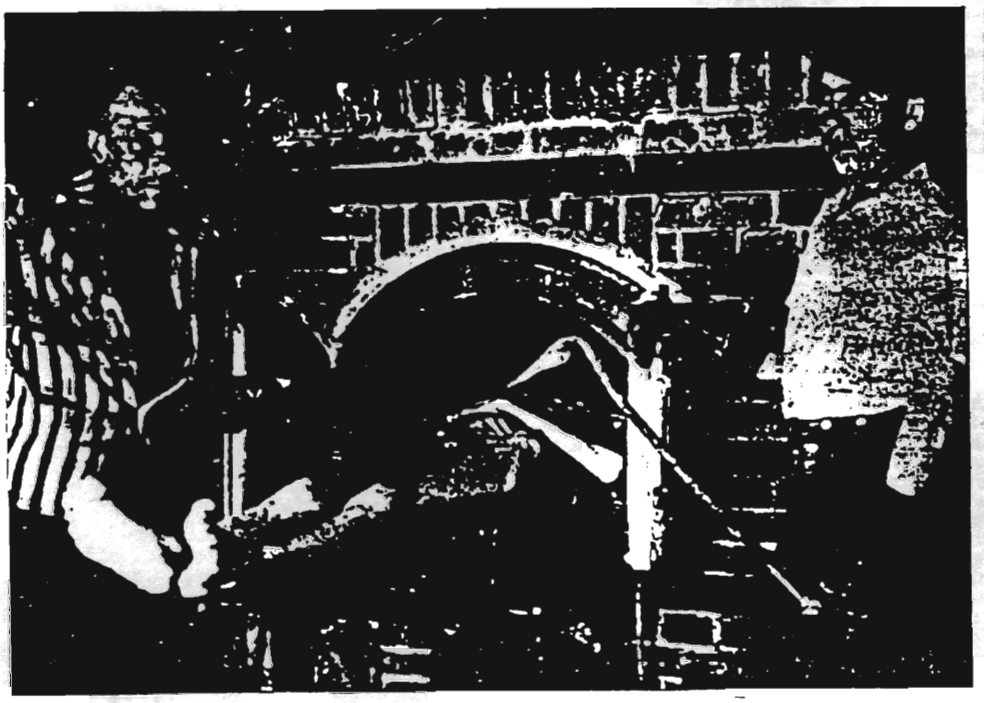
One answer is that "evil in the world like the Holocaust is not created by God but is created by man," he said. "The evil of the Holocaust destroys all simple, optimistic views about human nature, and shows the depth of evil that persons can commit against other persons . . ."

The Holocaust differed from other genocidal examples because of its use of assembly-line technology in the slaughter. "It's a warning," said Holocaust survivor Rabbi Arthur Schneier, rabbi of Park East Synagogue in New York and chairman of the American division of the World Jewish Congress. For "haven't we perfected our technology?" he asked.

"Above all," he said, "the greatest danger is silence and indifference, whenever there is any kind of injustice. The one important lesson of the Holocaust is the slumber of indifference on the part of many good people who played it safe."







When the Allies entered the camps, they found thousands of corpses. Even after liberation, starved and sick prisoners continued to die. (Top) Members of a British Parliamentary delegation visit Buchenwald. Bodies of men who died during the preceding 24 hours are stacked, awaiting burial. (Above) The U.S. First Army found these skeletonlike bodies when they entered the camp at Nordhausen, Germany, where slave laborers of various nationalities, some dead and some dying, lay side by side. (Left) Bodies of gassed prisoners were disposed of in adjoining crematoria, where other prisoners were forced to burn the dead.

The Church and the Holocaust

Guenter Lewy

Perhaps no religious issue has stirred more controversy than the position of the Vatican, and particularly that of Pope Pius XII, during the Holocaust. Rolf Hochhuth's controversial play *"The Deputy"* portrayed the Pope as indifferent to Jewish suffering. According to Hochhuth, the Pope feared that open opposition to Nazi genocide would imperil the Church. Most important, Hitler's war against Bolshevik Russia could not be jeopardized by a verbal attack against the Nazis. For the Catholic Church, said Hochhuth, the defeat of the Communists was more important than the fate of the Jews. The debate about the actions of Pope Pius XII continues today.

And what about "the people," asks Harry Cargas in *A Christian Response to the Holocaust*, who devised the policies that Christians and others carried out? Adolf Hitler was a baptized Catholic who claimed to be doing God's work in killing Jews. Paul Joseph Goebbels, propaganda expert, came from a strict Catholic family and had his education, in part, funded by the Albertus Magnus Society. Auschwitz's Commandant Rudolf Hoess said he took his Catholic religion "very seriously." Heinrich Himmler, the ruthless head of the SS, was from a devout Catholic family. Reinhard Heydrich, who led the Reich Security Service, was Catholic. It has not gone unremarked that Hitler's heir apparent, Hermann Goering, was given the full funeral rights of the Lutheran Church.

Of course, that discussion should not blind us to the reality of outspoken men such as Father Bernhard Lichtenberg and women such as Edith Stein (the nun sent to the death camps because she was of Jewish origin) who did stand up against Nazi brutality. Andreas Szeptyck, the Archbishop of Lwow, and the titular head of the Ukranian Greek Catholic Church in Galicia, refused to offer religious services to those who participated in the Nazi murder machine. He wrote a letter of protest to Himmler, hid Jewish children and adults in his Church, and warned all individuals of divine punishment for those who shed innocent blood and "make of themselves outcasts of human society by disregarding the sanctity of man." Father Daubrauskas concealed Jewish Torah scrolls and denied the confessional to collaborators. Protecting the 200 Jews of Vidulka, the head priest, Father Jonas, cried "If you kill the children, you'll have to kill me first." Thus, there were members of the church who acted as heroic Christians. Tragically, too many members of the church hierarchy collaborated or remained silent.

In the following selection, Guenter Lewy briefly describes the response of the Catholic Church to Nazism.

The Weimar Period

From the time the National Socialist movement appeared in the 20's, organized German Catholicism came into repeated conflict with it, but anti-Semitism was not one of the primary bones of contention. On the contrary, many Catholic publicists—like the Franciscan Father, Erhard Schlund—agreed with the Nazis on the importance of fighting "the destructive influence of the Jews in religion, morality, literature and art, and political and social life," and objected only to the extremist tone of the movement. Thus, for example, the

Jesuit Gustav Gundlach, writing in a reference work edited by Bishop Buchberger of Regensburg, argued that a political anti-Semitism, directed against the "exaggerated and harmful influence" of the Jews, was permitted so long as it utilized morally admissable means. And Bishop Buchberger himself, while deploring racialism, concluded that it was "justified self-defense" to ward off the rule of "an overly powerful Jewish capital."

Concentrating her fire upon liberals and free thinkers, many of whom were of Jewish descent, the Church did practically nothing to stem the inroads anti-Semitism was making on German life throughout the period of the Weimar Republic. Though the German bishops during these years spoke up against Hitler's glorification of race and blood, they rarely found anything specific to say about the virulent anti-Semitic propaganda the Nazis were spreading or about the acts of violence against the Jews that were becoming more and more common.

The Pre-War Hitler Years

On April 26, 1933, shortly after coming to power, Hitler had a talk with two dignitaries of the German church, Bishop Berning and Prelate Steinmann. In the course of this talk he reminded his visitors that the Church for 1500 years had regarded the Jews as parasites, had banished them into ghettos, and had forbidden Christians to work for them; he, Hitler said, merely intended to do more effectively what the Church had attempted to accomplish for so long.

The reaction of the two Church dignitaries to Hitler's attempt to identify his brand of anti-Semitism with the age-old anti-Judaism of the Church is not known. What we do know, however, is that from the time Hitler came to power all the German bishops began declaring their appreciation of the important natural values of race and racial purity, and they limited their dissent to insisting that this goal be achieved without resort to immoral means. The article on "Race" in an authoritative handbook on topical religious problems, edited by Archbishop Gröber, expressed this position in the following words:

> Every people bears itself the responsibility for its successful existence, and the intake of entirely foreign blood will always represent a risk for a nationality that has proven its historical worth. Hence, no people may be denied the right to maintain undisturbed their previous racial stock and to enact safeguards for this purpose. The Christian religion merely demands that the means used do not offend against the moral law and natural justice. . . .

Close to half the population of the Greater German Reich (43.1 per cent in 1939) was Catholic, and even among the SS., despite all pressures to leave the Church, almost a fourth (22.7 per cent on December 31, 1938) belonged to the Catholic faith. Yet while the episcopate had in the past issued orders to deny the sacraments to Catholics who engaged in dueling or agreed to have their bodies cremated, the word that would have forbidden the faithful, on pain of excommunication, to go on participating in the massacre of the Jews was never spoken. And so Catholics went on participating conscientiously, along with other Germans.

There was, however, at least one Catholic churchman in Germany for whom the Christian duty to love one's neighbor amounted to more than a pious formula—the sixty-six-year old Provost Lichtenberg of Berlin, who, right through the stepped-up anti-Semitic agitation, continued to say a daily prayer for the Jews. He was finally arrested on October 23, 1941, a week after the first of the mass deportations of Jews had begun. During questioning by Himmler's henchmen, the Provost asserted that the deportation of the Jews was irreconcilable with the Christian moral law, and asked to be allowed to accompany the deportees as their spiritual adviser. Sentenced to two years imprisonment for abuse of the pulpit, Lichtenberg was seized by the Gestapo upon his release in October, 1943, and shipped off to the concentration camp at Dachau. He died during the transport on November 5, 1943.

The passivity of the German episcopate in the face of the Jewish tragedy stands in marked contrast to the conduct of the French, Belgian, and Dutch bishops. In Holland, where the Church as early as 1934 had prohibited the participation of Catholics in the Dutch Nazi movement, the bishops in 1942 immediately and publicly protested the first deportations of Dutch Jews, and in May 1943, they forbade the collaboration of Catholic policemen in the hunting down of Jews even at the cost of losing their jobs. In Belgium members of the episcopate actively supported the rescue efforts of their clergy, who hid many hundreds of Jewish children. And in France, the highest dignitaries of the Church repeatedly used their pulpits to denounce the deportations and to condemn the barbarous treatment of the Jews.

Throughout Western Europe untold numbers of priests and members of the monastic clergy organized the rescue of Jews, hid them in monasteries, parish houses, and private homes. Many lay Catholics in France, Holland, and Belgium acted in a similar fashion, thus saving thousands of Jewish lives. . . . [In] Germany only a handful of Jews was hidden by the clergy or otherwise helped by them in their hour of distress. . . .

There were, then, exceptions, but the overall picture was one of indifference and apathy. "Among the Christians," a group of German Prot-

estant and Catholic theologians concluded in 1950, "a few courageously helped the persecuted; but the large majority failed disgracefully in the face of this unheard-of provocation of the merciful God."

The Role of the Papacy

In April 1933 a communication reached Pope Pius XI from Germany expressing grave concern over the Nazis' anti-Semitic aims and requesting the Supreme Pontiff to issue an encylical on the Jewish question. The letter was written by the philosopher Dr. Edith Stein, a Jewish convert to Catholicism and later known as Sister Teresia Benedicta a Cruce of the Order of the Carmelites. Edith Stein's request was not granted and nine years later, in August 1942, she was seized by the Gestapo from a Dutch monastery in which she had sought refuge, and sent to Auschwitz to be gassed. The debate over whether the Papacy could have prevented or should at least have vigorously protested the massacre of the Jews of Europe, of which Edith Stein was one of the victims, has been going on ever since and has acquired new vigor as a result of the Hochhuth play.

In response to Hitler's anti-Semitic drive, Pius XII's predecessor, Pius XI, like the German episcopate, seems to have limited his concern to Catholic non-Aryans. At the request of Cardinal Bertram, the Papal Secretary of State in September 1933 put in "a word on behalf of those German Catholics" who were of Jewish descent and for this reason suffering "social and economic difficulties." In the years that followed the Holy See often took issue with the Nazis' glorification of race, but the Jewish question specifically was never discussed. . . .

Pius XI's encyclical "*Mit brennender Sorge*" of March 1937 rejected the myths of race and blood as contrary to revealed Christian truth but it neither mentioned nor criticized anti-Semitism *per se*. . . .

The elevation of Cardinal Pacelli to the Papacy in the spring of 1939 brought to the chair of St. Peter a man who, in contrast to his predecessor, was unemotional and dispassionate, as well as a master of the language of diplomatic ambiguity. . . .

That the Holy See had no intrinsic objection to a policy of subjecting the Jews to discriminatory legislation again became clear when in June 1941 Marshal Pétain's Vichy government introduced a series of "Jewish statutes." The Cardinals and Archbishops of France made known their strong disapproval of these measures, but Léon Bérard, the Vichy ambassador at the Holy See, was able to report to Pétain after lengthy consultations with high Church officials that the Vatican did not consider such laws in conflict with Catholic teaching. . . .

Meanwhile, there was growing criticism of the Pope's failure to protest publicly against Nazi atrocities, and especially against the murder of the Jews in the Polish death factories. In July 1942, Harold H. Tittmann, the assistant to Roosevelt's personal representative at the Holy See, Myron C. Taylor, pointed out to the Vatican that its silence was "endangering its moral prestige and is undermining faith both in the Church and in the Holy Father himself." In September 1942, Tittmann formally requested that the Pope condemn the "incredible horrors" perpetrated by the Nazis.

After the Western Allies in December 1942 had vigorously denounced the cold-blooded extermination of the Jews, Tittmann again asked the Papal Secretary of State whether the Holy See could not issue a similar pronouncement. Maglione answered that the Holy See, in line with its policy of neutrality, could not protest particular atrocities and had to limit itself to condemning immoral actions in general. He assured Tittmann that everything possible was being done behind the scenes to help the Jews.

Two days later, in the course of a lengthy Christmas message broadcast by the Vatican radio, Pope Pius made another of his many calls for a more humane conduct of hostilities. Humanity, the Pope declared, owed the resolution to build a better world to "the hundreds of thousands who without personal guilt, sometimes for no other reason but on account of their nationality or descent, were doomed to death or exposed to a progressive deterioration of their condition. . . .

Every public statement had had to be carefully weighed "in the interest of those suffering so that their situation would not inadvertently be made still more difficult and unbearable." Unfortunately, Pius XII added, the Church's pleas for compassion and for the observance of the elementary norms of humanity had encountered doors "which no key was able to open."

The precise nature of these interventions has not been revealed to this day. . . .

The Pope's policy of neutrality encountered its most crucial test when the Nazis began rounding up the 8,000 Jews of Rome in the fall of 1943. Prior to the start of the arrests, the Jewish community was told by the Nazis that unless it raised 50 kilograms of gold (the equivalent of $56,000) within 36 hours, 300 hostages would be taken. When it turned out that the Jews themselves could only raise 35 kgs., the Chief Rabbi, Israel Zolli, asked for and received a loan from the Vatican treasury to cover the balance. The Pope approved this transaction. But the big question in everyone's mind was how the Supreme Pontiff would react when the deportation of the Jews from the Eternal City began. . . .

On October 18, over one thousand Roman Jews—more than two-thirds of them women and

children—were shipped off to the killing center of Auschwitz. Fourteen men and one woman returned alive. About 7,000 Roman Jews—that is, seven out of eight—were able to elude their hunters by going into hiding. More than 4,000, with the knowledge and approval of the Pope, found refuge in the numerous monasteries and houses of religious orders in Rome, and a few dozen were sheltered in the Vatican itself. The rest were hidden by their Italian neighbors, among whom the anti-Jewish policy of the Fascists had never been popular. But for the Germans, overwhelmingly relieved at having averted a public protest by the Pope, the fact that a few thousand Jews had escaped the net was of minor significance. . . .

Since the end of World War II, Pius XII has often been criticized for his silence. It has been argued that the Pope could have saved numerous lives, if indeed he could not have halted the machinery of destruction altogether, had he chosen to take a public stand, and had he confronted the Germans with the threat of an interdict or with the excommunication of Hitler, Goebbels, and other leading Nazis belonging to the Catholic faith. As examples of the effectiveness of public protests, it is possible to cite the resolute reaction of the German episcopate to the euthanasia program. Also, in Slovakia, Hungary, and Rumania, the forceful intervention of Papal nuncios, who threatened the Quisling governments with public condemnation by the Pope, was able, albeit temporarily, to stop the deportations. At the very least, it has been suggested, a public denunciation of the mass murders by Pius XII, broadcast widely over the Vatican radio, would have revealed to Jews and Christians alike what deportation to the East actually meant. The Pope would have been believed, whereas the broadcasts of the Allies were often shrugged off as war propaganda. Many of the deportees who accepted the assurances of the Germans that they were merely being resettled, might thus have been warned and given an impetus to escape; many more Christians might have helped and sheltered Jews, and many more lives might have been saved.

There exists, of course, no way of definitely proving or disproving these arguments. Whether a papal decree of excommunication against Hitler would have dissuaded the Führer from carrying out his plan to destroy the Jews is very doubtful, and revocation of the Concordat by the Holy See would have bothered Hitler still less. However, a flaming protest against the massacre of the Jews coupled with an imposition of the interdict upon all of Germany or the excommunication of all Catholics in any way involved with the apparatus of the "Final Solution" would have been a more formidable and effective weapon. Yet this was precisely the kind of action which the Pope could take without risking the allegiance of the German Catholics. Given the indifference of the German population toward the fate of the Jews and the highly ambivalent attitude of the German hierarchy toward Nazi anti-Semitism, a forceful stand by the Supreme Pontiff on the Jewish question might well have led to a large-scale desertion from the Church.

When . . . asked whether he would not protest the extermination of the Jews, the Pope is reported to have answered, "Dear friend, do not forget that millions of Catholics serve in the German armies. Shall I bring them into conflicts of conscience?" The Pope knew that the German Catholics were not prepared to suffer martyrdom for their Church; still less were they willing to incur the wrath of their Nazi rulers for the sake of the Jews, whom their own bishops for years had castigated as a harmful influence in German life. In the final analysis, then, "the Vatican's silence only reflected the deep feeling of the Catholic masses of Europe."

Some Catholic writers have suggested that a public protest by the Pope would not only have been unsuccessful in helping the Jews but might have caused additional damage—to the Jews, to the *Mischlinge*, to the Church, to the territorial integrity of the Vatican, and to Catholics in all of Nazi-occupied Europe. So far as the Jews are concerned, it is tempting to dismiss this argument by asking what worse fate could possibly have befallen them than the one that actually did. But in any case, the Catholic bishops of Holland tried the gamble and failed. In July 1942, together with the Protestant Churches, they sent a telegram of protest against the deportation of the Dutch Jews to the German *Reichskommissar* (commissioner) and threatened to make their protest public unless the deportations were halted. The Germans responded by offering to exempt from deportation non-Aryans converted to Christianity before 1941 if the churches agreed to remain silent. The Dutch Reformed Church accepted the bargain, but the Catholic Archbishop of Utrecht refused and issued a pastoral letter in which he denounced the wrong done to the Jews. The Germans retaliated by seizing and deporting all the Catholic non-Aryans they could find, among them Edith Stein. There was thus some basis for the fear that a public protest, along with any good that could come of it, might make some things worse, if not for the Jews, at least for the *Mischlinge* and the Catholics themselves.

The Pope had other perhaps still weightier, reasons for remaining silent. . . . The Holy See did not want to jeopardize its neutrality by condemning German atrocities, and the Pope was unwilling to risk later charges of having been partial and contributing to a German defeat. Moreover, the Vatican did not wish to undermine and weaken

Germany's struggle against Russia. In the late summer of 1943, the Papal Secretary of State declared that the fate of Europe depended upon a German victory on the Eastern front; and Father Robert Leiber, one of Pius XII's secretaries, recalls that the late Pope had always looked upon Russian Bolshevism as more dangerous than German National Socialism.

Finally, one is inclined to conclude that the Pope and his advisors—influenced by the long tradition of moderate anti-Semitism so widely accepted in Vatican circles—did not view the plight of the Jews with a real sense of urgency and moral outrage. For this assertion no documentation is possible, but it is a conclusion difficult to avoid. Pius XII broke his policy of strict neutrality during World War II to express concern over the German violation of the neutrality of Holland, Belgium, and Luxemburg in May 1940. When some German Catholics criticized him for this action, the Pope wrote the German bishops that neutrality was not synonymous "with indifference and apathy where moral and humane considerations demanded a candid word." All things told, did not the murder of several million Jews demand a similarly "candid word"?

Questions for Discussion

1. "The sincere Christian knows that what died in Auschwitz was not the Jewish people but Christianity." What does this remark by Elie Wiesel mean?

2. Respond to this statement: "If Jesus had been alive in Europe in the 1940s, he would have died in a gas chamber "

3. What percentage of the German population was Catholic?

4. Why is Pope Pius XII criticized by some historians? What options were available to him? How have some defended him?

5. What should be the role of the Vatican when faced with experiences such as the Holocaust?

6. What did Protestant church groups and theologians do? Did they protest and fight Nazi policies regarding the Jews? Did they accept Nazi policies? Did they remain silent?

7. What examples does the author provide of Catholics who resisted the Nazis?

Definition

Mischlinge—child of mixed (Jewish-Christian) parentage

Pope John Paul at Auschwitz

Robert Reid

Pope John Paul II grew up in the shadow of the Holocaust. The marks of his own experience led him to visit Auschwitz in June 1979. In *Hasidic Tales of the Holocaust* Yaffa Eliach tells of a young priest who refused to baptize a two-year old Jewish boy hidden by a Christian family—because he knew the child's parents wanted the boy to remain Jewish. That young priest was Father Karol Wojtyla—Pope John Paul II. His journey, reported by Robert Reid of The Associated Press, was symbolic, not only as a recognition of the importance of the Holocaust for Christians but as a commitment of the Church to ease suffering everywhere.

AUSCHWITZ, Poland—Pope John Paul II said Mass yesterday from a simple wooden platform above railway tracks that once carried millions to their deaths in Adolf Hitler's most infamous concentration camp.

Earlier, he prayed in the cell of a Polish priest killed at Auschwitz, calling the extermination complex "a place built on hatred and contempt for man in the name of a crazed ideology."

For the Mass, a crowd of several hundred thousand stood among the remains of brick barracks that once housed inmates of the Birkenau camp, largest in the complex known as Auschwitz.

Four million people, most of them Jews, died in the Auschwitz camps between 1940 and January 1945, when the Germans abandoned the complex to the advancing Soviet army.

Joining the Pope for the Mass were about 200 priests, all former inmates of Auschwitz and other extermination camps. Other survivors stood before the platform, clad in blue-and-white-striped camp uniforms. . . .

As the Pope arrived by helicopter, thousands strained at barbed wire, left standing as a grim reminder of the killings. . . .

After praying in the cell, the Pope changed vestments for the Mass. The small building where 35 years ago the camp staff decided which new inmates would be put to work and which would go to the gas chambers.

He then walked to a white platform near the ruins of the crematoria used to burn the bodies of victims killed in the gas chambers. Red and white carnations covered the old tracks over which trains brought Jews, Gypsies, Slavs and others.

John Paul, who studied for the priesthood in secret while working in a German forced-labor project, singled out the sufferings of Jews, Russians and Poles, who made up most of the victims at Auschwitz.

"The very people that received from God the commandment 'Thou shalt not kill' itself experienced in a special measure what is meant by killing," he said of the Jews. . . .

"Auschwitz is a place everyone should visit," he said. "And during the visit one should ask, 'What are the limits of hatred, what are the limits of destruction of man by man?' "

Question for Discussion

1. Should a Pope raise issues like the Holocaust even if it might stir painful memories of the past?

Reading #6
Unit IV

The Ordeal of Dietrich Bonhoeffer
What Would You Do?

The rise of the Nazis created major disagreement among Protestant churchmen in Germany. Led by Army Chaplain Ludwig Muller, the German Christian Church supported the Nazi government and its racial policy. Claiming some 70 percent of Protestants in Germany, this Church supported the 1933 Aryan Clauses that forbade anyone of Jewish origin or married to a Jew from holding state office. All pastors were required by the German Christian Church to take an oath of loyalty to Hitler. The other major Protestant group in Germany was known as the Confessing Church. They believed religion should not support political parties. Among its leaders were the theologians Karl Barth and Martin Niemoller and a young man named Dietrich Bonhoeffer.

Bonhoeffer was the son of a famous German psychiatrist who grew up within a circle of well-known German intellectuals. As a child, Bonhoeffer became interested in religion. After World War I, he studied theology and received his doctorate at the age of 21. He was particularly interested in Christian ethics and the question of what it means to be a good Christian. Influenced by the philosophy of Martin Luther, Bonhoeffer believed that the Church should not act against the state, no matter what the state's offenses. But Bonhoeffer believed that Hitler and the Nazis were violating God's laws.

In 1934, Dietrich Bonhoeffer and other members of the Confessing Church met at Barmen and produced an attack on the Nazi dictatorship. The Barmen Declaration also attacked Hitler's loyalty oaths. But little was said about what was happening to Germany's Jews under Hitler.

In coming years, Bonhoeffer's philosophy of non-involvement changed. Bonhoeffer became involved in plotting the overthrow of Hitler. He participated in secret negotiations with the Allies to establish an anti-Nazi government in Germany. But when these efforts failed, Bonhoeffer came to believe that Hitler was the Anti-Christ and that it was his Christian duty to help eliminate him.

Arrested by the Gestapo in 1943, Bonhoeffer was imprisoned. His writings indicated how far he had come from his early reliance on Luther and the pacifism of Mahatma Gandhi. In prison, he wrote: "[We] must take our share of responsibility for the molding of history in every situation and at every moment; whether we are the victors or the vanquished. . . . We have been silent witnesses of evil deeds. . . . What we shall need are not geniuses, or cynics, or misanthropes, or clever tacticians, but plain honest, straightforward men."

Questions for Discussion

1. Would the assassination of Hitler have been ethically justified? Should a Protestant theologian involve himself in a potential act of violence?
2. Bonhoeffer and the Confessing Church have been viewed as examples of the weak nature of church response to the persecution of Jews. For example, Bonhoeffer, when addressing the issue of the Aryan Clauses, stated, "Without doubt the Jewish question is one of the historical problems which our state must deal with, and without doubt the state is justified in adopting new methods. . . . The Church of Christ has never lost sight of the thought that the 'chosen people' who nailed the redeemer of the world to a cross must bear the curse for its action through a long history of suffering." How do you explain these words in the light of Bonhoeffer's response to Hitler and Nazism?
3. Comment on the following Declaration of Guilt signed by Pastor Niemoller at the Council of the Evangelical Church in Germany, October, 1945.
   "In Germany the Nazis first came for the Communists and I did not speak up, because I was not a Communist. Then they came for the Jews and I did not speak up because I was not a Jew. Then they came for the trade unionists and I did not speak up because I was not a trade unionist. Then they came for the Catholics and I was a Protestant so I did not speak up. Then they came for me. By that time there was no one to speak up for anyone."

Life with the Enemy

Collaboration and Resistance in Hitler's Europe 1939–1945

Reading #7
Unit IV

WERNER RINGS

Tactical Collaboration

or

I Do but I Don't

The tactical collaborator says: I agree to collaborate despite my hostility to National Socialism and the Third Reich. I may do so for a variety of reasons: to throw off the foreign yoke and regain my freedom; to prevent the mass murder of innocent people whenever possible; or to consummate a political idea whose fulfillment is obstructed by National Socialism. In every case, collaboration disguises resistance and is part of the fight.

Conditional Collaboration

or

I Collaborate Up to a Point

The conditional collaborator says: I cooperate with the occupying power although I endorse only some, not all, of the National Socialist doctrines. Subject to that proviso, I am ready and eager to collaborate faithfully because I wish to change the circumstances that dictate my attitude.

Unconditional Collaboration

or

Our Enemy Is My Friend

The unconditional collaborator says: I join forces with the occupying power because I endorse its principles and ideals. My attitude is dictated, not by circumstances, but by allegiance to National Socialism. I am prepared to do anything and make any sacrifice for the occupying power as long as I can thereby serve our common cause.

Neutral Collaboration

or

I Conform

The neutral collaborator says: I accept that life must go on. Knowingly and from self-interest, I directly or indirectly work for the occupying power without professing the political and ideological principles of National Socialism. My attitude is dictated by circumstances beyond my control. The sole alternative appears to be bankruptcy, unemployment, starvation, chaos, and destruction. I am determined to survive the war and my country's defeat as best I can.

Doubleday & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York
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Reading #7
Unit IV

Can we draw a balance sheet on collaboration with the Holocaust in Europe? Given the traditions at work in the region, it is not surprising that anti-Jewish forces came to the fore under the impact of the Third Reich. It is striking, nevertheless, to see so many governments, not all of them subservient, joining the bandwagon of persecution in the wake of German victories, with countries as different as France in the west and Rumania in the east imposing comprehensive anti-Jewish laws. Even more shocking is the involvement of governments, for their own purposes, in the deportation and murder of Jews. The identification of Jews with former hegemonies, thrown off by the Germans, was a particularly powerful force in Slovakia, Croatia, Poland, the Baltic states, and the Ukraine, and generated an ugly reaction. On the other hand, there is no doubt that Germany's allies as well as collaborationist states made some effort on behalf of native Jews and resisted demands to participate fully in the Final Solution. National pride, apprehension about public opinion at home, distaste for the Germans' killing program, and fear of Allied retribution all played a part in their recalcitrance. While generally ruthless against foreign-born or unassimiliated Jews, governments in Rumania, Hungary, and Bulgaria used their bargaining power to hold the Germans at bay. As a result, the Jews of Bulgaria survived, as did most of the Jews of the Regat, the core of the Rumanian state. More Hungarian Jews might have also been spared, had the Hungarian leadership not acceded to German demands after the Nazis occupied the country in 1944. The French apparently believed they lacked such bargaining power; there is little evidence, moreover, that they were prepared to use the leverage they did have before it was too late.

To be sure, every one of these governments could have done far more for the Jews. But a real question is how much was possible. In eastern Europe, a region of critical importance for the German *Lebensraum*, it is unlikely that the Nazis would have suffered a disobedient ally or subject state for long. In western Europe, with fewer Jews and fewer Germans in occupation, the prospects were probably better. Except in Denmark and with the Italians, however, the question was never put to the test. In most cases it never even occurred to leaders to try.

So much for speculation. More certain is the other side to this coin, and the theme of this chapter: across Europe, the Germans needed help to achieve their objective, the murder of the Jews. As Hilberg pointed out long ago, the apparatus of destruction was thinly spread across the European continent. The Germans enlisted legions of helpers: in governments, ministries, police, private industry, the railways—virtually everywhere, in short. And all of it was important—whether the "green police" in Holland or the local gendarmerie in Hungary. To achieve the task of comprehensive mass murder the machine called not only upon the cold-blooded killers in the SS, but also upon remote officials of postal ministries, tax and insurance adjustors, bankers and clergymen, mechanics and accountants, municipal officials and stenographers. The clear implication is that murder on such a colossal scale involved the entire organized society to one degree or another and depended on a measure of support everywhere.

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Section 4: Bystanders and Collaborators

Most Germans and other Europeans under Nazi rule were neither victims nor executioners in the Holocaust. A small number of brave people actually aided and assisted Jews and other victims (See Section 6). But the vast majority of Germans and others in occupied Europe were somehow associated with the destruction of the Jews. Some watched the transports leave their cities but did not intervene. Others benefited economically. Some drove the trains filled with terror-stricken Jews. Some heard reports of mass extermination in "the east" but dismissed them as rumors or propaganda. A few, perhaps, knew nothing, though that is unlikely. All were affected. As historian Walter Lacquer has noted: "When all allowances have been made, when all mitigating circumstances have been accorded, it is still true that few come out of the story unblemished."

We mentioned one thing to a German family in a town we had taken, that there was a concentration camp about four and a half miles from where they lived and they acted very surprised. They didn't know about it. But they did know, they did know about it. They had to be blind or deaf not to know about it. They saw cars and trucks going there and cars and trucks coming back. Cars and trucks going with people on them and the trucks returned with no people on them.

—American liberator, Alex Schoenberg, Private First Class

We could never
understand the
townspeople not
knowing about
the camps. They
swore they never
knew. They told
us there were
camps in the
United States.
But there was
no way you couldn't
know. No matter
which way the wind
blew, you could
smell it.

—American Liberator, in the words of poet Barbara Helfgott Hyett

The principle that governs the biblical vision of society is, "Thou shall not stand idly by when your fellow man is hurting, suffering, or being victimized." It is because that injunction was ignored or violated that the catastrophe involving such multitudes occurred. The victims perished not only because of the killers, but also because of the apathy of the bystanders. Those who perished were victims of Nazism and of society – though to different degrees. What astonished us after the torment, after the tempest, was not that so many killers killed so many victims, but that so few cared about us at all.

– Elie Wiesel, survivor

Several year ago, Claude Lanzmann produced a remarkable documentary, Shoah, An Oral History of the Holocaust. *The film presents interviews Lanzmann conducted with bystanders, collaborators, perpetrators and victims throughout Europe. Lanzmann said of his work: "Incredulous, I read and reread this naked and bloodless text. A strange force seems to have filled it through and through, it resists, it lives its own life. It is the writing of disaster, and that for me is another mystery."*

Translator:	He had a field under a hundred yards from the camp. He also worked during the German occupation.
Lanzmann:	He worked his field?
Translator:	Yes. He saw how they were asphyxiated; he heard them scream; he saw that. There's a small hill; he could see quite a bit.
Lanzmann:	What did this one say?
Translator:	They couldn't stop and watch. It was forbidden. The Ukrainians shot at them.

Lanzmann: But they could work a field a hundred yards from the camp?

Translator: They could. So occasionally he could steal a glance if the Ukrainians weren't looking.

Lanzmann: He worked with his eyes lowered?

Translator: Yes.

Lanzmann: He worked by the barbed wire and heard awful screams. His field was there?

Translator: Yes, right up close. It wasn't forbidden to work there.

Lanzmann: So he worked, he farmed there?

Translator: Yes. Where the camp is now was partly his field. It was off limits, but they heard everything.

Lanzmann: It didn't bother him to work so near those screams?

Translator: At first it was unbearable. Then you got used to it.

Lanzmann: You get used to anything?

Translator: Yes. Now he thinks it was impossible. Yet it was true.

—Interview with Polish peasant living near Treblinka, from *Shoah, An Oral History of the Holocaust*, by Claude Lanzmann

It's hard to recognize, but it was here. They burned people here. A lot of people were burned here. Yes, this is the place. No one ever left here again. The gas vans came in here...There were two huge ovens, and afterward the bodies were thrown into these ovens, and the flames reached to the sky. It was terrible. No one can describe it. No one can recreate what happened here. Impossible? And no none can understand it. Even I, here, now....I can't believe I'm here. No, I just can't believe it. It was always this peaceful here. Always. When they burned two thousand people — Jews — everyday, it was just as peaceful. No one shouted. Everyone went about his work. It was silent. Peaceful. Just as it is now.

—Simon Srebnik, survivor of Chelmo.

Lanzmann: Is there still hunting here in the Sobibor forest?

Piwonski: Yes, there are lots of animals of all kinds.

Lanzmann: Was there hunting then?

Piwonski: Only manhunts. Some victims tried to escape. But they didn't know the area. At times people heard explosions in the minefield, sometimes they'd find a deer, and sometimes a poor Jew who tried to escape.

That's the charm of our forests: silence and beauty. But it wasn't always so silent here. There was a time when it was full of screams and gunshots, of dogs' barking, and that period especially engraved on the minds of the people who lived here then. After the revolt the Germans decided to liquidate the camp, and early in the winter of 1943 they planted pines that were three or four years old, to camouflage all the traces.

—Jan Piwonski, present-day Sobibor

Near the end of March 1942, sizable groups of Jews were herded here, groups of fifty to one hundred people. Several trains arrived with sections of barracks with posts, barbed wire, bricks, and construction of the camp as such began. The Jews unloaded these cars and carted the sections of barracks to the camp. The Germans made them work extremely fast. Seeing the pace they worked at — it was extremely brutal — and seeing the complex being built, and the fence, which, after all, enclosed a vast space, we realized that what the Germans were building wasn't meant to aid mankind.

Early in June the first convoy arrived. I'd say there were over forty cars. With the convoy were SS men in black uniforms. It happened one afternoon. I had just finished work but I got on my bicycle and went home.

—Jan Piwonski, present-day Sobibor

Translator: He was born here in 1923, and has been here ever since.

Lanzmann: He lived at this very spot?

Translator: Right here.

Lanzmann: Then he had a front-row seat for what happened?

Translator: Naturally. You could go up close or watch from a distance. They had land on the far side of the station, to work it, he had to cross the track, so he could see everything.

Lanzmann: Does he remember the first convoy of Jews from Warsaw on July 22, 1942?

Translator: He recalls the first convoy very well, and when all those Jews were brought here, people wondered, "What's to be done with them?" Clearly, they'd be killed, but no one yet knew how. When people began to understand what was happening, they were appalled, and they commented privately that since the world began, no one had ever murdered so many people that way.

Lanzmann: While all this was happening before their eyes, normal life went on? They worked their fields?.

Translator: Certainly they worked, but not as willingly as usual. They had to work, but when they saw all this, they thought: "Our house may be surrounded. We may be arrested too!"

Lanzmann: Were they afraid for the Jews too?

Translator: Well, he says, it's this way: if I cut my finger, it doesn't hurt him. They knew about the Jews: the convoys came in here, and then went to the camp, and the people vanished.

—Czeslaw Borowi, present-day Treblinka, *Shoah*

Lanzmann: Is it very cold here in winter?

Translator: It depends. It can get to minus fifteen, minus twenty.

Lanzmann: Which was harder on the Jews, summer or winter? Waiting here, I mean.

Translator: He thinks winter, because they were very cold. They were so packed in the cars, maybe they weren't cold. In summer they suffocated; it was very hot. The Jews were very thirsty. They tried to get out.

Lanzmann: Were there corpses in the cars on arrival?

Translator: Obviously. They were so packed in that even those still alive sat on corpses for lack of space.

Lanzmann: Didn't people here who went by the trains look through the cracks in the cars?

Translator: Yes they could look in sometimes as they went by. Sometimes when it was allowed, we gave them water too.

Lanzmann: How did the Jews try to get out? The doors weren't opened. How'd they get out?

Translator: Through the windows. They removed the barbed wire and came out of the windows. They jumped, of course. Sometimes they just deliberately got out, sat down on the ground, and the guards came and shot them in the head.

—Villager, present-day Treblinka



The execution wall at Auschwitz. On close examination the imprint of agonized fingers are evident in the brick. [photo credit: YIVO]

Lanzmann: Did he hear screams behind his locomotive?

Translator: Obviously, since the locomotive was next to the cars. They screamed, asked for water. The screams from the cars closest to the locomotive could be heard very well.

Lanzmann: Can one get used to that?

Translator: No. It was extremely distressing to him. He knew the people behind him were human, like him. The Germans gave him and the other workers vodka to drink. Without drinking, they couldn't have done it. There was a bonus – that they were paid not in money, but in liquor. Those who worked on other trains didn't get this bonus. He drank every drop he got because without liquor he couldn't stand the stench when he got here. They even bought more liquor on their own, to get drunk on.

—Henrik Gawkowski, present-day Malkinia

We stayed there at that station waiting to go into Treblinka. Some of the German SS came around and were asking us what we have. So we said some of the people have gold, they have diamonds, but we want water. So they said: "Good, give us the diamonds, we bring you water." They took the diamonds away; they didn't bring any water at all.

—Abraham Bomba, Treblinka survivor

Then, on the second day, I saw a sign for Malkinia. We went on a little farther. Then, very slowly, the train turned off of the main track and rolled at a walking pace through a wood... we'd been able to open a window and an old man in our compartment looked out and saw a boy... cows were grazing... and he asked the boy in signs, "Where are we?" And the kid made a funny gesture. This: (draws finger across throat).

—Richard Glazar, Treblinka survivor

Many bystanders and collaborators were one step removed from the actual concentration camps. Their experiences varied.

Now the inmates
told me they
used to be
awakened at
three or four
in the morning
every day, and
marched to
the factories
near Munich
where they were
being worked.
The people of
Munich claim
that they never
knew. But that
isn't true.
They saw them
being marched
back and forth
everyday.

—American Liberator, in the words of poet Barbara Helfgott Hyett

And then there was the largest group of all, those who witnessed the Holocaust in silence and indifference, not participating in its cruelty but doing nothing to alleviate it. They went about their ordinary business, trying to survive, living from day to day, ignoring the horror around them.

Where the local bureaucracy refused to cooperate in the Holocaust, on the other hand, the outcome was as a rule dramatically different. Italy was the first fascist country in Europe and Hitler's oldest ally. Yet the authorities stubbornly resisted all attempts to enlist their aid in the war against Jews. There was procrastination, dissimulation, equivocation, and sometimes open defiance, not only in their own country but in the parts of France, Yugoslavia and Greece occupied by their armies. Thanks to their noncooperation, about 80 percent of the Italian Jews survived the extermination campaign.

Even more illuminating is the case of Bulgaria. There the authorities decided that Jews living within the prewar boundaries of the state should be protected, but those in the newly acquired parts of Macedonia and

Thrace were to be handed over to the Germans. The results underscore the crucial role of the non-German bureaucracy in the Holocaust. Of the 14,000 Jews in the regions annexed by Bulgaria during the war, almost all were deported and never returned. Of the 50,000 living in Bulgaria proper, on the other hand almost all survived. Thus the evidence that the collaboration of the local administration system was essential for the success of the extermination campaign appears irrefutable.

—Theodore S. Hamerow, historian

This is no longer home, you see. And especially it's no longer home when they start telling me that they didn't know, they didn't know. They say they didn't see. "Yes, there were Jews living in our house, and one day they were no longer there. We didn't know what happened." They couldn't help seeing it. It wasn't a matter of one action. These were actions that were taking place over almost two years. Every fortnight people were thrown out of the houses. How could they escape it? How could they not see it?

I remember the day they made Berlin Judenrein. The people hastened in the streets; no one wanted to be in the streets; you could see the streets were absolutely empty. They didn't want to look, you know. They hastened to buy what they had to buy — they had to buy something for Sunday, you see. So they went shopping and hastened back into their houses. And I remember this day very vividly because we saw police cars rushing through the streets of Berlin taking people out of the houses. They had herded the Jews together, from factories, from houses, wherever they could find them, and had put them into something that was called "Klu." Klu was a dance restaurant, a very big one. From there they were deported in various transports. They were going off not very far from here on one of the tracks at the Grunewald station, and this was the day when I suddenly felt so utterly alone, left alone, because now I knew we would be one of the very few people left. I didn't know how many more would be underground. This also was the day when I felt very guilty that I didn't go myself and I tried to escape fate that the others could not escape. There was no more warmth around, no more soul akin to us, you understand. And we talked about this. What happened to Elsa? To Hans? And where is he and where is she? My God, what happened to the child? These were our thoughts on that horrible day. And this feeling of being terribly alone and terribly guilty that we did not go with them. Why did we try? What made us do this? To escape fate — that was really our destiny or the destiny of our people.

—Inge Deutschkron, a German Jew who survived the war hiding in Berlin

Milton Mayer, an American newspaperman of German Jewish descent, spent a year in Germany in the early 1950s trying to understand how ordinary citizens remembered their experiences in Nazi Germany. The characters in his book have fictionalized names but are real people Mayer got to know. These Germans were the furthest removed from direct witness to the killing process.

Seven of them ducked my question. My question, which I framed very carefully and put to them in a variety of ways in the last weeks of our conversations, was, "What did *you* do that was wrong, as you understand right and wrong, and what *didn't* you do that was right?" The instinct that throws instant ramparts around the self-love of all of us came into immediate operation; my friends, in response, spoke of what was legal or illegal, or what was popular or unpopular, or what others did or didn't do, or what was provoked or unprovoked. But I was interested, at this point in none of these things. "Who knows the secret heart?" I was trying to know the secret heart; I knew all about Versailles and the Polish Corridor and the inflation, the unemployment, the Communists, the Jews, and the Talmud.

The eighth of my friends, young Rupprecht, the Hitler Youth leader, having taken upon himself (or having affected to take) sovereign responsibility for every first and last injustice of the whole Hitler regime, was no better able to enlighten me than Herr Schwenke, the old Fanatiker, who, when I was at last able to divert him, with my

insistent last question, from Versailles, the Polish Corridor, etc., said "I have never done anything wrong to any man." "Never?" said I, just to hear myself say it. "Never," said he, just to hear himself say it.

— Milton Mayer, *They Thought They Were Free*

One of the most important interpreters of the Holocaust, Raul Hilberg, explains how the killing process became routinized in German bureaucracy.

In all of my work I have never begun by asking the big questions, because I was always afraid that I would come up with small answers; and I have preferred to address these things which are minutiae or details in order that I might then be able to put together in a gestalt a picture which, if not an explanation, is at least a description, a more full description, of what transpired. And in that sense I look also at the bureaucratic destruction process – for this is what it was – as a series of minute steps taken in logical order and relying above all as much as possible on experience. And this goes not only, incidentally, for the administrative steps that were taken, but also the psychological arguments, even the propaganda. Amazingly little was newly invented till of course the moment came when one had to go beyond that which had already been established by precedent, that one had to gas these people or in some sense annihilate them on a large scale. Then these bureaucrats became inventors. But like all inventors of institutions they did not copyright or patent their achievements, and they prefer obscurity.

From the past, the Nazis got the actual content of measures which they took. For example, the barring of Jews from office, the prohibition of intermarriages and of the employment in Jewish homes of female persons under the age of forty-five, the various marking decrees – especially the Jewish star – the compulsory ghetto, the voidance of any will executed by a Jew that might work in such a way as to prevent inheritance of his property by someone who was a Christian. Many such measures had been worked out over the course of more than a thousand years by authorities of the church and by secular governments that followed in those footsteps. And the experience gathered over that time became a reservoir that could be used, and which indeed was used to an amazing extent. One can compare a rather large number of German laws with their counterparts in the past and find complete parallels, even in detail, as if there were a memory which automatically extended to the period of 1933, 1935, 1939 and beyond.

They invented very little, and they did not invent the portrait of the Jew, which also was taken over lock, stock and barrel from writings going back to the sixteenth century. So even the propaganda, the realm of imagination and invention – even where they were remarkably in the footsteps of those who preceeded them, from Martin Luther to the nineteenth century. And here again they were not inventive.

They had to become inventive with the "final solution." That was their great invention, and that is what made this entire process different from all others that had preceded that event. In this respect, what transpired when the "final solution" was adopted – or, to be more precise, bureaucracy moved into it – was a turning point in history. Even here I would suggest a logical progression, one that came to fruition in what might be called closure, because from the earliest days, from the fourth century, the sixth century, the missionaries of Christianity had said in effect to the Jews: "You may not live among us as Jews." The secular rulers who followed them from the late Middle Ages then decided: "You may not live among us," and the Nazis finally decreed: "You may not live." Conversion was followed by expulsion, and the third was the territorial solution, which was of course the solution carried out in the territories under German command, excluding emigration: death. The "final solution." And the "final solution," you see, is really final, because people who are converted can yet be Jews in secret, people who are expelled can yet return. But people who are dead will not reappear.

— **Raul Hilberg, historian, in an interview with Claude Lanzmann for *Shoah***

Reading #7
Unit IV

QUISLING, VIDKUN (1887–1945), head of the Nazi-controlled puppet government of NORWAY from 1942 to 1945. Quisling, who in December 1939 had invited German troops to take over his country, openly met the invading Nazis in April 1940. His actions inspired the London *Times* to use his name as the symbol for all collaborators and traitors; thus a new word was introduced into the English language. Quisling was born in rural Fyresdal in southern Norway, the son of an erudite village pastor. He enrolled as a cadet in the Norwegian military academy, and in 1911 joined the Norwegian General Staff.

In 1918 he was appointed military attaché in Petrograd, and served there until relations with the Soviet Union were severed in early 1919. From 1922 until 1930, Quisling was assistant to the League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Fridtjof Nansen. He worked on relief for starving Russian peasants in the Ukraine and on similar projects in Bulgaria, the Balkans, and Armenia. By the time he left the Soviet Union, in 1929, he had come to view the Bolshevik regime as a danger and a threat to Norwegian security.

Quisling was a co-founder, in 1931, of the Nordisk Folkereisning (Nordic Folk Awakening) movement, which reflected Nazi ideology. In 1931 Quisling, who was also a supporter of the Agrarian party, was appointed minister of defense in the Agrarian government, which was in control until February 1933. That May, he founded a fascist-inspired political party called Nasjonal Samling (National Unity; NS). The following year, he organized the young party activists into a group called the Hird, to act as bodyguards.

As early as 1930, Quisling had sought contact with the German Nazis. His political ideas were similar to those of Alfred ROSENBERG. Quisling believed that a strong leadership elite was essential to protect individual rights; the Hird was to be the spearhead of this new elite. The Jews, in his view, were impure, and their existence was a threat to the fulfillment of the ideal society. However, Quisling's movement failed to gain popularity.

Determined to save Norway in spite of itself, Quisling began negotiating with the Germans. In December 1939 he met with Rosenberg, Erich Raeder, and Hitler. During his meeting with Hitler, Quisling asked for and was assured of German financial and moral support. The plan devised during his talks in Berlin called for the occupation of Norway "by peaceful means," that is, via German forces called in by Norway.

The German assault on Norway began on the night of April 8–9, 1940, and once the German troops were in Oslo, Quisling broadcast a speech proclaiming a new government, with himself as prime minister. The German army very soon became disillusioned with him, and he was removed from office on April 15. The new government was staffed by Quisling supporters but without Quisling. He remained leader of the NS, however, and for two years worked behind the scenes.

On February 1, 1942, a national government was formed in which Quisling was *Ministerpresident*, but with limited power. Quisling hoped for a treaty with Germany that would give his regime formal status, making it independent of the German occupation power.

After the war, Quisling was arrested and tried. On September 10, 1945, he was found guilty and sentenced to death. He was executed on October 24 of that year.

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JACQUELINE ROKHSAR

In the summer of 1940, about 350,000 Jews lived in France, more than half of whom were not French citizens. Among these were tens of thousands of Jewish REFUGEES from Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg, some of whom had fled the Reich several years earlier. Persecution of these Jews began almost immediately, both in the German-occupied zone and in the zone left under French control.

The unusual context of the Holocaust in France is the considerable degree of autonomy accorded the French during the Nazi occupation. In this respect France differed substantially from fully occupied countries like Belgium, the Netherlands, and Denmark, or puppet states like Norway. Notably, throughout the entire period of the deportations of Jews, France had a French government, based in Vichy; a head of state (Marshal Pétain); an administration at least nominally responsible for the whole of the country; and a powerful police force. Even after the Nazis moved across the demarcation line, in November 1942, the French government remained formally in charge of the nation and retained a substantial degree of authority.

The Germans needed and received a great deal of assistance from the French to carry out their plans. After the war, defenders of Vichy claimed that the work of this government limited the damage, preventing even higher numbers of deportees from France. German documents lend a superficial plausibility to this notion, for it is plain that the Nazis in charge of the "FINAL SOLUTION" had hoped to do better in France, envisioning a completed task by the end of 1943. The SS in charge of the deportations failed to meet their own quotas, and Vichy claimed the credit for this failure. However, close examination of the German record, as well as research on the role of Vichy and its agencies, tells a different story.

The deportations of 1942 to 1944 (see below) did not begin in a political vacuum. The dispatch of the Jews "to the east" was, rather, the culmination of two years of aggressive legislation and persecution, including the passage of laws defining who was to be considered Jewish, isolating Jews in French society, taking away their livelihood, interning many, and registering them with the police. In the German-controlled zone the SS in France, under Obersturmführer Helmut KNOCHEN, set the apparatus of persecution in place. Matters concerning Jews were assigned to SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor DANNECKER, who reported directly to the office of Adolf EICHMANN in Berlin.

Remarkably, however, the Vichy government too moved against the Jews, taking the initiative to issue the comprehensive STATUT DES JUIFS (Jewish Law) in October 1940, and to establish a central agency for coordinating anti-Jewish legislation and activity in March 1941, the COMMISSARIAT GÉNÉRAL AUX QUESTIONS JUIVES (General Office for Jewish Affairs; CGQJ). In November 1941, moreover, Vichy established the UNION GÉNÉRALE DES ISRAÉLITES DE FRANCE (General Union of Jews of France; UGIF), a Jewish agency operating under Vichy authority that was intended to control Jewish activities and communal affairs. During the two years following France's defeat, the French government deliberately incorporated antisemitic activity into its *révolution nationale*—the officially declared policy of turning France in an authoritarian, nationalist, and corporatist direction.

The French government considered it extremely important that its laws should apply throughout the entire country, in the occupied as well as the unoccupied zone; through the enforcement of such measures, Vichy assumed it was strengthening French sovereignty and hastening the day when full French sovereignty would be restored. Vichy's leadership believed that the Germans would be grateful to the French for pursuing their own anti-Jewish policy, and would respond by yielding greater control over this and other spheres of national policy. In addition, the French were anxious to see that the property confiscated from the Jews did not fall into the hands of the Germans. Vichy inaugurated an extensive program of "Aryanization" in July 1941, with the important objective of maintaining formerly Jewish property in France. In practice, "Aryaniza-

tion" simply meant the confiscation of Jewish possessions by the state. It developed into a vast property transfer, involving some forty-two thousand Jewish businesses, buildings, and other properties. For their part, the Nazi occupation authorities engaged in a subtle form of entrapment. Nudging Vichy ever deeper into measures against the Jews, and withholding serious pressure on the French for about a year, the occupation relieved itself of much of the trouble of antisemitic persecution while drawing the French into areas where even some Vichyites showed signs of discomfort.

All Jews suffered grievously from the first two years of persecution, except for a tiny handful of well-established French Jews who received exemptions from the Vichy government. In legal terms, the way was cleared for persecution without limits, using the powerful judicial and administrative apparatus of the French state. The confiscation of Jewish property and the elimination of Jews from professions and the government service transformed thousands into penniless refugees in France. Foreign Jews were particularly vulnerable, and were especially victimized by both the Germans and Vichy. Thousands were forced into labor camps or interned, often in conditions that approached the Nazi concentration camps of the 1930s. The first victims of the Holocaust in France died in these camps, their number eventually totaling about three thousand.

Following the WANNSEE CONFERENCE of January 1942, the Nazis began to prepare for the deportation of Jews from France and other western European countries. They proceeded slowly and methodically, for the task was enormous and the German personnel that could be spared for the operation were relatively few. In particular, the Nazis did their best to ensure the cooperation of the French government and administration.

The spring and summer of 1942 were turning points. At the end of April, Pierre Laval, who was committed to intensifying collaboration with Germany, became head of the French government under Marshal Pétain. In May the legalistic and anti-German Xavier VALLAT was replaced at the head of the CGQJ by the racist collaborator Louis DARQUIER DE PELLEPOIX. Darquier had no scruples about extending full support to the Nazis in their murderous enterprise. Simultaneously, the Wehrmacht yielded authority over repressive activity in France to the SS, now headed there by Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (Higher SS and Police Leader) Carl Albrecht OBERG. The French police under Rene Bousquet worked out an arrangement with the SS whereby the former were given an important degree of autonomy, in exchange for agreeing to work against the enemies of the Reich. In their own zone the Germans cleared the way for deportations by imposing the wearing of a yellow star by all Jews (June 7), rounding up large numbers, and controlling the movements of the rest.

On June 11, a decisive meeting took place in Berlin at which arrangements were made for regular deportations of Jews from France, Belgium, and the Netherlands. Demands for cooperation now rained down on Vichy. After deliberations, Laval and the French cabinet agreed to help. Throughout the summer and fall of 1942, roundups of Jews took place in both the occupied and unoccupied zones.

Most of the work was done by the French police. On July 16 and 17, in one of the most cruel and spectacular operations, they rounded up 12,884 Jews in Paris, some 7,000 of whom—families with small children—were crowded for days in the Vélodrome d'Hiver sports arena with no food, water, or sanitary facilities. Elsewhere, parents were torn from their children, with the victims unceremoniously packed into cattle cars and shipped to the transit camp at DRANCY, just outside Paris. In all, 42,500 Jews were sent eastward in 1942, perhaps one-third of them from the unoccupied zone.

The cover-up of the Germans, which Laval agreed to repeat, was that the Jews were being sent to work camps "in the east." Officially, Vichy would only report that the victims had gone "to an unknown destination." In fact, the end of the line was AUSCHWITZ, where most of the deportees were immediately killed.

The deportations of the summer and fall of 1942 stirred the first serious opposition to Vichy among certain segments of French

opinion. The roundups of Jews could scarcely be concealed, and the cruelty of the separation of families was heavily criticized. A split developed in the Catholic church, hitherto solidly behind Pétain and the *révolution nationale*. Highly placed clergymen now made their first open protest against the anti-Jewish activity of the regime. For Vichy, the deportations signaled the failure of its strategy on the Jewish issue. Far from winning greater independence, the French were now being heavily importuned by the Germans. After November 1942, with Nazi troops in the formerly unoccupied zone, this worsening situation was obvious to all.

Difficulties arose as the deportations gradually included French Jews as well as outsiders. Having agreed to the deportation of foreign Jews from both zones, the Vichy authorities found themselves drawn into satisfying the Nazis' deportation quotas, which were fixed by the available railway transport from Drancy to Auschwitz and not by technicalities such as nationality. As early as January 1943, when massive deportations from both zones resumed, the Germans reported that the French police were no longer as reliable as they once had been in assembling and dispatching the Jews. Even Laval dragged his feet—refusing, in August 1943, to agree to strip French Jews of their citizenship so as to facilitate their deportation.

Yet despite occasional protests and difficulties, the deportations continued, the last convoys leaving France in the summer of 1944. Laval, Pétain, and the government would not change course. To the end, Vichy enforced the extensive apparatus of anti-Jewish laws that legitimized the deportations in the eyes of some, and it certainly facilitated the process of deportation. Some Jews managed to escape for a time, by fleeing to the Italian-occupied zone of France. There the Italian Fascist troops provided a remarkable sanctuary—not only against German demands for deportations, but against the application of Vichy antisemitic laws as well. This protective screen was shattered in September 1943 when the Italians surrendered to the British and Americans. Other Jews escaped to SPAIN or to SWITZERLAND, although passage across either frontier was not normally permitted by the host countries and was fraught with danger from the German and Vichy police.

Thousands of Jews were assisted by a small but sympathetic element in the French population, often at great risk to those providing rescue or aid. Such Frenchmen were to be found among all groups but particularly among Protestants, many of whom by tradition also felt themselves to be a beleaguered minority in France. Help and sanctuary came from a variety of other sources: the Quakers, the American Jewish JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE (known as the Joint), the YMCA, the Catholic Témoignage Chrétien, and Jewish resistance networks. An outstanding example was the Protestant village of LE CHAMBON-SUR-LIGNON, which became a kind of underground railway, smuggling several thousand Jews to safety.

In all, over 77,000 Jews from France were either killed in concentration camps in Poland or died while in detention. Approximately 70,000 went to Auschwitz, and the rest to other camps—MAJDANEK and SOBIBÓR, and a few dozen to BUCHENWALD in August 1944. Of all these Jews, about one-third were citizens of long standing; 8,700 were sixty years of age or over, 6,000 were under thirteen, and 2,000 were under the age of six.

The "Final Solution" in France was a Nazi project from beginning to end. Few Frenchmen advocated massacre, and only a small number of extreme collaborationists in Paris ever carried antisemitism to the murderous conclusions of Hitler and his associates. However, it seems highly unlikely that the Germans would have been capable of deporting large numbers of Jews from France without the help provided by the French authorities. Two years of persecution by the French government and administration helped snap the bonds that bound Jews to French society, leaving many helpless once the Nazis' machinery of destruction turned to France.

It is true that the final toll—about one-fifth of the country's Jews were killed—seems less, proportionately, than in many other countries, but the circumstances the Nazis faced in France must be taken into account and the considerable difficulties they had to overcome noted.

Reading #7
Unit IV

VLASOV, ANDREI (1900–1946), Soviet army officer who collaborated with the Germans. Vlasov was born in a village in the Nizhni Novgorod district. In the Russian civil war he joined the ranks of the Red Army and eventually became a regular army man. He joined the Communist party in the early 1930s. In 1938 and 1939 he was in China, serving as military adviser to Chiang Kai-shek. In 1940 he commanded an elite division in the Kiev military district and rose to the rank of major general. When the Germans invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, Vlasov was in command of the Thirty-Fourth Army, charged with the defense of Kiev, and he later commanded the Twentieth Army, which defended Moscow; he was promoted to lieutenant general and awarded the Order of Lenin and the Order of the Red Banner. In the spring of 1942 he was appointed commander of the Second ("Assault") Army on the Volkhov front; there he and his troops were encircled by the Germans. His attempts to break out of the trap failed, and on July 13 of that year he was taken prisoner.

Vlasov was interned in a prisoner-of-war camp for senior Soviet officers located near the advance headquarters of the German Army High Command. Following talks with senior German intelligence officers, Vlasov agreed to collaborate with the Germans against the Soviet regime. He was transferred to the propaganda branch of the Armed Forces High Command in Berlin. In September 1942 Vlasov issued three manifestos; in two of them he denounced Stalin, blaming him and his regime for the military defeats; attacked "Jewish capitalists," the "Jewish press," and the "Stalinist Bolshevik-Jewish dictatorship"; and called on Red Army soldiers to desert. In the other manifesto, Vlasov listed thirteen points on which to base a new regime that he would seek to establish in Russia. The plan was that this would be endorsed by the "Smolensk Committee" (a Russian public group that the headquarters of the German Central Army Group was in the process of organizing, to be headed by Vlasov). This plan was abandoned, however, on Hitler's orders, which also directed that Vlasov's activities be confined to propaganda.

In the period from November 1942 to the winter of 1944, Vlasov trained anti-Soviet propaganda agents at the Dabendorf camp, near Berlin, and drafted memorandums concerning his anti-Soviet movement. The agents were assigned to encourage Soviet prisoners of war to volunteer for the OSTBATAILLONE, and, at the front, to encourage Red Army personnel to desert. Several of the Ostbataillone were given badges to wear by the Wehrmacht, bearing the inscription ROA (the initials of RUSSKAYA OSVOBODITELNAYA ARMIYA, or Russian Liberation Army). The men serving in these units—and later on, also other categories of Soviet prisoners of war—were called "Vlasovtsy," but in fact no Vlasov army existed, since there was no unified command headed by Vlasov of the units made up of Soviet prisoners of war.

It was not until September 16, 1944, after a meeting with Heinrich HIMMLER, that Vlasov was permitted to set up the Komitet Osvobozhdeniya Narodov Rossii (Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia; KONR), to be recognized as an official representative body, and to form the "Russian Liberation Army," with Vlasov heading both the "army" and the "committee." Some of the minority groups in the Soviet Union, such as the Ukrainians, refused to join either Vlasov's army or his committee, and the Germans permitted them to establish similar organizations of their own. On November 14, 1944, Vlasov's KONR met in Prague and in an official ceremony issued the Prague Declaration, spelling out the political principles on which the Vlasov movement was based and the structure of the regime that it would set up—a combination of centralist socialism and capitalism.

On May 15, 1945, Vlasov and his staff were handed over to the Soviets. Radio Moscow announced on August 1, 1946, that he and his associates had been tried, sentenced to death, and executed by hanging.

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SHMUEL SPECTOR

Reading #7
Unit IV

NACHTIGALL BATTALION. Ukrainian military unit in the service of the Germans. At the end of 1940 and the beginning of 1941, the Germans, with the full support of the Ukrainian nationalist leaders, increased the numbers of Ukrainian youngsters mobilized into separate military units and paramilitary organizations. In this way the Ukrainian leaders hoped to promote their own political interests, pinning their hopes on the Germans in the anticipated war against the USSR. The Germans for their part wanted to exploit the Ukrainian nationalists to serve their own military aims in the east.

Against this background, the Germans established, at the beginning of 1941, the 700-man Ukrainian Legion. In May 1941 the legion was divided into two battalions named Nachtigall and Roland. The German military commander of Nachtigall was Albrecht Herzner, and the battalion's political control was in the hands of Professor Theodor Oberländer of the German military intelligence. The Ukrainian commander of this unit was Roman Shukhevych. After its establishment, Nachtigall was transferred to a training camp in Neuhammer, in Silesia.

When the Germans invaded the USSR on June 22, 1941, Nachtigall was sent to serve at the front in the area of Przemyśl. By June 30, Nachtigall had entered LVOV, together with some German units. The soldiers of the battalion participated, with the Germans and the Ukrainian mob in the city, in the riots and the killing of Jews that took place between June 30 and July 3. During those days, Jews were kidnapped in the streets of the city, brought to concentration centers in several prisons, and brutally killed. Four thousand of them were murdered during the four days of rioting. The pretext for carrying out this pogrom against the Jews of Lvov was the libel, maliciously spread by the Germans and the Ukrainians, that the Jews had taken part in the murder of political prisoners held by the Soviets prior to the retreat.

Many of the Ukrainian officers and soldiers of Nachtigall supported Stefan BANDERA's faction in the Ukrainian national movement (the ORHANIZATSYIA UKRAINSKYKH NATSIONALISTIV), and they were involved in the abortive attempt of the Ukrainian nationals, on July 1, 1941, to declare in Lvov the establishment of a Ukrainian state. The Germans crushed this attempt, and some believe that the involvement of members of the battalion in these events led to the unit's expulsion from Lvov on July 7 of that year and its dispatch to the eastern front. Nachtigall passed through ZOLOCHEV and TERNOPOL and reached the area of VINNITSA. On the way, members of the battalion took part in pogroms against Jews. Because soldiers of the battalion continued to be involved in activities promoting Ukrainian political objectives, in opposition to the German stand, the unit was removed from the UKRAINE. In October 1941, many of its members were attached to German military units engaged in suppressing partisans in Belorussia. On December 1 of that year, the battalion was finally disbanded. Some of its members joined Ukrainian auxiliary police units in the service of the Germans.

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AHARON WEISS

GENERALGOUVERNEMENT (General Government), administrative unit established by the Germans on October 26, 1939, comprised of those parts of POLAND that had not been incorporated into the Reich, an area with a total population of twelve million. The full official designation was Generalgouvernement für die Besetzten Polnischen Gebiete (General Government for the Occupied Areas of Poland), and it was only in July 1940 that the shortened name came into use. The Germans had used this name previously, when they occupied Poland in World War I and set up an administration there, also called the Generalgouvernement.

The Generalgouvernement area was divided into four districts, KRAKÓW, WARSAW, RADOM, and LUBLIN, which in turn were split into subdistricts. The administrative center was Kraków. In the summer of 1941, following the German attack on the Soviet Union, Galicia became the fifth district, adding between three million and four million to the population. Only a few Polish institutions were permitted by the Nazis to function, among them the bank that issued the country's currency; the POLNISCHE POLIZEI, or Polish Police, known as Granatowa (Blue), from their dark blue uniforms; and the Central Relief Committee, all of them operating under the strict supervision of the occupation authorities. Heading the Generalgouvernement was the governor-general, Hans FRANK. As of May 1940, Frank operated through the Generalgouvernement administration, headed by Josef Bühler. The SS and police were headed first by SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich KRÜGER, and then by Wilhelm KOPPE.

The occupation authorities believed that the task of the Polish population of the Generalgouvernement was to obey the Germans and work for them. At first the Poles were regarded as a reservoir of manpower, to be exploited for the needs of the Reich. Later, the Germans considered a number of projects, such as the establishment of colonies, "Germanization," expulsion of the population of ZAMOŚĆ, and identification of those Poles who were *deutschstämmig* (of German origin).

The obedience of the Polish population was attained by extreme terrorization. For every

GENERALGOUVERNEMENT, January 1940





The Hungarian Gendarmerie round up the Jews of Bezdan and move them into the ghetto (1944). Bezdan is located 60 miles (96.5 km) northwest of Novi Sad in Yugoslavia, near the present Hungarian-Yugoslav border. During the war Bezdan was in the territory annexed by Hungary.

gendarmerie with the German SD (Sicherheitsdienst; Security Service) and with Adolf EICHMANN's Sonderkommando.

The gendarmerie operated on a territorial basis. There were ten district commands, each headed by a colonel, who played a crucial role in planning and implementing the anti-Jewish policy in the territory under his jurisdiction. The district commanders were actively involved in the conferences organized by the leaders in charge of the "de-Judaizing" process, including Ferenczy, László ENDRE, the representatives of the county and local administration, and the special advisers of the Eichmann Sonderkommando. For purposes of the anti-Jewish drive, Hungary was divided into six operational zones, each zone encompassing one or two Gendarmerie districts.

The ghettoization process began on April 16, 1944, in Zone I, which encompassed Gendarmerie District VIII, covering the areas of the TRANSCARPATHIAN UKRAINE and northeastern Hungary. This was followed by Zone II, encompassing Gendarmerie districts IX and X—the area of northern TRANSYLVANIA. These territories, closest to the eastern front, were inhabited largely by unassimilated Orthodox Jews. The gendarmes played a determining role in all aspects of the ghettoization, concentration, entrainment, and deportation of the Jews. During each of these phases, special investigative units of the gendarmerie were involved in expropriating the property of the Jews. These units were particularly active in the larger ghettos, usually established in the county seats, which also served as entrainment centers.

In each of these entrainment centers, the investigative units set up a *penzverde* ("mint"), a place where Jews were tortured into confessing where they had hidden their alleged valuables. The gendarmes' barbarous behavior during the interrogations as well as during the ghettoization and entrainment of the Jews has been highlighted in countless accounts by survivors. It shocked many decent Hungarians and even some of the Germans involved in the anti-Jewish drive. To ensure the effectiveness of the gendarmes, the "de-Judaizing" command saw to it that the anti-Jewish operations in a particular county were carried out by a gendarmerie unit from another part of the country, in order to prevent possible corruption or leniency based on personal contacts with the local Jews.

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LUCIEN LAZARE

UKRAINISCHE HILFSPOLIZEI (Ukrainian Auxiliary Police). Ukrainian militia units were set up in the earliest days of the German invasion of the Soviet Union and the occupation of Ukrainian-inhabited areas. The initiative for this step came from the Ukrainian nationalists who accompanied the German forces on their entry into the Ukraine. These units were recruited either as mobile groups (*pokhidni grupy*) or at the initiative of local nationalist activists—in all cases with the full encouragement of the military governors.

As soon as the SD (Sicherheitsdienst; Security Service) had established its offices in the occupied area, it instituted a check on the political reliability of the Ukrainian militia personnel, especially the officers. On July 27, 1941, on Heinrich HIMMLER's orders, the formation of the mobile Ukrainian Auxiliary Police was launched, under the jurisdiction of the SS and German police commanders in the various Kommissariate (subdivisions of the German civil administration). The battalions were housed in police barracks in key places, and were deployed in major police operations such as the drive against the partisans. After the civil administration had been installed in August 1941 in the Galicia district and, throughout September, in the other parts of the German-occupied Ukraine, the militia units were renamed the Ukrainische Hilfspolizei Schutzmannschaft (Ukrainian Auxiliary Police Constabulary), and the individual policeman was generally referred to as a *Schutzmann* (constable). The units were subordinate to the German police and gendarmerie.

The Ukrainian Auxiliary Police were equipped with captured Soviet light weapons and wore black uniforms. On some occasions a collective fine was imposed upon the Jews in order to defray the costs of providing the police with uniforms and boots. The senior commanders of these units were Germans. In the first few days of the occupation, Ukrainian police, as an organized group or on an individual basis, participated in pogroms against the Jews, in Lvov, in the cities of Eastern Galicia, and in Volhynia. Later, when Ukrainian police escorted groups of Jews to places of work or were on guard duty in the ghettos, they extorted money from the Jews, harassed them, and frequently shot Jews merely for the sake of killing. When the ghettos were being liquidated, units of the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police took part in *Aktionen*: blockading the ghettos, searching for Jews who had gone into hiding, and hunting those who had escaped. They escorted Jews to their execution in pits and served as the guards surrounding the murder sites, barring access to them. They were known for their brutality and killed many thousands of Jews who could not keep up on the way to the execution sites, or who tried to escape.

In the spring of 1943, Ukrainian police in large numbers deserted with their arms and joined the UKRAINSKA POVSTANSKA ARMYIA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army). Others, especially those who served in the mobile battalions, retreated westward with the German forces, and in the final stage of the war were incorporated into the OSTBATAILLONE or into divisions of the Ukrainian National Army.

SHMUEL SPECTOR

Reading #7
Unit IV

POLICINIAI BATALIONAI (Lithuanian Police Battalions), paramilitary formation composed of Lithuanians who collaborated with the Germans. Shortly after the German occupation of LITHUANIA in the summer of 1941 a reorganization was launched of local Lithuanian units, made up of police, ex-soldiers and ex-officers, and nationalist elements of all sectors (among whom high school and university students predominated), who had been attacking the retreating Soviet forces from behind and had been brutally harassing and murdering Litnuanian Jews. That July, many of the units in Kovno and elsewhere were incorporated into a paramilitary organization, the Tauto Darbo Apsauga (National Labor Guard). In Vilna and other places the corresponding military organization was named the Lietuvia Savisaugos Dalys (Lithuanian Self-Defense).

At the end of 1941 these formations were absorbed into a new framework based on battalions, and were renamed Policiniai Batalionai. By August 1942, twenty such battalions were in existence, with a complement of 8,388 men, of whom 341 were officers, 1,772 noncommissioned officers, and the rest privates. The command of these battalions was, for the most part, in the hands of former officers and men of other ranks who had served in the army of independent Lithuania. On the higher level these officers had German liaison officers assigned to them, and on the top level the Lithuanian commanders were directly subordinated to the district SS and police leader (*SS- und Polizeiführer*) in Lithuania.

The battalions' police operations, especially those of Battalion 1 (later 13) and Battalion 2 (later 12), also included the mass murder of Jews in Lithuania, as well as in the adjacent territories of Poland and Belorussia. Several of the battalions' veterans were identified in postwar investigations and trials held in Lithuania, the United States, and elsewhere. Some of them were tried and found guilty of killing civilians and prisoners of war.

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DOV LEVIN

HILFSWILLIGE ("volunteer helpers"; abbr., Hiwis), designation applied to Soviet prisoners of war and Soviet civilians in the Nazi-occupied areas of the Soviet Union who volunteered for auxiliary services in the rear-echelon units of the German army, or were drafted into such services.

Even in the early stages of the campaign against the Soviet Union, the German army commanders realized that because of the wide expanses of the area under their control and the shortage of German manpower, they would have to resort to local recruits. Soviet citizens therefore came to be employed as auxiliaries, functioning as drivers, mechanics, fitters, coachmen, kitchen workers, porters, and so on. They served either as individuals or as members of a group (up to company size) attached to German units, mainly supply units operating in the rear.

Based on this successful experience, the Germans gradually expanded the range of jobs on which Hiwis were employed; their conditions of service were formalized, they were given German uniforms, and their food and pay were made almost equal with those of German soldiers.

At the beginning of the winter of 1941–1942, guard units made up of Hiwis were added to the existing service units. These units were armed, and assigned to guard military objects in the rear. They grew rapidly in number and size (to battalion strength), and became known as OSTBATAILLONE.

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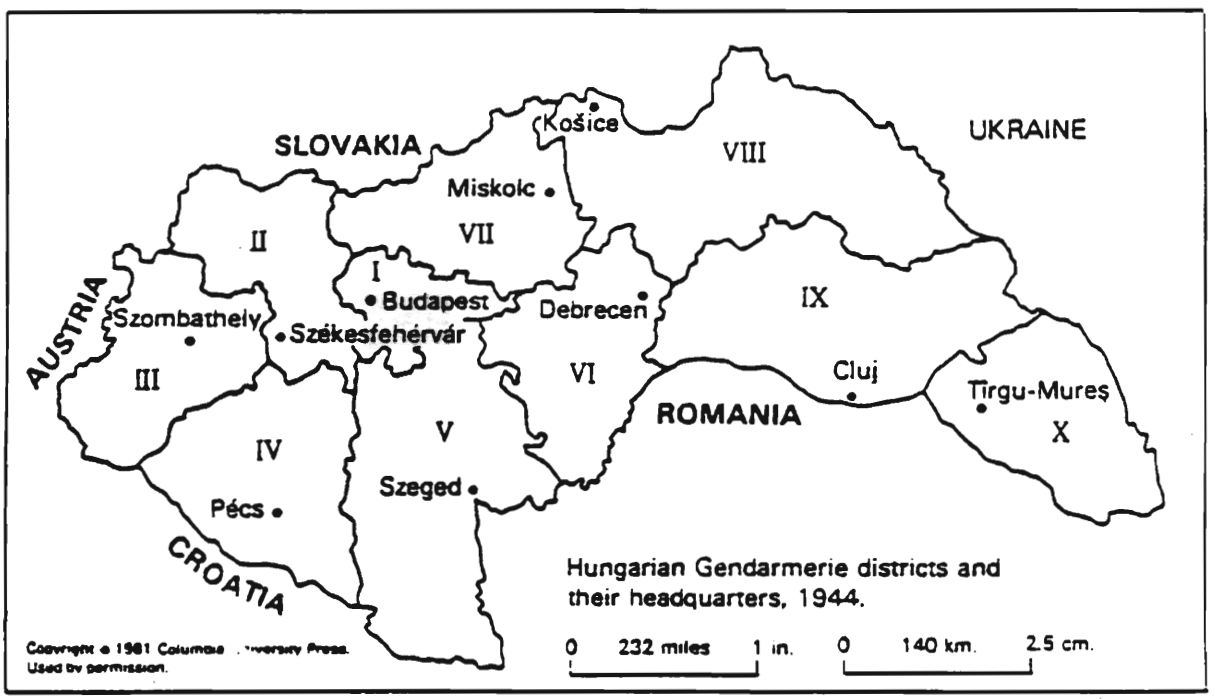
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SHMUEL SPECTOR

GENDARMERIE, HUNGARIAN, police force, formally known as the Magyar Kiralyi Csendorseg (Royal Hungarian Gendarmerie), employed primarily for the maintenance of law and order in the Hungarian countryside. The gendarmerie was established under a law of February 14, 1881; during World War II it became a major force in protecting the regime against its opponents and implementing anti-Jewish policies. In the summer of 1941, units of the gendarmerie were involved in the roundup and deportation of nearly 18,000 Jews who were not Hungarian citizens. Most of these Jews were subsequently slaughtered near KAMENETS-PODOLSKI. In January and February 1942, gendarmerie units were also involved in the massacre of over 3,300 Serbs and Jews in and around Novi Sad (Hung., Újvidék). After the German occupation of HUNGARY on March 19, 1944, the gendarmerie became the major instrument of state power in the ghettoization and deportation of approximately 440,000 Jews.

The gendarmerie was under the overall command of the *Magyar Kiralyi Csendorseg Felugyeloje* (Superintendent of the Royal Hungarian Gendarmerie), a position that was held in 1944 by Lt. Gen. Gábor Faragho. The three thousand to five thousand gendarmes employed in the anti-Jewish operations served under Lt. Col. László FERENCZY. Ferenczy was nominally the liaison officer in charge of coordinating the operations of the

GENDARMERIE



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LUCIEN LAZARE

Reading #7
Unit IV

OSTBATAILLONE (Eastern Battalions; also called Osttruppen or Ostverbände), armed units in the German army, made up of Soviet prisoners of war and Soviet civilians serving in the German-occupied Soviet territories. The Germans' need to recruit Soviet personnel arose out of the heavy losses incurred by the German army in the early months of the war against the USSR and in the early stage of the partisan fighting, especially on the northern and central fronts. In a letter dated October 6, 1941, Gen. Eduard Wagner, *Generalquartiermeister* (Quartermaster General) of the army, proposed to the army group commanders that they recruit Cossack, Ukrainian, and Belorussian prisoners and form them into cavalry troops (*Hundertschaft Sotnia*) for fighting Soviet partisans. At a later stage, prisoners hailing from the Caucasus and Central Asia were added to these categories. In the course of 1942 the troops grew in numbers and formed battalions, which were attached to German divisions serving the command of the rearguard military administration of the army groups. On October 1, 1942, the formation of a large number of such Ostbataillone was launched, including also Ostlegionen (Eastern Legions), a designation applied to units composed of Tatars and nationalities from the Caucasus and Central Asia.

The establishment and training of the units took place for the most part on GENERALGOUVERNEMENT territory. By May 1943, nine brigades, sixty independent battalions, and eight Cossack battalions were in existence (the last eventually forming a corps), as well as six antiaircraft batteries, seventy-eight independent companies, and dozens of battalions serving with the engineering and supply corps. Battalion strength was often over one thousand. The commanding officers were mostly German, but in some units—such as those of Kaminski and Gil-Rodionov—the officers were all Soviet citizens (*see* RUSSKAYA OSVOBODITELNAYA ARMIYA).

In early 1943 a special headquarters was set up for these units, headed by a *General der Osttruppen* (Commander of the Eastern Troops), but its task was confined to the troops' pay, welfare, and related matters. In fact, the conditions of service in the Ostbataillone—such as clothing, pay, and food—were comparable to those of German soldiers.

In June 1943, on Hitler's orders, most of the Ostbataillone were transferred to the western front, from Norway to Italy. The largest contingent went to France, to protect the "Atlantic Wall"; the Cossack corps was sent to Yugoslavia to fight the Yugoslav partisans under Josip TITO. Several German commanders, on their own initiative, began referring to those Ostbataillone whose ethnic composition was uniform as though they were part of a national army, such as the Russkaya Osvoboditelnaya Armiya (Russian Liberation Army) or Ukrainske Vyzvolne Viisko (Ukrainian Liberation Army). This practice was soon stopped, because of opposition from the commanders of the rearguard divisions to which the Ostbataillone belonged, as well as from the Nazi leadership itself. Instructions issued by the Army High Command on May 29, 1944, to identify the Ostbataillone by their national origin did not take hold either. It was not until February or March of 1945 that these national armies were officially established. The accepted estimate is that about one million Soviet nationals served in the German army. Most of them were handed over to the Soviet authorities after the war, as provided for at the February 1945 Yalta Conference.

[*See also* Hilfswillige.]

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SHMUEL SPECTOR

THE WORLD MUST KNOW

Reading #10
Unit IV

"ENEMIES OF THE STATE"

Although Jews were the primary targets of Nazi persecution, they were not the only ones. Other groups were victimized — some for what they did, others for what they refused to do, still others for who they were. According to Nazi ideology, the world was divided into Aryans destined as the master race, followed by the lesser races identified by color, ethnicity, culture, and nationality. After Jews, Gypsies inspired the most animosity. Gypsies were also treated as social outcasts.

In the first years of the Nazi regime, terror was directed at political opponents — Communists, Socialists, liberals, and trade-unionists — as well as members of the clergy who spoke out against the regime. Once these voices were silenced, terror actually increased as the Nazi state turned against whole categories of people, including Gypsies, Jehovah's Witnesses, Freemasons, homosexuals, and the mentally retarded, physically handicapped, or insane.

Gypsies: Gypsies (Roma and Sinti) had been subject to official discrimination in Germany long before 1933, but even the Nazi regime never promulgated a comprehensive law against them. Pure Gypsies were not targeted for extermination until 1942: the real threat to the "purity of the race" was from the potential "mixture" of Gypsy and German blood. In the case of the persecution of Gypsies, local initiatives came before policy decisions were made in Berlin. In 1935, the city of Frankfurt herded Gypsies into a fenced camp. A year later, the city banned new immigration and authorized "biological hereditary examinations."

In 1936, the Reich Interior Ministry issued guidelines "For Fighting the Gypsy Plague," requiring that all Gypsies be photographed and fingerprinted. This documentation of the Gypsy population was later used by the Nazis when persecution and incarceration no longer seemed sufficient and the Gypsies were targeted for systematic murder.

In 1937, Himmler ordered the Reich Center for Fighting the Gypsy Menace to draft racial definitions for Gypsies, a preliminary step to authorizing "preventive custody" — the euphemism for imprisonment in a concentration camp — for those who fit the new definitions of Gypsy.

According to Heinrich W. Kranz, who headed the Institute for the Preservation of Race, Heredity and Health at the University of Giessen, "In the long run, the German people will only be freed from this public nuisance when [the Gypsies'] fertility is completely eliminated." The logical way to accomplish this was through wholesale extermination.

Jehovah's Witnesses: The proselytizing sect of Jehovah's Witnesses was a small minority in Germany — only twenty thousand in a population of sixty-five million, but the Witnesses were a thorn in the side of the regime. They would not enlist in the army, participate in air-raid drills, or give up their meetings and proselytizing. The Witnesses viewed themselves as soldiers of Jehovah in the spiritual battle between good and evil. They taught that the forces of Jehovah would defeat Satan, personified in Germany by Nazi authority. Worst of all, the phrase "*Heil Hitler*" would never pass their lips. For the Witnesses, each instance of social conversation was an act of spiritual resistance.

Persecution of the Witnesses lasted from 1933 until 1945, and beginning in 1937, they were sent to concentration camps. Those who remained at large lost children, jobs, pensions, and all civil rights. Nevertheless, the Witnesses continued to meet, to preach, and to distribute literature. Posters and tracts were even delivered to Nazi party headquarters.

Five thousand Jehovah's Witnesses were sent to concentration camps. They were unique in that they were "voluntary prisoners." If they recanted, they could be freed. Some lost their lives in the camps, but few renounced their faith.

Homosexuals: As was the case throughout Europe, homosexual behavior had been against the law in Germany for hundreds of years. In the liberal climate of the Weimar Republic, however, homosexuality was tolerated and open. Works advocating homosexuality were published, and gay bars

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United States Holocaust Memorial Museum
Washington, D.C.
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were found in all the major cities.

Within weeks of his assumption of office, Hitler banned homosexual groups. On May 6, 1933, only four days before the book burning, Professor Magnus Hirschfeld's Institute of Sexual Research, which defended homosexuality, was vandalized, its library and photo collection destroyed. During the summer of 1933, storm troopers began raiding gay bars. Homosexuals sent to concentration camps were forced to wear yellow bands inscribed with the letter *A* for *Arschficker*. Pink triangles would come later.

Nazi homophobia was based on several strains in Nazi ideology. Homosexuals were seen as a threat to Aryan breeding policy. Homosexuality was also identified with the lack of manliness that the Nazis associated with the humiliation of Versailles and with the permissive cultural ambiance of the Weimar years. Above all, the upholders of the macho-centered culture of nazism felt threatened by the very existence of homosexuality.

On July 1, 1934, the head of the SA, the storm troopers, Ernst Roehm, was shot to death on Hitler's orders as part of a power struggle between the army and the SA. Roehm, an open homosexual, had been a close associate of Hitler since the early days of street fighting. His murder, which was lauded and officially sanctioned, was a signal to intensify the antihomosexual campaign. Murder became the norm for dealing with political enemies of the regime. Soon, Himmler created a special criminal police office to fight homosexuality. By December 1934, homosexual "intent" was sufficient for criminal prosecution.

Freemasons: Freemasons were a secret fraternal order whose Masonic lodges were regarded by antisemites as a cover for a Jewish conspiracy to destroy Christianity. Started in 1717, from 1732 onward (almost sixty years before the French Revolution) Freemason lodges were open to Jews, and hence of added fascination to the antisemites.

Under nazism, Freemasons were regarded as an ideological foe of the Third Reich as well as part of the Jewish problem. The Nazis believed that Jews exploited the Freemasons' international connections to achieve world domination. The Nazi conception of "freemasonry" was quite elastic, and eventually grew to include potentially any secret brotherhood, including "old-Prussian" lodges, Scottish Rite Masons, the Rotary Club, the Order of the Grail, Rosicrucians, Theosophists, and Anthroposophists.

Nazi persecution of Freemasons was uneven and inconsistent. Initially, the pattern of persecution was virtually identical to that of the Jews, but it changed over time according to the needs of the state and the economy.

Throughout Germany in 1933 and 1934, Masonic lodges dissolved themselves "voluntarily" or were closed by force. In 1935, all remaining Masonic lodges were abolished. Like Jews, Freemasons were purged from the civil service, forced into early retirement. During the "Night of Broken Glass," SA men were encouraged to paint anti-Masonic slogans on destroyed shops and synagogues.

But as the campaign against Jews intensified after 1938, the persecution of Freemasons slackened. The massive rearmament program of the late 1930s forced the Nazi regime to exploit every available resource, and many Freemasons were civil servants, merchants, or professionals whose skills were required. In April 1938, Hitler declared a partial "amnesty" for Freemasons, and in September some lower-ranking Freemasons were readmitted to the civil service. After this partial rehabilitation, persecution of Freemasons inside Germany was limited to "obdurate" practitioners and mainly took the form of ideological warfare against Freemasonry's humanitarian and supposedly Jewish influence. This cultural warfare took the form of a museum located in Nuremberg denigrating the Freemasons.

The amnesty did not, however, affect the treatment of Freemasons in the German-occupied territories of western Europe. In every German-occupied land, lodges dissolved themselves or were forced to close.

"NIGHT OF THE BROKEN GLASS," 1938

On the night of November 9, 1938, anti-Jewish violence erupted throughout the Reich, which now included Austria and the Sudetenland. What appeared to be a spontaneous outburst of national anger sparked by the assassination of a minor German embassy official in Paris at the hands of Herschel Grynszpan, a seventeen-year-old Jewish youth, was carefully orchestrated by the Nazi regime. Grynszpan's parents were Polish Jews living in Germany. They had been deported from Germany to Poland, but because Poland refused to accept its Jewish citizens, they were stranded in limbo. From the border town of Zbaszyn they wrote to their son in desperation. His immediate response was to seek revenge.

Just before midnight on November 9, Gestapo Chief Heinrich Müller sent a telegram to all police units letting them know that "in shortest order, actions against Jews and especially their synagogues will take place in all Germany. These are not to be interfered with." Rather, the police were to arrest the victims. Fire companies stood by synagogues in flames with explicit instructions to let the buildings burn. They were to intervene only if a fire threatened adjacent Aryan properties.

Within forty-eight hours, over one thousand synagogues were burned, along with their Torah scrolls, Bibles, and prayer books. Seven thousand Jewish businesses were trashed and looted, ninety-six Jews were killed, and Jewish cemeteries, hospitals, schools, and homes were destroyed. The attackers were often neighbors. Thirty thousand Jews were arrested. To accommodate so many new prisoners, the concentration camps of Dachau, Buchenwald, and Sachsenhausen were expanded.

When the fury subsided, the pogrom was given a fancy name: *Kristallnacht* — crystal night, or night of broken glass. It came to stand for the final shattering of Jewish existence in Germany. In the aftermath of *Kristallnacht*, the regime made sure that Jews could no longer survive in their country.

The cost of the broken window glass alone came to five million marks, the equivalent of well over two million dollars. Jews of German nationality, unlike Jewish-owned corporations from abroad, could not file for damages. Any compensation claims paid to Jews by insurance companies were confiscated by the Reich. The rubble of ruined synagogues had to be cleared by the Jewish community. A fine of one billion Reichmarks ($400 million) was imposed collectively on the Jewish community. After assessing the fine, Göring remarked: "The swine won't commit another murder. Incidentally . . . I would not like to be a Jew in Germany." On November 15, Jews were barred from schools. Two weeks later, local authorities were given the right to impose a curfew, and by December Jews were denied access to most public places. All remaining Jewish businesses were Aryanized.

The *Kristallnacht* pogrom was the last occasion of street violence against Jews in Germany. It appeared that Jews could leave and enter their homes in safety. But they no longer had any illusions. Life in the Reich was no longer possible. There was another wave of suicides. Most tried desperately to leave.

Fifty years after *Kristallnacht*, a survivor, Sigmund Tobias, recalled what it meant to a Jewish child then:

Our family stayed at home and ventured outside only on the day after Kristallnacht. As we passed the entrance to the Ryke Strasse Synagogue, we saw a mound of simmering, smoking ashes in the center courtyard. To our horror, we realized that the smoldering mound consisted of the synagogue's prayer books. From the center of the mound the blackened, charred handles of sacred Torah scrolls protruded.

I had been taught great reverence for the Torah. If the Torah was dropped during services — even accidentally — the whole congregation would have to fast for 40 days. Yet the Nazis had brazenly destroyed the most holy, the most awesome objects of our faith.

I will never forget how terror struck this six-year-old at the realization that there was no safety for us anywhere.

There was no place to go. Jewish emigration to Palestine was severely limited by the British. Neutral Switzerland was afraid of being overrun by Jews. The United States raised a formidable series of paper walls to keep refugees out.

A strict quota system limited the entry of immigrants to the United States according to their country of origin. To obtain a visa, a would-be immigrant had to fill out myriad forms and submit them to American consular officials in Europe, whose job was to issue visas sparingly. There were financial tests to weed out refugees who were likely to become a public charge. One of the requirements was a certificate of good conduct attesting to the exemplary character of the immigrant. This was supposed to be obtained from one's local police authority, in this case the Gestapo. Because American law at the time did not include any special provisions for admitting refugees fleeing persecution and since American law permits no distinctions on the basis of religion, after the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939, German Jews were barred as potential spies.

The United States, a nation of immigrants, was reluctant to become a haven for Jewish refugees. Reflexive nationalism went hand in hand with widespread antisemitism. The depression lingered on, and high unemployment made many Americans fearful of opening the doors to new immigrants, who represented competition in the job market. That these were victims of Nazi persecution fleeing for their lives did not seem a sufficient reason to let in more than a trickle of refugees. Only in 1938 and 1939 in the years between 1933 and 1945 was the quota for Germany and Austria filled, even though from 1932 to 1938 more people emigrated from the United States than came in as immigrants — the first time in all of American history that this had happened.

Public opinion polls taken at the time revealed widespread opposition to loosening the quotas, even among people who were critical of the Nazis. According to Roper polls taken in 1938 and 1939, while 95 percent of Americans disapproved of the German regime, fewer than 9 percent supported changing the system to allow more refugees into the country. After *Kristallnacht*, even more Americans opposed any change.

American Jews, most of whom were themselves first- and second-generation immigrants, were hesitant about bringing pressure for a more generous refugee policy. As a community, they were splintered and powerless. They were afraid of stirring up antisemitism in the United States, and with good reason. Antisemitism in the United States reached a peak in the period between 1938 and 1945. Sixty percent of Americans polled by Roper in the late 1930s thought Jews had "objectionable qualities"; nearly half believed Jews had "too much power" in the United States; and as many as 20 percent said they would sympathize with an antisemitic campaign. In virtually every poll, Jews were cited as posing a major threat to the country.

Even efforts to rescue children were not successful. In February 1939, Senator Robert Wagner of New York and Congresswoman Edith Rogers of Massachusetts introduced a bill that would grant special permission for twenty thousand German children under the age of fourteen to come to the United States. The bill specified that the children would be supported privately, not by the government. At first, it seemed that the bill would pass easily. How could anyone be opposed to taking in children? But opposition came from the isolationists in Congress, who argued that American children should come first, and from groups who argued that it was "a Jewish bill" designed to help only Jewish children. President Roosevelt never said a word in support. The Wagner-Rogers Bill died in committee and never came to the floor of either the House of Representatives or the Senate.

The American journalist Dorothy Thompson wrote:

It is a fantastic commentary on the inhumanity of our times that for thousands and thousands of people a piece of paper with a stamp on it is the difference between life and death.

THE VOYAGE OF THE ST. LOUIS

On May 13, 1939, the SS *St. Louis*, a luxury liner on the Hamburg-America Line, left Germany for Cuba carrying 936 passengers, all but six of them Jews. Each had a landing permit to Cuba. They seemed to be the lucky ones among the hundreds of thousand of Jews seeking to leave the Reich after *Kristallnacht*. In a few days they would reach freedom.

One day out of Havana, many of the passengers used the last of their "ship money" to send telegrams to relatives in Germany telling them, "Arrived safely." But when the *St. Louis* reached port on May 27, the Cuban government refused to honor the visas. The day before the ship had set sail, the president of Cuba had invalidated the landing certificates, a fact known to the shipping line, although not to the ship's captain. Bribes were solicited, with the asking price of five hundred dollars a person. As the ship sat in Havana harbor within yards of the shore, the ante was raised to one million dollars.

The American Joint Distribution Committee, the Jewish organization responsible for relief and rehabilitation work overseas, was in a dilemma. To pay such a huge ransom for nine hundred Jews would be an invitation for other governments to extort similar and even larger sums. At the same time, there was increasing pressure from the public — Jews and non-Jews alike — to meet the demand. The JDC continued to negotiate, while newspapers and radio gave daily reports on the fate of the passengers. Urgent appeals were made to the State Department, which decided not to intervene. The passengers sent a telegram to President Roosevelt. It went unanswered; the White House maintained its silence on refugee issues. A hand-wringing editorial in the *New York Times* said:

We can only hope that some hearts will soften and some refuge will be found. The cruise of the St. Louis cries to high heaven of man's inhumanity to man.

In New York, the JDC received discouraging replies from Colombia, Chile, Paraguay, and Argentina. On June 5, an agreement was reached that would allow the refugees to land in Cuba if $453,000 was deposited within twenty-four hours, a deadline the JDC could not meet.

When the *St. Louis* left Havana, the German captain, Gustav Schroeder, appealed in vain to the United States for a haven. As the ship sailed along the Florida coast, the passengers could see the lights of Miami. U.S. Coast Guard ships patrolled the waters to make sure that no one jumped to freedom. The *St. Louis* turned back to Europe.

Antisuicide patrols were organized. Children played a game in which two boys guarded a barrier constructed of chairs. Other children lined up and asked permission to pass through.

"Are you a Jew?" asked one of the guards.
"Yes," answered the child at the barrier.
"Jews not admitted," snapped the guard.
"Oh, please let me in. I'm only a very little Jew."

For a while, the sad voyage of the *St. Louis* seemed to have a happy ending. Belgium, the Netherlands, England, and France admitted the passengers. But within months, the Nazis overran Western Europe. Only the 288 passengers who disembarked in England were safe. Of the rest, only a few survived the Holocaust.

TO SAFETY

A few — too few — Jews found places of refuge. The United States received the largest number of refugees between 1933 and 1945, a total of 132,000. Until 1939, most refugees had gone to Palestine, but in 1939 a British White Paper limited the number of Jews who could settle there to fifteen thousand a year for five years. England did, however, take in ten thousand Jewish refugee children that year, something the United States was not willing to do.

Latin American countries received approximately eighty thousand refugees. Mexico, Argentina, Costa Rica, Brazil, Cuba, and Colombia were lands of refuge for those lucky Jews who escaped in time. Many German Communists who sought asylum in the Soviet Union were eventually sentenced to death under Stalin's terror campaigns.

Canada received only a handful of refugees. Canadian university faculties were not open to Jews. Of the thousands of European scholars who were forced to flee, only six found full-time jobs in Canadian universities. One of them, Gerhard Herzberg, a molecular physicist, became Canada's first Nobel laureate in science.

Until November 1, 1939, China required neither a visa nor a police certificate for entrance. Jews arrested after *Kristallnacht* could be freed from concentration camps on the condition that they left Germany within two weeks. Many went to Shanghai, a city of odd juxtapositions. Opium dens flourished in the vicinity of a distinguished university; thousands of Chinese died on the streets in a city that supported a symphony orchestra; caftan-clad Yiddish-speaking yeshiva students and German-speaking families who had been part of the Berlin cultural establishment lived alongside the Chinese.

The German Jewish refugees included ordinary people — shopkeepers, artisans, middle-class professionals — as well as distinguished writers, artists, scholars, and scientists who epitomized the flowering of high German and European culture. Many had international reputations in their fields. Leaving their homeland to make a new life in a strange country was difficult. An Einstein was received royally, but other, less-renowned intellectuals were often treated shabbily, unable to find work suited to their abilities.

Not all the refugees were Jewish. Thomas Mann left Germany immediately after the Nazi takeover, and Paul Tillich, the brilliant young Protestant theologian, came to the United States in 1933.

Some of Europe's finest artists fled, including Jean Arp, André Breton, Marc Chagall, Marcel Duchamp, Max Ernst, Jacques Lipchitz, Andre Masson, and Henri Matisse. Eminent musicians included Georg Szell and Bruno Walter. Many established writers came to the United States, among them Franz Werfel, the novelist whose *Forty Days of Musa Dagh* conveyed the tragedy of the Armenians and was invoked by Jewish resistance fighters in Bialystok and Warsaw. Lion Feuchtwanger and Max Brod, the friend and biographer of Franz Kafka, were forced to flee.

In Vienna, Sigmund Freud dispatched his disciples around the globe. Psychoanalysis was no longer safe in the Reich. Analysts trained by Freud fled to New York and Los Angeles, Jerusalem and Johannesburg, Buenos Aires and Sydney. Freud himself left Vienna for London soon after the Nazis entered Austria. At a final gathering of his disciples in Vienna, Freud called on the memory of Yochanan Ben Zakkai, the first-century rabbi who had made Judaism portable and synagogue centered after the destruction of Jerusalem. Psychoanalysis would survive even if Freud was exiled from Vienna.

An Emergency Visitors Visa Program was established in the United States to rescue "persons of exceptional merit, those of superior intellectual attainment." Varian Fry, an emissary in France of the Emergency Rescue Committee, was dispatched, lists in hand, to save a cultural elite and relocate them in the United States. One hundred and fifty mathematicians came to the United States under the program. Hundreds of chemists came, eight of them Nobel Prize winners in the years before their arrival or in subsequent years.

In the humanities, the social sciences, and medicine and law — fields in which Jews had achieved prominence — many of the best and the brightest were forced to flee. Whole institutions of scholarship were relocated — for example, the Warburg Institute of Art, which moved from Berlin to London. Many of those who escaped found a haven, and often a home, in the United States. They taught at American universities, where their presence enriched American cultural life and left a permanent legacy. In fields as diverse as quantum physics and medieval history they reshaped American scholarship. Many of them could not easily find academic jobs, and a new institution, fittingly called the New School for Social Research, was established in New York City. Its faculty consisted almost entirely of refugees. The Manhattan Project, where atomic fusion first took place, would not have been possible without the contributions of the refugees.

Many of the German Jewish refugees who managed to enter the United States formed a community in New York City. More than twenty thousand of them lived in the Washington Heights area of upper Manhattan. Because they strenuously preserved echt (authentic) German culture and attitudes in the face of freewheeling American customs, the blocks between 160th and 180th streets west of Broadway were facetiously called "The Fourth Reich." The émigrés published their own German-language newspapers, tried to live as they always had in Germany, and anguished for the brethren they had left behind. Among the children to grow up in this area was a young Jewish refugee, Henry Kissinger, who was later to become the first secretary of state of Jewish origin, a Nobel Peace Prize winner, and the architect of American foreign policy between 1969 and 1977.

Forced to begin anew in a strange world, the refugees had been wrenched from their language, their work, and their old lives. They could never forget those who did not survive. The playwright Bertolt Brecht described how it felt:

I know of course; it's simply luck
That I've survived so many friends. But last night
in a dream
I heard those friends say of me:
"Survival of the fittest"
And I hated myself.

THE WAR BEGINS

"War is life," Hitler wrote. "War is the origin of all things."

On September 1, 1939, the German armies invaded Poland. World War II had begun. The aim of German foreign policy, Hitler said, was to "secure for the German people the land and the spoils to which they are entitled on this earth." Austria and the Sudetenland had been taken into the Reich without a shot being fired, but the conquest of Poland required war. "Only thus shall we gain the *Lebensraum* [living space] which we need," Hitler told his troops.

Lebensraum was only one motive for going to war. Hitler's determination to carry out Nazi racial policy was of equal importance. In a speech on January 30, 1939, celebrating the beginning of his sixth year in power, Hitler issued an unequivocal warning:

> *If international-finance Jewry [Hitler's term for the supposed conspiracy of Jewish bankers] inside and outside of Europe should succeed once more in plunging nations into another world war, the consequence will not be the Bolshevization of the earth and, thereby the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe.*

War made possible, Goebbels wrote, "the solution of a whole series of problems that could never have been solved in peacetime." War freed the regime from all restraints and at the same time united the German people against their enemies — both real and imagined. Hitler's war, which overnight reversed the humiliating defeat of 1918, restored the confidence of the nation that until recently had been still reeling from its defeat in World War I. Within a year of the attack on Poland, Germany achieved hegemony over an empire in the East.

The Polish army was destroyed within days of the Nazi invasion. Warsaw surrendered in less than a month. Great Britain and France declared war on Germany to fulfill their treaty obligations, but provided no military assistance to the beleaguered Polish government.

Germany and its new Soviet ally proceeded

to carve up Poland. (In a stunning reversal of policy, Germany and the Soviet Union had signed a nonaggression pact less than two weeks before the attack on Poland.) Eastern territories were annexed to the Soviet Union; those in the west, including the city of Danzig, became part of the Reich or came under German rule. More than twenty-two million people were added to the Nazi empire.

On April 9, 1940, Germany invaded Denmark and Norway. Both were conquered swiftly. On May 10, German armies swept through Belgium and the Netherlands on their approach to France in an attack called the *Blitzkrieg*, or lightning war. The Netherlands fell in five days. Belgium capitulated in less than three weeks, forcing a British army of a quarter of a million to flee across the English Channel from the beaches at Dunkerque.

The French army, afraid of being totally destroyed, retreated. On June 13, Paris fell to the Germans. Under an armistice agreement, France was divided. The northern part of the country was occupied by Germany, while Hitler's ally, Italy, occupied part of the south. Part remained under nominal French control, ruled by the Vichy government, which was in fact a puppet of Germany.

During the summer of 1940, the Luftwaffe, the German air force, launched massive bombing raids on Britain as the prelude to a planned invasion, but met unexpectedly strong opposition from the Royal Air Force. Between July and October, the skies above England were ablaze with aerial combat; Germany lost 1,722 aircraft to the RAF's 915.

During the winter, the German army completed plans to invade the Soviet Union in May 1941. On April 6, 1941, Germany invaded the Balkan countries of Greece and Yugoslavia (Bulgaria and Romania had already come under German domination). The Greeks and Yugoslavs put up strong resistance, causing Germany to delay the invasion of the Soviet Union until late June, a postponement that was to have fateful consequences when the German armies were forced to campaign in the deadly Russian winter. Still, on the eve of the attack, the Soviet army was the only major land force on the European continent left standing against the Nazis. The triumphant German army looked invincible.

TERROR IN POLAND

The German High Command in occupied Poland received its orders directly from Hitler. In the Nazi racial hierarchy, Poles were considered *Untermenschen* (subhumans) standing in the way of German expansion. Prior to the attack, Hitler addressed his high command in Obersalzberg. Louis Lochner, a famous American correspondent in Berlin, received a copy of the notes of the meeting from Hermann Maass, a key contact of Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, director of the Abwehr, the counterintelligence department of the German High Command. (In 1944, Maass was a leader in the conspiracy against Hitler.) Hitler is reported to have said:

I have issued the command — and I'll have anybody who utters but one word of criticism executed by a firing squad — that our war aim does not consist in reaching certain lines, but in the physical destruction of the enemy. Accordingly, I have placed my deathhead formations in readiness — for present only in the East — with orders to send to death mercilessly and without compassion, men,

German policy in Poland represented a departure from traditional warfare. Terror was intensified *after* a state was subdued and its people had surrendered. In the territories extending from East Prussia to Silesia, which were annexed outright by the Reich, the Nazis instituted a program of colonization. German settlers moved in and the native Polish population — including Jews — was forcibly resettled. Cities and towns were given German names. Whole regions were evacuated.

In what was known as the General-Government, the German-run but nonannexed territories of central Poland, members of the Polish intelligentsia and political leadership were systematically and brutally killed by the Nazis. The aim was to harness a leaderless, subservient population of laborers, who would be used to serve their German masters as migrant workers. Terror was central to this policy. The Nazi General-Governor Hans Frank said: "Poles will become slaves to the German Empire."

Executions took place daily in Warsaw's Pawiak prison and the Palmiry forest on the outskirts of the city. In Poznan, Fort VII became a place for the torture of university professors, politicians, and clergy.

The Roman Catholic Church had for centuries been inextricably linked with the Polish nationalist movement; therefore, it seemed logical to the Nazis that getting rid of Catholic priests was an effective way to weaken Polish nationalism. During the course of the war, 18 percent of all Polish diocesan priests were killed. In some regions, the death toll was even more devastating. Polish reports indicate that in Chelmno, 47.8 percent of the priests were murdered; in Lódź, 36.8 percent were killed; and in Poznan, 31.1 percent died. Within four months of the German invasion, 80 percent of the priests of the Wartaland region were expelled. Even if these figures are inflated, the reality of massive slaughter cannot be denied.

In prewar Poznan, thirty churches and forty-seven chapels had served a population of two hundred thousand. After the German occupation, only two churches remained open. In Lódź, a city of seven hundred thousand, only four churches remained. Within a few weeks of the invasion, two hundred professors from Poland's ancient and venerated Jagiellonian University were murdered. Archives were plundered, art was stolen, and national treasures were taken to Germany. Even monuments to Poland's heroic figures — Chopin, Kosciuszko, and Pilsudski — were removed.

Those Polish children who were considered to be sufficiently Germanic were kidnapped and sent to Germany as part of a forced Aryanization program. "If a child is recognized to be of our blood," Himmler wrote, "the parents will be notified that the child will be sent to school and will remain permanently in Germany." As for ordinary Polish children, there was also a plan. In a top-secret memorandum, "The Treatment of Racial Aliens in the East," dated May 25, 1940, Himmler laid out the strategy:

For the non-German population of the East, there must be no higher school than the fourth grade of elementary school. The sole goal of this schooling is to teach them simple arithmetic, nothing above the number 500, writing one's name and the doctrine that it is divine law to obey the Germans. . . . I do not think that reading is desirable.

Himmler was equally blunt about his attitude toward Polish adults. "The conditions in which these people live . . . are a matter of complete indifference to us," he said. "They interest me only to the extent that we need them as slaves for our culture."

MURDER OF THE HANDICAPPED

Mass murder began with the death of a few individuals. In September 1939, Hitler signed an order empowering his personal physician and the chief of the Führer Chancellery to put to death those considered unsuited to live. He backdated it to September 1, 1939, the day World War II began, to give it the appearance of a wartime measure. In the directive:

Reich leader Philip Bouhler and Dr. Brandt are charged with responsibility for expanding the authority of physicians, to be designated by name, to the end that patients considered incurable according to the best available human judgment of their state of health, can be granted a mercy killing.

What followed was the so-called euthanasia program, in which men, women, and children who were physically disabled, mentally retarded, or emotionally disturbed were systematically killed.

Within a few months, the T-4 program (named for Berlin Chancellery Tiergarten 4, which directed it) involved virtually the entire German psychiatric community. A new bureaucracy, headed by physicians, was established with a mandate to "take executive measures against those defined as 'life unworthy of living.'"

A statistical survey of all psychiatric institutions, hospitals, and homes for chronically ill patients was ordered. At Tiergarten 4, three medical experts reviewed the forms returned by institutions throughout Germany, but did not examine any patients or read their medical records. Nevertheless, they had the power to decide life or death.

Patients whom it was decided to kill were transported to six killing centers: Hartheim, Sonnenstein, Grafeneck, Bernburg, Hadamar, and Brandenburg. The members of the SS in charge of the transports donned white coats to keep up the charade of a medical procedure.

The first killings were by starvation: starvation is passive, simple, and natural. Then injections of lethal doses of sedatives were used. Children were easily "put to sleep." But gassing soon became the preferred method of killing. Fifteen to twenty people were killed in a chamber disguised as a shower. The lethal gas was provided by chemists, and the process was supervised by physicians. Afterward, black smoke billowed from the chimneys as the bodies were burned in adjacent crematoria.

Families of those killed were informed of the transfer. They were assured that their loved ones were being moved in order to receive the best and most modern treatment available. Visits, however, were not possible. The relatives then received condolence letters, falsified death certificates signed by physicians, and urns containing ashes. There were occasional lapses in bureaucratic efficiency, and some families received more than one urn. They soon realized something was amiss.

A few doctors protested. Heinrich Bonhoeffer, a leading psychiatrist, worked with his son Dietrich, a pastor who actively opposed the regime, to contact church groups, urging them not to turn patients in church-run institutions over to the SS. (Dietrich Bonhoeffer was executed by the SS just before the end of the war.) A few physicians refused to fill out the requisite forms. Only one psychiatrist, Professor Gottfried Ewald of the University of Göttingen, openly opposed the killing.

Doctors did not become killers overnight. The transformation took time and required a veneer of scientific justification. As early as 1895, a widely used German medical textbook made a claim for "the right to death." In 1920, a physician and a prominent jurist argued that destroying "life unworthy of life" is a therapeutic treatment and a compassionate act completely consistent with medical ethics.

Soon after the Nazis came to power, the Bavarian Minister of Health proposed that psychopaths, the mentally retarded, and other "inferior" people be isolated and killed. "This policy has already been initiated at our concentration camps," he noted. A year later, mental institutions throughout the Reich were instructed to "neglect" their patients by withholding food and medical treatment.

Pseudo-scientific rationalizations for the killing of the "unworthy" were bolstered by economic considerations. According to bureaucratic calculations, state funds that went to the care of criminals and the insane could be put to better use, for example by loans to newly married couples. Incurably sick children were seen as a burden for the healthy body of the *Volk*, the German people. In a time of war, it was not difficult to lose sight of the absolute value of human life. Hitler understood this. Wartime, he said, "was the best time for the elimination of the incurably ill."

The murder of the handicapped was a prefiguration of the Holocaust. The killing centers to which the handicapped were transported were the antecedents of the death camps. The organized transportation of the handicapped foreshadowed mass deportation. Some of the physicians who became specialists in the technology of cold-blooded murder in the late 1930s later staffed the death camps. All their moral, professional, and ethical inhibitions had long been lost.

During the German euthanasia program, psychiatrists were able to save some patients, at least temporarily, but only if the psychiatrists cooperated in sending others to their death. In the Jewish communities of the territories later conquered by the Nazis, *Judenrat* leaders, Jews appointed by the Germans to take charge of the ghettos, had to make similar choices.

Gas chambers were first developed at the handicapped killing centers. So was the use of burning to dispose of dead bodies. In the death camps the technology was taken to a new level: thousands could be killed at one time and their bodies burned within hours.

The Roman Catholic Church, which had not taken a stand on the Jewish question, protested the "mercy killing." Count von Galen, the Bishop of Münster, openly challenged the regime, arguing that it was the duty of Christians to oppose the taking of human life even if this were to cost them their own lives. It seemed to have an effect.

On August 24, 1941, almost two years after the euthanasia program was initiated, it appeared to cease. In fact, it had gone underground. The killing did not end; mass murder was just beginning. Physicians trained in the medical killing centers went on to grander tasks. Irmfried Eberl, a doctor whose career began in the T-4 program, became the commandant of Treblinka, where killing of a magnitude as yet unimagined would take place.



A mentally disabled girl photographed shortly before her murder. Germany. *Archiv Ernst Klee, Frankfurt, Germany.*

The Road to Genocide

Excerpt from: Donald Kenrick and Grattan Puxon. *The Destiny of Europe's Gypsies*. London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1972. pp. 76-80.

The mere imposition of restrictions on Gypsies did not satisfy the Nazis. To make Germany free of Gypsies followed logically from the policy applied to Jews. Heydrich organized a meeting on September 21st, 1939, at which it was decided that Gypsies should be sent to Poland. The plan covered all the Gypsies in Greater Germany (including recently annexed Danzig, West Prussia and the Warthe region) altogether 30,000 in number. A few categories were in theory to be exempted, those five years in regular employment and families in which the mother or father was a non-Gypsy.

It was Heydrich who, on Himmler's orders, issued the Settlement Edict, dated October 17th, under which Gypsies were prohibited from leaving their houses or camping places. A count was made in the period October 25th-27th and the Gypsies were then collected in special camps until they could be sent to Poland.

The first moves in the deportation were initiated by express letter on April 27th, 1940. In the middle of May, 2,500 Gypsies faced transfer to Poland from the following towns:

"Hamburg and Bremen	1,000
Cologne, Dusseldorf and Hanover	1,000
Stuttgart and Frankfurt am Main	500."

The Gypsies from Hamburg were deported to Belzec, a primitive camp consisting of some huts and tents put up by the Gypsies themselves. They had to work on digging trenches and other tasks. Three months later they went on to Krychow. This camp had stone buildings including an old factory. Here the Gypsies laboured on drains. Apart from the first fortnight the camp was guarded. Then, twelve weeks later, they were given back their documents and allowed to travel, some being placed in near-by villages.

Some Gypsies from Cologne went first to Lochitzen and then to the ghetto at Kielce.

The transport from Stuttgart also included Gypsies from Mainz, Worms and Ingelheim. About 100 went from Mainz leaving only sixteen behind in the town. These sixteen arrived at the Dieselstrasse camp in Frankfurt on June 24th. Gypsies from Stuttgart were sent to the Jewish town of Czenzidjow and then to the ghetto at Radom. Apparently a fourth transport, from south Germany, was unloaded in open country in Poland and the Gypsies left to fend for themselves.

Gypsies deported to Poland were told that if they came back they would be sterilized and sent to concentration camps. They had to sign a document to show they understood this.

Apart from the problem of Gypsies returning, others wanted to join deported relatives in the East. As a general rule it was decided that this would not be permitted. Christian Winterstein of Worms was however given permission to go if he paid his own transport. The General Government authorities wrote to Berlin in November 1940 saying they did not want relatives to come at least for the present as the situation was already chaotic. They thought after April of the following year it might be possible to admit them. Late in 1941 however an order signed by Otto forbade Gypsies to travel to the General Government:

> "A further settlement of relatives of the Gypsies resettled in the General Government in May 1940 cannot take place for the moment because of the war in the East. Further information will be given about this in due course. I may mention now that such reunion of relatives will be at their own expense. For the moment I am keeping all requests to join deportees in this office."

This was reaffirmed in December 1942:

> "In May 1940 and November 1941 a number of Gypsies were sent to the General Government and the Warthe region. Since then their relatives have followed them and made inquiries about them, causing difficulties. Any such persons should be arrested and no permits to travel to the General Government and the Warthe should be given."

The last edict was designed to prevent Gypsies moving out of Germany in the period just before their removal to Auschwitz. Some 3,000 persons had been deported, leaving 27,000 Gypsies remaining in Germany when it was decided in October 1940 to stop further deportations to Poland. Various reasons have been put forward to explain the halt. Transport was needed for war purposes; Governor Frank of Poland objected as he was trying to organize the country efficiently; the classification of Gypsies was not yet complete. Also priority was being given to the expulsion of the Jews as their flats were needed for Germans returning from the Russian-occupied Baltic states. A combination of these reasons probably led to the decision.

Deportation was however still the solution envisaged. A small transport left in November 1941. At a meeting in Prague the same month it was agreed to deport the German Gypsies to Riga. But this plan too was abandoned as the Nazis fell upon a simpler 'solution' to the Gypsy problem.

A mass murder of Jews had taken place at Treblinka in December 1940. An experimental gassing station was established at Auschwitz in September 1941 and the first permanent gassing camp was set up at Chelmno in December. Some sources suggest that the decision to annihilate the Jews had already been made in June 1941. Certainly a conference at Wannsee on January 20th, 1942, marked its definite acceptance. Later the same year the policy was extended to Gypsies.

Meanwhile those still in Germany had been progressively restricted. Gypsies were deported from border zones in 1941. In other areas they continued to be forced into holding camps.

From 1941 they were not allowed to travel and sell, being allocated instead to regular jobs. In 1942 the Gypsy camp was moved to Kruppstrasse and surrounded by a high wire fence with two policemen on guard. The Gypsies had to be inside by dusk and the gate shut until 5 a.m. Others were put into a camp behind barbed wire at Dusseldorf-Lierenfeld, were badly treated by the police and compelled to work in columns under SS guards.

Although Gypsies had officially been excluded from the army by law as early as November 1937, many classified as pure and part-Gypsy were still serving. Some had even received medals. Early in 1941 the army authorities reaffirmed that *on the grounds of racial policy* no more Gypsies and part-Gypsies should be called up. Those in the army were to be placed in reserve units and no further decorations were to be awarded to Gypsies. The police sent lists of the persons concerned to the army. In the same month a secret order went out that Gypsies should not be employed in army factories and other top security workshops.

Discrimination in the field of education had already started in the pre-war years. In 1936 an edict of the Ministry of the Interior said that research should be carried out into whether Gypsies were fit for education and whether Gypsy orphans should be fostered.

In Cologne after February 1939 only one class existed for all the Gypsy children in the town, and the Frankfurt Gypsies were dismissed from school in 1941 'because of the shortage of teachers'. Those who did attend had to put up with persecution by other children.

The Ministry of Education announced in March 1941 that persons without citizenship could not attend school. Gypsies lacking German nationality were excluded and the police instructed to expel from the country any of them who became a 'social nuisance' as a result of having no occupation. Gypsy children holding German nationality had the theoretical right to attend classes. However, 'if they were a moral or other danger to the German children' they should be dismissed and the police informed.

In view of its importance in some laws a brief account of the different groups of Gypsies in Germany at the outbreak of the war [follows]:

Sinti who had come as early as the fifteenth century and could be called native to Germany. There were 13.000 in 1939, many of them musicians. The name probably comes from the province of Sind in India.

Lalleri or Lalleri Sinti (i.e. 'dumb' Gypsies, speaking a different dialect) were a smaller group, some 1.017 in 1942. They were chosen for preferential treatment because it was thought they were a branch of the 'German' Sinti but linguistically they are a sub-group of the Rom.

Rom had come to Germany from Hungary in 1860-70 and were mainly horse dealers. In 1940 there were 1.860 and in 1942, 1.585.

Balkan Gypsies who numbered some 8.000 in Burgenland.

Litautikker who were sedentary in East Prussia. Numbering some 2.000 in 1940, they were probably a subgroup of the Sinti but were not classed as such.

Others: *Kelderari, Lovari, Drisari, Medvashi*. Yugoslav Gypsies and basket-makers who together probably numbered less than 1.000.

The first hint of any distinction in law between different Gypsy tribes came in August 1941 when following classification, a refinement of the earlier division into pure and part-Gypsies was set up:

Z	pure Gypsy (*Zigeuner*)
ZM +, ZM(+)	more than half-Gypsy
ZM	part-Gypsy (*Zigeunermischling*)
ZM 1st grade	half-Gypsy, half-German
ZM 2nd grade	half-ZM 1, half-German
ZM −, ZM(−)	more than half-German
NZ	non-Gypsy(*Nicht-Zigeuner*).

In addition Gypsies of the Sinti tribe were to be noted as 'native Gypsies':

A non-Gypsy married to a Gypsy or a part-Gypsy was to be additionally classified as "member of a Gypsy mixed family" and a ZM − or ZM(−) was to be classed additionally, where relevant, as "member of a non-Gypsy family."

The Central Police H.Q. was to decide the treatment to be applied to classes ZM− and ZM(−) under the various laws. Döring has pointed out that ZM 2nd grade should logically have been classed as ZM−.

We doubt whether such a detailed classification as the above was ever carried out for the majority of German Gypsies. Such documents as we have seen indicate 'predominantly Gypsy blood' or similar phrases. The classification was not based entirely on genealogy.

We find however that when the time came for the Gypsies to be taken to Auschwitz genealogy was of prime importance. Many integrated Gypsies, sought out by the police using information from family trees, were added to the transports.

It has not been established with certainty when and by whom the decision was made to annihilate the Gypsies.

The date was probably in Summer 1942, some time after the Wannsee conference. . . .

Fifty Years Ago: FROM TERROR TO SYSTEMATIC MURDER

The Search for Countries of Refuge

In the first selection from Arthur Morse's *While Six Million Died*, the author discusses the important 1938 meeting of the thirty-two nations to deal with the "Jewish Question." Some historians feel that the Evian Conference taught the Nazis that the world was willing to do very little about the persecution of Jews in Germany. Most nations were unwilling to increase their immigration quotas. In 1924, in a period of extreme hostility towards immigrants from Eastern Europe, the United States Congress passed the National Origins Act which drastically reduced the rate of immigration, especially from Eastern and Southern Europe. This law was reaffirmed at Evian.

The anti-immigrant sentiment was maintained in the Depression atmosphere of the Thirties. Organizations such as the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Medical Association expressed their fears about immigration. Yet, it would be a mistake to think that the Depression was the sole cause of these feelings. The combination of isolationism and anti-Semitism, as well as economic self-interest, helped produce the reaction of the 1930s. The map from Martin Gilbert's *The Holocaust* shows how difficult it was for Jews to leave Europe and settle in other parts of the world.

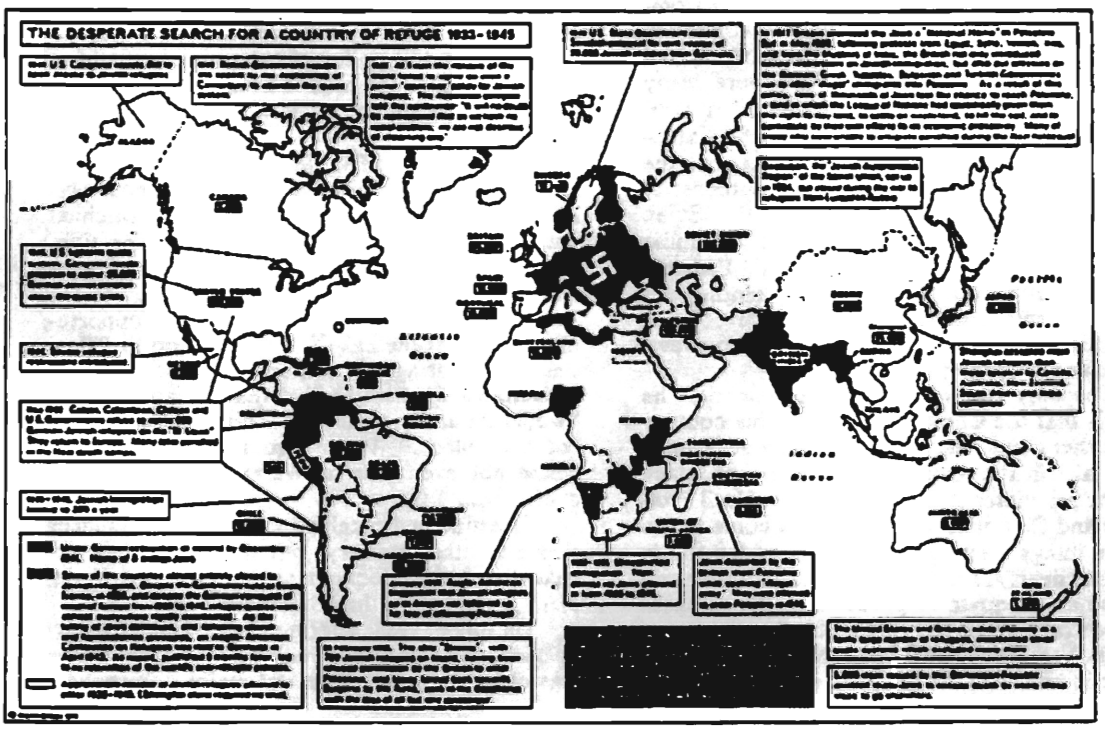
The Evian Conference

Arthur Morse

On May 12 France approved of Evian-les-Bains as the site of the refugee conference. The luxurious resort on the French shore of Lake Geneva would provide excellent accommodations for representatives of the thirty-two nations which would attend.

The United States announced that Myron C. Taylor, former chairman of the U.S. Steel Corporation, would be its principal representative at the conference. . . . The precarious situation of the Jews was held in abeyance between May and July. Nothing was done to ease the rigidity of the immigration procedures, which proved particularly tragic for a thirty-six-year-old German Jewish woman named Luise Wolf.

Luise Wolf had arrived in New York on a six-week visitor's permit. During her stay she hoped to obtain an affidavit attesting to her means of



support so she could assure the United States of America that she would not become one of its public charges. Then she would become a bona-fide immigrant.

In Munich she had worked as a saleswoman to support her sick mother and herself, but was discharged as a non-Aryan. At the Clara de Hirsch Home for Working Girls, where she lived in New York, she was regarded as a well-educated, quiet person, but somehow she had not been able to obtain her affidavit. She was scheduled to return to Germany on May 27. On May 25 Luise Wolf leaped to her death from a fifth-floor window of the Home. A return ticket to Germany and $15 were found in her purse.

Such tragedies seemed needless to many Americans, especially since U.S. immigration quotas were unfilled. On June 7, 1938, a delegation of the Jewish People's Committee for United Action Against Fascism and Anti-Semitism visited the White House and presented 120,000 signatures on petitions proposing that the unused quotas from any country be made available for the admission of refugees from other countries. Presidential secretary Marvin McIntyre met the group, accepted the petitions and then sent a note to Sumner Welles:

"Personally I do not see much necessity for any reply except that a more or less courteous but stereotyped answer signed by me may head off insistence in the future for a specific reply. What do you think."

Welles thought so too.

A few months later the Jewish People's Committee presented 245,325 additional signatures obtained from people of all faiths. These were filed with the first batch. Although there were many non-Jewish signatories to these and other petitions, and although leading Protestant and Catholic clergymen spoke out frequently against the Nazi actions, there was no national outburst of Christian indignation. Shortly before the Evian Conference, James McDonald renewed a familiar campaign as he accepted the Albert Einstein Medal for Humanitarian Services. Pointing out that Protestants and Catholics were also being persecuted, he said that it was time that non-Jews became aware of the problem.

"The only really discouraging element," he said, "is that the Christian world, in this country and in other countries, should to such a very small extent take in the meaning of this current attack upon the principles of civilized society. Until Protestants and Catholics as well as Jews come to see that the things they hold dear, even as the things Jews hold dear, are threatened—not until then will there be an adequate response to enable refugees from central Europe to be cared for."

Much more typical than McDonald's eloquence in behalf of the refugees was the action of the New York State encampment of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. With the imminent Evian Conference in mind the VFW passed a resolution disapproving the admission of any refugees to the United States and calling for the suspension of all immigration for ten years. . . .

Even as the VFW and other "patriotic" groups were fighting the admission of refugees, the American and British press reported the large-scale movement of Austrian Jews to the Dachau concentration camp near Munich.

On June 19, two weeks before Evian, the London *Times's* Vienna correspondent wrote: "Demoralization is pursued by constant arrest of the Jewish population. No specific charge is made, but men and women, young and old, are taken each day and each night from their houses or in the streets and carried off, the more fortunate to Austrian prisons, and the rest to Dachau and other concentration camps in Germany. . . . The authorities demand rapid and impossible emigration. The Jews would welcome evacuation, but for most it is impossible. . . ."

Perhaps no one described the challenge of Evian more eloquently than Anne O'Hare McCormick, columnist of the *New York Times*. Two days before the conference opened, she wrote: "It is heartbreaking to think of the queues of desperate human beings around our consulates in Vienna and other cities waiting in suspense for what happens at Evian. . . . It is not a question of how many unemployed this country can safely add to its own unemployed millions. It is a test of civilization. . . . Can America live with itself if it lets Germany get away with this policy of extermination, allows the fanaticism of one man to triumph over reason, refuses to take up this gage of battle against barbarism?"

Unknown to Miss McCormick and to the reporters gathering to cover the conference, Myron Taylor had met earlier with Sir Michael Palairet, the deputy head of the British delegation. Taylor told him that American Jewish leaders were anxious that Dr. Chaim Weizmann, head of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, be given an opportunity to present the case for immigration to Palestine either during the conference or at a private session. Sir Michael replied that his government "would naturally prefer that this meeting should not take place." Taylor promised him that he would not even talk to Weizmann prior to the conference.

Palestine had received more Jewish refugees than any other country, but the British had excluded its most eloquent spokesman, Dr. Weizmann, even before the conference began. . . .

On July 6, 1938, after much introductory skirmishing, the highly publicized Evian Conference was called to order. The first major controversy

tackled by the delegates had nothing to do with refugees. It concerned the selection of the conference president. This dispute went on for two days. . . .

When the delegates finally turned to substantive issues it became clear that it would take more than the dedication of a Myron Taylor to rescue the conference: one after another the nations made clear their unwillingness to accept refugees. . . .

Australia, with vast, unpopulated areas, announced: "As we have no real racial problem, we are not desirous of importing one." New Zealand was unwilling to lift its restrictions. The British colonial empire, . . . contained no territory suitable to the large-scale settlement of Jewish refugees. Canada wanted agricultural migrants and none others. The same was true of Colombia, Uruguay and Venezuela.

Peru was particularly opposed to the immigration of doctors and lawyers lest such an intellectual proletariat upset the unbridled power of its upper class. The Peruvian delegate pointedly remarked that the United States had given his country an example of "caution and wisdom" by its own immigration restrictions.

France, whose population already included two hundred thousand refugees and three million aliens, stressed that it had reached its saturation point.

Nicaragua, Honduras, Costa Rica and Panama issued a joint statement saying that they could accept no "traders or intellectuals." Argentina, with a population one-tenth that of the United States, reported that it had welcomed almost as many refugees as the United States and hence could not be counted on for large-scale immigration.

The Netherlands and Denmark reflected their traditional humanitarianism. Though Holland had already accepted twenty-five thousand Jewish refugees, it offered itself as a country of temporary sojourn. Denmark, so densely populated that its own citizens were forced to emigrate, had already taken in a disproportionately large number of German exiles. Within its narrow limits, it would continue to do so.

And the United States, the nation at whose initiative the conference had convened, what would it offer? The answer was soon in coming. The United States, with its tradition of asylum, its vast land mass and its unlimited resources, agreed, for the first time, to accept its full, legal quota of 27,370 immigrants annually from Germany and Austria. That was the major American concession made at Evian. . . .

Questions for Discussion

1. What agreements were made at Evian?

2. What was the reaction of the American newspapers to the results at Evian?

3. How do you react to arguments made by the American Medical Association and the Veterans of Foreign War?

4. In 1940, Anne Lindbergh, wife of the famous flyer, wrote "We, as Americans, do not have the moral right to judge what is happening. After all, we are not perfect ourselves." How do you react to this statement?

5. Using the map, compare the immigration policy of the United States with other nations during the Holocaust?

THE DESPERATE SEARCH FOR A COUNTRY OF REFUGE 1933 - 1945
1939 US Congress rejects Bill to open Alaska to Jewish refugees
1943 British Government rejects the appeal by the Archbishop of Canterbury to abandon the quota system.
1939 US Congress rejects proposal to admit 20,000 German Jewish children above the quota limits.
1921 Quota refugee restrictions introduced
1939 Cuban, Colombian, Chilean and U.S Governments refuse to admit 900 German Jewish refugees on the "St Louis". They return to Europe. Many later perished in the Nazi death camps.
1938 - 1941 Jewish immigration limited to 2000 a year.
1933 - 1939 Unrestricted immigration. Then almost no Jews allowed in from 1939 to 1945.
Jews deported by the British from Palestine while seeking illegal entry. They were allowed to enter Palestine in 1945.
The United States and Britain, while allowing in a fairly large number of refugees, maintained strict quota systems which excluded many more.
5,000 visas issued by the Dominican Republic enabled many Jews to escape death by using these visas to go elsewhere.
Under German occupation or control by December 1941. Homes of 9 million Jews
Some of the countries almost entirely closed to Jewish refugees. Despite the Conference held at Evian, France, in 1938, and despite the German conquest of much of Europe from 1939 to 1942, refugee quotas were almost everywhere rigidly maintained. As the killing of Jews continued, and following Church and humanitarian pressures, an Anglo American Conference on Refugees was held in Bermuda in April 1943. It report, published 5 months later, led to no relaxation of the world's anti-refugee policies.
Approximate number of Jewish refugees allowed to enter 1933 - 1945. (Shanghai alone registered 20,000)
In 1917 British promised the Jews a "National Home" in Palestine. But in May 1939, following protests from Egypt, Syria, Yemen, Iraq, and from the Muslims of India, the British not only introduced severe restrictions on Jewish immigration, but also put pressure on the German, Czech, Yugoslav, Bulgarian and Turkish Governments not to allow "illegal" immigrants into Palestine. As a result of this policy, tens of thousands of Jews lost the chance to reach Palestine, a World in which the League of Nations had specifically given them the right to buy land, to settle on wasteland, to till the soil, and to contribute by their own efforts to its economic prosperity. Many of those who were unable to emigrate perished during the Nazi Holocaust
1938 US State Department rejects Swedish proposal for joint rescue of 70,000 Jewish children from Germany
1938 At Evian the nations of the world failed to agree on even a joint 'open door' policy for Jewish refugees. The Australian delegate told the conference: "It will no doubt be appreciated that as we have no racial problem, we are not desirous of importing one."
Shanghai accepted more Jewish refugees than any other city in the world without visas. Between 1938 and 1941 the Japanese occupied the International Settlement and confined the refugees to a ghetto area.
Resolution, the "Jewish Autonomous Region" of the Soviet Union, set up in 1931, had never been an outlet for refugees from European Russia
In January 1939 Anglo American suggestion that Jewish refugees go to Angola not followed up for fear of offending Portugal.
31 January 1941 The ship "Struma", with 769 Jewish refugees on board, having been refused permission by the British to enter Palestine, and being forced back towards Bulgaria by the Turks, sank in the Bosphorus with the loss of all but one passenger.
ALASKA
CANADA 1,000
UNITED STATES 190,000
MEXICO 1,000
BERMUDA
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC 100
COLOMBIA
VENEZUELA 100
BRITISH GUIANA
BRAZIL 1,200
CHILE 2,000
PARAGUAY 1,000
URUGUAY 1,000
ARGENTINA 5,000
Atlantic Ocean
BRITAIN 55,000
EIRE 5,000
SPAIN 8,000
PORTUGAL 10,000
FRANCE 11,000
SWITZERLAND 5,000
NIGERIA
SOVIET UNION 150,000
TURKEY
PALESTINE 35,000
EGYPT
KENYA
TANGANYIKA
NORTHERN RHODESIA
SOUTHERN RHODESIA
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA 1,000
MAURITIUS 1,200
ANGOLA
INDIA
CHINA 1,000
Shanghai 15,000
BURMA
MALAYA
JAPAN 1,000
Pacific Ocean
AUSTRALIA 5,000
NEW ZEALAND 1,000

American Corporations and the Nazis

Bradford Snell

Today, many large American companies are known as "multinational" corporations because they conduct their business in many countries. They not only sell their products in many countries but they also build their factories and employ people there. In their quest for profits, some corporations have acted in ways that have contributed to injustice and inhumane treatment of people. Some American oil companies, for example, have been accused of conspiring with oil-producing countries to control the supplies of crude oil to the United States. This control of supply caused shortages of oil products and higher prices for consumers.

Multinational corporations are not new. During World War II, a number of American corporations operated their businesses in Germany out of a desire for increased profit. The following reading is based upon a 1974 report by Bradford Snell to the Senate Subcommittee on Monopoly and Antitrust where he was assistant counsel. Snell used declassified (once top secret) military and other government sources to demonstrate the involvement of America's giant automobile companies in Nazi Germany. The article raises some important moral questions relating to the conflict between profit and human life.

As owners of facilities in more than 45 different countries, General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler can no longer properly be perceived as American corporations. Rather, they comprise supranational and sovereign economic states, which acknowledge loyalty to no particular country. The automakers readily concede this change in corporate outlook. Henry Ford, II, chairman of the Ford Motor Co., for example, has stated: "We don't think of ourselves as a national company anymore. We are definitely a multinational organization. . . ." Likewise, GM's Chairman Sloan re-

portedly told a group of stockholders on the eve of Germany's invasion of Poland in 1939 that his corporation was "too big" to be affected by "petty international squabbles."

Upon first examination, this posture would appear to be in the best of interests of international peace. The movement abroad by powerful firms which already dominate vital industrial sectors at home, however, can produce the opposite result. At a minimum, it presents the dilemma of conflicting loyalties, which can become particularly acute during periods of international conflict.

The activities of General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler prior to and during World War II, for example, are instructive. At that time, these three firms dominated motor vehicle production in both the United States and Germany. Due to its mass production capabilities, automobile manufacturing is one of the most crucial industries with respect to national defense. As a result, these firms retained the economic and political power to affect the shape of government relations both within and between these nations in a manner which maximized corporate global profits. In short, they were private governments unaccountable to the citizens of any country yet possessing tremendous influence over the course of war and peace in the world. The substantial contribution of these firms to the American war effort in terms of tanks, aircraft components, and other military equipment is widely acknowledged. Less well known are the simultaneous contributions of their foreign subsidiaries to the Axis Powers. In sum, they maximized profits by supplying both sides with material needed to conduct the war.

In Germany, for example, General Motors and Ford became an integral part of the Nazi war efforts. GM's plants in Germany built thousands of bomber and jet fighter propulsion systems for the Luftwaffe at the same time that its American plants produced aircraft engines for the U.S. Army Air Corps.

As owner of Germany's largest automobile factory, General Motors was quite naturally a more important factor in the Axis war effort than either Ford or Chrysler, whose investments were substantially less. GM's participation in Germany's preparation for war began as early as 1935. That year its Opel subsidiary cooperated with the Reich in locating a new heavy truck facility at Brandenburg, which military officials advised would be less vulnerable to enemy air attack. During the succeeding years, GM supplied the Wehrmacht with Opel "Blitz" trucks from the Brandenburg complex. For these and other contributions to wartime preparations, GM's chief executive for overseas operations in 1938 was awarded the Order of the German Eagle (first class) by Adolf Hitler.

Ford was also active in Nazi Germany's prewar preparations. In 1938, for instance, it opened a truck assembly plant in Berlin whose "real purpose," according to U.S. Army Intelligence, was producing "troop transport-type" vehicles for the Wehrmacht. That year Ford's chief executive received the Nazi German Eagle (first class). . . .

The outbreak of war in September 1939 resulted inevitably in the full conversion of GM and Ford of their Axis plants to the production of military aircraft and trucks. During the last quarter of 1939, for instance, GM converted its 432-acre Opel complex in Russelsheim to warplane production. From 1939 through 1945, the GM-owned Russelsheim facility alone assembled 50 percent of all the propulsion systems produced for the JU-88 medium range bomber. According to the authoritative work of Wagner and Nowarra, the JU-88 by 1940 "had become the Luftwaffe's most important bomber, and remained so for the rest of the war." The Russelsheim facility also assembled ten percent of the jet engines for the ME-262, the world's first operational jet fighter. . . . With a top speed of 540 miles per hour, it was more than 100 miles per hour faster than the American P-510 Mustang, the fastest piston-driven Allied fighter. Not until after World War II were the Allies able to develop pure jet aircraft. By producing ME-262 jet engines for the Luftwaffe, therefore GM's Russelsheim plant made a significant contribution to the Axis' technological superiority in the air.

On the ground, GM and Ford subsidiaries built nearly 90 percent of the armored "mule" 3-ton half-tracks and more than 70 percent of the Reich's medium and heavy-duty trucks. These vehicles, according to American intelligence reports, served as "the backbone of the German Army transportation system." In addition, the factories of Ethyl G.m.b.H., a joint venture of I. G. Farben, General Motors and Exxon subsidiaries, provided the mechanized German armies with synthetic tetraethyl fuel. During 1935-36, at the urgent request of Nazi officials who realized that Germany's scarce petroleum reserves would not satisfy war demands, GM and Exxon joined with German chemical interests in the erection of the ethyl tetraethyl plants. According to captured German records, these facilities contributed substantially to the German war effort. . . .

It was, of course, in the best interests of GM and Ford to cooperate in the Axis war effort. Although GM, for example, was in complete management control of its Russelsheim warplane factory for nearly a full year after Germany's declaration of war against the United States on December 11, 1941, its refusal to build warplanes at a time of negligible demand for automobiles would have brought about the economic collapse of its Opel plant. Moreover, it might have resulted in confis-

cation of the facility by the German Government. In fact, on November 25, 1942, the Reich did appoint an administrator for the Russelsheim plant who, although not permitted to interfere with the authority of the GM-appointed board of directors, was instructed to oversee operations. Nevertheless, communications as well as materiel reportedly continued to flow for the duration of the war between GM and Ford plants in Allied countries and those located in Axis territories.

General Motors had owned 100 percent of Adam Opel A.G. continuously since 1929. . . . Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., Board Chairman of GM-USA and GM vice presidents James D. Mooney, John T. Smith, and Graeme K. Howard served on the GM-Opel Board of Directors throughout the war.

GM continued to operate its Opel plants after the United States had formally declared war on Germany without any apparent interference by the German government up until Nov. 25, 1942. . . . In fact, the only noticeable wartime change in plant operations was the departure of American personnel. The GM-appointed directors and management remained. . . .

Communications as well as materiel continually flowed between GM plants in Allied countries and GM plants in Axis-controlled areas, presumably in direct violation of trading with the enemy legislation. . . .

After the cessation of hostilities, GM and Ford demanded reparations from the U.S. Government for wartime damages sustained by the Axis facilities as a result of Allied bombing. B 1967 GM had collected more than $33 million reparations and Federal tax benefits for damag to its warplane and motor vehicle properties formerly Axis territories, including German Austria, Poland, Latvia, and China. Likewis Ford received a little less than $1 million, primari as a result of damages sustained by its milita truck complex at Cologne.

Due to their multinational dominance of m tor vehicle production, GM and Ford became pri cipal suppliers for the forces of fascism as well for the forces of democracy. It may, of course, argued that participating in both sides of an inte national conflict, like the common corporate pra tice of investing in both political parties before election, is an appropriate corporate activity. H the Nazis won, General Motors and Ford wou have appeared impeccably Nazi; as Hitler lo these companies were able to reemerge impe cably American. In either case, the viability these corporations and the interests of their r spective stockholders would have been preserve On the other hand, the inevitable conflict of loy ties and potential for abuse inherent in such corporate posture would seem to suggest that the case of powerful concentrated industries e gaged in war-convertible production, multin tional expansion may adversely affect Americ legitimate interest in national security.

Questions for Discussion

1. Why do you suppose some American companies continued to operate in Germany even after Wo War II began? How do you feel about this?
2. How do you react to General Motors and Ford being paid 33 million dollars by the United States f damages to their European factories during the war? Were their claims justified? Explain. Why you suppose they were paid?
3. How do you feel about the argument that corporations acted appropriately when they helped bo sides in the war?
4. Could these companies have participated in effective resistance during the war? Did they hav moral responsibility to do so? Explain.

Definitions

Axis Powers—Germany and Italy during World War II
reparations—payments for damaged or lost property or resources due to war

5. Resources for Ceremonies and Education Programs

Section 1: The Liberators

The United States and the Soviet Union fought together as Allies in World War II. In 1944-45, the armies of the two countries moved toward Germany from opposite directions. The American Army moved East across Germany toward Berlin in early 1945. As the troops progressed they liberated scores of concentration camps. Soldiers of all ranks were amazed and horrified at what they saw.

> The things I saw beggar description ... The visual evidence and the verbal testimony of starvation, cruelty, and bestiality were so overpowering as to leave me a bit sick. In one room, where there were piled up twenty or thirty naked men killed by starvation, George Patton would not even enter. He said he would get sick if he did so. I made the visit deliberately, in order to be in a position to give first-hand evidence of these things if ever, in the future, there develops a tendency to charge these allegations merely to 'propaganda.'
>
> **– General Eisenhower's letter to Chief of Staff George Marshall, April 12, 1945**



General Eisenhower with American soldiers viewing corpses of the victims at Ohrdruf, 1945. [Photo credit: YIVO]

> The same day I saw my first horror camp. It was near the town of Gotha. I have never felt able to describe my emotional reactions when I first came face to face with indisputable evidence of Nazi brutality and ruthless disregard of every shred of decency. Up to that time I had known about it only generally or through secondary sources. I am certain, however, that I have never at any other time experienced an equal sense of shock.
>
> I visited every nook and cranny of the camp because I felt it my duty to be in a position from then on to testify at first hand about these things in case there ever grew up at home the belief or assumption that "the stories of Nazi brutality were just propaganda." Some members of my visiting party were unable to go through the ordeal. I not only did so but as soon as I returned to Patton's headquarters that evening I sent communications to both Washington and London, urging the two governments to send instantly to Germany a random group of newspaper editors and representative groups from the national legislatures. I felt that the evidence should be immediately placed before the Americans and British publics in a fashion that would leave no room for cynical doubt.
>
> **– General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Europe, 1945**

> I saw Eisenhower go to the opposite end of the road and vomit. From a distance I saw Patton bend over, holding his head with one hand and his abdomen with the other. And I soon became ill. I suggested to General Eisenhower that cables be sent immediately to President Roosevelt, Churchill, DeGaulle, urging people to come and see for themselves. The general nodded, then stuck out his hand and said, "You and Hoge did a good job in pushing me to come. Weinstein, you're persistent as all hell, and I was pissed off, but you were right. I never would have believed that this was possible."
>
> **– Lewis H. Weinstein, Lieutenant Colonel and chief of the Liaison Section of General Eisenhower's staff, April, 1945**

that's what we found when we came through the gate. The stench was coming from this area. This was the smell that covered the entire countryside... for miles around.

And yet, when we asked these people in the town, the civilians, a couple of days later, how could they permit such things to exist, they said they did not know there was a camp like that next to them. They were just townspeople who minded their own business, etc. etc.

The first thing we saw after the barbed wire entanglement that we went through was, like, cordwood stacks, but as we got closer we saw they were human beings, were bodies, totally emaciated, many of them naked, no clothes. The ones that had clothes had the striped uniforms which we learned after a while were the typical uniforms of the concentration camps. The ones that were naked were just bones. I have pictures that I took which I look at once in a while to remind me it actually happened. Just bones. Eyes – all you saw were wide, huge eyes because the sockets were shrunken and I just can't describe it. The thing that really bugged me was bodies were lying there stacked up, but when we saw movement, like three bodies down, an arm was moving, you realized that among these people, there were living people who were in these piles. So immediately we got to work trying to separate, trying to pull out the ones that were alive and that's when we realized that we're gonna have to give them medical attention. Being with the medics I left half my platoon there to untangle them, get them on litters. Meanwhile other groups came up, other medical battalions and units; infantry men dropped their rifles, dropped their guns and began sorting these people out. I took the first load of trucks and ambulances back to our clearing station, about a mile or so out of town from the camp where we had set up a station, for the handling of wounded soldiers, primarily those who'd been hit in battle. But we stopped all that and began taking care of them from a medical standpoint. These were all political prisoners and they were lumped together indiscriminately. We ran across Poles, Russians, Frenchmen, Spaniards. You name it. It just seemed as though it was a microcosm of the entire world and each one of those nationalities had Jewish representation. In other words, I remember talking to someone who looked about, oh, I would say, just, just old and emaciated. It turned out to be a seventeen year old Jewish girl. We spoke in Yiddish, too, I remember this very vividly. And she kept asking for water, "Wasser." But we had learned by then if we give them water orally it would kill them.

– David Malachowsky, Staff Sergeant, VII Corps, 104th Infantry Division, 329th Medical Battalion Company D

Our hospital went into Buchenwald about two hours after the Germans had left. The first sight that greeted me when I entered the camp with my operating room truck was a horse and wagon. And as I looked into the contents of the wagon, I could see it was filled with human bones. One could recognize the humeri, the femurs, the spinal bones and the pelves and skulls of many of the deceased prisoners who had been in the camp. Where this wagon was going I really did not know, but I was horrified at this sight.

I had studied German literature while an undergraduate at Harvard College. I knew about the culture of the German people and I could not, could not really believe that this was happening in this day and age; that in the twentieth century a cultured people like the Germans would undertake something like this. It was just beyond our imagination.

Many of the people were asking about their kinfolk, a brother, a father, a mother – and wanted to know what happened to the rest of the family. Unfortunately, in many cases, most of the members of their families had perished in Buchenwald concentration camps or in other similar camps. Most of the inmates had signs of malnutrition. Those who had been at the camp for longer periods of time showed more intense signs of malnutrition. That meant very little skin on the face, sunken bones, eyes, eyeballs sunken in their eye sockets, very little muscle tissue on the legs or arms. One could see all the bones of the thoracic cage, the ribs were very prominent. If the inmate took off his shirt

Our men cried.
We were a
combat unit.
We'd been to
Anzio, to
southern France,
Sicily, Salerno,
the Battle of
the Bulge, and
we'd never, ever
seen anything
like this.

—American liberator, in the words of poet Barbara Helfgott Hyett

David Malachowsky, a sergeant with the 329th Medical Battalion and liberator of Nordhausen, realized like many other medics, that their candy, chocolate and canned food were killing the inmates, whose shrunken stomachs, unaccustomed to nourishment, simply could not tolerate food. David Malachowsky's commander, General Terry Allen, quickly assessed the horrendous situation at Nordhausen. Instead of pursuing the Germans, he ordered his men to stay on in Nordhausen and save human lives. "So... everybody dropped their guns and became medics for four, or five, maybe six days." Only after the living were helped, the dead were buried and the camp was bulldozed, did the liberating units continue their drive towards the Elbe.

—Yaffa Eliach, Holocaust scholar

As we kept moving in closer, about three miles from the town, we came across oh, maybe eight to ten huge warehouses set on a field. We could see these from a great distance away and as we got closer we went to these warehouses and were amazed to find what was in there. We more or less broke in. They were unattended. There were no guards or anything. The Germans were pulling out before us as we kept moving along. We got into these warehouses and it was an astounding sight. They were each approximately eight to ten stories high, and each floor had a different food commodity on it, as far as the eye could see. Thousands of boxes, say, tins of salmon, would be in one, sardines in another. Another floor had chocolate ... chocolate from all the countries the Germans had been in. It seems that every time they went into a country and occupied it they would literally strip the country of all the commodities and ship it back and this evidently was one of the depots where all these supplies were stored, commodities, foods, primarily wines of all sorts in the baskets and all. I remember I was impressed by the fact that there was enough food there to feed the entire countryside. Of course, we "liberated" lots of cases. The liquor we took out with us and the wines and I remember taking cans of sardines and having trouble opening them. But at any rate, in contrast to what we found when we went into Nordhausen ... That's what really bugged me. Here was all this food stocked in warehouses and yet three miles away there were people eating horses' heads, because that's all they had. People, who literally had not eaten or been given water for weeks at a time.

We had no knowledge at all of what we were going to find. When we came to the source of this big, heavy odor, we had gone through the factory, through the town and now on the other side of the town here was Nordhausen, the camp. It had barbed wire fences and all. We had no concept of what we'd find there. We heard machine guns fire as we came into the one end of the camp. We discovered later that that machine gun fire was the last German troops pulling out, indiscriminately machine-gunning anyone who was still able to stand on their feet, any one of the prisoners in the camp. But there weren't too many of these, because when we actually got into the camp through the barbed wire, we saw row upon row of bodies just stacked like cordwood maybe five feet high as far as the eye could see. We later were told there were approximately five or six thousand inmates of whom just a handful were able to ambulate. All the others had either been shot down or were in an advanced state of emaciation. Even though they were working in the factory they'd be herded through the gate, through the town into the underground factory and herded back again like cattle. No food was given to them and as they died of hunger that's where they lay. The guards would stack them in these rows. And

We had gone through the Bulge, we had seen the horrors of war: death, people who were wounded. Many of us came very close to losing our lives during that period. But we had no knowledge, and our first encounter came one day when we were asked to go to a place outside of Weimar, Germany. It wasn't a mission of battle, it was just to go. And we came to this place, which was somewhat like a security place, a place you might see in any urban center that was a prison. But we were totally unprepared – at least I was, for what I encountered when I went into Buchenwald. The outside was very beautiful. It was in a suburban-type community, the grass was well manicured and cared for. And then you go inside, and then all of a sudden the stark horror of it all strikes you. And that's the way I encountered it at the age of 19. When I walked in I saw what should be considered human beings, that had been reduced to the point where they were just merely surviving. I called them the walking dead, because I felt they had reached the point of no return.

We all expressed horror. We were aghast at what we saw. How deep that feeling was is hard to say. I cannot even speak for myself, in terms of how deep that hit me because I felt that I pushed it aside. I sort of covered it up; I didn't want to deal with that. It was too traumatic. And like most people, you have to find some kind of security blanket, some way to insulate yourself from the horror. And I sort of pushed it away, and I never talked about it at all.

There were those survivors who hadn't been there very long, who were much more healthy. But then I got to those who had probably been there for some time or who had gone through the tortures and the dehumanizing kind of things. There was a variety there, you might call it a smorgasbord. I talked to a young fellow who was there who spoke very good English. He said that at first the camp had held something like 300,000. But when we came on the scene it was less than 20,000. And we talked to him and he said that the Germans got rid of political prisoners first. They were really frightened of them, and then they began to systematically work on Jews. Jews had high priority for extermination. And of course Gypsies, and others. I had been told by this young man that most of the Jews had been exterminated.

We saw the whole works. The crematorium ... There was a fellow there who spoke English – a young fellow – and he must have been a student before being incarcerated. He walked around with us. And as we walked I looked at different things – people defecating in the holes in the ground, there were no tissues, no sense of dignity – just go ahead. Someone retching out of a window, where they had been encapsulated in such large numbers in a small space in the barracks. I saw clothing, it must have been baby clothing that they had piled up for their own use, later I guess. Then we saw the crematorium where the dead bodies were outside, stacked up like cordwood, and we went into the crematorium and you could see the residue in the ovens – the rib cages, the skulls. And it was so hard to believe – to try to understand *why*. What did these people do that merited this kind of treatment? And it boggles the mind when you think that it had gone on for almost ten years before we got into the war! Why wasn't it dealt with? Why did nobody scream and shout, "Stop!" They never did. And we saw the laboratory where they were experimenting on different people, and the parts of the body. And then there was the torture chamber, and you could see the stains of the blood on the stone, and on the wall. They even had the instruments. Some of them were still there.

–Leon Bass, Sergeant, 183rd Combat Engineer Battalion

In the children's cell block,
the bedding, the clothing,
the floors besmeared with
months of dysentery, I could
put my fingers around their
upper arms, their ankles,
so little flesh. Two hundred
and fifty children. Children
of prisoners. Polish children.
Czechoslovakian children. I
can't remember what I did
after I saw the children.

–American liberator, in the words of poet Barbara Helfgott Hyett

you could see the spinal column very, very prominently. The mental disturbance of the inmates was very, very apparent. Many of them did not realize the significance of having been liberated. Many of them spoke to us and said that they were ordered that morning to go on a forced march and they were sure they were going to be shot at that time, because they had heard rumors that the Americans were approaching. The Germans left in a hurry and the inmates were free and wandered about without any purpose, aimlessly, not realizing fully that finally they had been liberated.

—Dr. Philip Lief, Captain First Army, 3rd Auxiliary Surgical Group

There were three ovens that had cast-iron doors on them, and I just didn't have the heart to look inside and I knew the bones were all charred and things like that were in there, and I just didn't want to look inside.

We looked at the gas chambers but we really didn't know what they were for, we saw them there but we really couldn't comprehend what they really were for.

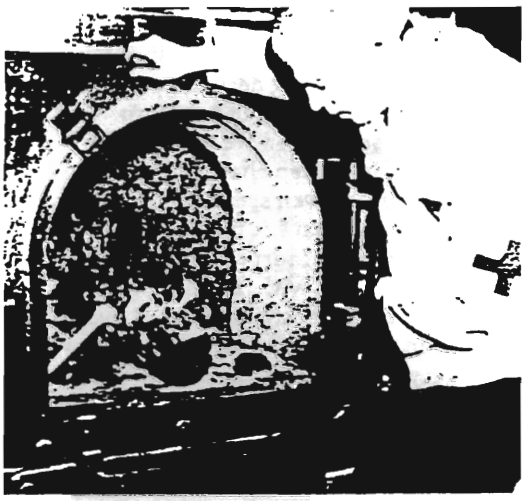
—Alex Schoenberg, Private First Class, 90th Infantry Division



American liberators of German concentration camps found the dead and the dying. Sometimes, as with these prisoners, they found survivors who stared at them with haunted and almost uncomprehending stares.

Human beings. These
are human beings. No cheeks.
No muscles in the chin. Only
skin and lips like paper tapes,
men thrashing like animals
but less graceful, begging –
But your clean American hands
don't want to touch them,
alive with lice. Stinking.
Still, you have to. So you think
of the twenty thousand others
for whom things have to be done
and before you can lift a finger
another thousand are dead and you
don't feel anything except
Jesus Christ Jesus Christ Jesus Christ.

—American liberator, in the words of poet Barbara Helfgott Hyett



Crematoria, Bergen-Belsen. 1945. [Photo credit: YIVO]

When we saw
the ovens,
we were
silent.
Not a word
spoken, not
a single
expression.

Not, *Oh Jesus,*
not, *What is*
this? Not,
What have we
done?

—American liberator, in the words of poet Barbara Helfgott Hyett

DeSpain and I first knew we were approaching the camp by the hundreds of starving, half crazed inmates lining the roads, begging for food and cigarettes. Many of them had been able to get only a few hundred yards from the gate before they keeled over and died. As weak as they were, the chance to be free, the opportunity to escape was so great they couldn't resist, though it meant staggering only a few yards before death came.

Then came the next indication of the camp's nearness – the smell. There was something about the smell of Gunskirchen I shall never forget. It was strong, yes, and permeating, too. Some six hours after we left the place, six hours spent riding in a jeep, where the wind was whistling around us, we could still detect the Gunskirchen smell. It had permeated our clothing, and stayed with us.

Of all the horrors of the place, the smell, perhaps, was the most startling of all. It was a smell made up of all kinds of odors – human excreta, foul bodily odors, smoldering trash fires, German tobacco ... all mixed together in a heavy dank atmosphere, in a thick, muddy woods, where little breeze could go. The ground was pulpy throughout the camp, churned to a consistency of warm putty by the milling of thousands of feet, mud mixed with feces and urine. The smell of Gunskirchen nauseated many of the Americans who went there. It was a smell I'll never forget, completely different from anything I've ever encountered. It could almost be seen and hung over the camp like a fog of death.

As we entered the camp, the living skeletons still able to walk crowded around us and, though we wanted to drive farther into the place, the milling, pressing crowd wouldn't let us. It is not an exaggeration to say that almost every inmate was insane with hunger. Just the sight of an American brought cheers, groans and shrieks. People crowded around to touch an American, to touch the jeep, to kiss our arms – perhaps just to make sure that it was true. The people who couldn't walk crawled out toward our jeep. Those who couldn't even crawl propped themselves up on an elbow, and somehow, through all their pain and suffering, revealed through their eyes the gratitude, the joy they felt at the arrival of Americans.

– Captain J.D. Pletcher, 71st Division Headquarters

The other Americans now came out of their tanks, too, and we shook hands overcome with joy. Only now were we free again, after we had yearned for freedom for so long; now no one would take this away again.

—Heinz Heger, survivor



April 15, 1945. Corpses in the barn-inferno near Gardelegen, Germany. Russian, French, Polish, and Jewish political prisoners were herded into the barn and forced to sit on gasoline-soaked straw which Nazi SS troopers ignited. The atrocity was exposed when Ninth U.S. Army troops captured the Gardelegen area, 75 miles west of Berlin, before the Germans had time to remove the evidence. [photo-credit: U.S. Signal Corps photo ETO-HQ-45-33059, YIVO]

During WWII I served as an American Army Chaplain with front-line combat troops across Europe, attached to 8th Corps Headquarters. On what must have been the most unforgettable day in my life, while racing eastward on the Autobahn, I learned from some officers that our forward tanks had entered the Concentration Camp called Buchenwald, outside of Weimar. I heard the name before. My mind's eye conjured up all sorts of images. I quickly ascertained the directions and drove at high speed to Weimar and then to the Camp.

As I drove up to the main gate, I was struck by the large German inscription "Arbeit

There was an area near the Elbe River called Gardelegen, a small town. It was just another area, nothing special. Outside of the town there was a red barn and it veered with the wind. And there was smoke coming up from this and, somehow, it didn't look right, so it was examined and it was found that there were over a thousand people, dead, in this place. Dead! What happened was, the SS in that town heard the American guns, they heard us coming, and they knew, as all the way down the line they had known, that we would be there. So, in this town, they decided they wouldn't give the slave laborers the satisfaction of surviving. So they herded all the slave laborers from the town, over a thousand, into this barn. And they set them on fire, they put hay and gasoline in there, and if anyone tried to get out, they were machine-gunned. So there were a thousand.

Now here were men who had been through some very fierce fighting. Men who had been in tanks that were torn open, pieces of metal ripped right through them. They had seen all this, had been through everything, had been burning in tanks, tanks are very flammable; a lot of them, a lot of men had burned to death. All kinds of horrors these men had been through, beyond everything. But this wasn't war. This goes beyond: "you hit him, he hits you." This was total horror.

—Ben Berch, Private First Class, 102nd Infantry Division, 701st Tank Battalion

The medical units, including my ambulance entered Ohrdruf as it was being liberated; one medic was wounded by enemy fire, but not seriously. We saw evidence of the horror: thousands of bodies thrown into shallow pits, hundreds of others stacked like cordwood or thrown about at random in buildings or sheds or along the roads. Emaciated, putrefied, covered by insects, flies, maggots, they created unbearable stench. All around me I saw the consequences of barbarism, appalling atrocities and monstrous slaughter-houses.

Human beings were dying before our eyes. One moment they were slow-moving, living skeletons; the next moment they collapsed and were dead. Some uttered "essen" (food); others just held outstretched arms. I saw the tattooed numbers on their arms. The medical staff, officers and men were working with tense fury, without respite, efficient. Prisoners in their pajama-like striped suits (which seemed like bags around them) begged for food and were given soup and warned to eat slowly. One living corpse was on a blanket. His mouth and lips were swollen, and had sores and pus. He tried to talk and I understood him to say in broken German and Yiddish that his brother had been murdered the day before. A medical captain ordered him to be handled with extreme care and fed intravenously. But it was too late, in a few moments the living corpse was dead. After the doctor returned, the medical aides covered the body with an army blanket. Then I became physically sick; but I stood erect and tried to give the appearance of being cool and hardened.

In one building I saw boxes of soap that I was told came from human bodies. In the camp commander's office were piles of human hair, gold dentures and teeth, eyeglasses, small boxes of jewelry and pocket notebooks, rings, some with parts of fingers, and earrings with the flesh of ears. Almost filling a small building next to the gallows and the whipping table were corpses, thrown together like dead animals in a slaughter house.

— Lewis H. Weinstein, Lieutenant Colonel and chief of the Liaison Section of General Eisenhower's staff, April, 1945

When the German SS troops guarding the concentration camp at Gunskirchen heard the Americans were coming, they suddenly got busy burying the bodies of their victims — or rather, having them buried by inmates — and gave the prisoners who were still alive what they considered an extremely liberal food ration: One lump of sugar per person and one loaf of bread for every seven persons. Then, two days ... before we arrived, the SS left. All this I learned from talking to inmates of the camp, many of whom spoke English. Driving up to the camp in our jeep, Cpl.

ter. Yet, when I did visit Dachau, it had not as yet been prettied up. The corpses had been removed and buried, and the sick had been taken to hospitals, and those who were comparatively well, even though suffering from the effects of malnutrition and from various other conditions in the concentration camps, had been moved to displaced persons camps.

When I came into Dachau, I saw soon after entering a large enclosure in which there were dog kennels. In my naivete, I thought that the dog kennels must have been kept for the pets of the German officers of Dachau.

I was soon disillusioned when I was told that these kennels were for guard dogs who were deliberately kept famished, and a prisoner in the camp, for some infraction of the rules, in some cases not even for an infraction of the rules, was tossed into that enclosure. The dogs were let loose to leap upon the poor victim and the victim was torn apart. That was my introduction to what I was to see later in Dachau.

I moved on in the camp and came to the anteroom to the gas chamber, and the anteroom had some hooks for the hanging of clothing, with a large sign in German on the door leading into the gas chamber itself reading "shower bath." I went through that door into the gas chamber and tried to imagine what it must have been like to have been packed like sardines into that area and suddenly to have begun smelling the gas that was to take away one's life.

One cannot really imagine it, because one cannot put oneself in that position. But then I looked at the inside of the door, and I saw thousands of scratches upon it, scratches that must have been made by the fingernails of so many men and women and children because the scratches covered the entire door from high up all the way down to a low position.

I went from the gas chamber into the next area, which was the crematorium, and looked into the mouths of the furnaces, into which the bodies were shoveled, one after the other, and burned in the fires.

My attention was suddenly caught by some sacks that looked like potato sacks standing at the side of the crematorium. I went over to the sacks to see what they were. On the front of them was stamped the German word for fertilizer, and I looked into the sacks and what I saw there I soon realized was human ash that had been taken from the furnaces in the crematoria, ready for shipment to German farms in order to make the soil more fertile to grow more crops for the Herrenvolk [master race].

I plunged my arm into one of the sacks up to the elbow and pressed the "fertilizer," the human ash, with the fingers of my hand into my palm and ground it into my palm so that I might never forget what I had seen there.

—Chaplain (Major) Judah Nadich, US Army, American Rabbi, adviser on Jewish affairs to General Eisenhower

[We held a ceremony at Woebbelin for the mass burial of 200 victims of atrocity] Among the civilians [present] there was much weeping . . . It was impossible to identify any of these dead, but it was estimated that a fourth of them were Jews. So on every fourth cross is the imprint of the Star of David. It was a scene I shall never forget . . .

[My homily stated that] "It is the custom of the United States army through its Chaplains Corps to ensure a proper and decent burial to any deceased person whether he be civilian or soldier, friend or foe, according to religious preference. The Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces [General Eisenhower] has ordered that all atrocity victims be buried in a public place and that the cemetery be given the same perpetual care that is given to all military cemeteries. Crosses will be placed at the head of the graves of Christians and Stars of David at the head of the graves of Jews.

"A stone monument will be set up in memory of these deceased. Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish prayers will be said . . . for these victims as we lay them to rest and commit them into the hands of the Heavenly Father in the hope that we will not again be faced with such barbarity."

—Chaplain (Major) George B. Wood, US Army, Division Chaplain, 82d Airborne Division, American Minister

macht frei." I drove through the gate into the open "Appel Platz," and there I was in Buchenwald, so soon after the first columns of American tanks rolled through and liberated that dungeon on April 11, 1945. I did not know where to go first. A young army lieutenant recognized my insignia and approached me most reverently. He urged that I follow him to see the Crematoria. As long as I live I shall never forget that scene that is indelibly engraved upon my heart and mind. I slowly approached the site of the huge ovens, from which the smoke was still curling upward. I could smell the stench of charred remnants of human flesh. There were literally hundreds of dead bodies strewn about, piled high waiting to be shoveled into the furnaces, which were still hot. I stood riveted to this scene for what seemed like an eternity, tormented within the searing agony, until I finally tore myself away, my eyes burning from the smoke and even more so from my inner rage.

I walked back from the Crematoria toward the endless rows of barracks still dazed by what I had just seen. I wondered whether there were any Jews still alive in the Camp, until we found the "kleiner lager." I walked into one of the dilapidated, filthy, foul-smelling barracks and there again I was smitten by an indescribable scene. There on a series of shelves—just raw planks of hard wood—from floor to ceiling, were hundreds of men and a few boys strewn over scraggly straw sacks looking down at me out of dazed eyes. I shouted in Yiddish "Shalom Aleichem Yiden, Ihr sent frei. Ich bin an Amerikaner Rav . . . [Greetings, Peace, Jews, you are free. I am an American Rabbi.] There they were looking at me out of their big eyes, haunted, crippled, paralyzed with fear, emaciated, skin and bones, half-crazed more dead than alive. How they miraculously survived is still a mystery.

The more brave among them approached me, touched my army uniform, examined the Jewish Chaplain's insignia, incredulously asked me over and over again, "Is it true? Is it over?" I went from barracks to barracks throughout the whole area called "small camp" that was reserved for special brutal treatment of Jews. As I moved about, bands of Jews were now following me pouring out tales of woe, asking me over and over, "Does the world know what happened to us? What will happen now? Where will we go from here?"

—Chaplain (Captain) Herschel Schacter, 8th Corps, Third US Army, American Rabbi and liberator

The Americans entered Dachau and discovered the horrific scenes that have burned themselves into the memories of the world. The armies brought in photographers to take pictures of the atrocities, then they left the camp as they had found it—with the dead bodies left in their discovered places. The soldiers locked the gates to prevent the erstwhile prisoners from spreading infection and disease to the German population and the Allied soldiers. The survivors were mostly too sick and too weak to bury the bodies. Within a week's time they were dying in great numbers from the contagions they caught from the dead and from the cumulative weakness of their systems.

When the D.P.s came down with typhus and dysentery [the two most widespread diseases], they were taken to a special barracks; it was surrounded by barbed wire, and there were almost no nurses, healthy prisoners, or trained personnel to take care of them. In its high-fever stage, typhus leaves the patient too weak and sick to feed him or herself. Many D.P.s died from this neglect.

The Allied soldiers were not totally insensitive to the plight of the survivors. They brought with them their own supplies of food and rations, which they freely gave to the D.P.s, but the foods were fat and rich, too fat and rich for the survivors' digestive systems. After extended starvation, the body must be built up again gradually.

—Rabbi Irving Greenberg, author

Now, the first concentration camp that I visited in my new duties [as adviser on Jewish affairs to General Eisenhower] was Dachau. I want to make it clear that I did not visit Dachau upon its liberation, or shortly thereaf-

I went to Belsen. The Wehrmacht is not allowed near it. It was entirely guarded by SS men and women. The first night of liberty, many hundreds of people died of joy. Next day some men of the [British] Yeomanry arrived. The people crowded around them, kissing their hands and feet – and dying from weakness.

Corpses in every state of decay were lying around, piled up on top of each other in heaps. One women came up to a soldier who was guarding the milk store and doling the milk out to children, and begged for milk for her baby. The man took the baby and saw that it had been dead for days, black in the face and shriveled up. The woman went on begging for milk. So he poured some on the dead lips. The mother then started to croon with joy and carried the baby off in triumph. She stumbled and fell dead a few yards [away]...

"My father and mother were burned. My sister was burned." This is what you hear all the time... A story of Auschwitz was told to me by Helen – and her last name she didn't remember. She was a Czechoslovak. When the women were given the chance to go and work elsewhere in the work zones like Hamburg, mothers with children were, in fact, given the choice between their lives and their children's. Children could not be taken along. Many preferred to stay with their children and face certain death. Some decided to leave their children. But it got around amongst the 6 year old children that if they were left there they would at once be gassed. There were terrible scenes between children and their mothers. One child was so angry that though the mother changed her mind and stayed and died, the child would not talk to her...

– Patrick Gordon-Walker, Oxford historian and BBC commentator, 1945

I'm horrified today when I know that there are actually people now trying to say that the Holocaust was invented, that it never happened, that there weren't six million people whose lives were taken cruelly and needlessly in that event, that all of this is propaganda. Well, it's the old cliche that a picture is worth a thousand words. In World War II, not only do we have the survivors today to tell us firsthand, but in World War II, I was in the military and assigned to a post where every week we obtained from every branch of the service all over the world the combat film that was taken by every branch. And we edited this into a secret report for the general staff. We had access to and saw that secret report. And I remember April '45. I remember seeing the first film that came in when the war was still on, but our troops had come upon the first camps and had entered those camps. And you saw, unretouched – and no way that it could have ever been rehearsed – what they saw – the horror they saw ... .it remains with me as confirmation of our right to rekindle these memories, because we need always to guard against that kind of tyranny and inhumanity. Our spirit is strengthened by remembering and our hope is in our strength.

– Remarks of President Ronald Reagan at Days of Remembrance Ceremony, April 30, 1981

We ceased to work, and the German soldiers and civilians ran to the shelters .... We had nothing to lose, only expected to enjoy the destruction of the big factory which we were building for the I.G. Farben Industry....

The happy feeling didn't change also after the Americans indeed, began to bomb, and obviously we had casualties too – wounded and dead. How beautiful was it to see squadron after squadron burst from the sky, drop bombs, destroy the buildings, and kill also members of the Herrenvolk.

Those bombardments elevated our morale and paradoxically, awakened probably some hopes of surviving, of escaping from this hell. In our wild imagination we also saw a coordination between the Allies and the indeed small underground movement in the camp, with which I was in touch. We imagined a coordinated destruction and escape; destruction from above by the bombers, and from

Besides soldiers, witnesses to the horror included journalists — and another future President.

We saw the cremation room there. Details of Jews worked here every day. It was their job to shovel hundreds of gas victims into the ovens. Each oven was approximately coffin size, but capacity was listed at six bodies. They used Jews for this detail because they were certain to die anyhow. And the Nazis did not want the thousands of other prisoners to know about their "future" lest their work in the quarry lack spirit.

We saw the initial arrival point for new prisoners to Mauthausen. Here they were stripped and chained to a wall for 24 hours, exposed to the weather, hot or cold.

We saw cell blocks in which men lived, if such a word may be used for such conditions. For purposes of description, let us say the cell blocks resembled the tar paper barracks we had in the States, but just half their size. Normal capacity of these blocks was 300 human beings. It was so crowded they had to sit up all night. Their latrine facilities were just outside. They could not stray far from the cells or they would be shot. Often, after a year or so, they didn't even bother to use the outside latrines.

We saw their hospitals. There were two of them. One held 90 patients and was ultra-modern. This one they showed important visitors. The other hospital held 5,000. Wards were just like the prison blocks, except there were bunks in tiers five high.

In each bed were five human beings, each sick, half of them dying from malnutrition. Each had lost from 50 to 100 pounds. Their legs had lost all control and looked like heavy ropes. Their toilet was their bed. There were running sores on many of them. Sometimes Nazi surgeons ended their misery by squirting gasoline against their hearts.

We saw their bodies, hundreds of them. Prisoners said at times there were thousands laying around camp. We saw them piled up like cordwood — big and little piles of dead. All of them were emaciated and discolored and covered with insects and worms. These were human beings. Their crime was not being a German.

— Fred Friendly, noted journalist, dispatch, May 24, 1945

...Permit me to tell you what you would have seen and heard had you been with me on Thursday. It will not be pleasant listening. If you are at lunch or if you have no appetite to hear what Germans have done, now is a good time to switch off the radio, for I propose to tell you of Buchenwald.

It is on a small hill about four miles outside Weimar, and it was one of the largest concentration camps in Germany. And it was built to last....

I looked out over that mass of men to the green fields beyond where well-fed Germans were plowing. A German, Fritz Kersheimer, came up and said, "May I show you around the camp? I've been here ten years." An Englishman stood to attention saying, "May I introduce myself? Delighted to see you. And can you tell me when some of our blokes will be along?" I told him, "Soon," and asked to see one of the barracks. It happened to be occupied by Czechoslovakians.

When I entered, men crowded around, tried to lift me to their shoulders. They were too weak. Many of them could not get out of bed. I was told that this building had once stabled 80 horses; there were 1,200 men in it, five to a bunk. The stink was beyond all description....

There was a German trailer which must have contained another 50 [bodies], but it wasn't possible to count them. The clothing was piled in a heap against the wall. It appeared that most of the men and boys had died of starvation; they had not been executed. But the manner of death seemed unimportant — murder had been done at Buchenwald. God alone knows how many men and boys have died there during the last 12 years. Thursday I was told that there were more than 20,000 in the camp; there had been as many as 60,000. Where are they now?

— From Edward R. Murrow's CBS Radio Broadcast from London, April 15, 1945

We, the rescued
From whose hollow bones death had begun to
whittle his flutes,
And on whose sinews he had already stroked
his bow –
Our bodies continue to lament
With their mutilated music.
We, the rescued,
The nooses wound for our necks still dangle
before us in the blue air –
Hourglasses still fill with our dripping blood
We, the rescued,
The worms of fear still feed on us.
Our constellation is buried in dust...
We, the rescued,
Beg you:
Show us your sun, but gradually.
Lead us from star to star, step by step.
Be gentle when you teach us to live again.
Lest the song of a bird,
Or a pail being filled at the well,
Let our badly sealed pain burst forth again
and carry us away –
We beg you:
Do not show us an angry dog, not yet –
It could be, it could be
That we will dissolve into dust –
Dissolve into dust before your eyes.

–Nobel Prize-winning poet,
Nelly Sachs



The Reverend L.H. Hardman of Leeds and father I.C. Morrisen of Dublin giving the last sacrament at a mass grave in Bergen-Belsen. 1945. [Photo credit: YIVO]



our hands, while escaping, even if we had to be living bombs – to be killed.

– Shalom Lindenbaum: statement on the American bombings of Auschwitz, September 13, 1944

As the Americans and other Allies were liberating the concentration camps in Western Europe, the Russian Forces, which were marching East toward Berlin, were liberating the camps in Poland and Eastern Europe, among them Auschwitz.

The first Russian patrol came in sight of the camp about midday on 27 January 1945, Charles and I were the first to see them: we were carrying Somogyi's body to the common grave, the first of our room mates to die. We tipped the stretcher on to the defiled snow, as the pit was now full, and no other grave was at hand: Charles took off his beret as a salute to both the living and the dead.

They were four young soldiers on horseback, who advanced along the road that marked the limits of the camp, cautiously holding their sten-guns. When they reached the barbed wire, they stopped to look, exchanging a few timid words, and throwing strangely embarrassed glances at the sprawling bodies, at the battered huts and at us few still alive.

To us they seemed wonderfully concrete and real, perched on their enormous horses, between the grey of the snow and the grey of the sky, immobile beneath the gusts of damp wind which threatened a thaw.

– Primo Levi, Italian-Jewish chemist and writer, Auschwitz survivor

Tanks, trucks, ammunition carriers, blood spattered soldiers, bedraggled soldiers—worn, dying, on horses, on feet, pitiful, not brave, just spent, wretched looking. They have no nationality, no politics, no ideology. They are just battle weary and worn. Who are they? What do they want from us? Why don't they go home and get bandaged with gauze and love? Men, you need care. Do not spend the little strength you have on killing us. Seek solace, not hate. Seek out your children. They need your love. They need to give you theirs. Stop killing. Stop it.

But wait. Wait. These men are wearing strange uniforms. They are not German or Hungarian. They are unfamiliar. And there is a red flag—red, red.

What is red?.

Red is not German, red is Russian.

We are . . . we are—What? What are we? We are . . . we are . . . we are liberated!

Barefoot, wearing only a single garment each, we all surge out into the brutal January frost and snow of eastern Germany and run toward the troops. Shrieks of joy. Shrieks of pain. Shrieks of deliverance. All the pent-up hysteria accumulated over years of pain and terror suddenly released.

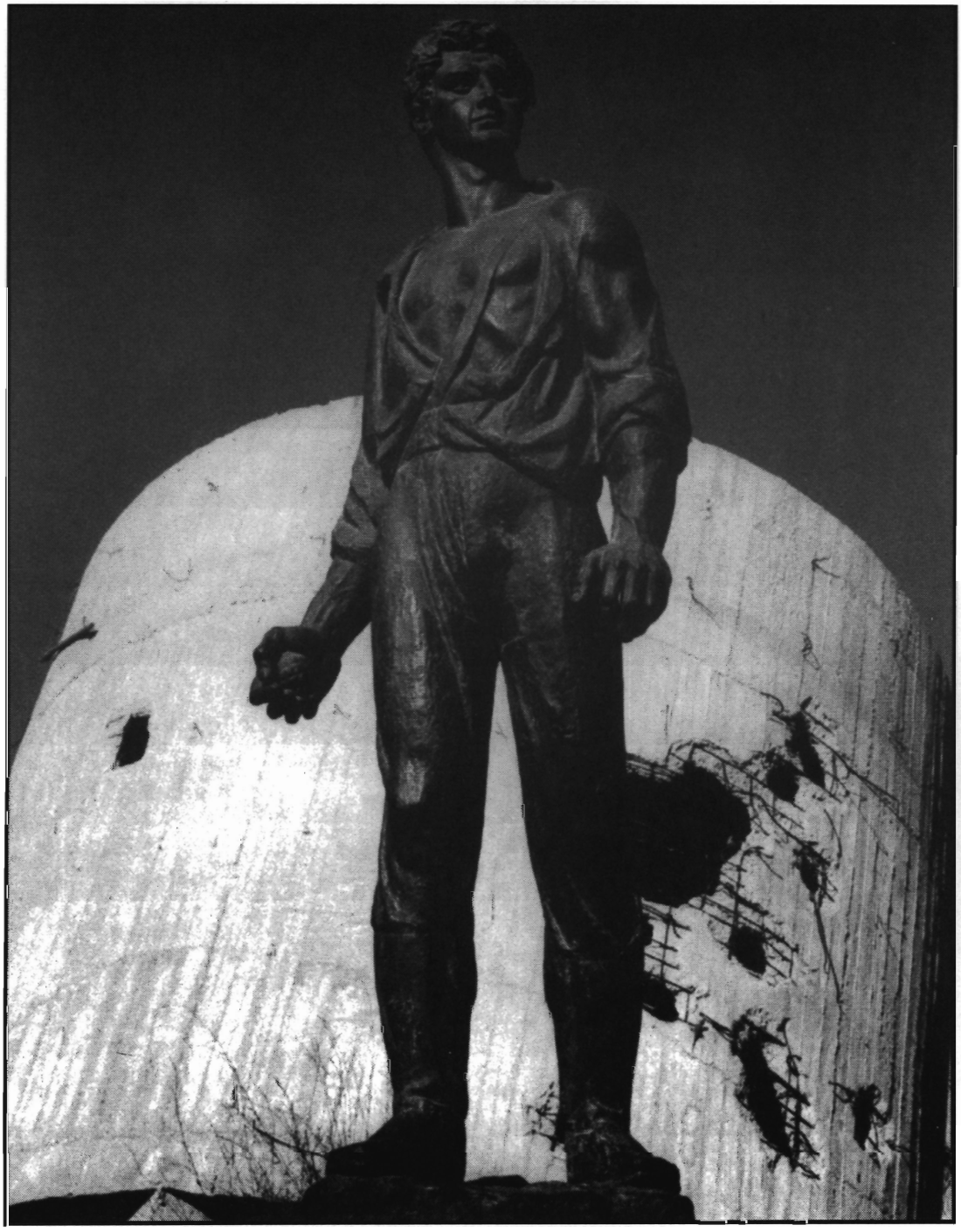
I have never since heard sounds like those we uttered, sounds released from the very depths of our being. The sheer force of it must have scattered the ashes of Auschwitz to every corner of the universe, for our cries of joy suddenly turned into a bitter wail: "We are liberated! We are liberated! But where are they all? They are all dead!"

—Isabella Leitner, Auschwitz survivor

And there were
bones. God,
there were bones, all
over the place,
wherever you
looked, like
pebbles,
wherever you
stepped there
were little
bits of bones.

—American liberator, in the words of poet Barbara Helfgott Hyett

UNIT V · Resistance and Intervention



"Mordecai Anilewicz"

UNIT V

RESISTANCE AND INTERVENTION

During the Holocaust, thousands of individuals risked their lives to protect, hide, or save Jews from Nazi terror as has been done during other acts of genocide against other peoples. This unit explores why some exhibited exceptional ethical behavior while so many did nothing or collaborated with the enemy.

Why did some people rise above the angry crowd? Why did so many Danes, Bulgarians, and Italians choose a different course from their counterparts in other countries to save Jews? Explanations vary, but surely a national tradition of toleration set the stage in Denmark, Bulgaria, and Italy for rescue. It was such a tradition in Denmark, exemplified by King Christian X's public support for Jews and denunciation of Nazi terror, that prepared the way for many Danes, in October, 1943 to spirit more than 7,000 Jews to safety in neutral Sweden.

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

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

For their part, Jews exhibited remarkable resistance to the relentless Nazi assault. Hannah Senesh took considerable risks to contact the Hungarian underground for help. She decided that it was more important to return to Hungary, her homeland, than to continue living in the relative security of Palestine. A record of her experience survives in the diary she kept at the time and in her poetry. She was eventually captured and killed.

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

In the ghettos, even as they were being liquidated in 1942-43, underground leaders organized revolts against all odds. Among the most noteworthy were Mordecai Anielewicz, in Warsaw, and Yitszchak Wittenberg, in Vilna.

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

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

STUDENTS READINGS
RESISTANCE AND INTERVENTION

UNIT V

OBJECTIVES	GOAL #	TITLE	PAGE
	Introduction	Poem by Hannah Senesh	
1	**Goal #1**	**Definition of Jewish Resistance**, Encyclopedia of Holocaust	1
2		**Resistance** - Booklet #4, Map of Jewish Resistance ,	2
		U.S. Holocaust Museum	3
1		**Poetry - Babi Yar, If We Must Die, Little Smuggler, To Arms**	12
1		**The Proclamation of the Rebels in the Ghetto of Vilna,**	15
		- To Die with Dignity, Furman - **Anthology**	16
3		**Madame Marie Saves a Jewish Child** - U.S. Holocaust Museum	20
		The White Rose - Furman, **Anthology**	23
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		Map - Jewish Resistance 1940 -1944	26
4		**Judenrat Government** - Furman, **Anthology**	27
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		Life in Extremis: Moral Action and the Camps -	
		Furman, **Anthology**	36
		"Twenty-Six Partners in Death" - a simulation	37
1	**Goal #2**	**- Goodness Incarnate: The People of Le Chambon** -	
		Furman, **Anthology**	38
		- Visas for Life - story of Sempo Sugihara, **Reader's Digest**	41
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		of Moral Courage in the Holocaust	44
		- With Raoul Wallenberg in Budapest by Per Anger	49
		- A Policeman's Dilemma - Furman **Anthology**	51
		- Network Rescuers, Dr. Aristides de Sousa Mendes	
		by Eva Fogelman	52
1	**Goal #3**	**Escape to Shanghai**, James R. Ross	54
		"Bread and Butter in Shanghai 1938-1945" by David Kranzler	56
		The Fugu Plan, Marvin Tokayer	60
		The Holocaust, Nora Levin, "Struggle to Survive"	64
Goal 1	**Goal #8**	**Remembering the Voices that were Silenced** -	
		U.S. Holocaust Museum	54

"There are stars whose radiance is visible on earth though they have long been extinct. There are people whose brilliance continues to light the world though they are no longer among the living. These lights are particularly bright when the night is dark. They light the way for Mankind"—

HANNAH SENESH
From her Diary

UNIT_V_: RESISTANCE and INTERVENTION
GOAL 1. : Students will analyze Jewish physical and spiritual resistance to the Holocaust.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
1. Students will be able to define resistance.	A. Through discussions students will define resistance and distinguish types of resistance such as: 1. **Passive** a. Spiritual b. Religious (Prayer - Holidays) 2. **Active** a. Armed Resistance b. Underground B. Brainstorm major obstacles to defiance and resistance such as: 1. Superior armed power of the Nazis 2. German policy of "Collective Responsibility" 3. Family ties and responsibility 4 Terror tactics in camps 5. Absence of cooperation of civilian population 6. Secrecy and deception of deportations	A. **Encyclopedia of Holocaust** p. 1265 - Yad Vashem 1. Yaffa, Eliach, **Hasidic Tales of the Holocaust**, Avon Books, 1982. 2. Zachor Institute: **The Unconquerable Spirit**, Vignettes of Religious Spirit the Nazis could not Destroy, 1980. 3. Werner, Harold. **Fighting Back**, Columbia Pres, 1992. • 4. Map of Jewish Resistance •B. **Resistance Booklet #4** - US Holocaust Memorial Museum, • 100 Raoul Wallenberg Pl., Washington, DC. 20024, pp. 2-4
2. Student will be able to understand each form of **spiritual resistance**. They will analyze all attempts to carry on a semblance of "normal life" in the face of wretched conditions: isolation, overcrowding, enormous anxiety, constant changes, shortage of food, medicine, supplies, poor sanitary conditions, threat of violence, and unkindness.	A. Learn about the underground schools and classrooms that were established from grammar to graduate schools. B. Learn how the people in the ghetto and/or in the camps who remained true to their religion drew pictures; sang songs; danced; wrote poetry, journals, and/or diaries; had concerts, plays, skits, made toys and created games. 1. View the 19 Min. color film **Light and Shadow** on the lives and works of fifteen artists who perished in the Nazi death camps. C. 1. Read the poems: **Babi Yar, If We Must Die,** and **The Little Smuggler,** aloud and reflect and discuss. 2. Read poetry from **Hannah Senesh.** 3. Examine the popular myth that emerged from the Holocaust that Jews were killed without resisting the Nazis "Like Sheep to Slaughter".	•A. **"Resistance" Booklet #4** - US Holocaust Memorial Museum, 100 Raoul Wallenberg Pl., Washington, DC, 20024, pp. 5-11. B. Werstein, Irving. **The Uprising of the Warsaw Ghetto,** November 1940-May 19, 1943. NY; W.W. Norton Publishing Co. 1968 1. Film - **Light and Shadow** - ADL, 19 Min. (1-800-343-5540) •C. 1. Poetry - Babi Yar, If We Must Die, Little Smuggler, To Arms - "The Proclamation of the Rebels in the Ghetto of Vilna" 2. **Hannah Senesh - Her Life and Diary** , Schocken Books, NY, 1973. • 3. Furman, **Anthology** - "To Die with Dignity" by Milton Meltzer pp. 145-146.

• Readings included in this unit

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	D. View video or read and discuss the tone and meaning of the poem **The Butterfly** written in 1942 by 12-year-old Pavel Friedman.	D. 1. **I Never Saw Another Butterfly** - Children's drawings and Poems from Terezin Concentration Camps. 1942-1944, NY, Schocken Books. 2. Volavkova, Hanna. **I Never Saw Another Butterfly**. NY, McGraw Hill, 1962. 3. Video: **I Never Saw Another Butterfly.** Social Studies School Service (1-800-421-4246).
	E. View excerpts from movie, **Diary of Anne Frank** to observe the many Jewish rituals, including dietary laws and prayers, the lighting of the Sabbath candles and/or Hanukah candles, or finding makeshift ways to pray.	E. Movie: **Diary of Anne Frank**. 151 Min., Social Studies School Service (1-800-421-4246). **Anne Frank: The Diary of A Young Girl**, ten lessons. S.S.S.S. Shawn, Karen - **The End of Innocence,** ADL, 1989
	F. Read excerpts from diaries of people in the ghetto, hidden away, or in concentration camps. Reflect and create a feeling of response using sculpture, mural, poetry, drawing and music. 1. Write a diary entry to express your thoughts. 2. Discuss the daily challenge and dilemmas faced by hidden children. 3. Read article **Madame Marie Saves a Jewish Child**. Discuss questions at the end of the article. 4. Choose selections from, Korczak's **Ghetto Diary**. Janusz Korczak was a pediatrician and head of an orphanage of 200 children in Warsaw. He refused offers of personal rescue and accompanied his charges to their murders in Treblinka. 5. Show part or all of **Terezin Diary**. The film focuses on Helga Kinsky, who at the age of twelve came to Terezin with her father. She kept a carefully written diary of her life in camp. The film takes Helga and other survivors through their journey from Terezin to the Terezin Family Camp at Auschwitz.	F. **Anne Frank: Contemporary Classics**, information packet, S.S.S.S. 1. Holocaust Classroom Library teenage experiences in Nazi Europe: Social Studies School Service, 6 paperbacks, guide, including **Anne Frank,** Holocaust Library, 1981. **Shadow of the Wall** - Christa Laird, Greenwillow, 1990. S.S.S.S. 2. Scheps, Frida - **A Hidden Childhood,** A Jewish Child's Sanctuary in a French Convent, 1942- 1945, Hill & Wang, NY, 1985. • 3. Article - **Madame Marie Saves a Jewish Child** by Odette Meyers. See video - **Courage to Care** (Odette Meyers is in this video) - ADL or S.S.S.S. 4. Korczak, Janusz. **Ghetto Diary**. NY: Holocaust Library, 1981. 5 Film - **Terezin Diary** (16mm, 88 Min., color) NY. The Terezin Foundation, Inc. and Jane Balfour Films Ltd. - Tec, Nechama. **Dry Tears - Story of Lost Childhood,** Westport, CT, 1982. - Friedlander, Saul. **When Memory Comes,** Farrer, Strauss and Giroux, NY, 1979.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	5. Read part or all of **The Warsaw Ghetto**, one of the first extended accounts of the establishment and destruction of the Warsaw Ghetto, written by a Jewish girl named Mary Berg whose mother was an American citizen.	5. **Five Teenage Diarist** - Mary Berg's selections included. Call Waldor Library (1-201-428-7400, ext. 325).
3. Students will be able to identify and list the various forms of **unarmed resistance.**	A. Discuss anti-Nazi literature and newspapers and how they were distributed by underground organizations. 1. Research the **White Rose** movement founded in June, 1942 by Hans Scholl, his sister Sophie, and friend Christopher Probst, all non-Jews. 2. Discuss article, **The White Rose** B. Discuss how the Center for preserving the archives of ghetto life were kept secret. 1. Research **Adam Czerniakow** and **Emmanuel Ringelblum** plus other writers who documented life in the Warsaw ghetto. These archives, known by the code name **Oneg Shabbat,** were unearthed on December 12, 1950. 2. Assign students to work in groups to find similar clandestine archives that also existed in **Kovno, Riga, Bialystok** and **Lodz** Ghettos as well as in many concentration camps.	A. 1. a. Scholl, Inge. **The White Rose:** Munich, 1942-43. New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1983. b. Video: **White Rose** - German with English subtitles. Can also use in German Foreign Language Department. 2 Hrs., Social Studies School Service (1-800-421-4246). • 2. Furman,. **Anthology** - "The White Rose", pp 163-165. B. 1. - Ringelblum, Emmanuel. **Notes from Warsaw Ghetto; The Journal of Emmanuel Ringelblum,** NY: Schocken, 1974. - Czerniakow, Adam. **The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow**, Stein and Day, 1979. 2. a. Meltzer, Milton. **Never to Forget: The Jews of the Holocaust.** NY: Harper and Row, 1976. b. Abrades, Tory. **Kovno, Ghetto Diaries,** 1990, Harvard Univ. Press - Cambridge, MA, Video - Drama: 3. Bauer, Yehuda, **Forms of Jewish Resistance During the Holocaust**, in John K. Roth and Michael Berenbaum, eds., Holocaust: Religious and Philosophical Implications. NY: Paragon House 1989, pp. 173-153. 4. Meltzer, Milton. **Never to Forget**: The Jews of the Holocaust, NY: Harper and Row, 1976, pp. 86-87. 5. Zornberg, Ira. **Classroom Strategies for Teaching About the Holocaust.** NY: ADL, 1983, pp. 39-40. 6. Dawidowicz, Lucy S. **The War Against the Jews, 1933-1945**. NY: Bantam Books.

UNIT__V__: RESISTANCE and INTERVENTION
GOAL 1. : Students will analyze Jewish physical and spiritual resistance to the Holocaust.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	C. Read how children were used to smuggle food and medical supplies and information into the ghetto.	C. Zieman, Joseph. **The Cigarette Sellers of Three Crosses Squares.** NY: Avon, 1977.
	D. Discuss how Polish emissaries smuggled out reports on ghetto conditions.	D. Laquer, Walter. **The Terrible Secret.** Penguin Books, 1980.
	E. Discuss the ethical issues raised in **Schindler's List**.	E. **Schindler's List**, movie by Stephen Spielberg, 1993. Video. Review New Yorker - Book: Keneally, Thomas, **Schindler's List**, 1982. Film outline Universal City Studies - Lifetime Learning Sytems, 79 Sanford St., Fairfied, CT, 06436 (1-203-259-5257).
	F. Research and discover how strikes, demonstrations, and protests were staged and work efforts sabotaged.	F. 1. Kogon, Eugene. **The Theory and Practice of Hell: Structure & Survival in Camps.** 2. Rossiter, Marget L. **Women in the Resistance**. NY: Praeger, 1986. 3. Muller, Phillip. **Eyewitness Three Years in the Gas Chamber**, Stein and Day, NY, 1979. 4. Garlinski, Josef. **Fighting Auschiwtz**, NY: Holmes and Meier, 1975.
	G. Examine how bogus identity cards or forged passports were printed, and how fake travel permits, ration cards, military discharge papers were produced.	G. • 1. Furman, Harry. **A Search for Conscience. "Resistance in Camps"** - pp. 149-150. 2. Salsitz. Norman and Petranker-Salsitz, Amalie. **Against All Odds.** NY: Holocaust Library, 1990.
	H. Discuss chances people took photographing daily life or building radios to listen illegally to BBC transmissions. Jews attempted escaping from death by hiding in the attics, cellars, closets, or barns of non-Jews, who themselves risked certain death if their actions were discovered by the Nazis, or by giving up their children to non-Jewish families.	H. See Unit 5, Goal 2 for additional resources.

UNIT_V_: RESISTANCE and INTERVENTION
GOAL 1. : Students will analyze Jewish physical and spiritual resistance to the Holocaust.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	1. Debate the courage needed to hide and protect a Jewish person during those times.	1. a. **Diary of Anne Frank** b. Kuper, Jack **Child of the Holocaust** c. Setal, Lore. **Other People's Houses** d. Reiss, Johanna. **The Upstairs Room.** Crowell Books e. **With a Camera in the Ghetto**. Grossman, Mendel, **Ghetto Fighters Home,** 1970, Israel. Waldor Memorial Library (1-201-428-7400)
	2. Read and discuss **Child of the Holocaust**, an autobiography of an orphaned nine year old Jewish boy who hid with peasant families to escape the Nazi death squads.	2. Kuper, Jack. **Child of the Holocaust.** Plume, 1987.
	I. Examine the role of the underground couriers, mostly women, in the Polish and Russian ghettos who brought communication in and out of ghettos.	I. 1. Tec, Nechama. **When Light Pierced the Darkness.** • Furman, **Anthology** . 2. **Revolt Amid the Darkness** - U.S. Holocaust Museum, pp. 185-189. 3. Laska, Vera. **Women in the Resistance and in the Holocaust: The Voice of Eyewitnesses:**, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1983. 4. Suhl, Yuri. **They Fought Back** - (Use the story of Wanda and others). 5. See video - **Weapons of the Spirit**, S.S.S.S. 6. Meed, Vladka. **On Both Sides of the Wall**, NY: Holocaust Library, 1979 (ADL Catalogue).

GOAL 1. : Students will analyze Jewish physical and spiritual resistance to the Holocaust.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
4. Students will identify and analyze Jewish **armed resistance:** They will study the underground resistance organizations, techniques and uprisings in the ghettos, death camps, concentration camps, forced-labor camps and prisoners of war camps.	A. Identify established "military underground organizations" whose purpose was to wage armed struggle against the Nazis. 1. J.F.O. (Jewish Fighters Organization) - Zydowska Organizacja Bojow; (ZOB). Zionists, the Bund, and Communists joined the ZOB. 2. Armee Juive (Jewish Army in France). 3. Jewish Military Union - Zydowski Zwiszek Wojskowz (ZZW). 4. United Partisan Organization - Fareynegte Partizaner Organizatsye (FPO) - Vilna. 5. Anti fascist Organizations - Kovno ghetto, Jan., 1942 - summer 1944. 6. Minsk fighting organizations - December 1941 B. Study Gypsy resistance. C. Research and discuss Jewish leaders who refused to follow Nazi directives and were killed for their defiance. 1. **Dr. Joseph Parnes**, the first chairman of the Judenrat (Jewish Council) of Lvov). 2. Research **Adam Czerniakow** and read the personal memoirs kept by the head of the Warsaw Jewish Council until his suicide in June, 1942. D. Research the major ghetto uprisings. 1. Warsaw Ghetto Uprising - April 1943 - May 1943. 2. Fight Auschwitz - Witold Pilecki went to Auschwitz to organize Resistance Movement.	A. 1. Bauer, Yehuda. **The History of the Holocaust.** 1981, pp. 246-270. 2. Wiesel, Elie. **The Gates of the Forest.** Avon Books. 3. **Encyclopedia of the Holocaust.** (4 volumes) Read: Family camps (Vol. 2), In the forests and partisans (Vol. 3). 4. Samuels, Gertrude. **Mottele**, Signet: 1976. 5. Ainsztein, Reuben. **Jewish Resistance in Nazi Occupied Europe**. An historical survey of the Jew as a fighter and soldier in the Diaspora. New Diaspora. New York: Harper and Row, 1974. 6. Tec, Nechama - **Defiance - The Bielski Partisans**, Oxford, 1993. 7. Werner, Harold. **Fighting Back**, Columbia, 1992 (memoir of Jewish resistance in World War II). B. Yoors, Jan. **Crossing: A Journal of Survival and Resistance in World War II**. NY: Simon and Schuster, 1971. (Flemish artist who lived in France tells of Gypsy resistance and his part in the resistance). C. 1. Suhl, Yuri. **They Fought Back (The Story of the Jewish Resistance in Nazi Europe)**, NY: Schocken Books, 1974. Hilberg, Sharon, Kermisz, eds. **The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow.** Warsaw Ghetto Resistance documents. • 2. Furman, **Anthology, "The Judenrat Government,"** pp., 94-96. D. 1. Furman, Harry. **Anthology** a.. Landau, Elaine. **Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.** NY: Macmillan, 1992. • b. Furman, **Anthology, "The Warsaw Ghetto"**, pp. 96-97 c. Green, Gerald, **Holocaust**, Book and video. 2. Garlinski, Josef. **Fighting Auschwitz**, NY: Holmes Meir, 1975.

UNIT_V_: RESISTANCE and INTERVENTION
GOAL 1. : Students will analyze Jewish physical and spiritual resistance to the Holocaust.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
		c. UJF-MetroWest materials: **Warsaw Ghetto Uprising - 50th Anniversary,** 4 lessons packet prepared by Peppy Margolis and Cecile Seiden. Call 1-201-884-4800 ext. 178 for copy.
	3. Read about Bialystok Resistance.	3. Grossman, Chaika. **The Underground Army: Fighters of the Bialystok Ghetto.** Holocaust Library, NY: 1987.
	4. Read about Vilna Ghetto and see the video **Partisans of Vilna** - also read to class -**The Proclamation of the Rebels in the Ghetto of Vilna.**	4. Marrus, Michael R. **The Holocaust in History.** Hanover: University Press of New England, 1987, pp. 133-155. Arad, Yitzhak. **Ghettos in Flames: The Struggle and Destruction of the Jews in Vilna in the Holocaust.** Holocaust Library, NY,: 1982. **Partisans of Vilna** - Black & White, 130 Min.. Explore Jewish Resistance during World War II. $70.00, National Center of Jewish Films (1-617-899-7044) Massachusetts.
	5. Read **Revolt in Lachwa.**	• 5. Furman, Harry. **Anthology - Revolt in Lachwa,** pp. 147-148
	6. Consider Jewish theological aspects of resistance to the Nazis.	6. Rosenberg, Rabbi Bernhard H. and Heuman, Fred, **Theological and Halachic Reflections on the Holocaust,** Ktav Publishing House, N.Y., 1992.
	E. Construct a facsimile of an underground newspaper that might have been published in any of the Ghettos, write poetry or playlets.	E. Use reference material in this unit.
	F. Research the Jewish and non-Jewish partisans who fought against the Nazis.	F. 1. Suhl, Yuri, ed., **They Fought Back: The Story of the Jewish Resistance in Nazi Europe.** NY: Schocken Books, 1975, pp. 7-50. 2. Arad, Yitzhak. **The Partisan: From the Valley of Death to Mount Zion.** Holocaust Library.

GOAL 1. : Students will analyze Jewish physical and spiritual resistance to the Holocaust.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
		3. Kohn, Nahum, and Roiter, Howard. **A Voice from the Forest.** NY: Holocaust Library, 1980. Davidowicz, Lucy S. **The War Against the Jews, 1933-1945.** pp. 369-376; 425-433; 449-4640. 4. Kowalski, Isaac (Ed.) **Anthology on Armed Jewish Resistance.** Jewish Combatants Publishers House. Brooklyn, NY: 1986. 5. Krakowski, Schmuel. **War of the Doomed: Jewish Armed Resistance in Poland, 1942-1944.** NY: Holmes & Meier, 1983. 6. Macksey, Kenneth. **The Partisans of Europe in the 2nd World War.** 7. Werner, Harold. **Fighting Back**, Columbia University Press, 1992. Partisans rescue Jews from the Ghetto. 8. Madeline, Marie. **Noah's Ark,** Stein & Day, NY, 1975. Non Jewish Partisans. Fourcade - Network for freedom of France - EP Dutton and Company, NY., 1974.
	G. Invite Holocaust speakers who participated in the resistance movement. Prepare several key questions for the speaker; summarize the exchange in writing.	G. Use nearby Holocaust Resource Center or Jewish Federation office to assist in getting speakers.
	H. Examine partisans songs including **Song of the Partisans**. What was the purpose of their songs for the resistance fighters?	H. **Yes, We Sang** - Songs of the Ghetto and Concentration camps, Harper & Row, 1985.
	I. Discuss the concentration camp uprisings. 1. Research the uprising at **Treblinka** - 700 Jews were successful in blowing up the camp on August 2, 1943. A small number survived. 2. Research **Sobibor** - Polish, Polish-Jewish citizens, and Russian prisoners mounted an escape on October 14, 1943. Good for Junior High level. a. Watch the video, read the book **Escape from Sobibor**. b. Do simulation "Twenty-Six Partners in Death".	I. 1. Steiner, Jean Francois, **Treblinka**, New American Library, ADL • Furman, Harry. **Anthology, The Treblinka Revolt**, pp. 152-155. 2. a. Rashe, Richard. **Escape from Sobibor**. NY: Avon Books, 1987. b. TV video (docudrama), **Escape from Sobibor**- 3 hours, S.S.S.S. (1-800-421-4246).

UNIT__V__: RESISTANCE and INTERVENTION
GOAL 1. : Students will analyze Jewish physical and spiritual resistance to the Holocaust.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
		c. Suhl, Yuri. **They Fought Back**. NY: Schocken Books, 1967, pp. 7-50. d. Novitch, Miriam. **Sobibor**. Martyrdom & Revolt - Holocaust Library. See Appendix • e. "Twenty-six Partners in Death" A Dilemma
	3. Research revolt at **Auschwitz** - On October 7, 1944, one of the four crematoria was blown up by Sonderkommandos. 4. Do the Simulation - **Life in Extremis:** Moral Action and the Camps	3. a. Levi, Primo. **Survival in Auschwitz**, NY: Macmillan, 1987. b. Vrba, Rudolph. **I Cannot Forgive**, Grove Press, NY, 1964. c. Meltzer, Milton. **Never to Forget**, Chapter 17, "Revolt in Death Camps", pp. 174-181. • 4. Furman, **Anthology**, p 149, "Life in Extremis: Moral Action and the Camps".
	J. 1. View and discuss film **Music of Auschwitz** based on the life of on survivor Fania Fenelon of the Birkenau Women's Orchestra. 2. Read excerpts - **Playing for Time**.	J. 1. Film, **Music of Auschwitz**, 16 Min., Color, ADL Film library. 2. Fenelon, Fania. **Playing for Time**. Read book, rent video, Athenium Books, NY, 1977.

UNIT__V__: RESISTANCE and INTERVENTION
GOAL 2. : Students will examine resistance to the Holocaust by non-Jewish people in Germany and in occupied countries.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
1. Student will be able to gain insight into the reasons why non-Jewish Righteous Rescuers risked their lives to save the Jews.	A. Brainstorm the motivation of rescuers. 1. What are the aspects of rescuing personality? 2. What are the factors that motivated individuals to shelter Jews, usually at great personal risk? 3. Why do many rescuers deny that they were heroes and say they "only" did what was right to do? B. Identify, analyze, and evaluate the role of the Righteous Among the Nations. 1. Nature of the Righteous. 2. Danger of assistance. 3. Commitment to the cause. C. Read and/or view and discuss **Schindler's List** with Teacher Discussion Guide by Simon Wiesenthal Center. D. View and discuss the following films: 1. **The Courage to Care** 2. **They Risked Their Lives** - about ordinary people who refused to succumb to Nazi tyranny. 3. Examine why the citizens of Denmark showed such extraordinary courage and banded together to prevent Nazis from arresting Jewish families. See **The Only Way** film. 4. Read the whole or parts of **The Assisi Underground**, based on a true story. This depicts the work done by the Catholic Church during World War II to help Italian Jews escape Nazi persecution. 5. See **The Righteous Enemy** about Italians who saved thousands of Jews, but do not consider themselves heroes.	A. 1. Fogelman Eva. **Psychological Origins of Rescue.** ADL. 2. Oliner, Samuel P. and Oliner, Pearl M. **The Altruistic Personality: Rescuers of Jews in Nazi Europe.** Free Press/Macmillan - teach unit. 3. Tec, Nechama. **When Light Pierced the Darkness.** NY, Oxford University Press, 1987. B. 1. **So Many Miracles** - PBS (1-800-424-7963). 2. **Chronicles: Wallenberg & Schindler**. S.S.S.S. (1-800-424-4246). C. 1. Rent movie, **Schindler's List**. 2. Keneally, Thomas. **Schindler's List**, NY: Simon & Schuster, 1982. (Fiction). 3. See Schindler Documentary. Discussion Guide: Simon Wiesenthal Center (1-312-553-9036). D. 1. Video - **The Courage to Care**, ADL and S.S.S.S. 2. Video - **They Risked Their Lives**. 54 Min. Video - **Weapons of the Spirit**, 38 Min., ADL and S.S.S.S. 3. Film - **The Only Way**, Color, 86 Min., S.S.S.S.. 4. Zuccoti, Susan. **The Italians and the Holocaust**, NY, Basic Books, Inc. 1987. 4. Video - **The Assisi Underground**, Color, 115 Min., Cannon, 1984. Use book pp. 16-66. Available from S.S.S.S. Ramati, Alexander as told by Padre Rufino Niccacci. **The Assisi Underground, The Priests Who Rescued Jews**. NY: Stein and Day Publishers, 1985. 5. Video" "Rightous Enemy". 84 min. Available with discussion guide from American Jewish Committe and The Order, Sons of Italy America (describes the rescue of thousand of Jews in Italy - occupied areas of Europe.

GOAL 2. : Students will examine resistance to the Holocaust by non-Jewish people in Germany and in occupied countries.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	E. Read accounts of those in hiding. Give oral, written, or visual book reports about: 1. **The Diary of Anne Frank** or show movie. See the original film made in 1955 by 20th Century Fox, far outshines the others. 2. **Their Brothers' Keepers: The Christian Heroes and Heroines Who helped the Oppressed Escape the Nazi Terror.** 3. **Rescue: The Story of How Gentiles Saved Jews in the Holocaust.** 4. **The Tulips are Red.** 5. **When Light Pierced the Darkness: Christian Rescue of Jews in Nazi-Occupied Poland.** 6. **Goodness Incarnate: The People of Le Chambon.** 7. **The Pit and the Trap**, a memoir of a Polish family who survived in hiding. 8. **Dry Tears: The Story of a Lost Childhood.** F. Research Christians (Righteous of the Nations) who saved Jewish lives. 1. Research the Avenue of the Just at the Yad Vashem memorial in Jerusalem, Israel. Here, trees have been planted that each bear the name of a Christian who saved Jewish lives during the Hitler years. View and discuss film, **Avenue of the Just**.	E. 1. Video - **The Diary of Anne Frank**, Black & White, 151 Min., S.S.S.S. Frank, Anne. **The Diary of Anne Frank**, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1952. 2. Friedman, Philip. **Their Brothers' Keepers: The Christian Heroes and Heroines Who Helped the Oppressed Escape the Nazi Terror.** NY: Crown, 1957. 3. Meltzer, Milton. **Rescue: The Story of How Gentiles Saved Jews in the Holocaust.** NY: Harper and Row, 1988. Video - **Courage to Care**, 28 Min., focuses on sensitivity and courage of Righteous Gentiles who saved Jews - Teacher outline S.S.S.S. 4. Rose, Leesha. **The Tulips are Red.** NJ: A.S. Barnes, 1979. 5. Tec, Nechama. **When Light Pierced the Darkness: Christian Rescue of Jews in Nazi Occupied Poland.** NY: Oxford University Press, 1987. • 6. Furman, Harry. **Anthology, Goodness Incarnate: The People of Le Chambon.** pp. 165-167. 7. Rochman, Leyb. **The Pit and the Trap**. Sheila Friedling (Ed.), Holocaust Library. 8. Tec, Nechama. **Dry Tears: The Story of a Lost Childhood.** Oxford University Press, 1982. F. 1. Hellman, Peter. **Avenue of the Righteous**, NY: Bantam Books Film **Avenue of the Just**, 55 Min., Color, ADL. See video: **Jacoba**, 63 Min. Heroes of "ordinary woman". Filmaker Library, Rental $75.00, (1-212-808-4980).

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	2. Research **Sempo Sugihara**, Japanese consul in Kovno, Lithuania, who issued entry visas to Japan to about 6,000 Jews at the beginning of World War II. 3. Discuss **Stefania Podgorska**, a Polish Catholic teenager, who risked her own life and that of her 6-year old sister to save 13 Jewish men, women, and children for nearly 2 1/2 years. 4. Research the underground organization of Polish Catholics, *Zegota*, who hid Jews from deportation and the individuals who hid Jews. 5. View and discuss video, **Au Revoir Les Enfants.** Could also be used by foreign language department. It documents the story of a Catholic schoolboy and his Jewish friend being sheltered by a courageous French Priest. 6. View and discuss video - **Conspiracy of Hearts** - when Italian nuns risk their lives to save Jewish children. G. Research the exemplary courage of **Raoul Wallenberg** 1. Why was Wallenberg willing to risk his life and save thousands of Jews? 2. View video - **Raoul Wallenberg Between the Lines.** H. View and discuss 14 minute film and discuss dilemma of **Joseph Schultz** and/or read article on Joseph Schultz. The film is a dramatization about a German soldier in Yugoslavia who refuses to execute local people and joins them.	2. Tokayer, Marvin. **The Fugu Plan**, Swartz Paddington Press. Jews rescued to Shanghai, China, 1979. • Tracey, David. **Visas for Life**, story of Sempo Sugihara, Reader's Digest. • 3. Bloc, Guy & Drucker, Malka. **Rescuers Portraits of Moral Courage in the Holocaust**, "Stefania Podgorska Burzminski", Holmes & Meier Publications, 1992, pp. 180-185. 4. Encyclopedia of the Holocaust. 5. Movie, **Au Revoir Les Enfants** by Louis Malle, Time Warner, Viewer's Edge, $14.98, (1-800-224-9944). On PBS television during Holocaust Commemoration week. 6. See video - **Conspiracy of Hearts**, 90 Min., National Jewish Welfare Board. 7. Contact Speakers Bureau for Rescuer Speakers. G. • 1. Anger, Per. **With Wallenberg in Budapest: Memories of the War Years in Hungary.** Lester, Elenore. **Wallenberg: The Man in the Iron Web.** Prentice Hall, 1982. Werber, Frederick E. **Lost Hero: The Mystery of Raoul Wallenberg.** McGraw-Hill, 1982. 2. Video - **Raoul Wallenberg**, S.S.S.S. and paperback. 3. Film - **Raoul Wallenberg: Buried Alive,** 78 Min., Black and White. NY: Holocaust Resource Center and Archives, Queensborough Community College. 4. Television docudrama - **Raoul Wallenberg.** 5. Linnea, Sharon, **Raoul Wallenberg, The Man Who Stopped Death**, Philadelphia Jewish Publication Societ, 1993. H. 1. **Joseph Schultz**. ADL (1-800-343-5540). See Dilemma. • 2. **A Policeman's Dilemma** in Furman's **Search for Conscience**, pp. 167-168.

GOAL 2. : Students will examine resistance to the Holocaust by non-Jewish people in Germany and in occupied countries.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	I. 1. View film, **Act of Faith**. The story of Danish resistance against Hitler. Read book or excerpt **The Rescue of the Danish Jews: Moral Courage Under Stress.** 2. View Video - **A Day in October.** 3. **Rescue**, the story of how Gentiles saved Jews during the Holocaust. 4. **Rescue in Denmark**. Flender recounts the many acts of individual heroism and sacrifice that made it possible to save all but a handful of Denmark's 8,000 Jews from the Germans. 5. **The Samaritans: Heroes of the Holocaust**, a collection of 100+ short first-person memoirs by Christian Poles who aided Jews in Poland. Bartoszewski was a cofounder of the Polish Council for Aid to Jews and one of its leaders from 1942 to 1944.	I. 1. Film/videocassette - **Act of Faith**, 28 Min., Black and White. ADL. 2. Video - **A Day in October,** 96 Min., S.S.S.S.. Set against backdrop of Nazi occupation in Denmark, 1943. 3 Meltzer, Milton. **Rescue**. Harper & Row, NY, 1998. 4 Flender, Harold, **Rescue in Denmark**. Holocaust Library.
	J. Read and discuss the quote by German Pastor Martin Niemoeller. Discuss meaning of quote.	J. Quote by Pastor Niemoeller. See Appendix. See Unit I.
	K Research **Dr. Aristides de Sousa Mendes**, a Portuguese Consul General to Bordeaux, France from 1938 to 1940. Against instructions from the fascist dictator of Portugal, he issued visas for 30,000 refugees	• K. Fogelman, Eva, **Conscience and Courage:** Rescuers of the Jews during the Holocaust, Anchor Books, Chapter 11, "Network Rescuers", pp 200-202.
	L Assign books about rescuers to be read for oral or written book reports. 1. Read the story of the woman, Miep Gies, who helped hide Anne Frank and her family. 2. **Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed.** Protestant village of Le Chambon in Southern France, led by its clergy, saved thousands of Jews from death.	L. 1. Gies, Miep and Gold, Alison Leslie. **Anne Frank Remembered: The Story of the Woman Who Helped Hide the Frank Family.** 2. Hallie, Phillip. **Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed: The Story of the Village of Le Chambon and How Goodness Happened There.** NY: Harper & Row, 1979.

UNIT_V_: RESISTANCE and INTERVENTION
GOAL2. : Students will examine resistance to the Holocaust by non-Jewish people in Germany and in occupied countries.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	3. **The Moses of Kovno**, the story of Fritz Graebe, a German Christian who risked his life to lead hundreds of Jews to safety. O. 1. View the video - **Miracle at Moreaux**, the true story of Jewish children saved by children in Catholic boarding school in France.	3. Huenke, Douglas K. **The Moses of Kovno**, NY: Dodd, Mead, 1985. Tory, Abraham. **Surviving the Holocaust: The Kovno Ghetto Diary, story from 1942-to 1944,** Harvard University Press, 1990 4. Bartoszewski, Wladslaw and Zofia, Lewin, eds. **The Samaritans: Heroes of the Holocaust.** NY: Twayne, 1970. O. 1. Video - **Miracle at Moreaux,** 58 Min.. S.S.S.S.

UNIT__V__: RESISTANCE and INTERVENTION
GOAL 3. : Students will define heroic behavior, and identify those people who had the courage to care during the Holocaust.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
1 Students will discover which countries did respond to the plight of the Holocaust victim and offer refuge.	A. Students will read and research why Japan permitted 18,000 Jewish refugees, including 1,500 Gentile "non-Aryans" and 1,000 Polish Jews to enter Shanghai, China, an open city. 1. What were the conditions like upon the refugees' arrival? 2. What happened in the period from 1939-1941 and how did the community set up schools, hospitals, stores, soup kitchens. How the people bartered, traded and survived the war. 3. What was the **Fugu Plan**? How did it effect the Jews? B. Students will research the refuge plans by the Dominican Republic to settle 100,000 Jews.	A. Ross, James R. **Escape to Shanghai - A Jewish Community in Shanghai,** The Free Press, 1994, Prologue, pp. xiii-xvi. • 1. Kranzler, David. **Japanese, Nazis and Jews, The Jewish Refugee Community of Shanghai 1938-1945,,** "Bread and Butter in Shanghai" - Economic conditions until Pearl Harbor, pp. 281-283. • 2. - Ibid, pp. 375-376 - Read above quoted texts. - Ibid, pp. 363-364, Leitner, Yecheskel - **Operation- Torah Rescue**, the escape of the Mirer Yeshiva from war- torn Poland to Shanghai, China, Feldheim Publisher, NY, 1987, pp. 111, 113, 114, 115. • 3. Tokayer, Marvin. **The Fugu Plan,** Introduction, Swartz Paddington Press, 1979, pp. 9-13. B. Levin, Nora. **The Holocaust**, "The Struggle to Survive, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., NY 1969

UNIT__V__: RESISTANCE and INTERVENTION
GOAL 3. : Students will define heroic behavior, and identify those people who had the courage to care during the Holocaust.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	C. Research Issac Rudnikni who was active in the forests around Warsaw. D. Learn about Varian Fry, who succeeded in rescuing 2,500 people in Vichy France. E. Learn about Bulgaria's actions during World War II.	C. Pogonowski, Ayria Iwo. **Jews in Poland**, Hippocreme Books, Inc., NY., 1993, p 177. • Read *The Marseilles Operation* D. **Remembering the Voices That Were Silenced,** U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, 1990, pp. 71-73. E. Encyclopedia Judaica, vol. 4, pp. 1485 - 89
2. Students will demonstrate a consciousness of the facts and concept identified in resistance and intervention.	A. Make slides/displays of rescuers/heroes and note their accomplishments. B. Interview and videotape rescuers, survivors, and hidden children. Create an oral history library. C. Adopt as a class grandparent a rescuer, survivor or hidden child D. Write and present a play highlighting rescuers. Excerpts of diaries may be part of the dialogue. Present to middle school or at public library. E. Create a mural/ shadowbox/collage with maps in the mural or collage depicting various rescuers accomplishments. Art teacher may assist. F. Create a computerized database on rescuers. Type in an autobiographical sketch of rescuers. Ask computer teacher. G. Create script/skit/play on rescuers - i.e.., Raoul Wallenberg, Oskar Schindler, Miep Gies, Aristides de Sousa de Mendes, Sempo Sugihara other rescuers which were covered. H. Create history question and answer activities. Categories could include questions on the Judenrat and Ghettos, geography, rescuers, resistance fighters, places, and other topics. Add additional categories from other units.	A. Numerous Holocaust books. B. Contact various Holocaust Resource Centers or Jewish Federation for names, addresses, or phone numbers. C. Ibid. D. through I - Numerous Holocaust books. See materials cited earlier in this unit.

UNIT_V_: RESISTANCE and INTERVENTION
GOAL 3. : Students will define heroic behavior, and identify those people who had the courage to care during the Holocaust.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	C.. Research Issac Rudnikni who was active in the forests around Warsaw. D.. Learn about Varian Fry, who succeeded in rescuing 2,500 people in Vichy France. E. Learn about Bulgaria's actions during World War II.	C.. Pogonowski, Ayria Iwo. **Jews in Poland**, Hippocreme Books, Inc., NY., 1993, p 177. • Read *The Marseilles Operation* D. **Remembering the Voices That Were Silenced,** U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, 1990, pp. 71-73. E. Encyclopedia Judaica, vol. 4, pp. 1485 - 89
2. Students will demonstrate a consciousness of the facts and concept identified in resistance and intervention.	A. Make slides/displays of rescuers/heroes and note their accomplishments. B. Interview and videotape rescuers, survivors, and hidden children. Create an oral history library. C. Adopt as a class grandparent a rescuer, survivor or hidden child D. Write and present a play highlighting rescuers. Excerpts of diaries may be part of the dialogue. Present to middle school or at public library. E. Create a mural/ shadowbox/collage with maps in the mural or collage depicting various rescuers accomplishments. Art teacher may assist. F. Create a computerized database on rescuers. Type in an autobiographical sketch of rescuers. Ask computer teacher. G. Create script/skit/play on rescuers - i.e.., Raoul Wallenberg, Oskar Schindler, Miep Gies, Aristides de Sousa de Mendes, Sempo Sugihara other rescuers which were covered. H. Create history question and answer activities. Categories could include questions on the Judenrat and Ghettos, geography, rescuers, resistance fighters, places, and other topics. Add additional categories from other units.	A. Numerous Holocaust books. B. Contact various Holocaust Resource Centers or Jewish Federation for names, addresses, or phone numbers. C. Ibid. D. through I - Numerous Holocaust books. See materials cited earlier in this unit.

UNIT_V_: RESISTANCE and INTERVENTION
GOAL 4 : Students will reassess human nature in light of the local and worldwide responses to the Holocaust.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
1. Students will reassess human nature with respect to what they have learned about the Holocaust.	A. Investigate situations of persecution, terrorism, and mass killings in the world today and contrast with the Holocaust. i.e., Somalia, South Africa, former Yugoslavia, etc. B. Create a poster of current events showing man's inhumanity to man. It could include a clipping, summary of events, and a personal reaction. C. Read and discuss article **Remembering The Voices That Were Silenced.** D. Discuss: How should individuals react to issues of conscience? 1. Relating to Holocaust. 2. Relating to current events. 3. Relating to personal experiences. E. Debate any of the following: 1. The United States of America has humanitarian concerns when reacting to any international crisis. 2. The United States of America has humanitarian concerns when engaged in war with another nation. 3.. The United States of America has humanitarian concern only because of its political leader's personal/political gain. 4. The United States of America has humanitarian concern only in response to public pressure. F. Respond in writing to one of the following statements. 1. **The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing.** -- Edmund Burke 2. **If I am not for myself, who will be for me? And if I am for myself alone, who am I? And if not now - when?** -- Hillel.	A. Contact nearby Holocaust Centers, local Temples and Churches. See Appendix. B. Current magazines and newspapers. •C. **Remembering the Voices That were Silenced,,** U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, 1990, pp. 3-6. D-F. Use reference books.

Audio - Visual List

Unit V

Diary of Anne Frank - 151 min.

Story of Anne and her family as they are hidden in an attic in Holland. Poignant film - Watch original b/w version with Millie Perkins.

Social Studies School Service
1-800-421-4246
$79.98

Courage to Care - 30 min.

Video that shows vignettes of righteous rescuers.
Story of Odette Meyers and Irene Updike. Teacher Guide available.

ADL
1-800-343-5540
$50.00

The White Rose - 120 min.

Story of Anti-Nazi movement led by Hans Scholl and his Sister Sophie -with book.

Social Studies School Service
1-800-421-4246

Schindler's List - 3.5 hours

Film by Steven Spielberg that tells the story of Oskar Schindler, a German industrialist who became a Righteous Gentile.

Rent or purchase from a Video Store.

So Many Miracles - 60 min.

Tells story of Jewish family that was hidden by Polish farmer.

PBS
1-800-344-3337

Weapons of the Spirit - 38 min.

About extraordinary people who risked their lives to save Jews.

Social Studies School Service
1-800-421-4246
$50.00

Assisi Underground 0 115 min.

Exciting story of Italian monk, Padre Rufino Niccacci, who saved Jews in Italy in 1943. Well done film.

Social Studies School Service
1-800-421-4246
$19.98

Raoul Wallenberg: Between the Lines: - 85 min.

Tells of the personal courage of the Swedish diplomat who single-handled saved 1,200 Jews.

Social Studies School Service
1-800-421-4246
$29.98

Miracle at Moreaux - 58 min.

True Story of Jewish children saved from the Nazis by a Catholic boarding school in France. Based on the book Twenty and Ten by Elaine Hatchet Bishop.

Social Studies School Service
1-800-421-4246

RESISTANCE, JEWISH, planned or spontaneous opposition to the Nazis and their collaborators by individual Jews or groups of Jews. In the Nazi system, within which Jews were faced with a process of dehumanization that ultimately culminated in death, any act that opposed that process can be regarded as resistance. In response to this system, Jewish resistance to the Nazis and their collaborators took many forms and worked on many different levels.

Organized armed resistance is regarded as the epitome of opposition to the Nazis. Since the end of World War II many instances of Jewish armed struggle throughout Europe have been documented, the most famous being the WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING of the spring of 1943. Virtually every attempt by Jewish fighters to confront Nazi forces ended in the defeat of the Jews. Still, the idea became widespread that if more Jews had fought, more would have survived the Holocaust. Most scholars of the Holocaust have come to the conclusion that even the majority of the fighters themselves generally did not regard armed resistance as a way to save significant numbers of Jews from death at the hands of the Nazis. Instead, Jews fought for various reasons, such as a wish to avenge the murder of other Jews, or so that future generations would know that Jews had resisted the Nazis with arms for the sake of Jewish honor.

Among the Jewish PARTISANS, however, fighting and survival went hand in hand. In addition to the partisan fighting units, in many places FAMILY CAMPS IN THE FORESTS were created for those Jews who had reached the partisans but could not fight; these camps were protected by the fighters. Rescue was an important factor in the SLOVAK NATIONAL UPRISING. The Jewish fighters taking part in it hoped that the remnants of Slovak Jewry would be saved through the ousting of the Nazi-oriented government from power.

In several camps, notably SOBIBÓR, TREBLINKA, and Birkenau (*see* AUSCHWITZ), Jewish members of the SONDERKOMMANDOs initiated uprisings. All were brutally suppressed. In Birkenau all the rebels were killed, but in Sobibór and Treblinka a small number managed to escape during the fray. The Jewish-initiated uprisings in the camps were the only organized acts of armed resistance carried out against the Nazis in the concentration and extermination camp network.

In most of the countries of central and western Europe, the focal point of Jewish response was rescue, with organized Jewish armed resistance essentially a marginal phenomenon. This was especially true for BELGIUM, the NETHERLANDS, HUNGARY, and GERMANY. In FRANCE, however, there was significant Jewish participation in organized armed resistance, along with rescue activities. During the summer and autumn of 1942, the Jewish underground crystallized and the united Jewish forces established the ARMÉE JUIVE (Jewish Army), which participated in many operations. It took revenge on traitors; attacked German airplanes, transport vehicles, and trains; and sabotaged factories producing materials for the Axis war effort.



JEWISH RESISTANCE



1 A

Reading #1

RESISTANCE

Obstacles to Resistance

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

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

. SUPERIOR, ARMED POWER OF THE NAZIS.

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

2. GERMAN TACTIC OF "COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY."

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

3. FAMILY TIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES.

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

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

4. Terror in Camps.

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

5. Absence of Cooperative Civilian Population.

Jewish victims of Nazism faced an additional, specific obstacle to resistance. Even if individuals had the physical strength and the will to escape from behind the barbed wire and walls of ghettos and Nazi camps, finding a hiding place and food was often difficult. In eastern Europe where the Jewish population was concentrated, Jews could seldom count on the support from characteristically hostile or indifferent non-Jewish civilians. There was also a disincentive to aid Jews: civilians who did help escapees did so under penalty of death.

6. Secrecy and Deception of Deportations.

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

Jewish Resistance: a Problem of Historical Interpretation

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

1. Jewish Resistance—An Emotional Issue.

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

2. Jewish Compliance and the Judenrat leaders.

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

3. A Different Slant on the Judenrat Leaders.

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

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

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

4. A Broader Definition of Resistance.

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

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

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

Forms of Unarmed Resistance

1. Distribution of Anti-Nazi Literature by Underground Organizations.

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

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

2. Strikes and Demonstrations.

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

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

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

3. Smuggling.

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

4. Spiritual Resistance—Education.

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

5. Spiritual Resistance—Prayer.

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

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

6. Spiritual Resistance—Maintenance of History.

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

7. Spiritual Resistance—Art and Other Cultural Activities.

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

8. Underground Couriers.

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

9. Gypsy Resistance.

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

10. Sabotage.

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

Forms of Armed Resistance

1. Ghetto Rebellions in Eastern Europe.

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

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

The largest and most famous rebellion was the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. In January 1943, the Warsaw resistance organization (ZOB, *Zydowska Organizacja Bojowa*—Jewish Fighting Organization) fired upon Nazi troops during an attempted deportation of 6,000 Jews. Then, when the final liquidation of the Ghetto began on April 19, 1943, the ZOB resisted the Nazi roundups for deportation. Armed with pistols, Molotov cocktails, and hand

grenades, some 750 Jewish fighters fought 2,000–3,000 German troops. Using a system of underground cellars, bunkers, and roof tops, ghetto fighters fought the battle hardened German troops for 28 days. By May 16, 1943, after fierce house-to-house fighting the Germans had recaptured and destroyed the ghetto.

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

2. Uprisings in the Killing Centers.

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

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

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

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

3. Partisan Units in Forests of Eastern Europe.

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

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

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

On August 4, 1944, the AK launched an uprising in Warsaw against the German army. After bitter fighting that lasted 63 days, the Poles were defeated. It was a staggering loss. Nearly 200,000 Poles, mostly civilians, lost their lives. On October 11, 1944, Hitler ordered that the city of Warsaw be completely razed. The part of the city not previously destroyed during the Jewish Ghetto Uprising in 1943 was reduced to rubble.

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

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

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

Taken From: RESISTANCE BOOKLET - U.S. Holocaust Museum, Washington, D.C.

4. Partisan Activities in Western Europe.

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

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

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

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

BABI YAR
Yevgeny Yevtushenko

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

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

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

Unit 5
Objective 1-Goal 1

IF WE MUST DIE
Claude McKay

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



Unit 5
Objective 1-Goal 1

The Little Smuggler

by Henryka Lazawert

Over the wall, through holes, and past the guard.
Through the wires, ruins, and fences,
plucky, hungry, and determined
I sneak through, dart like a cat.
At noon, at night, at dawn,
In snowstorm, cold or heat,
A hundred times I risk my life
And put my head on the line.

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

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

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

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

Questions to think about

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

TO ARMS!

The Proclamations of the Rebels in the Ghetto of Vilna

Jews, defend yourselves with arms!

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

Thus hundreds were led away on Yom Kippur!

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

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

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

Jews, defend yourselves with arms!

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

Ponar means Death!

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

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

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

Help the Rebellion!

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

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

For our fathers!

For our murdered children!

As payment for Ponar!

Kill the murderers!

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

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

Long live Liberty

Long live our armed resistance!

Death to the murderers!

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

To Die with Dignity

Milton Meltzer

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

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

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

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

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

> Sima was a twelve-year-old girl with blonde hair, blue eyes, and dimples that showed when she talked. Her parents perished in the first German pogrom. In the beginning Sima lived outside the ghetto and carried out important assignments for the underground party committee. Later when we began to lead Jews out of the ghetto, Smolar brought the little girl to the ghetto and she became our contact with the forest.
>
> No assignment was too difficult for Sima. Before going out on a mission, she listened carefully to the given instruction; then she would repeat what she was told, trying hard not to miss a single word. Her small pistol was always in the special pocket sewn into her coat. Before starting out, she would always point to it and say, "Don't worry, the Fritzes will not take me alive."
>
> On cold winter nights Sima would sneak out of the ghetto through an opening beneath the barbed wire fence. She returned to the ghetto through the cemetery. There were times when she did not succeed in getting into the ghetto at night. When this happened, she would spend the night, hungry and cold, in some bombed-out building, and remain there throughout the next day. At dusk, when the Jews returned from work, she would steathily join their column, and together with them enter the ghetto. After the liquidation of the Minsk ghetto, Sima participated in the combat operations of the partisan detachment.

Sima had an indomitable will to live. She resisted the Nazis, and she survived. Later, when the Germans, now losing the war, were driven out in summer, 1944, Sima marched through Minsk in the front ranks of the partisans. Hers was one of the many forms of resistance to Hitler's persecution. Wherever there was oppression, resistance of some kind emerged. The watchword of the Jewish resistance was: "Live and die with dignity!" And despite the greatest terror, hunger, and privation, Jews upheld that watchword. They did not want simply to vanish silently from the earth.

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

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

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

did *so many* of them?

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

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

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

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

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

As some Jews became convinced that their people were doomed, the natural question to ask was: How then shall we die? One answer was to frustrate the enemy by not making it easy for him: Do not commit suicide; stay alive as long as you can. The simple act of living on became a form of passive resistance. Many expressed that resistance by carrying on their traditional religious life—praying, singing, studying the Talmud, observing the Holy Days—and their cultural activities in the ghettos. Others hid from the enemy as long as they could. Some bore children as if to say, No matter what you do, the generations will go on.

Other Jews, who began to understand that Nazi terror was a totally different order of life, chose more active ways of responding to it. They felt it was hopeless to rely on legal methods in such a morally criminal system. So people learned how to use bribery, smuggling, forgery, theft, spying, sabotage, violence. They saw these as weapons of defense against a power committed to their destruction. They bribed the enemy; they smuggled food and people; they stole bread and guns; they forged papers—birth and baptismal certificates, residence cards, ration cards, work cards, registration forms, passports. They planted spies in the enemy's ranks; they sabotaged war production; they blew up trains and bridges and buildings; they shot and stabbed and poisoned Hitlerites.

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

Questions for Discussion

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

Unit 5
Objective 2-Goal 1

MADAME MARIE SAVES A JEWISH CHILD

by Odette Meyers

Odette Meyers was seven years old in the summer of 1942 when the Nazis rounded up thousands of Jews in Paris and deported them to the East. Hidden by Catholics and members of the French resistance, she survived the war. A poet and teacher, she lives in Berkeley, California, where she is a university professor. Her story is taken from "The Courage to Care: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust," edited by Carol Rittner, R.S.M. and Sondra Myers, and published by New York University Press, New York, in 1986. Reprinted from the Days of Remembrance book entitled, "Fifty Years Ago: In the Depths of Darkness," published by the United States Holocaust Memorial Council in 1992.

My parents emigrated from Poland to France. Although they were quite poor, working-class people, they were politically conscious, having left Poland for political reasons in the late 1920s. As an only child, I was fussed over a great deal by my parents and others. I remember that life seemed very busy and cheerful. There were many friends who would come to visit my parents and lots of picnicking. It was a good life, until the war started.

On July 16, 1942, the Nazis struck, and 13,000 Jews in Paris were rounded up by the French police and taken into a stadium called the Velodrome D'Hiver. Thousands of people were taken into the sports stadium. When they tried to round up women with their children, some of the women jumped out of their windows. There were 51 suicides of that kind. Mothers jumped out of windows with their children rather than be taken by the police, who took everyone, every Jew: women in labor, old people, dying people – they actually took some dead bodies. Everyone. Men without families were sent directly to Drancy, while thousands of others, mostly women and children, babies, old people, the dying, and so on, were sent to the Velodrome. They were kept there for seven days. Later, they were sent to detention camps like Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande. Still later, these Jews were sent farther east to Auschwitz and Birkenau. Among the 13,000 Jews arrested in Paris in July 1942 were 4,051 children. If it had not been for the woman who saved me, I would have been number 4,052.

The concierge of our house was a woman named Marie Chotel, whom everyone in the neighborhood loved and affectionately called "Madame Marie." She lived downstairs from us. There was a kind of corridor between her apartment and the front door. One day, at about five o'clock in the morning, she ran up, yanked us out of bed and said, "They are coming for you!" She threw us quickly into her apartment and closed the door. When we had gotten out of bed, we had grabbed clothing that had the yellow star on it. So while we were in the closet standing up, my mother, for some reason, was trying to unstitch the star.

The search team came in, and Madame Marie immediately, with all her peasant shrewdness, put on a terrific act of being the stereotypical concierge, like the one on postcards and in stories: the local gossip, the perfect French anti-Semite. When she greeted the search team she said, "How wonderful that you are clearing France of all Jews. I'm so honored that you have come here. Please have a glass of wine," and so on.

They kept asking for us, and she exclaimed, "Oh, those Jews. You know how they are. They live in poor places like this, but they all have money. They have gone off to their country home. I can't afford it. But they certainly can." She carried on and on that way, and they believed her. She kept pouring them more wine. At a certain point, one of them got suspicious and said, "You know, lady, if you're not telling the truth, if they are being hidden somewhere, you'll suffer the same fate."

They wanted to go and see the apartment. She said, "Oh, my God, you wouldn't want to see their apartment. You know how Jews are; they're absolutely filthy. French people are very clean. The Germans are very clean. But the Jews, especially the ones from Poland, they're so dirty." She went on and on. She poured more wine, and they stayed put. They didn't go into our apartment. In the meantime, of course, standing there, I had two feelings. One was, "How can she say such terrible things about Jews or about us? My mother is a good housekeeper, everything is clean." On the other hand, my real, strong feeling was, "I am safe." If Madame Marie is taking care of things, she is taking care of things. She had this conviction that I was her charge, and she was going to protect me. So I figured that she was doing what she had to do.

Madame Marie's husband, who was called "Monsieur Henri" by everyone, was a member of the underground. He was fetched from his job and he came immediately. Monsieur Henri was a big man. I was quite small, only seven. We walked outside. There were German soldiers everywhere. I remember that. He held my hand. I was trembling. My hand was shaking. I remember that there were trucks full of Jews being rounded up, and he told me, "Remember, look at your feet and keep on walking." It was like the refrain to children from the whole occupied Paris, "If anyone calls you don't answer. Don't look up. Don't answer." So we walked like that. Nobody called. And I looked at my feet as we walked. We reached the subway entrance, and I remember a wonderful sense of safety as I went down into the subway. I was saved, and hidden by Catholics, because this man took me to safety.

The subway station was almost deserted, and we had to wait for a metro, a subway train, to take us to the railway station. There we met with other children and a gentile woman who was to accompany us to our hiding place in the country. It was prearranged by the Resistance. It was a liaison between the Jewish women in the Resistance and the Catholics in the Resistance. I ended up in a Catholic village for the duration of the occupation.

If I had not been saved by this man and woman I know precisely what my fate would have been. I would have ended up in the gas chamber at Birkenau. All the children who were taken that day – and 95 percent of the Jewish children in Paris were taken that day – perished. Only 5 percent were saved. The children were all taken into the gas chamber at Birkenau. None survived, so my fate is very clear. I know for certain that helping me, getting me into hiding was a question of saving my life. That is absolutely clear.

Madame Marie had a very simple philosophy. We were Jewish and she did not want to impose her religion on us, but she told me a story. "The heart is like an apartment," she said, "and if it's messy and there is nothing to offer, no food or drink to offer guests, nobody will want to come. But if it's clean and dusted every day, and if it's pretty and there are flowers and food and drink for guests, people will want to come and they will want to stay for dinner. And if it's super nice, God himself will want to come." That was it.

Whenever I would do something wrong, she would put me on a high stool facing the wall, and she would say to me, "I think you have some housework to do." It was my business to figure out how I had messed up my heart in some way. I had to get a broom and dust pan and get to work. That was her philosophy and what she taught me. It has been important all through my life.

Words that may need clarification:

Concierge: person responsible for the maintenance of a hotel or apartment house.

Stereotype: the belief that all people in a group are alike. Characteristics of a few members of a group are placed on all members of a group denying individual differences. Usually leads to prejudice and often to acts of discrimination.

Antisemite: someone who is prejudiced against Jews.

Underground: a secret movement in a country to oppose the government or occupying enemy forces.

Gentile: someone who is not Jewish.

Drancy: an assembly camp located in an unfinished housing project near the Paris suburb of Drancy. Opened in December 1940, it became the largest assembly center for deportation from France. Most of the deportees perished in Auschwitz-Birkenau.

Questions

- Why did the mother feel it was important to remove the stars while they were hiding?
- Who came to roundup the Jews in this story?
- Why was it dangerous to hide Jews?
- Why do you think Madame Marie and her husband risked their own lives to save Odette?

The White Rose

Questions for Discussion

1. What actions did Westerwill take in his early life that prepared him for moral decisions?
2. What did Westerwill mean when he said, "I have been expecting this call for a long time"? Why was he asked to help Jews escape?
3. Why did the Scholls join the Hitler Youth in 1933? What experiences caused them to leave the Hitler Youth?
4. What was the "White Rose"? Do you believe Hans and Sophie's involvement was worthwhile? Explain.
5. Have you ever been involved in resistance for a cause that you believed was just? What were the risks? What happened? How did it make you feel?

Definitions

pacifist—a person who opposes war and violence as ways to solve human problems

Youth Aliya—organization which rescued Jewish children and brought them to Palestine

The White Rose

Ellen Switzer

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

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

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

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

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

However, the Scholls, unlike others, had open minds and strong consciences. Their enthusiasm lasted only a few months. . . . Hans was a talented guitar player and folk singer. He had gathered songs from many countries, and he used to sing around the campfires. Soon he was informed that these foreign songs were outlawed: only the songs in the official Hitler song book were acceptable. When he laughed at that seemingly irrational order, he was threatened with punishment. He stopped singing. A book of poems he loved also went on the forbidden list. It was written by a Jew. Another book was banned: the author was a pacificist. Both writers had been forced to flee Germany.

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

Other, more serious incidents came to the

The White Rose

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

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

. . . At first, Hans and Sophie, and their brothers and sisters, withdrew quietly from their Hitler Youth activities. They spent more and more time within the family, which according to Inge Scholl became a "tight little island." Eventually, they found friends who were as disillusioned as they were, and who also yearned to read the books that were forbidden, to sing the songs that were not approved, to think the thoughts that were not in the official publications. Often they got together to discuss their feelings and ideas. Everyone realized that this was dangerous. Some of their friends were arrested and jailed, usually because someone reported their independent activities. Certainly the local Nazi spies who operated in every village and in every city block must have been suspicious of the group of young people that kept to itself and did not participate in any of the political rallies and meetings that were being called constantly.

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

Again, the Scholls collected around them a small group of friends. Again, they began to discuss their ideas and feelings. As they became more and more appalled at what was happening around them, they formed a small resistance group called "The White Rose," composed of students and a few teachers to protest their government's actions. They began to publish leaflets, which they printed on an old mimeograph machine, "to strive for the renewal of the mortally wounded Germany spirit." Sophie transported the leaflets in an old suitcase, and they were sometimes distributed in corridors at the University of Munich; sometimes they were scattered out of windows. Copies of the White Rose publications found their way to other universities. Each leaflet urged the finder to reprint the message and to pass it on.

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

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

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

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

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

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

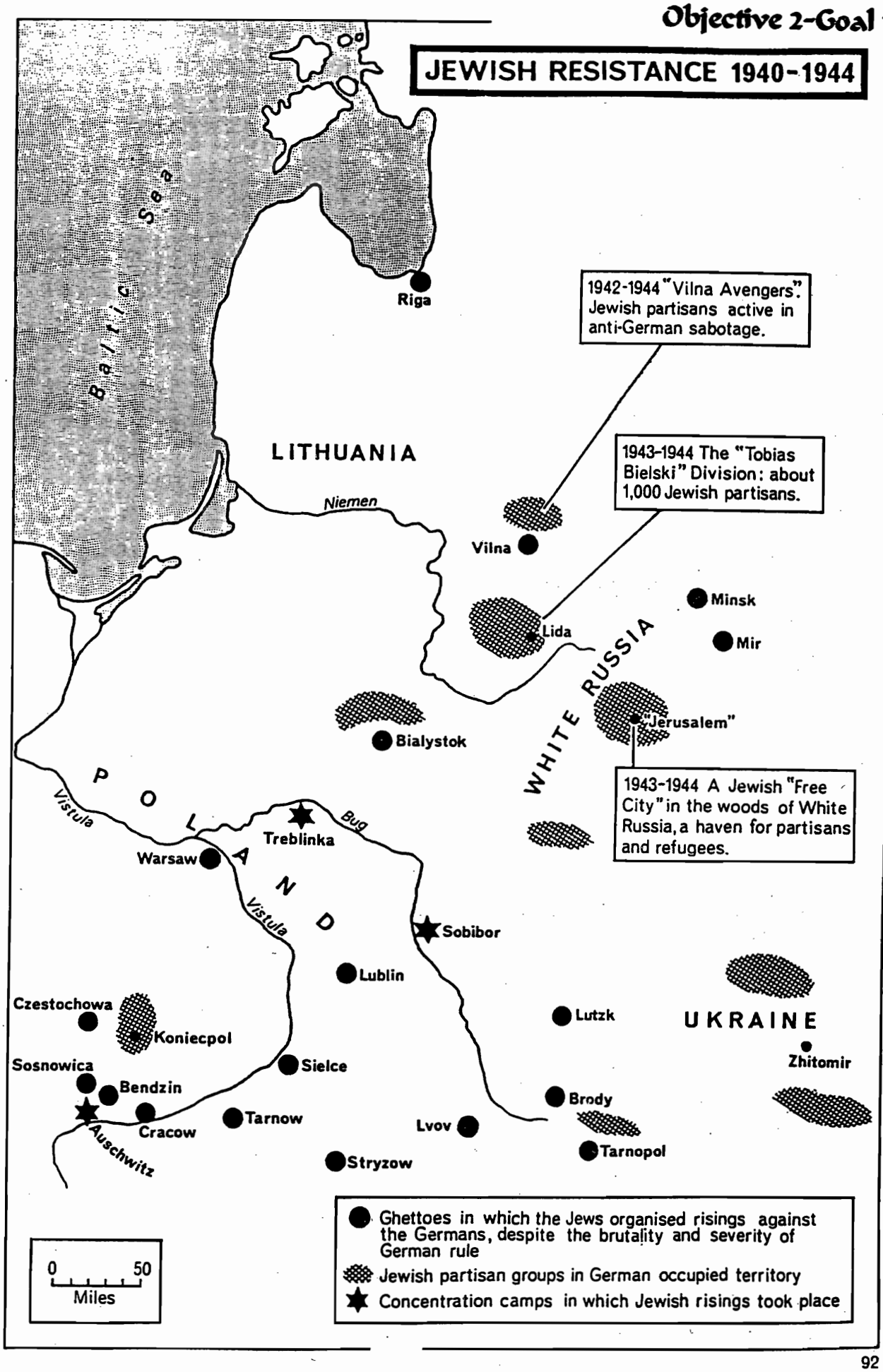
And yet there was resistance; a great deal of it. There were two types: quiet, underground "guerrilla" resistance and the open, and often violent, armed conflict. There was a great deal of the first; and the second was to emerge in revolts in some of the major camps, ghettos and in the forests. All of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

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

Definition

Canada—building where inmates' belongings were stored.


JEWISH RESISTANCE 1940-1944
Baltic Sea
Riga
LITHUANIA
Niemen
Vilna
1942-1944 "Vilna Avengers": Jewish partisans active in anti-German sabotage.
1943-1944 The "Tobias Bielski" Division: about 1,000 Jewish partisans.
Minsk
Mir
Lida
WHITE RUSSIA
"Jerusalem"
1943-1944 A Jewish "Free City" in the woods of White Russia, a haven for partisans and refugees.
Bialystok
POLAND
Vistula
Bug
Treblinka
Warsaw
Vistula
Sobibor
Lublin
Czestochowa
Koniecpol
Sosnowica
Bendzin
Sielce
Cracow
Tarnow
Auschwitz
Stryzow
Lvov
Lutzk
UKRAINE
Zhitomir
Brody
Tarnopol
0 50
Miles
Ghettoes in which the Jews organised risings against the Germans, despite the brutality and severity of German rule
Jewish partisan groups in German occupied territory
Concentration camps in which Jewish risings took place

92

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Definition

Byelorussi
Lithuan

Judenrein–

The Judenrat Gov

Bea Stadtl

As early as 1939, The Reich Security Main Office, regulations regarding the treatment of Jews in occupied ar active in looting, all Jews living in small rural areas were organized.

Ghettos were first created during the Middle Ages. Y survival since Jews needed to defend themselves. Later, requirement for all Jews. But, even then, Jews could lea would exist in the new Nazi Ghettos.

Most Jewish communities were led by Jewish counci Under the Nazis, the *Kehilla* became the *Judenrat*. The fu of the Nazi officials, e.g. transferring of Jews from the ghettos; keeping accurate records of the number of J occupation; and eventually, selecting those Jews who "decisions" were enforced by Nazi-appointed Jewish p Christianity and a vicious anti-Semite. Their actions wer Latvians, and Lithuanians.

The functions of the Judenrat presented many ver themselves about whether to accept ghettoization, the dis Judenrat seemed to give them some control over their de *the kinds of orders that it had to enforce*. Refusal to carr The cruelty involved in forcing Jews to participate in t conscious act on the part of the Nazis, designed to degrad the "Final Solution." When faced with these difficult deci

In the following reading, author Bea Stadtler presents s incredibly difficult choices, choices that meant not only life families and other Jews in the ghetto.

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

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

heads of the community (called the *Judenrat*). These Jews were placed in the position of choosing who would remain alive—at least for the moment. It is not easy to be appointed to a position of power and leadership when that power is only for the death of your own people.

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

Revolt in Lachwa

Aaron Schworin, Chaim Shkliar, Abraham Feinberg, Chaim Michali

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

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

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

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

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

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

All the towns in the vicinity of Lachwa had already been made Judenrein. The Jews of Lachwa felt that their days, too, were numbered. The youth began to organize itself for resistance, but despite all efforts it was impossible to obtain weapons. Still the ghetto was determined not to allow itself to be driven to the slaughter like sheep. At the head of the resistance group was Yitzchok Rochtchin. Preparations were made to meet the murderers with axes, hammers—with anything that could deliver a deathblow.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yitzchok Rochtchin attacked the SS chief with an ax. The SS officer fell to the ground, covered with blood. Having no way out Rochtchin jumped into the nearby river. He was struck down by a bullet. At the same time another SS man was felled at the gate by Chaim Cheiffetz and the brothers Asher and Moshe-Leib Cheiffetz. Still another German fell at the hands of Moshe Klopnitzki.

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

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

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

Questions for Discussion

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

Definition

Byelorussians—inhabitants of former White Russia, an area bordering on Poland, Latvia, and Lithuania, which includes the Pripet Marshes.

Judenrein—territory where no Jews may live.

hundred of the "steady" inmate population. That made a rough numerical equality between those who might join the revolt and those who would crush it. Seven hundred diseased and starving Jews penned behind double rows of barbed wire against seven hundred SS men trained as a military force, armed with pistols, rifles, machine guns, grenades. Assuming some Jews got past the guards and through the wire, there was the leveled and scorched earth that stretched in a perimeter four hundred yards deep all around the camp; they had this to cross with the machine guns in the guard towers at their backs before they reached the sheltering forest. And the forest—miles of swamp and underbrush, with no paths that they knew and no food they could get. And all of it in the rear-echelon areas of the German army.

Under such circumstances, to hope for the success of the revolt would have been a manic fantasy. . . . What they did hope for—and even this was wildly optimistic—was, as Chorazyski put it to Judah Klein, "to kill a lot" of Germans. From the nature of the preparations that they made, it seems clear that *killing* was the aim. They made little effort to collect civilian clothes, or to forge identity papers, though these were vital if they were to pass among the Polish population outside the camp. What they did in their year of preparation was to collect weapons and, slowly and with great caution, to sound out the people who might use them. The men who cleaned the camp saved every scrap of metal they found and passed it on. Dud bullets and ejected cartridge cases were stolen from the SS target range. The powder was taken from the defective bullets and packed with the cartridge cases and other scraps into hoarded tin cans, fused with bits of cloth. These, hopefully, became bombs. Knives were fashioned out of other metal garbage and surreptitiously honed to some kind of edge by scraping them for hours on bits of stone. In the hair factory, Judah Klein plaited short strangling nooses, and longer ropes tipped with stones. They made blackjacks by stuffing stones into small cloth sacks. All of these had to be hidden from the guards, buried under ground, hung into the fecal mess of the latrines. They agonized over the fear of informers, they sweated blood during the flash searches of the camp. Little by little, the hoard of "weapons" grew, and they shut their eyes to the fact that it all amounted to nothing.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

August 2, 1943, and the seven hundred inmates of the Treblinka camp up, as always, in the first thin flicker of dawn and out of the barracks for the morning *Appell:* . . . And among the seven hundred, there were forty men who stood like rock, desperately careful to catch no guard's eyes. . . .

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

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

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

The Treblinka revolt had begun!

All over the camp, guards and inmates stood fixed in the one instant of paralysis at the crash of the first grenade. Then it began and by the time the second explosion came they were already in movement, the fighting gaining speed and space, spreading like a landslide. . . . Judah Klein flung himself backward from the bench of the loom, rolling like a cat, and up with the strangler's cord of hair taut between his hands and on to the back of the guard, tripped and down with two of the others trying to kill him and the noose hissing beneath his head, biting into his neck as Judah thrust his hands across and heaved upward, the snap of bone clean and sharp, Judah up and away, pausing to rip the

guard's pistol from his holster, that instant saving him as another guard came in the doorway, his machine pistol swung in a stuttering arc that killed four men before Judah had the gun and cut him down. . . . Elsewhere in the hair factory, other guards died, blinded by hair blankets flung over their heads and beaten to death, strangled by the hair nooses, thrown through the second-floor windows to the ground below and kicked to death when the men came rushing out into the yard. . . . Marius Leichert tore out of the clinic courtyard, leaving a guard behind him screaming, his hands fluttering at his face where Leichert's terrible rake had clawed out his eyes and ripped off the flesh; Leichert and his men away, racing for the arsenal, to be thrown off their feet as the wall of the guard's barracks was blown apart when the two Jews who cleaned there hurled their grenades in among the sleeping SS men. Leichert came up, clutching his broken shoulder, and was off again, the others behind him, in a stumbling run; a frantic second with the key rattling in the lock of the iron door and they were in the arsenal, ripping the guns from the racks as Samuel Rajzman and his men, those that were left of them, the first away, came tearing in shouting for guns, screaming for guns. . . . Eighty Jews were down and dead already in the packed mass of the gas-chamber compound and the men of the sonderkommandos had killed seven guards and were tearing themselves to bits on the cruel barbs of the fences, trying to get out of the sight of the SS man on the roof of the building who was up there with a submachine gun knocking them over as though they were wooden ducks at a target range. . . . In the fenced corridor from the railroad siding to the gas chambers, at the railroad depot itself, the four thousand Jews who had just arrived were a seething, screaming, hysterical mob of men and women and children, trampling each other underfoot, some of them fighting to get back into the freight cars, clawing for shelter under the train, trying to get away from the searching leaden hail that tore their lives out, that smashed through body and brain and bone. . . . The main gate was down already, blown by the grenades of the three men who had this job, and two hundred of the Treblinka Jews had rushed the broken gate, most of them to pile up in a heaving clump of dead and dying, trapped in the cross fire of two machine guns the skilled and disciplined SS men had rushed to the gate in the first moments of the revolt. . . . All along the fence, men had died tearing at the barbed wire and other men were after them, dying there, and only some of them out, through the few—the terribly few—gaps, out and away and racing across the stubbled fields for the sheltering woods beyond; Judah Klein among them, and Samuel Rajzman, and 180 others. But not Leichert, not the men with him, not any of those who had rushed to the arsenal—a few of them to get the guns they hadn't known about, the gun that was hidden always in a corner room of the nearby administration building, that commanded the front of the arsenal, and under gunfire from the tower that covered the back of the arsenal, and under the rifle grenades of a squad of SS men sheltered in a storehouse across the way who killed them calmly, skillfully, with trained precision. . . .

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

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

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

Questions for Discussion

1. What is almost comical about the attempted suicide of Judah Klein?
2. How were the prisoners able to make and collect weapons for the revolt?
3. How many prisoners survived the Treblinka revolt? How would you react to those that would call the Treblinka revolt an act of suicide?
4. Were Farfi's prejudices against Jews used as a means of contributing to the revolt? In what way?

Life in Extremis: Moral Action and the Camps

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

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

Yes No

___ ___ 1. A chance for escape from Auschwitz appears for one inmate. But he must accept leaving his younger son who is simply too weak to travel. The father and son have shielded each other during their camp experience.

Knowing this, should the father attempt the escape?

___ ___ 2. A young man breaks down when told of the death of his family. He decides that in the morning he will commit suicide by attacking an SS officer. Because of the Nazi practice of mass reprisal, his act will cost the lives of all 400 men in the barracks.

If the young man cannot be convinced to change his mind, should he be killed by the underground to protect the interest of the larger group?

___ ___ 3. An inmate desperately needs certain medicines to survive. Medicines can be obtained by giving in to the sexual desires of a particular SS officer who has access to medicines. Should a friend of the man try to obtain the medicines if this is the only way he can get them?

___ ___ 4. An inmate in the barracks is caught stealing bread during the night from a fellow katzetnik. Should the inmate be beaten severely as a lesson to all that certain behavior cannot be tolerated?

___ ___ 5. An inmate in the barracks has been found to be an informer for the SS. He acts the role of a cooperative katzetnik, but several inmates know he is a spy for the Germans. Should the informer be killed?

___ ___ 6. A number of inmates have been placed on the death list for the coming week. These individuals are essential to maintaining the underground. Several katzetniks have the power to replace their numbers on the death list with others who are already very sick. Should this switch be made?

___ ___ 7. In many camps, women who gave birth were automatically sent with their newborn children to the ovens. A decision can be made to save the mothers by making the newborn infants "stillborn." Should the decision to kill the children to save the mothers be made?



Unit 5
Objective 4-Goal 1

UNIT V

A SIMULATION

Name_____

"TWENTY-SIX PARTNERS IN DEATH"

ESCAPE FROM SOBIBOR

Read the following questions. Consider each question in relation to what you viewed in the video excerpt. Complete the essay on separate paper. Answer each question separately and in the order given. (Do not number the questions). Give examples to support each answer.

1. What is the choice given to the thirteen prisoners on the firing line?

2. a. Describe how the chosen prisoners react.
   b. Describe the reaction of the prisoners not chosen.

3. Why do you think the one man walks forward to join the group?

4. Explain the "bonding" of the twenty-six.

5. a. What is the final cry of the man who "resists" until the very end?
   b. Explain why this is meaningful to all the prisoners.

6. Explain why this is a "choiceless choice."

Goodness Incarnate: The People of Le Chambon

Terrence De Pres

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

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

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

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

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

> *I saw the two clumsy khaki-colored buses of the Vichy French police pull into the village square. I saw the police captain facing the pastor of the village and warning him that if he did not give up the names of the Jews they had been sheltering in the village he and his fellow pastor, as well as the families who had been caring for the Jews, would be arrested. I saw the pastor refuse to give up those people who had been strangers in his village, even at the risk of his own destruction.*
>
> *Then I saw the only Jew the police could find, sitting in the otherwise empty bus. I saw a thirteen-year-old boy, the son of the pastor, pass a piece of his precious chocolate through the window to the prisoner, while twenty gendarmes who were guarding the lone prisoner watched. And then I saw the villagers passing their little gifts through the window until there were gifts all around him—most of them food in those hungry days during the German occupation of France.*

. . . What kind of community would run such immediate risk? . . . During the entire period of the

Nazi occupation, first under the nervous eye of Vichy, then directly under Gestapo surveillance, the people of Le Chambon—about 700 villagers and 2,000 peasants from outlying farms—had used *themselves* to welcome, hide, and keep from harm more than 2,500 refugees, most of them Jews. Under the leadership of their Protestant pastor, and with financial aid from the American Quakers, the members of this community *voted* to make of their homes a "city of refuge." They would open their doors to anyone in need, and would organize their small resources for the express purpose of saving as many Jewish children as possible. They would also work with the *Cimade*, an underground organization run entirely by women, to smuggle Jews across the border into Switzerland.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

to which this people, this tradition, would respond as of old—with "the resistance of exile." . . . The example of the Huguenot tradition in Le Chambon leads Professor Hallie to his most valuable insight. He believes . . . that ethical norms tend to arise from, and be clarified by, the experience of victims. Human beings under protracted pressure are best situated to see and feel . . . what hurts life and damages the spirit. And out of this negative moment a positive morality is born. . . . We need only consider that although the ethic of Classical Greece, based on the celebration of strength and magnanimity, is extremely appealing, it could not save its own culture and has not entered the heart of Western morality half so much . . . as the combined ethic of the Jews and the early Christians—both of whom were victims. . . . The villagers of Le Chambon knew that to be on the side of the victim is to be on the side of life, which is what morality in practice comes down to. . . . With their Huguenot tradition to guide them, the men and women of Le Chambon were ready in advance to put their beliefs into action. Goodness happens when human beings know ahead of time that one day they will be called upon to act. Our humanity remains tragically tied to the inhumanity we oppose and endure. . . .

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

Questions for Discussion

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

Definitions

Cimade—French underground organization made up of women who helped smuggle Jews into Switzerland.

Huguenots—French Protestants

Saint Bartholomew's Day—date in 1572 when thousands of Huguenots were slaughtered by French Catholics for their religious belief.



The Treblinka Revolt

Michael Elkins

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Me?" says Chorazyski. "Why should I help you? You don't help anyone. What will you do for me?"

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

"I don't want your clothes, I'll tell you what I want, I want a German. You can give me a German. Listen, I'll explain it to you. You want to die, it's a good idea. Go out and jump on a German, fasten your teeth in his throat and tear out his jugular vein, put out his eyes with your thumbs. With luck you'll kill him for us and for those he's killed. You want to die? Good, take one with you."

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

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

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

The difficulties were incredible. Though Treblinka was a small camp, so many thousands of Jews were being processed to death there that the Germans maintained a relatively large guard detachment. The German and Ukrainian personnel totalled seven hundred men and thirty Helferinnen, the SS women's auxiliaries. There were twelve killer dogs. It was clear that the conspirators could hope for, but not really count on, support from whatever thousands of Jews might be en route from the freight cars to the gas chambers at the moment the revolt burst. But these transients were always in a state of such catatonic terror during their brief journey through the barbed-wire corridors from their arrival to their death that they were an unpredictable factor. So the only dependable allies were to be found among the seven

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

Visas for Life

BY DAVID TRACEY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Yes," Yukiko said. "We have to." She thought sadly of the "No Jews Allowed" sign at the public park. *How could people turn their hearts over to blind hate?* she wondered. The look of desperation in the eyes of the refugees—especially those with small children—had moved the young mother of three sons.

Sugihara cabled Tokyo again, explaining that the refugees would need 20 days to cross the Soviet Union. Following the boat trip from the Russian port of Vladivostok, they would have 30 days in Japan. Surely in 50 days, he argued, a final destination could be found.

The answer was still no.

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

SEMPO SUGIHARA always went his own way. He graduated from high school with top marks, and his father insisted that he become a doctor. But Sempo's dream was to study literature and live abroad.

On the morning of the entrance exam for premedical students, young Sugihara left home with his father's admonition to do his best. But when the exams were handed out, he wrote his name on the top and then set his pencil down. When the test was over, he turned in a blank sheet.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Each visa took about a quarter of an hour. Sugihara skipped lunch to write as many as possible. Even so, when he finally stopped that first night, the crowds had not diminished.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In 1984 Israel's Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority awarded Sugihara the title of "Righteous Among the Nations." Sugihara, 85, was too frail to attend the ceremony, so his wife accepted the award. A park was named after him, and in 1992, Israel awarded Sugihara a commemorative citizenship.

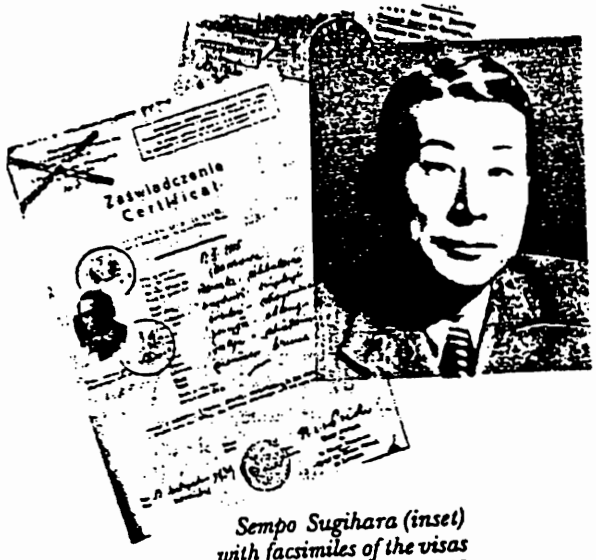
Sugihara has been honored in the United States too. Recently the Mirrer Yeshiva, a religious school, celebrated its 50th anniversary in New York City. The school's entire faculty and student body—some 300 rabbis, students and family members—fled Mir, Poland, and were saved by Sugihara. The anniversary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

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

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

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

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



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

STEFANIA PODGORSKA BURZMINSKI

by

GAY BLOCK AND MALKA DRUCKER

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

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

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

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

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

I moved to Przemysl when I was fourteen. It was a larger town and my sister was working there, so I thought I could get work, too. I worked in a bakery for one year and lived with my sister, and then I got a job working for a Jewish woman in a small shop. She was Mrs. Diamant, my husband's mother. I lived in her house, went to the market for her, and did the cleaning and cooking. She had four sons; one was a doctor, one went to dentistry school—that was my husband, Joe—and the other two went to gymnasium. After the Nazis came to Przemysl, the four sons went to live in Lvov because they thought it would be safer there since it was near Russia, and they asked me to take care of their parents. When things got worse the four sons returned. Then it was the time the Germans ordered the Jews to wear the David star, and then the Jews were put into the ghetto.

This confused me. Before the war everyone shopped and talked together and everything was fine. But then there was the segregation and the mark of the Jewish star, and that was confusing for me. One day I saw a Jewish boy on the street, about nine years old, and another boy came up to him and said, "You are a Jew!" and he hit him. A man, just an ordinary worker, saw it and said, "Why would you do that?

He's a boy just like you. Look at his hands, his face. There's no difference. We have enemies now from another country who say there's a difference, but there isn't." So the boy who hit the Jewish boy looked sad and said, "Oh, all right, I'm sorry."

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

Whenever my friends came to visit, I hid him under the bed. Joe's brother, Henek, worked on a farm close to the city. I went there to tell him that Joe was safe with me. That night his brother's fiancée, Danuta, showed up at my place. She didn't look Jewish so she could be open, but it was still a dangerous thing to do. After a few days, Henek was sent back to the ghetto. I am still angry with him for what he did next: he sent some stranger, just a street man, with a note telling Danuta to come back to him in the ghetto. This was so dangerous because we didn't know who this man was and it was just an open note. He could be going straight to the Gestapo. So Danuta and Joe said they wouldn't risk my life like that, that they would go back into the ghetto. I went with them, and as soon as I saw his brother I really told him what a miserable coward he had been. He could have come himself, at night, but he was too afraid. So he risked all our lives.

Joe came every two or three days to bring me things to sell for food, and to pick up the food I had for him. Then Joe said to me, "Maybe you'll take a bigger



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

apartment and you'll hide me and a few more Jews." I didn't like the idea, but I decided I would do it anyway.

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

Then everyone was crying for help. One woman threatened to denounce us if I didn't take her in. She heard about me from Joe's brother in the ghetto. Her children came to me and cried, "I don't want to die." I didn't know what to do. I saw dead here, dead there. "So all right," I said. "Stay with me. We'll try here." Then John Dorlich, the mailman, came to ask me to hide him. He used to take things to and from the ghetto for me, so he knew where I lived. When he came to ask for help, could I refuse? Then came Mr. Shylenger and his daughter, Judy. Then Manek Hirsch and his wife, Sally. One day I went into the ghetto and I told Henek and Danuta that they must come with me. But Henek said, "Why should I go live in a bunker? Here I have my own apartment and fresh air whenever I want." I told him

I had heard that the ghetto would soon be finished. During the war my ears were very long and my eyes were very wide. But still Henek refused. I went back home and Joe begged me, "Stefushka"—most of them called me Stefushka—"please, you must find some way to make him come." I went back into the ghetto and somehow I convinced him. Only two weeks later the ghetto was empty.

Soon I had thirteen Jews with me, and we lived there for two winters. It was a hard life, always dangerous. I couldn't bring any of my friends to my house. Once a boy became very attached to me and he would come over for one or two hours at a time. I had to figure out some way to make him mad at me or to scare him so he would stop coming. I liked him very much. He was good and handsome, and if I hadn't had my thirteen . . . So I went to the studio of a photographer friend of mine, and I asked her to give me a picture of a German in his uniform. She found one of a very handsome one, and I took it home and put it on my wall. The next time my friend came over to my apartment he saw the picture and asked, "Well, what is that?" I said, "That is my new boy friend. I am dating him and I will stay with him." He couldn't believe it. He said his heart was broken. I wanted to cry, really, because I loved him. But I had to help my thirteen. I had to save them. I wanted to tell him. But my mind told me not to tell him. He just said, "You and an SS man?" He couldn't believe it. And then he finally left.



Stefania with Sally Hirsch.

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

I think this proves that if you have to do something, you will do it. But if you say, maybe yes, maybe no, then you might not. Some people are old at seventeen, and some are young at seventy. I never regretted what I did. Some people are ugly and miserable, but that's human character.

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

At that minute I felt so bad, my heart felt like it was being squeezed. It wasn't that I was in love with Joe and wanted to marry him. I absolutely did not, but it hurt

me that they said that about me after they lived in my house for two years. After I walked away, I heard someone say that a Jew had been killed. Violent things were still happening. I was afraid it was Joe.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PER ANGER

Wallenberg's Last Acts, His Unique Achievement

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yet it was not through the kind of personal intervention just described that he made his greatest contribution. It was as a negotiator that he achieved his greatest results. He was the driving force behind the agreements entered into with the Arrow Cross regime concerning their respecting not only the 5,000 Swedish protective passports but also corresponding documents of the other neutral legations.

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

Wallenberg held to this line rigorously.

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

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

But Wallenberg's contribution extended even further. Besides his efforts for the international ghetto, toward the end he also worked to protect the inhabitants of Budapest's general or so-called sealed ghetto, where around 70,000 had been forced together. He could sometimes arrange for food deliveries to the starving, and he managed on several occasions to forestall the arrow crossmen's rampages in the ghetto.

But the arrow crossmen had, in their fanatical hatred of the Jews, decided to commit mass murder in the ghetto at the last minute. When Wallenberg got wind of this, he demanded that the German commander, General Schmidthuber, prevent the killing. Otherwise, Wallenberg would make sure that Schmidthuber would swing on the gallows when the Russians came.

Schmidthuber was shaken by Wallenberg's words and stopped the planned operation against the ghetto.

Thus Wallenberg contributed to saving still another 70,000 lives.

Jenö Lévai, in his book, *Raoul Wallenberg – Hero of Budapest*, praises Wallenberg's efforts for the Jews in the sealed ghetto. He adds: "It is of the utmost importance that the Nazis and the arrow crossmen were not able to ravage unhindered — they were compelled to see that every step they took was being watched and followed by the young Swedish diplomat. From Wallenberg they could keep no secrets. The arrow crossmen could not trick him. They could not operate freely, they were held responsible for the lives of the persecuted and the condemned. Wallenberg was the 'world's observing eye,' the one who continually called the criminals to account.

"That is the great importance of Wallenberg's struggle in Budapest."



Protective passport issued by the Swedish Legation.



Raoul Wallenberg.

A Policeman's Dilemma
What Would You Do?

Jews fared differently in each of the occupied countries. In Poland, the Baltic countries, Germany and Austria, 90% were killed. In Finland and Denmark almost all were saved. In Italy 20% of the Jews were killed and in the Netherlands, 75% were killed. What factors made the difference?

Christian Vander Tozel is a member of the police force in occupied Amsterdam. Christian is a Catholic who attends church regularly. The occupying Nazis make it clear to the Dutch that they intend to be harsh toward Jews and toward all "radicals" who would harbor them or help them in any way. The Nazis intend to elicit the active support of the Dutch police in rounding up the Jews. At the same time, the Catholic Church in Holland, the most outspoken Catholic Church in Europe, denounces the deportations from the pulpit and forbids Catholic policemen from participating in hunts for Jews.

Christian, as a policeman, knows the Germans will expect him to participate in rounding up the Jews. He has been a good family man for twenty-five years and deeply loves his wife. One evening, Christian's squad leader comes to notify Christian that his squad has been ordered to conduct a raid on a house suspected of harboring Jews.

What should Christian do?

Questions for Discussion

1. What alternatives are available to Christian? What are the probable consequences of each alternative?
2. What is Christian's responsibility to his wife? His squad? The Church? Himself? The Jews? The law?
3. What would happen if all Dutch policemen acted in the way you suggested for Christian?
4. Is there any cause in which a person should be willing to risk his or her own safety, security, or even life itself? Explain.

Unit 5
Objective 1-Goal 2

Perhaps nowhere was the dilemma diplomats faced more clear and the punishment so harsh as in the case of Aristides de Sousa Mendes, the wealthy, Catholic Portuguese consul general stationed in Bordeaux, France. Over a five-week period in the early summer of 1940, the fifty-five-year-old Mendes, helped by his wife and two oldest sons, signed entry visas for 30,000 refugees. He did so against the direct orders of his government that under no circumstances were Jews to be issued visas. But Mendes chanced to meet Chaim Kruger, the Orthodox chief rabbi of Brussels, who was fleeing across France with his wife and five children. Kruger told Mendes of the persecution awaiting Jews if the Germans took control. Mendes, without waiting for permission from the home office, not only issued visas for Kruger and his family but thereafter dedicated himself to saving as many Jews as he could. As he explained to his family: "I have to save these people, as many as I can. If I am disobeying orders, I'd rather be with God against men than with men against God."[6]

Mendes and his sons wrote and stamped visas daily from eight in the morning until two or three o'clock the next morning. When the official forms ran out, they used writing paper. When writing paper ran out, they used scraps of paper that bore the consular seal. Applicants walked for days to see the consul. They slept on chairs, stairs, and the floor and skipped meals rather than risk losing their place in line. One French political refugee arrived with four potato sacks filled with gold. He promised half to Mendes if he would give him a visa. Mendes refused his offer, but issued him a visa nonetheless.

With the fall of France, Lisbon recalled Mendes. Two officials were sent to escort him and his family back to Portugal. On their way out of France, in the city of Bayonne, Mendes saw a crowd of refugees outside the Portuguese consulate. Mendes stopped the car and demanded to know why the vice-consul was not issuing visas to those outside. The vice-consul replied that he was simply carrying out Lisbon's orders. "I have not been removed," Mendes shot back angrily. "I am still your superior." Countermanding the vice-consul's decision, Mendes wrote visas for the scores of Jews standing outside. Further on, at the French border town of Hendaye, Mendes issued still more visas to another group of refugees and then escorted them across the border to Spain.

Back in Lisbon, the Foreign Ministry punished Mendes for his insubordination. After thirty years of service, he was dismissed from the diplomatic corps and his pension rights were canceled. His colleagues shunned him and his friends avoided him. He retired to his

château in Cabanas de Virato, a small mountain town 350 kilometers north of Lisbon. Those he saved would seek him out there and would applaud him when he emerged from his home. Nonetheless, his general public disgrace shamed him so much that he no longer could practice law. Cut off from a livelihood and friends, his energies became focused on seeing his reputation restored. He wrote every member of Portugal's parliament, arguing that what he had done was in keeping with the Portuguese constitution, and was a reflection of the benevolence of the Portuguese people. He received no reply. No one would cross Portugal's dictator, Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, whose political stance during the war was that of neutrality and appeasement. To support his family, Mendes sold one possession after another, and finally the château itself. In 1954, he died penniless, but entreated his children to clear his name.

Eventually Mendes's name was cleared. The first formal acknowledgment of his valor came in 1966 when Yad Vashem issued a commemorative medal in his name. After years of petitioning Portuguese ministers, Mendes's family succeeded in carrying out his last wish. In May 1987, President Mario Soares bestowed Portugal's Order of Freedom posthumously on Aristides de Sousa Mendes. In March 1988, Portugal's national assembly voted to restore Mendes's position in the Foreign Ministry and to distribute his back pay among his family. As the vote was taken, all the deputies rose to their feet in Mendes's honor. His rescuer self had been validated at last.

ESCAPE TO SHANGHAI

A JEWISH COMMUNITY IN CHINA

Unit 5
Objective 1-Goal 3

JAMES R. ROSS

Shanghai was the birthplace of both Chinese communism and Western modernization in China. It has been the home for much of China's working class and many of its finest artists, writers, and scholars. After World War I, it was the world's most cosmopolitan—and corrupt—city. Its very name connotes deceit.

It had been a small trading port until the middle of the nineteenth century. Western trade in China had been limited to Canton and always had been practiced on Chinese terms. The foreigners exported Hangchow's tea and Soochow's silk and imported only a few products—the balance of trade was heavily in China's favor. But in the 1830s, the East India Company built up a powerful demand for its Indian opium in China. In 1839, Britain demanded full diplomatic recognition and access to trade.[1] The Chinese emperor, Tao-kuang, dismissed the demand and dealt with the British threat in the same way China had handled foreigners for thousands of years. He sent an official to seize and destroy Britain's opium stock in Canton, then sent a general to battle with the British. And when his tiny navy was overwhelmed by British gunboats in Shanghai and Nanking, the emperor compromised by signing a treaty, as he had done with other foreign barbarians in the past.[2]

The treaty opened five ports, including Shanghai, to foreign trade and gave the emperor foreign allies—as well as opium revenue—to support his crumbling dynasty. Two years later, in 1844, the Americans, benefiting from Britain's victory, signed a treaty that established extraterritoriality.[3] It meant that foreigners in the treaty ports were exempt from Chinese laws; they lived by their own rules.

Both the Chinese and foreigners now began to profit from Shanghai's economic potential. It was easily accessible to Japan and the West by sea and its Whangpoo River was a natural harbor, deep and wide and located at the southern tip of the heavily-populated Yangtze River estuary. By the end of the 1840s, Shanghai had become one of the world's great ports, handling even more tonnage than London.[4]

In 1854, the foreign communities established their own government, headed by the Shanghai Municipal Council, and a police force. The council was elected by those foreigners who held land and paid taxes in the settlement. At first, the settlements were divided into three concessions—French, British, and American—but the Americans and British combined their territory in 1863 to form the International Settlement. In 1895, after humiliating the Chinese navy in the Sino-Japanese war, the Japanese also were granted treaty rights in the settlement.[5]

The settlement was on both sides of Soochow Creek, from Jessfield Park in the west to the Yangtzepoo Creek in the east. Its streets had American names like Broadway and British ones like Alcock and Muirhead, in honor of the early British settlers of Shanghai. The foreign-named streets intersected with Chinese ones. Most north–south streets in Shanghai are named after Chinese provinces, like Szechuen and Yunnan; the east–west streets after cities, like Peking and Nanking.

The smaller French Concession remained apart, with its own government and police force, covering the land south of the International Settlement and surrounding the original walled Chinese city.[6] Its streets took on names like Rue Lafayette and Avenue Edward VII.

The foreigners built their own hotels, clubs, restaurants, banks, schools, hospitals, an electric plant, warehouses, factories, and parks. They published newspapers, had their own postal service, and controlled the customs office.[7] Shanghai offered China's most elegant shops and some of the world's finest hotels and restaurants. It also was the favorite destination for the world's most notorious swindlers, spies, and scoundrels—no visa was required to enter the city.

The British and a small community of Sephardic Jews, most of whom were British subjects, dominated that foreign society. But new groups of foreigners continued to find their own niches in the International Settlement and French Concession. The Japanese moved into the northern part of the settlement and ran factories owned by Mitsui and Mitsubishi. After the Russian Revolution, thousands of White Russians who had fled from the Bolsheviks moved into the French Concession and brought Russian music, ballet, and poetry—as well as prostitutes, low-paid laborers, spies, and shady nightclub owners—to the city. In the 1930s, Russian Jewish exiles who had settled in Manchuria began moving to Shanghai as the Japanese took control of northern China. The foreign community also included Americans, Italians, Latvians, Hungarians, Portuguese, Finns, and the turbaned Sikhs who directed traffic for the municipal police.

The number of foreign residents in Shanghai, which never surpassed 100,000, was far less than the Chinese population in the international area. Chinese living in the foreign community could not be arrested without approval of a foreign consul, and Chinese troops were denied authority to enter the settlements.[8] Many Chinese worked as compradores or domestic help, but the foreigners remained insulated within their own societies. The Chinese had no representatives in the settlement government until 1927, and then only in an advisory role.[9]

Western influence in Shanghai declined steadily in the 1920s and 1930s, yielding first to the antiforeign Chinese labor movement and then to the Chinese Nationalists. In February

Unit 5
Objective 1-Goal 3

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS UNTIL PEARL HARBOR

. . . By the time they [the refugees] arrived, Shanghai's economy had reached a stage of chronic crisis, fluctuating between depressions and booms, of varying degrees of intensity.

(Barnett. *Shanghai; Hostage to Politics*)

Few among the flood of refugees arriving in Shanghai had any real illusions about what was to greet them there. Most had come more from despair than hope. Nonetheless, there were probably few who did not hope against hope that somehow, somewhere, they might be able to be integrated into the economy of their new home. We shall examine the reasons why relatively few of these hopes could be fulfilled, or at most fulfilled on a very low level.

CONDITIONS ON ARRIVAL

A proper perspective of the economic conditions prior to Pearl Harbor can only be achieved by taking into consideration the numerous negative, as well as the relatively few positive factors that influenced and shaped the integration of the newcomers into Shanghai's economy. Only then is it possible to realize the tremendous odds faced and overcome by a large segment of the over 17,000 Jewish refugees, in quest of a livelihood.

The most serious obstacle confronting the new arrivals in this search was the fact that by 1938 Shanghai's economic frontier was closed. This city, which, as we know, had been able to absorb consecutive waves of refugees in the past, had no longer any potential for economic expansion, or a flourishing trade or industry to make use of their skill and initiative to any appreciable degree. In fact, by the time they arrived, Shanghai's economy had reached a stage of chronic crisis, fluctuating between depressions and booms, of varying degrees of intensity.[8]

1930, the British and Americans agreed to grant the Chinese control of the court system in the International Settlement.[10] But it was another foreign power, Japan, that finally destroyed the independence of the Western community.

In January 1932, Japanese planes bombed the Chapei section of Shanghai, just north of the International Settlement, killing hundreds of civilians. Chinese troops withstood the assault of three Japanese divisions.[11] Five years later, the Japanese again moved on Shanghai. Most of the initial damage was done in August 1937, when Chinese planes accidentally bombed their own civilians, killing hundreds. In the battle that followed, as many as 250,000 Chinese and more than 40,000 Japanese were killed or wounded.[12] The heaviest fighting was in Hongkew, northeast of Soochow Creek. By November, the Japanese had defeated the Chinese forces. But the loss of Shanghai was only a prelude to one of the worst massacres in modern history. The Japanese moved north to Nanking and, after the Chinese forces withdrew, their soldiers brutally raped and murdered tens of thousands of defenseless civilians in seven weeks of inhuman fury.[13]

Shanghai, and about half of the International Settlement, was now firmly controlled by the Japanese. The other half of the settlement, crowded with four million Chinese refugees,[14] maintained a tenuous and uneasy independence. British, American, and other foreign troops patrolled opposite Japanese soldiers. Much of the city was in ruins; entire streets in Hongkew, one of the poorest sections of the city, had been turned into rubble and the lanes were filled with corpses.[15]

In the years that followed, as nations throughout the world continued to turn away Europe's Jewish refugees, the city the Western powers had forced open a century earlier became the Jews' only refuge. It had little else to offer them; most of the refugees were directed to Hongkew.

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Unit 5
Objective 1-Goal 3

13 | CULTURE AMIDST WANT

The composition of the refugee community resulted in a far above average cultural life of a community of this size. 12-14,000 people represent the population of a small city and you will hardly find a community of this size showing similar cultural achievements.

(Kurt Redlich *to author. December 23, 1975*)

Despite its heterogeneous and factional character, the refugee community recognized its common need for a rich cultural life. Many of the refugees had been part of the intellectual and artistic elite in their own countries and sought to recreate in Shanghai a familiar cultivated life. Surrounded by an alien, often hostile environment, beset by the unending difficulties of mere survival, they unswervingly insisted on, and provided, cultural activities throughout their stay in Shanghai.

A superficial glance at the abundance of newspapers, organizations, schools, libraries, concerts, artistic exhibitions, and other cultural endeavors might readily suggest the cultural life of a normal and peaceful community. But this fertile display of culture barely concealed a harassed community, where the majority were ill-fed, ill-housed, and dependent to a greater or lesser degree on charity. And, especially after Pearl Harbor, initial optimism and hopes of leaving Shanghai were supplanted by increasing bleakness and undiminished adversity.

In light of the cultural life that was created, the criticism of mercenaries leveled at the refugees seems spurious.[1] While no lasting masterpiece of creative work was produced by the refugee community during its stay in Shanghai, no one can deny the unusually high calibre of its intellectual pursuits and sheer variety of cultural endeavors worthy of an active community perhaps ten times its size.[2]

Unit IV
Goal 2 obj. 3
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• The period 1939-41 was thus one of adjustment in most areas of refugee cultural life, including the musical. Pearl Harbor, whose impact adversely affected all other areas of refugee life, had a less severe effect on the cultural sphere than did the establishment of the ghetto in 1943. The latter posed the greatest threat to the Jewish refugee community in general, and the musicians' livelihood in particular. Much of the already precarious refugee economy came close to a standstill in the crowded "restricted area," and the degrading system of ghetto exit passes limited outside employment. As a result, many musicians found themselves without jobs.[65] On only two occasions was permission granted by the Japanese authorities to conduct concerts outside the ghetto. It meant that the entire audience was permitted to leave the ghetto for these two performances, with special passes stamped by the Stateless Refugee Bureau, the administrative office in charge of the ghetto. A request for a third concert was turned down by Ghoya, one of the two key Japanese officials who was in charge of the distribution of such passes.[66] As economic conditions deteriorated during 1944 and 1945, the number of musicians forced to resort to street performances rose sharply though the serious professional never joined these ranks.[67] Some musicians maintained their contacts outside by obtaining their precious passes, while others tried in vain to eke out a bare livelihood within the ghetto.[68] •

THE FUGU PLAN

In all the literature of the holocaust and World War II, the story of the European Jews who fled across the world to the unlikely haven of Japan remains - until now - untold. This powerful narrative follows a group of those refugees - their journey across Stalin's Russia, their experiences in Japan and their eventual survival in an Asian ghetto.

Interwoven with this moving saga of human endurance are the remarkable details of an astounding top secret plot that could have changed the course of twentieth century history. Its success might have saved a million Jews from slaughter and even prevented Japan's war with the United States.

That plot was to create an Israel in Asia under Japanese control. Like the deadly but delicious blowfish that is its namesake, the *fugu* plan was dangerous to handle. Its success would have made Japan invincible, its failure would have been as dire and irreversible as the effects of *fugu* poisoning.

To the Jews who finally reached Japan in February 1941, the *fugu* plan meant nothing. For the Japanese officials who had worked relentlessly toward the realization of that plan, those refugees became useful pawns. Their usefulness was shortlived - after Pearl Harbor the *fugu* plan was dead and Japan considered the Nazi approach to "the final solution." That those Jews survived at all is testimony to the courage of many individuals - both Japanese and Jewish.

Introduction

BETWEEN 1934 and 1940 a secret policy was devised in the highest councils of the Japanese government. It could have saved a million Jews from Hitler's Holocaust and even halted the war between Japan and the United States before it began. This was the *fugu* plan – Tokyo's means of enrolling the talents and skills of European Jewry, plus the capital, influence and sympathy of American Jewry, in the building of Japan's twentieth-century empire, the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

In the 1930s the Jewish people seemed – to the devisers of the *fugu* plan – to have exactly what Japan lacked. Her empire – growing rapidly by conquest – needed the capital and financial skills exhibited, for example, by the Rothschilds, Bernard Baruch and Jacob Schiff, and there was a particular shortage of experienced industrialists and technicians who would be willing to settle in the wilderness of Manchukuo (Manchuria) – Japan's newly acquired north China "colony" – to develop the area into a secure buffer zone against the menace of the Soviet Union. Finally, Japan sought to improve her image in the world and reverse the drift of Western, especially American, foreign policy which had begun to go against her. That task, she believed, was one for which the Jews were best suited, since, it was said, they controlled so much of the United States press, broadcast media and film industry.

In return for Jewish assistance with her problems, Japan was prepared to offer exactly what the Jews needed most: a safe haven from the increasingly brutal anti-Semitism welling up against them in Europe. Japan had neither a tradition of anti-Semitism, nor any interest in it, and in *Shinto* Japan, Christian antipathy toward Jews had no meaning whatsoever. To the devisers of the *fugu* plan,

a Japanese–Jewish involvement seemed an arrangement made in heaven.

On earth, it was another matter. From the outset the creators of the *fugu* plan had undermined their own scheme with two very mistaken beliefs. The first was a gross misunderstanding of the nature of the Jewish people as a whole. (It could scarcely have been otherwise. For years, the primary source of Japanese "knowledge" about world Jewry was that notoriously anti-Semitic piece of fiction masquerading as fact, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion.*) Their second misconception concerned the importance of Jews, as economic factors and policy shapers in the Western world. With these two basic mistakes built into the foundation of their plan, the Japanese could not help but build askew. In spite of vast amounts of research, Japanese officials were never able to comprehend certain crucial features of the Jewish situation. The most important of these was that the American Jewish community considered its ties to its political family, America, at least as strong as its ties to its religious family in Europe. Not understanding this, the executors of the *fugu* plan did not understand, for example, that when they made their proposal to Rabbi Stephen Wise in the winter of 1939, they were confronting not only the principal leader of American Jewry but a Jew whose loyalty to and love for the United States was almost Biblical in its intensity. Had they recognized this and approached him accordingly, the outcome of the Wise-meeting, and of the *fugu* plan itself, might have been very different.

My own involvement with the *fugu* plan, though I was unaware of it at the time, began in 1968 when I moved with my family to Tokyo. No sooner had I taken up the position of Rabbi of the Jewish Community of Japan than I realized I had a congregation of "talking books." With the end of World War II and especially with the Communist takeover of mainland China in 1949, virtually all the Jews who had been part of the large foreign community in Shanghai fled. Many of them, particularly those who had lived in Asia all their lives, moved to Tokyo. At first, I would simply chat with these people, of my days at Hebrew High School in New York when many of my teachers had made references to their own experiences as refugees in Shanghai and Japan. As my congregants in Tokyo spun out their anecdotes, I was fascinated by their tales and in awe of their powers of survival. When I realized that no one had yet put together a collection of these remarkable experiences, I began interviewing my congregants in a more organized fashion. For three years, I took notes, taped interviews and gained familiarity with the sometimes scarcely believable story of the flight of thousands of Polish Jews away from the threatening hand of one Axis nation right into the apparently welcoming arms of another. Then, in the early 1970s, I was shown the Kogan Papers.

The Kogan Papers are a bound set of prewar Foreign-Ministry documents which had been found in the back of a second-hand bookstore in Tokyo and subsequently turned over to a Jewish resident named Michael Kogan. Each of the ten volumes was stamped *maru hi* (secret). The originals of the reports, studies and orders that made up the Kogan Papers had, like all the Japanese government's documents, been confiscated by the Allied Occupation Forces shortly after Japan's surrender, and moved to the Library of Congress in Washington. However, because for the most part all such documents were made in duplicate, it was not uncommon for these extra copies to turn up for sale, as the Kogan Papers did, during the early postwar period. Kogan, fluent in Japanese, had scanned some of the onion-skin pages absolutely bewildered. What was this nonsense about a "Jewish settlement in Manchuria"? He himself had lived in Harbin, the capital of Manchuria, while the Japanese were in control of the region; certainly he had heard of no such thing. Michael Kogan came to discuss the documents with me at a time when a Japanese colleague, Hideaki Kase, happened to be in my office in connection with an article he was translating for me. It is, indeed, a very small world: Kase was the son of the secretary of the prewar Japanese foreign minister Yosuke Matsuoka. Intrigued, he studied the whole set of volumes at length and found that Matsuoka had played a considerable role in the subject matter of those Papers – an involved scheme for manipulating world Jewry that was informally referred to as "the *fugu* plan."

Up to the time that Kase reported the contents of the Kogan Papers, I had merely been amassing a collection of reminiscences of a group of Jewish refugees about their lives in Japan and Shanghai during the thirties and World War II. Now I realized that these people, along with many others, had been unwittingly involved in a much more complex series of events. Using the Kogan Papers as a starting point, and with the help of the archives in the Diet Library as well as various clerks in the Japanese Army and Navy and in the Foreign Ministry, I set out to track down as many people as I could find who had actually been involved with the *fugu* plan. Though Koreshige Inuzuka, a Navy captain who was one of its original creators, had died his wife was not only alive but was very responsive to my request for information. So was the son of Colonel Norihiro Yasue, another officer involved with the plan from the start, and so was the former Shanghai vice-consul, Mitsugi Shibata, and the *fugu* plan's New York liaison, Mitsuzo Tamura, and every one of the Jews mentioned in the documents whether they lived now in Israel or Hong Kong or even practically next door to me in Tokyo.

It was a fascinating investigation. I sat for hours with, for example, Shibata, asking questions, changing the tapes on the recorder and learning the human background to the officialese of the Kogan Papers.

"What was your reaction," I asked him, "to the plans put forth by the Nazi, Colonel Meisinger, at that meeting in Shanghai where the 'final solution' was first discussed?"

Shibata rubbed his rounded chin briefly. After thirty-odd years, he remembered it clearly. "I was simply horrified. The atrocities I had heard rumors of were being outlined right in front of my eyes. But I felt so helpless. I am a loyal Japanese! These were our allies. I had to go along with what my superiors were planning, no matter how horrible it was. It was not until later, when I was sitting in the garden of the Japanese Consulate near the Garden Bridge, that I realized what I had to do."

Shibata and the others consulted their personal journals for half-remembered names and incidents. Without exception, in spite of an initial awkwardness in discussing what they had planned and done, everyone was totally candid and forthcoming.

In 1976, I left my position in Tokyo to return to the United States. But because I believed that the story of the refugees and of the *fugu* plan with which they were so intricately involved, deserved better than to be heard only by my friends and future congregations, I asked the help of Mary Swartz, a member of the Tokyo Jewish community and a professional writer. Coincidentally, she was also returning to America about the same time, and the stage was set for the collaboration that has produced this book.

The question of historical fact versus historical fiction arose early in our manuscript preparations. We both felt strongly that since the entire series of events is *factual*, we would not change anything for the sake of drama or character development. However, in order to convey the flavor of the refugee experience, we did decide to coalesce some of those hundreds of anecdotes that had been told to me by the Jews from Shanghai, around nine composite characters. As a result there are nine fictional characters: Avram Chesno, Gershon Cohen, Yankel Gilbewitz, Moishe and Sophie Katznelson, Cheya and Getzel Syrkin and their son Dovid, and Ephraim Orliansky. Through them we have described the actual experiences of some of the thousands of Jewish refugees who survived the Holocaust in Japan and Shanghai.

Other than these nine, all characters in the book are real and, within the reasonable bounds of recounting history, they spoke and acted as presented here.

MARVIN TOKAYER
1979

Unit 5
Objective 1-Goal 3

After the outbreak of war, token gestures in behalf of refugees continued. In an address delivered on October 17, 1939, to the members of the Intergovernmental Committee on Political Refugees, President Roosevelt urged his audience to study the problem of resettling several million people rendered homeless by the war. The President's remarks, while arousing hope among the uprooted, created a stir in diplomatic circles. The British and French governments expressed concern over the implications of preparing for large-scale refugee work. They contended that one of the objectives of their war against Germany was to eliminate doctrines of racial and religious bigotry, and that victory for the Allies would eliminate the need for any large emigration program. The Committee agreed that there should be no *open* admission of such a problem and then proceeded to discuss the immediate problem of refugees from Greater Germany.

The most important colonization plan was the Dominican Republic project for the settlement of 100,000 Jews. The Agro-Joint Board, an affiliate of the JDC, subscribed $200,000 immediately. A 26,000-acre tract was chosen for the first settlement, with the initial colony to consist of 500 people. Fifty Jews had already arrived in the spring of 1940 but by June, Italy's entry into the war drastically cut the means of transport from Europe.[21] All Italian major ports of embarkation were closed. At this time, it was estimated that 175,000 Jews from Germany, 120,000 from Austria, and 20,000 from Czechoslovakia were temporarily in other parts of Europe. About 40,000 were in France. After France declared war on Germany, these refugees were under double jeopardy. They were not only homeless; they were enemy aliens.

Many thousands could not meet the immigration requirements of the United States or Latin America, but chose to wander without legal status rather than remain in German-held territory. During 1939, there were many ships, not only in the Atlantic, but also in the Mediterranean, the Danube and Black Sea, unable to land their passengers. Most of them sought to reach Palestine from such scattered places as Salina, Romania, Kladova in Yugoslavia, the Greek islands, and Beirut, Syria. Some attempted to make the trip to Palestine overland through the Balkans. Several others sailed around Africa and reached Palestine after forty-five days.[22]

War-torn and turbulent, Shanghai was the only place on earth where Jews could flee without restriction or even the requirement of a visa. Only four thousand Jews, however, made their way to this refuge in 1939. The war imprisoned Europe's Jews but almost 1,600 from central Europe left the Continent a full year after the war broke out. They were part of a large convoy of 4,000 refugees that left Bratislava, Slovakia, on September 4, 1940. Most of them perished on the seas, but almost 1,600 survived as "illegal" immigrants on the island of Mauritius under British custody.

The original convoy consisted of four Danube steamers. This large transport had been arranged by Bertold Storfer, a Viennese Jew with the consent of, and probably the cooperation of, German authorities. Among the passengers were about 300 belonging to various Zionist youth groups from Czechoslovakia who had been detained in Bratislava for almost a year; Storfer finally extricated them. Another group of several hundred from Vienna were interned in an abandoned munitions factory on the outskirts of Bratislava called "Patronka" where they were guarded

by the Slovak Hlinka Guard. A third group of about 500 Danzig Jews had been organized by the *Kultusgemeinde* of the city and joined the convoy in Bratislava. These three groups sailed on the *Helios*. The *Schoenbrunn* sailed with about 600 passengers from Vienna; many of them had been imprisoned in concentration camps and were released on the understanding that they would leave the Reich at once. These two ships reached Mauritius; the passengers on the *Pacific* and the *Milos* were transferred to the ill-fated *Patria*.

The refugees had been provided with visas for Peru and Paraguay, but it was perfectly clear to everyone that they were bound for Palestine. The Germans undoubtedly permitted this convoy to leave a whole year after the outbreak of the war, counting on the influx of "illegal immigrants" to incite Arab anti-British riots. Moreover, the Germans were, at the time, repatriating *Volksdeutsche* from Bessarabia and transporting them to the Reich on the Danube steamers. The exorbitant fares paid by the Jews covered the passage of the German repatriates.



"Remembering the Voices That Were Silenced"



by

Martin Gilbert
Fellow of Merton College
Cambridge

Historians of the Holocaust have many and varied sources on which to build their narratives and to base their interpretations. These sources do not, however, in the main, derive directly from the victims, whose voices, silenced at the time, can be heard only faintly through much of the surviving documentation.

The most voluminous source is the surviving German records—the records of the conqueror, who had nothing but hatred and contempt for his victims. It is upon these records that the early historians of the Holocaust based their pioneering narratives; writers such as Gerald Reitlinger (*The Final Solution*, 1953), Lord Russell of Liverpool (*The Scourge of the Swastika*, 1954) and Raul Hilberg (*The Destruction of the European Jews*, 1961).

There are still many German records that remain unpublished in their original form. Recently, in an attempt to provide the general reader with some of this material, Yad Vashem in Jerusalem has published, in English, the German day by day records of the Einsatzgruppen killings in Russia edited by Yitzhak Arad, Shmuel Spector and Shmuel Krakowski. (*The SS Einsatzgruppen Reports: the massacre of Jews in the German-occupied territories of the USSR*, 1989.)

Almost as voluminous as the German records are the testimonies of survivors. These, in their already published form, cover every period and region. Some of them have become classical texts, capable both of informing the reader of the facts and of moving him or her to tears by their emotion.

Two early examples of memoirs written in English which made a considerable impact were by the Auschwitz survivors Kitty Hart, *I am Alive* (1961) and Rudolf Vrba, *I Cannot Forgive* (1963). Both Hart and Vrba have subsequently appeared on film, and, like an increasingly large number of survivors, have spoken about their experiences to large public audiences.

There is not a single memoir of the several hundred which I have read which has not affected me. No one who has read, for example, Vladka Meed's recollections of the Warsaw ghetto, *On Both Sides of the Wall* (1972), will have forgotten her vivid images. Of one round-up in September 1942, she described an old woman walking along the street. "I anxiously watched her halting steps. She was conspicuous in the deserted street. Two German automobiles happened to pass by; a young German jumped out and called to the old woman. She was evidently deaf; so the German easily caught up with her, pulled out his revolver and fired twice. She toppled, bleeding profusely. The German calmly returned to his car and drove away."

Survivors' memoirs and testimonies have also been used in a growing number of anthologies, of which an important early example was Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *A Holocaust Reader*, first published in 1976.

On her dedication page, Dr. Dawidowicz quotes from Zelig Kalmanovich, writing in the Vilna Ghetto on 27 December 1942: "History will cherish your memory, people of the ghetto. Your least expression will be studied, your struggle for human dignity will inspire poems. . . ."

Poems, songs, letters, diaries, photographs and films—all these will have their place in the memorials and museums now being created throughout the United States. I myself have seen such attempts to tell the human story in places as wide apart as Orlando, Detroit, Chicago and San Francisco.

Hitler wished to destroy Jewish life, as well as Jewish lives. The museums and memorials of today will ensure that Jews in future generations know about the vibrant, creative Jewish life of the past—the life of more than ten thousand Jewish communities that was destroyed. At the Simon Wiesenthal Center's Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles, for example, a special effort has been made to give the visitor both the testimonies of survivors and a sense of Jewish life before the Holocaust.

Despite the vast survivor literature, there are still several thousand testimonies which need to be published. Many archives have acquired written and oral testimonies which can at the moment only be read in those archives themselves. Yad Vashem alone has many hundreds which merit publication. There are also many testimonies that have yet to be recorded. It is important that this task be pursued with vigor, while time remains.

The recollections of survivors have frequently been used on film, and through film and video reach a far wider audience than books. A pioneering effort in this regard was the Holocaust section of Thames Television's *World at War*, first screened in 1974. A harrowing testimony in that film was that of Rivka Yosselevska, a survivor of an Einsatzgruppe killing near Pinsk in 1942 (she had earlier given testimony at the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem).

At one point in her testimony, Yosselevska described the fate of her younger sister: "She pleaded with the German; she [was ordered] to run, naked; she went up to the German with one of her friends; they were embracing each other; and she asked to be spared—standing there naked. He looked into her eyes and shot the two of them."

In recent years, the recollections of survivors have been used with great effect by a number of film makers, among them Arnold Schwarzman in *Genocide* (1981), Rex Bloomstein in *The Gathering* (1982), Claude Lanzmann in *Shoah* (1985) and Robert Marshall in his reconstruction of the survival of Jews hiding in the sewers of Lvov, *Light in the Dark* (1989).

Many historians have also made powerful use of the testimonies of survivors; Gertrude Schneider's *Journey into Terror: Story of the Riga Ghetto* (1979) is one such, as are Miriam Novitch, *Sobibor, Martyrdom and Revolt, Documents and Testimonies* (1980), Yisrael Gutman, *The Jews of Warsaw, 1939–43* (1982) and Shmuel Krakowski, *The War of the Doomed; Jewish Armed Resistance in Poland 1942–1944* (1984).

Increasingly, historians are seeing the importance of the testimony of survivors, both to establish mood and atmosphere and to point to facts for which no written source survives.

As well as the testimonies of survivors, there are many records left by bystanders, describing what they saw as the Jews were rounded up, deported and killed. One of the most striking of these is the diary of a Polish doctor, Zygmunt Klukowski, who described the fate of the Jews in several towns and villages in the Lublin region. His diary was published in Polish, in Lublin, in 1958.

Each of these three sources can provide important material about the victims, sometimes even a note of the words they spoke as they were being driven to their deaths. But the actual voices of those who were murdered are much harder to find. Nevertheless, they exist, providing a fourth and essential element both in our historical understanding, and in our attempt to grasp, or at least to glimpse at, the human dimension.

Thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, of those who were murdered made some sort of written record. These records range from substantial diaries—such as those of Anne Frank in Amsterdam (*The Diary of Anne Frank*, 1954) and Chaim Kaplan in Warsaw (first published as *The Scroll of Agony* in 1965)—to letters, postcards or scraps of paper—often thrown from deportation trains.

Many collections of archival materials were made in the ghettos. One of those to have survived was assembled by Emmanuel Ringelblum and his Joy of Sabbath circle, whose own diary is a major source of the life and fate of the Jews of Warsaw; the first published version in English was that edited by Jacob Sloan in 1958, *Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto, the Journal of Emmanuel Ringelblum*. Most recently, Dr. Joseph Kermish has published a much more comprehensive volume of the material collected by Ringelblum and his circle, *To live with honor and die with honor, Selected documents from the Warsaw Ghetto underground archives* (1986).

Much is of course missing that will almost certainly never be found. Millions of sheets of paper were consumed by fire, both in the violence of battle and bombardment, and in deliberate destruction. By German design, the evidence set down by many of Hitler's victims has been destroyed for all time. Yet it was not in vain that the Jewish historian Simon Dubnov is said to have cried out, as he was shot in Riga in December 1941: "Write and record!"

Many who had no knowledge of Dubnov's injunction followed it before their deaths. Less than a month after Dubnov had been killed, a young Polish Jew, Yakov Grojanowski, escaped from the first of the Nazi death camps, Chelmno. As soon as he reached the comparative safety of Warsaw, he set out in diary form everything that he had seen and heard during two weeks of horrific work burying the corpses of those who had been murdered in gas vans.

Grojanowski did not survive the war, but his diary did. In it we read not only his story, but the stories—the actual words—of his fellow prisoners. Each day, eight of those who were forced to bury the corpses were themselves murdered. Grojanowski recorded their words and fate, their fears and faith.

I myself was so struck by the power of Grojanowski's testimony—written in Yiddish and preseved at the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw—that I published it in full, in English, as a chapter of my book, *The Holocaust: The Fate of the Jews in Nazi Europe*. (1986).

At Auschwitz-Birkenau, a powerful sense of the need to leave some record drove men in the very shadow of the crematorium chimneys to record what they saw and heard before they too were murdered. In the hundred pages of notes which he managed to hide before his own death, Salmen Lewental recorded the words of a Jewish girl in the ante-room to the gas chamber: "I am still so young, I have really not experienced anything in my life, why should death of this kind fall to my lot? Why?"

We shall never know this girl's name. But, because of Lewental's determination to keep a record, we shall hear her question echo through the ages.

Lewental was also a witness of the revolt of his fellow Sonderkommando in Birkenau and recorded details of the revolt which he then hid in a jar and buried in the soil near one of the crematoria. In October 1962, Lewental's jar was discovered. Once again, as with so many who had set down some record, their record survived while they did not.

As late as 1980, thirty-five years after the end of the Second World War, a further discovery was made beneath the earth at Birkenau—the notes of a Greek Jew who, like Lewental, had managed to set down details of the last moments of those who were being driven to the gas chambers.

A third member of the Sonderkommando who managed to hide something before he was killed was a Jew from France, Chaim Herman. He wrote a long letter to his wife and daughter in November 1944, put it in a bottle, and hid the bottle in one of the heaps of human ash near the crematoria. It was found there soon after the war.

In the course of his letter, Herman wrote: "Ever since I have been here I have never believed in the possibility of returning. I knew, just like all of us, that all connection with the other world was broken, this is an entirely different world, this one here, if you like, it simply is hell, but Dante's hell is incomparably ridiculous in comparison with this real one here; we are its eye-witnesses. We cannot leave it alive, but in spite of everything I keep up from time to time a tiny spark of hope. . . ."

Chaim Herman wrote this letter on 6 November 1944. He was murdered, together with his fellow Sonderkommando, twenty days later.

There was even a fourth member of the Sonderkommando at Birkenau who managed to write down some notes and to hide them. His name was Salmen Gradowski, and he, like Herman, chose one of the vast pits of human ash as the place in which to bury what he had written.

Gradowski dedicated his notes to the six members of his family, including his mother Sara and his wife Sonia, who were, as he wrote, "burnt alive at Birkenau," in a covering letter, which was discovered after the war together with his notes. Gradowski wrote: "Dear finder, search everywhere, in every inch of soil. Tens of documents are buried under it, mine and those of other persons, which will throw light on everything that was happening here."

Gradowski added: "Great quantities of teeth are also buried here. It was we, the Kommando workers, who deliberately have strewn them all over the terrain, as many as we could, so that the world would find material traces of the millions of murdered people."

Many of the records, which tell the story of those who were murdered, are still only available to historians or in languages other than English. Even in English, they are not always readily or widely available. The English version of the Sonderkommando manuscripts, for example, exists only in a relatively limited edition, *Amidst a Nightmare of Crime* (edited by Jadwiga Beswinska and Danuta Czech), published by the State Museum at Oswiecim (Auschwitz) in 1973.

The crucially important eye-witness testimonies presented at the Eichmann Trial in Jerusalem thirty-five years ago, covering every region and every aspect of the Holocaust, still exist only in typescript. At last, however, a full thirty years after the trial, the transcripts are being prepared for publication, a formidable task, which has been entrusted to the Israeli State Archivist, Dr. Abraham Alsberg.

Other important testimonies, like the diary of Dr. Klukowski mentioned above, which was published in Polish in 1958, have still not been translated into English. The same is true of books in a dozen languages (including Russian, Lithuanian and Greek—not to speak of Yiddish and Hebrew) which are beyond the reading abilities of all but a tiny minority of English-speaking readers.

The magnificent multi-volume Hebrew-language encyclopedia of the destroyed Jewish communities of Europe, published country by country since 1969 by Yad Vashem in Jerusalem (a remarkable work of scholarship already amounting to ten volumes) does not exist in English. This is a pity, and more than a pity, for it denies the fruits of scholarship to hundreds of thousands of students and teachers in the United States and Britain. Even today, where there is so much interest in the Holocaust, these volumes remain in search of an English language publisher.

Meanwhile, there is a continual publication of works which enable us to find out more about the victims. Even lists of names can be illuminating. In this regard, a whole world of human beings was created from fading statistics by Serge Klarsfeld in his monumental work, *Memorial to the Jews Deported from France, 1942–1944* (published in English in 1983). I was so influenced by Klarsfeld's work, that I used his lists of the names of the deportees as the factual background for several of the maps in my *Atlas of the Holocaust* (1982).

It has been said that statistics do not bleed, but the names of the deportees, the dates of their birth, and the notes of their fate—as presented by Klarsfeld—do indeed bleed. Anyone who doubts that a list of names can make one cry should acquire Klarsfeld's book.

Another "mere" listing of names and fates, which gives the silent victims a place and a human aspect, is Louis Falstein's *The Martyrdom of Jewish Physicians in Poland* (1963). This volume shows just what brilliant and devoted men and women—among them doctors who were pioneers in their specialties—perished day by day in Poland, and in what terrible circumstances.

Among published diaries are two which, written at the time as factual records, likewise convey a world of individuals and of individual pain. One is the *Chronicle of the Lodz Ghetto* (1984), edited by Lucjan Dobroszycki, and the other is Avraham Tory's *Surviving The Holocaust: Diary of the Kovno Ghetto* (1990). That these should both have been published by university presses (Yale and Harvard, respectively) is a sign of how Holocaust scholarship is now a part of mainstream academic life in the United States.

Occasionally, English-language academic journals also publish testimonies in full. Thus, volume 4, issue 4, of *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 1989, includes the complete text of an account of the fate of the Jews of Butrimonys and the neighboring villages, written in October 1941, in Yiddish, by Khone Boyarski, who was himself murdered two years later.

Telling, at the very end of his account of the mass grave, dug by local Lithuanians, in which many of his family were killed, some buried alive, together with several hundred Jews of Butrimonys, Boyarski writes: "I am the only Jew who saw how they dug the grave. This is how the Lithuanians repaid us for the hundreds of years that we have lived side by side, after we had fought for their freedom and independence. I hope they pay for it and I am convinced that they will, but I don't know if I will live to see it. I have no more words to express. My heart does not let me write more. It is enough for me."

Translated into English, Boyarski's testimony has been prepared for publication by the young Israeli historian, Nathan Cohen, who intends to continue to publish such testimonies in full.

From the large number of diaries and notes that have been published, and from the memoirs of survivors, the voices that were silenced can be heard again, nearly half a century after the Holocaust. It will be the task of the historians, well into the twenty-first century, to ensure that the many testimonies which are still unpublished—or untranslated—are likewise made avalable to the English-speaking world.

As it is not only Jews who study the Second World War, and as the war had many ugly faces as well as the abomination of the Holocaust, some way has also to be found to make sure that the Jewish dimension becomes a part of the wider writings on the war.

It seems to me that in teaching about the war, we should try not to separate battles from concentration camps, or the fate of prisoners-of-war (the Germans murdered more than three million Soviet soldiers after they had been captured) from the fate of Jewish deportees.

There are dozens of different strands of the terrible history of those times which can be woven together, which can be shown in their relationship to each other. By doing this, the horrific scale of the massacre of the Jews becomes even more apparent. Likewise, if the voices of those Jews who were murdered are allowed to speak as part of the wider voices of the war, the terrible things which they have to say to us will be all the more powerful. In my own book, *The Second World War, A Complete History* (1989), I tried to do just this.

Thus on the same page—because in the same forty-eight hour period of time that the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, the Germans began the gassing of Jews at the first death camp, Chelmno. Similarly, in the same forty-eight hour period—and thus also on the same page—that a future American President, George Bush, was embarking on his fifty-eighth bombing mission over Japan (during the course of which he was shot down), the Germans were deporting a thousand Dutch Jews from Holland to Auschwitz.

The time has come for the Jewish dimension of the Second World War to become a part of every general narrative and presentation of the war. In this way, far from the Holocaust being neglected or denied, it will enter the consciousness of students as an integral and terrible aspect of those six years of global conflict.

The history of the Holocaust is an integral and terrible part of the history of mankind. The voices of its victims are a precious heritage. They must not be allowed to fade away.



UNIT VI · Genocide



"Job"

UNIT VI

GENOCIDE

Genocide, defined here as a state-sponsored campaign to eradicate an entire people or, its culture has become the ultimate human rights problem of the 20th century. The term "genocide" was coined during World War II to the greatest genocide in the making, The Holocaust. When the war was over, more civilians had died than soldiers.

Whether motivated by self-preservation or by hatred, state authorities in other countries and in other historical periods have precipitated mass destruction in the belief OF their racial, political, ideological, or geographic superiority. This unit will scrutinize incidents of genocide in general and specifically those involving Armenians, Native Americans, African Americans, and Cambodians as well as present lessons on how to study any genocide.

Underlying this unit is an assumption that awareness of genocide episodes will inspire renewed efforts to help prevent future genocides. In addition to examining the phenomenon of genocide, this unit will urge students to support and be knowledgeable of groups that monitor violations of human rights and promote resolution of violent social conflict through peaceful negotiation. Some of these groups include the United Nations (the UN Champions the Universal Declaration of Human Rights); non-governmental organization (NGOs) such as ERASE; and myriad a local, of cultural, religious, and civic groups.

GUIDELINES FOR DEVELOPING CASE STUDIES

Statement of Purpose:

The history of humankind provides us with other examples of genocide against minority peoples. Teachers can develop their own case studies for student analysis to fit within local and State curriculum frameworks. Students should apply the concepts identified in Volume I, Unit I, "The Roots of Intolerance and Persecution," as well as the skills of case study analysis as they investigate the causes and effects of other genocidal acts.

Developing Case Studies:

The following outline for preparing case studies was adapted from the New York State Education Department publication, *Incorporating Skills into Social Studies Programs, K-12* (The University of the State of New York, Bureau of Curriculum Development, 1981). The outline serves as both a listing of student objectives and a framework for developing a case study.

These five steps make up this case study analysis process:

1. *Define* the components of the case study
2. *Evaluate* differing points of view
3. *Collect* data
4. *Analyze* data
5. *Conclude* and *generalize.*

The following outline describes each of these steps and specifies student outcomes. These steps also serve as content organizers as teachers plan and develop their own case studies.

Case Study Analysis:

1. Provide students with materials that help them to *define* the components of the case study.
   Students should be able to –
   a. Clarify historical background, terminology, and concepts
   b. Locate regions and areas affected
   c. Identify political leaders, ethnic groups, key individuals, and others affected
   d. Restate the facts of the case study
   e. Develop a chronology of events
   f. Place the key events within the context of other world events taking place at the same time
2. Provide students with materials that help them to *evaluate* differing points of view. Students should be able to –
   a. Differentiate fact from opinion
   b. Identify frames of reference
   c. Identify value-laden words
   d. Detect the use of various propaganda techniques
   e. Evaluate author's qualifications
3. Provide students with materials that help them to *collect* additional information related to the case study. Students should be able to –
   a. Identify a variety of sources of information
   b. Recognize the advantages and limitations of various sources of information
   c. Identify the types and kinds of information needed
   d. Organize information in an orderly, meaningful presentation
4. Provide students with materials that help them to *analyze* information. Students should be able to –
   a. Identify the relationships between the various kinds of data
   b. Detect inconsistencies in data
   c. Weigh conflicting statements of fact and opinion
5. Provide students with materials that help them to develop *conclusions* and *generalizations.* Students should be able to –
   a. Apply previously-learned concepts to the data and the case study
   b. Check reasoning used to develop conclusions against basic principles of logic
   c. Identify inconsistencies in reasoning and limitations in data collected
   d. Create a broad statement that encompasses findings
   e. Propose areas for continued study and analysis based upon their findings

As teachers apply this case study analysis framework, they should refine and adapt it to fit their unique situations. The steps and student objectives are generalizable so that teachers should modify them for each different case study.

Resources for Case Study Analysis:

While each case study will require specific information and materials for student use, a number of resources seem common to most case studies on persecution and genocide. The following list identifies those sources consulted in preparing the case studies that appear in this series and in other State Education Department publications concerned with human rights.

1. **The Minority Rights Group**
   35 Claremont Ave., #45
   New York, NY 10027

   MRG publishes reports about the treatment of minority groups around the world. Representative titles include:

   "Religious Minorities in the Soviet Union" (No. 1)
   "Selective Genocide in Burundi" (No. 20)
   "The Original Americans: U.S. Indians" (No. 31)
   "The Ukrainians and the Georgians" (No. 50)
2. Amnesty International
   National Office
   304 West 58th Street
   New York, NY 10019

   Amnesty International (AI) is a worldwide human rights organization that works on behalf of prisoners of conscience.
3. Books include –
   a. Leo Kuper. *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Penguin Books, 1981).
   b. Irving Horowitz. *Genocide: State Power and Mass Murder* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1976).
   c. Richard L. Rubenstein. *The Cunning of History: Mass Death and the American Future* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975).
4. Government documents available from –
   a. United Nations
      (1) Reports of the proceedings and resolutions of the General Assembly, the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, the Legal Committee, the Economic and Social Council, the Ad Hoc Committee on Genocide, the Commission on Human Rights, and the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.
      (2) *Special Reports. Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on Southern Africa.* E/CN. 4/950 dd. 27 October 1967. E/CN. 4-984/Add. 18 dd. 28 February 1969. E/CN. 4/1075, dd. 15 February 1972 *(Study concerning the question of apartheid from the point of view of international penal law).* A/32/226, dd. 10 October 1977 *(Deaths of detainees and police brutality in South Africa since the Soweto massacres in June 1976).* E/CN. 4/1311, dd. 26 January 1979 *(Violations of Human Rights in Southern Africa).*
      (3) *Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.* E/CN. 4/Sub. 2/416, dd. 4 July 1978 *(Study of the Question of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide).*
      (4) *United Nations Action in the Field of Human Rights.* New York: 1974.
   b. United States Congress

      International Protection of Human Rights. Hearing before the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the Committee on Foreign Affairs – House of Representatives, 93rd Congress, First Session. August – December 1973. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974.
   c. Department of State

      Report on Human Rights Practices in Countries Receiving U.S. Aid. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979.
   d. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations

      Hearings of May 24, 26, 1977 on the International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977 (95th Congress, 1st Session).

      Genocide Convention. Hearings before a Sub- committee of the Committee on Foreign Relations. U.S. Senate, 81st Congress, 1st Session, April – May 1970. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970.

GENOCIDE

UNIT VI

OBJECTIVES	READINGS	TITLE	SOURCE	PAGE
1	**Reading #1**	"Definition of Genocide" from **Human Rights**	Samuel Totten and Milton Kleg	1
1	**Reading #2**	"The Holocaust" - Summing Up - Holocaust and Genocide is there a difference? from **A History of the Holocaust**	Yehuda Bauer	4
		Definition of Genocide	Well known authors	6
1	**Reading #3**	"Toward a Generic Definition of Genocide" from **Conceptual and Historical Dimensions**	George Andreopoulos	7
1	**Reading #4**	"The Definition of Genocide" "Some Preconditions of Genocide" from **The History and Sociology of Genocide - Analyses of Case Studies**	Frank Chalk and Kurt Jonassohn	27
1		Molotsky, Irvin. "Senate Votes to Carry Out Treaty Banning Genocide"	New York Times	36
1		Korey, William. "Seal and Deliver - The Genocide Pact"		37
1	**Reading #5**	"Intending Genocide" from **Act and Ideas in Nazi Genocide**	Berel Lang	38
1	**Reading #6**	"Twentieth Century Path to Genocide" - The Holocaust, Playing Deity: Creating Pure Race and Conclusion- "	Helen Fein **Accounting for Genocide**	46
1	**Reading #7**	"Genocide as Defined in U.S. Criminal Code."	Chalk and Jonnasohn	56

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OBJECTIVES	READINGS	TITLE	SOURCE	PAGE
2	**Reading #8**	Selections from **Auschwitz - A Doctor's Eyewitness Account**	Miklos Nyiszli	58
2	**Reading #9**	"My Lai Massacre" from **The Ten Thousand Day War - Vietnam 1945 - 1975**	Michael Maclear	62
2	**Reading #10**	Universal Declaration of Human Rights	United Nations Dept. of Public Information	67
3	**Reading #11**	"The Holocaust in Comparative and Historical Perspective" including statistics on 20th Century Democide	R.J. Rummel	71
3 & 4	**Reading #12**	"In the Dock: Balkan Nationalism" article by Roger Cohen, April 30, 1995	N.Y. Times	86
4	**Reading #13**	"The Balkans - No Rush to Judgment", June 27, 1994	Time Magazine	88
4	**Reading #14**	"Ever Again? A Ten-Step Program to Stop Genocide"	**Institute for the Study of Genocide,**	93

UNIT VI : GENOCIDE
UNIT GOAL : To conclude that genocide is an ongoing social phenomenon and can be stopped only through reason, compassion, and mutual multicultural understanding.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
1. Students will be able to write or articulate a reasonable definition for genocide.	1. Have students individually or in a cooperative learning group, decide on a definition of what constitutes genocide in order to form a cornerstone for this unit.	• 1. Definition of Genocide Totten, Samuel and Kleg, Milton, **Human Rights**, Enslow Publish, Inc., Hillside, NJ, 1989, pp. 91-94. • - Bauer, Yehuda - **A History of the Holocaust**, "The Holocaust - Summing up - The Holocaust and genocide is there a difference?" Franklin Watts, NY, 1982.
	1a. Have students examine whether the term genocide is interpreted to mean the same universally, or does it have different connotations for some nations? Examine the following: 1. Accomplice to Genocide 2. Genocide as a result of ecological destruction and abuse 3. Political interest in the definition of Genocide 4. Towards a generic definition of Genocide 5. Genocide in the course of colonization and consolidation of power 6. Genocide in the course of aggressive ("unjust") war 7. War crimes against humanity 8. Cultural genocide 9. Degrees of criminal responsibilities 10. On the ills of "Definitionalism" 1b Have students compare and contrast the meaning of genocide from several different sources. 1c. Students will study when scapegoating of a race or ethnic group is taken to extremes, genocide can result. 1. What are some preconditions to genocide? 2. Examine the type of society that commits genocide.	• 1a. Andreopoulos, George, (Ed.), **Genocide: Conceptual and Historical Dimensions**, Philadelphia, University of Penn. Press, pp. 64-94, Charny, Israel W. (1994) "Toward a Generic Definition of Genocide". - **Prejudice** by Buniela Giosetti, Anchor Books; NY,: 1993. The article that deals specifically with definition is "Genocide is a New Word for an Old Crime", Jack Nusan Porter. pp. 143-155. - **Model Curriculum: for Human Rights and Genocide:** Bureau of Publications, California State Dept. of Ed., P.O. Box 271, Sacramento, CA, 95801-0271. - **Teaching about Genocide** - A guide book for college and teachers. Purchase from Institute for the Study of Genocide, 899 10th Ave., NY, NY 10019. 1b. Dictionaries and encyclopedias. • 1c. Chalk, Frank and Kurt Jonassohn - **The History and Sociology of Genocide - Analyses and Case Studies**, Montreal Institute for Genocide, Yale University, Press, New Haven, CT, 1990, pp. 27-33, 51-53. • - Kuper, Leo - **Genocide**: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century, NY Penguin Books, 1981 or Yale University Press, 1981, pp. 120 - 122, 136 - 137.

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	1d. Have students examine what event led up to the Nazi genocide? 1. Have students examine what events led to the Nazi genocide, was it premeditated? 2. How did the Nazis define the Jews? 3. Examine when the "Final Solution" was decided upon and what methods were used to accomplish this? 1e. Let students examine how "Genocide" is defined in the U.S. Criminal Code.	1d. • 1-3 Berel Lang - **Act and Idea in Nazi Genocide**, University of Chicago Press, 1990 (Book deals with moral and ethical aspect). "Intending Genocide", pp. 13-22. - Fein, Helen, **Account for Genocide - Victims and Survivor of the Holocaust**, The Free Press, 1979 - "Twentieth Century Path to Genocide", pp. 18-16, 28-30 3. See Unit IV of this curriculum. •1e. Authors: Chalk, Frank and Jonassohn, Kurt. **History and Sociology of Genocide - Analyses and Case Studies**, Montreal Institute for Genocide, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 1990, pp. 51-53. • Molotsky, Irvin. New York Times, "Senate Votes to Carry Out Treaty Banning Genocide". Korey. William. "Seal and Deliver - The Genocide Pact".
2. The student will be able to explain the controversy surrounding the determination of genocide or atrocity.	2a. Students will in a group or individually create a set of criteria for the determination of genocide. (Prof. Yehuda Bauer of Hebrew University) offers the following: 1. Long established hatred 2. Political dictatorship 3. Impersonal bureaucracy 4. High level of technology 5. War (covering mechanism)	2a. Bauer, Yehuda, **A History of the Holocaust**, Chapter 13 - pp. 330 - 332, Franklin Watts, NY, 1982. - Hovannisian, Richard G., **The Armenian Genocide in Perspective**, Transaction Books, NJ, 1987. Ch. 4, "Determinants of Genocide: Armenians and Jews as Case Studies", pp. 85-97.

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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	2b. Students will discuss events in Auschwitz 1942-1945 and events at My Lai 1968. Both were war crimes, but one was genocidal activity the other a war time atrocity. Which, and why? 2c. In groups or individually students will discuss war, random acts of violence, atrocity, and genocide. The group or individual is to discover the connection of each to the other.	•2b. Nyiszili, Miklos, **Auschwitz**, Arcase Publishing, NY, 1993. Specifically use the forward, the introduction, and Ch. I - IV. • Maclear, Michael, **The Ten Thousand Day War**, Avon Books, NY, 1981. My Lai is fully described on pp. 272-276. - Watch video: "American Justice" **War Crimes** - Nuremberg, My Lai and Demjanjuk, 60 min., 1-800-423-1212 2c. Use any resource listed in Unit IV of this curriculum. Select video materials from Units I and II.
3. The student will be able to identify the many forms a genocide and atrocity may take. (Religious, Political, Cultural, Racial, Ethnic, and Physical (handicapped - Euthanasia Program 1939 in Nazi Germany).	3.a. Have students in groups or individually define the different forms of genocide and atrocity by reviewing and discussing the current events in the world in which we live.	•3a Rummel, R.J., "The Holocaust in Comparative and Historical Perspective", pp. 1-15. Paper delivered in Israel, June 1995. - The Social Issues Resource Series (SIRS) has a CD-ROM computer listing of articles. - This is a High School service. The computer has a keyword search. Using ethnic cleansing, genocide, and concentration camps as the search words the 165 article list was compiled. These articles relate genocide and atrocity to religion, politics, ethnicity, race, sex and culture. The article listing covers the globe. Below are two samples of this service:

UNIT VI : GENOCIDE
UNIT GOAL : To conclude that genocide is an ongoing social phenomenon and can be stopped only through reason, compassion, and mutual multicultural understanding.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	3b. Students will make an outline map of the world and locate the places that are in the throes of genocidal episodes. 3c. Have student investigate the genocides and politics since 1945: evidence and anticipation.	**Example 1** 1994 SIRS, Inc. Volume: SIRS 1994, World Affairs, Article 40 Keywords: Ethnic Cleansing Authors: Caryle Murphy Source: Current History Pub. Date: Feb. 1994 pp. 78-82 The battle between militant Islamic Egyptians and Egypt's secular government has heightened in the last two years, as Muslim groups push to establish an Islamic state and the government continues to mainstream Egypt into the largely Westernized global community. Analyzed in detail are the reasons for Mubarak's treatment of the Islamic rebels, his attempts to thwart their revolutionary efforts and public opinion regarding both the Islamic insurgents and the corruption in Mubarak's government. The political and economic effects the recent Israeli-Palestinian peace accord will have on Egypt are discussed. **Example 2** 1994 SIRS, Inc. Volume: SIRS 1994 World Affairs, Article 43 Keyword (s) Ethnic Cleansing Title: **The Balkans: No Rush to Judgment** Author: James O. Jackson Source: Time Pub. Date: June 27, 1994, pp. 48-51 The acts of violence reported during the ongoing civil war in the Balkans are reminiscent of some of the atrocities committed in Nazi Germany during World War II. As defined by several Geneva conventions, the crimes being committed in the Balkans include war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. Eyewitness testimonies reveal the brutal realities of the war in the former Yugoslavia. •3b. Using the periodic guide to literature reference for current print media.

UNIT VI : GENOCIDE
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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
4. Students will be encouraged and exposed to the proactive skills necessary to prevent genocide, atrocity, or random acts of violence in the future.	4. Investigate and report an actual atrocity or war crime by completing the report form that the UN requires on its similar investigation. Look at Universal Declaration of Human Rights	•4. Universal Declaration of Human Rights - United Nations Department of Public Information
5. Students will study and understand the specific genocides of: The African American (slavery) Native Americans (westward expansion) Cambodia (Pot Pol) Armenian (1915)	5 Have students debate "Ever Again? A Ten-Step Program to Stop Genocides" 5a. Establish a high school chapter of Amnesty International and get involved in freeing prisoners of conscience. Establish relief efforts for Bosnia, Rwanda, and Somalia 5b. Establish a chapter of E.R.A.S.E. (End Racism and Sexism Everywhere)	•5. **Institute for the Study of Genocide**, pp. 8-10, Fall 1993. National Council of Social Studies 3501 Newark St. NW Washington, DC 20016 5a. Amnesty International, USA PO Box 37137 HRNP Washington, DC 20013 or Amnesty International 322 Eight Ave. New York, NY 10001 212-807-8400 5b. For details contact: Sondra Putnam Social Studies Dept. Lakeland Regional High School Wanaque, NJ 07465

GENOCIDE
UNIT VI
AUDIO- VISUAL LIST

American Justice
War Crimes -
Nuremberg, My Lai and
Demjanjuk - 60 minutes
1-800-423-1212

The Forgotten Genocide. Atlantis Productions - 28 min.
1252 La Granada Dr., Thousand Oaks, CA 91362
Documents the Armenian Genocide with historic photos and film footage. 1-800-495-2790

Land of Demons, color. 45 minutes. related to paperback
A Witness to Genocide by Roy Gutman
Grade 10 and up - Dispatches on ethnic cleansing of Bosnia.
S.S.S.S. 1-800-421-4246. $19.98

NUREMBERG TRIALS

NUREMBERG. A history of the rise to power of the Nazis recounted within the context of the Nuremberg trials. Excerpts of footage used by the prosecution to show Nazi atrocities are intercut with trial sequences to illustrate each of the four counts of the indictment. (Captioned 11" x 14" photographs depicting scenes surrounding the trial are available separately.) **Warning: the video is not recommended for unprepared audiences due to the intensely graphic presentation of atrocities.** Produced by the War Department. Black and white. 76 minutes.

NA139V-JF	VHS videocassette	$29.95
DPA42-J5	15 photo aids	$26.28

Available S.S.S.S.

GENOCIDE; World at War Vol. 20 This penetrating program examines the rationale methods employed by the Nazis to realize their goal of a master race. Graphic documentary footage, some of it shout by the Nazis themselves as well as interview with survivors, SS officers, and others are combined to offer an inside look at both the Nazis' ideas and the heinous crimes against humanity that followed the implementation of those ideas. Narrated by Laurence Olivier. Color and black-and-white. 52 minutes. Thames Television.

SV283V-J5	VHS videocassette	$29.95

Available from S.S.S.S.

JUDGMENT AT NUREMBERG. Directed by Stanley Kramer. Dramatizes the proceedings of the second Nuremberg trials during which German judges were tried for their role in upholding laws involving patent abuses of human rights. Drawing parallels between the political pressure faced by the German judges and those confronting the American judge presiding at Nuremberg, this though provoking production raises issues concerning responsibility - individual, national and universal. Stars Spencer Tracy, Judy Garland, Burt Lancaster, Maximillian Schell, and Montgomery Clift. Black-and-white. Total time 187 minutes. United Artists

SV233V-J5	2 VHS videocassettes	$29.95
SV233L-J5	2 laserdiscs (CLV)	$39.98

Available from S.S.S.S.

Nightline- Saravejo - Irma's Story - 30 minutes. ABC News

Nightlline - Bosnia and The Hidden Horror - 30 minutes, ABC News

HUMAN RIGHTS

Samuel Totten
and
Milton Kleg

"The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing."

—Edmund Burke, British statesman (1728–1797)

Genocide

Slaughter. Bloodbaths. All-out or partial destruction. Mass executions. Exterminations. Mass political killings. Purges. Pogroms. These are some of the terms and phrases that are usually used to describe acts of genocide.

The term "genocide" was coined in 1944 by a lawyer named Raphael Lemkin. *Geno* means "a tribe or race" of people. *Cide* means "to cut or kill." Genocide has come to mean the *deliberate* destruction or murder of a *particular* group of people. It is usually committed because one group (often government officials) distrusts or despises a particular group because of its race, religion, ethnic background, political beliefs, or nationality.

In this context, the word "destruction" can mean a number of different things. It could mean the murder, in part or whole, of a particular group of people. Sometimes the killings number in the hundreds, thousands, or even millions. For instance, the Nazis slaughtered over six million Jewish people (as well as six million others) during the years 1936–1945.

"Destruction" could also mean deliberate actions, aside from outright murder, that bring about the end of a particular group. For example, it could mean the planned starvation of a group of people. This actually happened between 1932 and 1933 when the Soviet Union carried out a policy that led to the starvation of up to ten million Ukrainian people.

Or the term "destruction" could also mean the establishment of laws that try to prevent births within a group. Such an action could result in the eventual extinction or end of the entire group.

Genocide is vastly different from homicide. *Homo* is the biological name for "human." *Cide,* of course, means to "kill." Homicide, then, refers to the murder of one person or ten. But it does not refer to the destruction of the lives of hundreds, let alone thousands or millions, like genocide does.

Numerous experts point out that many, if not most, homicides are not planned. They often just happen on the spur of the moment. For instance, a person may get so furious during an argument that he or she ends up killing someone. Or, a person who is robbing a store may get into a gunfight and kill someone. Genocide, on the other hand, is usually carried out according to a specific plan.

War also should not be confused with acts of genocide, even though genocide can and sometimes does take place during wartime. War is usually defined as "an armed struggle between opposing forces in order to accomplish a particular goal." Genocide, however, is the planned murder of a group of people because they are "different" in some way or hated for some reason.

Also, in a war both sides usually do everything they can to win. Each side uses all of its soldiers and as many of its weapons as it needs to. But during acts of genocide it is a vastly different situation. Sometimes the victims try to fight off their murderers and sometimes they do not. But even when the victims attempt to fight back, it is often a lost cause. Why? Because quite often the murderers so far outnumber the victims that the victims do not have a chance. This is particularly true when an entire nation attempts to destroy one segment of its population. Also, oftentimes the murderers have most, if not all, of the weapons. Finally, since the victims are often unaware of the other group's plan to destroy them, the victims are easily led to their own slaughter.

Genocide has taken place throughout history. Historical records from ancient Greece and Rome talk about genocidal acts. So does the Bible. During the Middle Ages genocide occurred during the religious battles of the crusades. Genocide also took place when countries like England, Spain, and France went out and colonized new lands. The American settlers of the West also committed genocidal acts against the Indians. So genocide is a human rights violation that has plagued humanity for a long time.

However, people of the twentieth century like to think that they are more civilized than their ancestors. This is the century, they point out, in which humanity split the atom and put a man on the moon. Nevertheless, some of the worst acts of genocide in the history of humanity have taken place during the twentieth century.

Over three times as many people have been killed in genocidal acts from 1900 to the present as in all of the wars during this century. That is astounding when you realize that over 35 million people have died since 1900 in World War I and II, various civil wars and revolutions. But over 119 million people have died in genocidal acts.

One hundred and nineteen million is a huge number. It is such a large number that it may be hard to imagine. But think of it in these terms. There are about 230 million people in the United States. Thus, to kill 119 million people would be like killing off every single person in every state that borders either the Atlantic or Pacific Ocean. That would include people in all of the following states: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Washington, Oregon, California. It would also include all of the people living in Washington, D.C. Imagine what it would be like to fly to one of those states and not see a single person alive in the airport, or on any street, or in any store or home in any city or town.

A HISTORY OF THE HOLOCAUST

YEHUDA BAUER

Institute of Contemporary Jewry
Hebrew University of Jerusalem
with the assistance of
NILI KEREN

THE HOLOCAUST—SUMMING UP

What "Caused" the Holocaust?

Historians agree that the Holocaust resulted from a confluence of various factors in a complex historical situation. That antisemitism festered throughout the centuries in European culture is centrally important; the Jews were (and are) a minority civilization in a majority environment. In periods of crisis, instead of searching for the solution of such crises within the majority culture, the majority will tend to project blame for the crisis on a minority which is both familiar and weak. As the originators and bearers of an important part of civilization, the Jews are a "father civilization" against which pent-up aggressions are easily unleashed. Christianity's long quarrel with a religion that, according to the church fathers, should not really exist exacerbates the dangers. The view of the Jews as a satanic force out to control the world, developed in the Middle Ages, was reinforced in the crises accompanying the emergence of liberalism, democracy, and the industrial world by the modern secularist biological theories of blood and race.

Violence against Jews was perpetrated not only in Germany. Antisemitism is a Euro-American phenomenon, the oldest prejudice of humanity. Without denying the universality of antisemitism, the conception of the Holocaust by German Nazism can be explained by specific factors operating in Germany:

1. The rigidity of German family structure as a precondition for acceptance of an authoritarian dictatorship
2. The destruction of a German national identity and the retardation of the development of a national unity resulting from the Thirty Years' War and the consequent division of Germany into a large number of separate political entities
3. The identification of popular German (*völkisch*) nationalism with both Germanic Christianity and German pagan anti-Christian traditions, which excluded Jews.
4. German romanticism, which rejected liberal and democratic traditions
5. The weak liberalism of the German middle class
6. The German defeat in World War I and the resulting desire to reassert German collective strength
7. The economic crises and the resulting destruction of objective and subjective security for the group, the social class, and the individual
8. The long-standing tradition of antisemitism in "explaining" crises and social problems

Holocaust and Genocide— Is There a Difference?

Every Jew—man, woman, and child—was to be killed. The Poles, Russians, Czechs, and Serbs were not to be totally annihilated. Their leaders and their national, economic, political, cultural, and religious life were to be destroyed—hence the term *Genocide*—but the masses were not to be killed but to be used as slaves. Others would be voluntarily or forcibly Germanized. In Poland, for example, the intelligentsia was mass murdered, large numbers of the Catholic priesthood underwent martyrdom, whole Polish areas were depopulated, cultural institutions were closed, millions of Polish people became slaves in Nazi industries. But although 3 million Poles were murdered, the masses of the Polish people survived.

In the original definitions of the term *Genocide* by lawyer Rafael Lemkin (1943) there is an interesting contradiction: on the one hand, Lemkin defines Genocide as the "extermination" of a people; but on the other hand, he goes into great detail describing the selective mass murder of leadership by the perpetrators, the destruction of religious life, the appropriation by the perpetrators of economic advantage, and the moral corruption of the victims. Obviously, if people are murdered, they cannot be victimized by moral corruption. What is suggested here is that of the two definitions offered by Lemkin, the second is what is here called *Genocide*, and the other, the first, is *Holocaust*.

It is unfortunately essential to differentiate between different types of evil, just as we differentiate between types of good. If we do that, we can see a continuum from mass brutalization through Genocide to Holocaust. Mass brutalization began, in our century, with World War I and the massive murder of soldiers (by gas, for instance) that took place then. This appears to have prepared the world for the shedding of all restraints imposed by the relatively thin veneers of civilization. The next step is Genocide, and Holocaust is then defined as the extreme case, the farthest point of the continuum. It then becomes not only the name by which the planned murder of the Jewish people is known, but a generic name for an ideologically motivated planned total murder of a whole people. Holocaust-related events would then include the Armenian massacres.


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DEFINITIONS OF GENOCIDE

Charny: The wanton murder of a group of human beings on the basis of any identity whatsoever that they share -- national, ethnic, racial, religious, political, geographical, ideological. Legal warfare is not included in this definition.

Horowitz: A structural and systematic destruction of innocent people by a state bureaucratic apparatus. Different from assasination which is the sporadic and random act of people seeking power who eliminate major figures in a government in an effort to gain power illegally.

Chalk and Jonassohn: A form of one-sided mass killing in which a state or other authority intends to destroy a group, as that group and membership in it are defined by the perpetrators.

Fein: A series of purposeful actions by a perpetrator(s) to destroy a collectivity through mass or selective murders of group members and supressing the biological and social reproduction of the collectivity. This can be accomplished through the imposed proscription or restriction of reproduction of group members, increasing infant mortality, and breaking the linkage between reproduction and socialization of children in the family or group of origin. The perpetrator may represent the state of the victim, another state, or another collectivity.

UN: Any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group as such: (a) Killing members of the group; (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

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Toward a Generic Definition of Genocide

Israel W. Charny

Unit vi
Reading #3

Introduction

The definition of genocide adopted in law and by professional social scientists must match the realities of life, so that there should be no situation in which thousands and even millions of defenseless victims of mass murder do not "qualify" as victims of genocide. Insofar as there is ever a major discrepancy between the reality of masses of dead people and our legal-scholarly definitions, it is the latter which must yield and change.

The definition of genocide must also be consistent with the everyday usage of the word by reasonable people when they stand and face a mass of murdered people and naturally apply to such an event the only word there is in the human language for such occurrences. Thus, the mass murders of twenty million Soviet citizens by Stalin,[1] the massacre of one hundred thousand or more of the communist opposition by Indonesia, the murders of one to two million Cambodians by the Khmer Rouge are all instances of clear-cut genocide. And instances of mass murders of a lesser magnitude by governments—five thousand Tamils in Sri Lanka and five thousand students in Tiananmen Square in China, for example—are also, in common sense and understanding, genocidal events, although there may be a consensus to characterize these numerically smaller events as *genocidal massacres*, as Leo Kuper,[2] the doyen of genocide scholars, has proposed.

This chapter proposes a generic definition of genocide, which at the same time is supplemented by a series of subcategories of different types of genocide. I shall also propose at least two new categories of genocide: first, accomplices to genocide, and second, genocide as a result of ecological destruction and abuse. I shall introduce these two proposed concepts first, and then we shall meet them once again in the context of their places in the schema of a generic definition of genocide.

Accomplices to Genocide

The concept of accomplices to murder is well established in criminal law; it refers to a person who, knowingly and willfully assists, prepares, or furnishes a murderer with the weapon with which he commits murder. But there has been no corresponding concept for those who assist, prepare, or furnish the mass murderers of the world with the means to exterminate huge numbers of people. Included in this definition are the scientists who research and design the mega-weapons, the engineers who plan and oversee their production, the businessmen who trade the murder-weapon systems, the barons of finance who profit from enabling the transactions to take place, the government bureaucrats who knowingly or tacitly license or allow the illegal shipments of materials needed to create mega-weapons, as well as the institutions, companies, and various governmental groups which make the mass murders possible. Needless to say, the events leading up to the Gulf War (1991) are being revealed to have included hundreds of major crimes of accomplices to genocide.[3]

Under the present proposal, international laws and laws adopted by national governments would provide a base not only for prosecuting accomplices for violating or conspiring to evade laws about trade licenses and illegal sales of weaponry, but for prosecuting them under laws of genocide as full-blown criminals who are to be held accountable for degrees of responsibility for the actual deaths of victims as a consequence of their actions.

Genocide as a Result of Ecological Destruction and Abuse

Destruction of any number of facets of the ecosystem in which man exists can cause the deaths of countless human beings: thus, nuclear radiation not only as a result of purposeful war but as a result of malevolent or haphazard indifference to safety requirements in nuclear installations has affected hundreds of thousands of people and can reach more calamitous proportions in the future. Poisoning the water supplies of soldiers has long been a strategy of war, but larger-scale poisoning of reservoirs and of waterways, seas and oceans, whether as a result of the haphazard handling of industrial pollutants or of the purposeful poisoning of the waters, can also wipe out innumerable lives. The list of chemical, biological, and physical hazards that can be unleashed on human beings unwittingly-carelessly or wittingly-malevolently is endless. As the human capacity to harness forces of nature increases enormously, the possibilities of man becoming Destroyer of Nature correspondingly increase.

Again it is clear that recent events in the Gulf include the demonstrated readiness of a brutal dictator-led government to destroy and poison major components of the ecosystem, and, although at this writing, the actual extent of the loss of life which has and will result from these measures is not clear, the fact that new vistas of ecocidal genocide increasingly loom before the human race cannot be minimized.

Under the present proposal, international laws and parallel laws adopted by national governments would provide a basis for prosecuting those who destroy and abuse the ecology not only for the destruction of natural resources and properties, but under laws of genocide as full-blown criminals who are to be held accountable for degrees of responsibility for the actual deaths of victims as a consequence of their actions.

Before we develop the classification of genocides further, I propose that we develop some perspective about the kinds of establishments that bring to bear political pressures in our field of study, each of which has an interest in establishing a given definition of genocide to suit its political purposes.

Political Interests in the Definition of Genocide

Unfortunately, the process of selecting and developing definitions that are more correct than incorrect is not only a function of the good sense and excellence of scholars, nor is it only a function of pure scientific inquiry, experimentation, and demonstration. Even in a society where the scientific method is the valued and prevailing mode, definitions are subject to enormous ideological and political pressures from the societal establishments within which thinkers do their work.

Throughout the history of ideas, there are endless illustrations of how certain definitions were ruled out from the outset because they were intolerable to the ruling establishment, while other definitions were forced upon the people of their times despite the damage they did to the accurate perception of reality. The legions of thinkers who have suffered at the hands of the censors, interdictors, and inquisitors throughout history is replete with the greatest and finest. Many thousands of lesser scholars and inquirers have also paid in excommunication, exile, and on guillotines and gallows for the ideas they advanced to their hostile societies.

In those societal contexts that are not quite so severe as to take the actual heads of the thinkers, there are nonetheless enormous political pressures that are brought to bear to disallow errant ideas. Even if the originators of the ideas are not subjected to grievous bodily harm, forced into exile, or personally barred, banned, and excommunicated, they are frequently unable to find proper settings for their work or outlets for their communication of ideas. The ideas themselves are subjected to outright censorship in totalitarian societies, but even in democratic societies, the power of ruling elites and the self-interest of conformists and sycophants lead de facto to a banning of full-scale inquiry and the development of ideas that are not acceptable to those in power in the culture. In the medical sciences and professions, for example, there are noxious surgical procedures, such as the unnecessary hysterectomies of millions of women that continue to this day in many areas of the United States, or the mind-destroying psychosurgeries, such as the lobotomies that were forced on an enormous number of psychiatric patients over the course of two decades if not more in the last half of this century. Many medical policies are linked to outright battles against any alternatives that are promoted by nonmedical practitioners, for example, the promotion of radical orthopedic surgery in lieu of chiropractic, osteopathy, and other nonmedical procedures including the Alexander Method and the Feldenkreis Method; wars of ophthamologists to banish optometrists and their nonsurgical corrective procedures; or the power tactics of psychiatrists against psychologists and social workers whose client interventions are generally less intrusive. In all the sciences, McCarthy-type loyalty rituals have plagued the lives and careers of many scientists in democracies as well as in dictator-run governments.

Our goal of correctly defining genocide in order to advance further research and legislation to prevent genocide and to punish its perpetraters is no less subject to the political and ideological self-interest groups that seek to define genocide according to their ideologies and their quest for power.[4]

Those familiar with the history of genocide hardly require an elaborate introduction to the many outright revisionists who seek to rule out the truth of the Holocaust in order to maintain their virulent anti-Semitic purposes; nor do they need to be instructed about the brutal use of political power by Turkey, a seemingly modern state (a NATO member in good standing and recently a welcome ally of the U.S. against Saddam Hussein), which has committed millions of dollars and first-line political resources to insisting that the Armenian Genocide be written out of the history books. These revisionist conceptions are grotesque to any normal thinking person, but they are sponsored by powerful people and groups and cannot simply be dismissed as irrelevant, despite the fact that they are so patently distorted as to be far out of line with the simplest requirements of scholarship.

Along with these dangerous if farcical denials of known realities, there are other insidious types of political pressures on the definition of genocide that issue from entirely respectable intellectual circles. The subject of genocide draws intense political fire over which events of mass murder are to be considered bona fide genocides. The following are four of the most frequent types of political pressures that are brought to bear on the act of defining genocide:

1. Pressures to define genocide so that certain events will be excluded and not generate legal responsibility to the perpetrator country or individual perpetrators who executed the event.
2. Pressures to exclude from the definition of genocide certain events for purposes of realpolitik, such as interests in maintaining diplomatic or economic ties with a genocidal government.
3. Pressures to define genocide so that a given event of mass murder emerges as more "important" than another, including especially pressures to claim for a given genocide the crown of "ultimate importance." A closely related argument has to do with the assignment of relative degrees of evil to different events of mass murder, so that a given event is taken to represent the greater, incarnate evil in comparison to other events of genocide, which are treated somewhat as more usual events of massacre and slaughter in human history.
4. Blatant denials and revisionism of known historical events of mass murder.

1. *Pressures to define genocide so that certain events will be excluded and not generate legal responsibility to the perpetrator country or individual perpetrators who executed the event.* The oldest tactic for resisting a full and open definition of murder is that he who commits a murder, or who plans to, or who is an accomplice to the commission of a murder by others, will seek to minimize, attenuate, and confound any definition that will put the murderer or the accomplice in a legally culpable position. It has always struck me as bizarre about justice systems in democracies that the goal of many attorneys is to play a game in which, irrespective of the truth, the attorney instructs even the guilty to deny responsibility totally, and if there is too much evidence to get away with that, the legal practitioner nonetheless seeks to reduce the severity of the definition of murder from first to second degree, to manslaughter, to whatever categories of lesser responsibility.

When it comes to perpetrators of genocide, the game, sadly, is no different. Fortunately, in most cases when the perpetrator takes as his defense the claim that he was only following orders of superiors, the courts have ruled that there can be no shirking of one's responsibility not to accept orders to commit war crimes and genocide.[5] Unfortunately, in practice, relatively few perpetrators of genocide are brought to justice. Moreover, even in the greatest democracies in the world, perpetrators have been known to receive preferential treatment even after conviction (as in the case of Lieutenant Calley, convicted for the massacre at My Lai, whose sentence was reduced thereafter by President Nixon), and have been strangely and secretly supported and rewarded with high and comfortable positions after release from jail (for example, several Israeli soldiers convicted for massacring innocent Arabs in 1956 are reported to have been assisted by no less an official than Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion following their release from relatively brief jail sentences.[6] As for nations, legal procedures and sanctions against perpetrator nations have never been taken. David Hawk and his associates at the Cambodia Documentation Commission made herculean efforts in recent years to bring legal charges under the UN Genocide Convention against Cambodia, but no government was found willing to bring the charges before the World Court.[7]

There are especially strong pressures by many countries to bar definitions of any military actions as genocide. The question of whether events of mass deaths of civilians, such as massive or nuclear bombing in the course of wars, are to qualify as genocide or are to be excluded from the universe of genocide, is understandably controversial. The heart that cries out for peace on earth must in principle oppose wars; and straightforward logic tells us that wars are a prime precondition of many genocides, hence we would want to do everything to avoid them. Realistically, however, wars are a fact of human society, and the status of the present development of human civilization may preclude an encompassing idealistic definition of all mass deaths caused by wars as genocide. Most scholars of genocide reluctantly back off from defining war and the massive killing that goes on during war within the universe of genocide. As a result, a number of forms of massive killings of civilians in wartime—such as the saturation bombings of Dresden in the course of what most of us have no doubt was a just war against evil incarnate, and the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in a war against classic military imperialism and cruelty—are treated gingerly and suspiciously by many otherwise well-meaning scholars of genocide. Even those of us who are quite convinced that those mass deaths of civilians in unjust wars which are not objectively in the service of self-defense must be enjoined as criminal by the international system are aware that the problems of objectively defining self-defense are so great that it too will be a difficult task at this point in the history of ideas.[8]

2. *Pressures to exclude from the definition of genocide certain events for purposes of realpolitik.* Every definition of genocide carries with it policy implications at the levels of international law and international relations as well as for political and economic interests; such implications are even experienced at the level of those who write the historical and moral record of a given people and government. In an ideal universe, the definition of genocide should, in the view of many of us, justify interventions by international legal and political systems, certainly international relief and disaster operations on behalf of the victims, and also humanitarian-based military interventions on the part of neighboring countries and international peacekeeping forces which would employ military force to stop the genociding nation in its tracks.[9] Today's battles over the proper intellectual and political definition of genocide will someday have very real implications. The spokesmen of darkness in human affairs—and there are many—who openly espouse genocidal policies, and also the many who more subtly seek to protect a nation's "right to commit genocide" will seek to limit definitions of genocide that encroach on their ability to conduct their affairs of state they wish.[10]

If we consider the present definition of genocide under the UN Convention, the most obvious exclusions from the universe of genocide are political mass killings. Kuper has described how in the original deliberations on the United Nations Convention on Genocide, the big powers conspired and supported one another in an effort to remove from the basic definition events in which governments take action against their political opponents. Even a case such as the U.S.S.R.'s murder of an estimated twenty million (see Note 1) of its own citizens remained unknown to the majority of the free world for the longest time and was not labeled as genocide. It remained for scholars to slowly raise questions about such events and to seek ways to prove that even under the present legal structure some of the victims constitute a definable ethnic minority group.[11] Therefore the events constitute genocide under the present UN Convention and should not be relegated to a government's conduct of its "internal affairs." So too, in connection with the Cambodian genocide (which a UN Commission labeled "auto-genocide"), scholars have resorted to the proof that there were at least two clearly defined target groups of the Khmer Rouge, the Buddhist priesthood and the Cham people, and that therefore a bona fide definition of genocide applied.[12]

One implication of such strained proofs remains that planned killing

of even millions of one's political opponents would not constitute genocide if one were careful that they were all of different faiths or different ethnic backgrounds.[13] In other words, our human civilization has reached the point in its ethical evolution at which the murder of a single person is murder most foul, but there are conditions under which the murder of millions of people can still fall into a definitional void. We are reminded of Raphael Lemkin's impassioned protest: "Why is the killing of a million a lesser crime than the killing of a single individual?"[14] What Lemkin saw as bizarre in human society was the fact that collective murder of a single target people, the genocide he recognized most familiarly, went unacknowledged, while the murder of a single person generally aroused all the natural emotional concerns one would expect, as well as the proper reactions of the justice system. What we are now adding to Lemkin's cry is the concern that mass killings, on an enormous scale, can fail to qualify as genocide under the present definition if the victims are either a heterogeneous group or native citizens of the country that is destroying them. How absurd, and ugly. It is not surprising that, increasingly, voices are calling for the expansion of the definition of genocide to include all political killings and all mass murders of one's own people (see in particular the proposals by the authoritative Whitaker Commission of the United Nations in 1985).[15] Unfortunately, attempts to exclude cases of mass murder from the definition of genocide for purposes of protecting one's policy interests is, sadly and outrageously, a matter of operational government policy even on the part of the great democracies of our human civilization. Thus, until the summer of 1990 when there were increasing signs of a danger (that has still not passed) that the genocidal Khmer Rouge might again take control of Cambodia,[16] the United States had carefully sustained its political and also economic recognition of the Khmer Rouge as the ruling government of Cambodia in order to further its avowed opposition to the Vietnamese Communist government and its sponsored government in Cambodia, which has vied with the Khmer Rouge and others for control of the country.

Decent people around the world were not only concerned but outraged at the United States' initial failure to protect millions of Kurdish people in Iraq from mass deaths, either at the hands of Saddam Hussein or in the frenzied mass flight from Saddam Hussein's troops, a situation of genocide which the Bush administration unbelievably labeled an "internal affair" of the Iraqis.[17]

Similarly, one American administration after another has gone along to some extent with the exclusion of the Armenian Genocide from the universe of the definition of genocide, lest NATO-ally Turkey be offended. Every few years we are privy to ludicrous and obscene scenes of would-be and actual American presidential candidates promising their support to the Armenian community for its right to mark and remember the genocide of its people; but on assuming office, the newly elected president bows to prevailing State Department policy and its rhetoric, which refers to the murder of the Armenians as an "alleged genocide" and emphasizes that the historical record of the time is a matter of some "controversy."[18]

3. *Pressures to define genocide so that a given event of mass murder emerges as more "important" than another.* I never fault or argue with a survivor's claim that a given genocide was the ultimate evil of all, nor do I find fault with collective expressions of such demands for uniqueness of a given genocide when they spring from the same natural folk-outpouring of grief, disbelief, horror, and rage at the tragedy and infamy done to one's people. However, when possible, and certainly in scholarly forums, I do caution that the phenomenological belief that the genocide committed against one's people was the worst crime ever perpetrated in human history is a natural response, and that this legitimate, subjective reaction itself does not assign objective credence to the position.

I object very strongly to the efforts to name the genocide of any one people as the single, ultimate event, or as the most important event against which all other tragedies of genocidal mass deaths are to be tested and found wanting. Thus, with regard to the Holocaust of my own people, I do believe that the configuration of the events of the Holocaust, including the totality of the persecution, the unbearably long trail of dehumanization and unspeakable tortures suffered by the victims, the modern organization and scientific resources committed to the mass extermination, the active participation and complicity of every level of society, including the public institutions of an ostensibly civilized people, have afforded the Holocaust a timeless meaning and a deserved position as the archetypal event of mass murder in human history. Nonetheless, it is by no means the only event of organized mass murder, and the deadly outcomes for its victims are no more deadly and therefore no more tragic than the outcomes for the victims of other peoples' genocides. It is also by no means the last word on how human beings at this stage of evolution produce mass deaths on this planet. I strongly oppose any efforts to place the Holocaust beyond the ranges of meanings that attend the destruction of other peoples, and I object to any implications that we should be less sensitive or outraged at the murders of other peoples (see Kuper's criticism of "the alienation of the unique").[19]

4. *Blatant denials and revisionism of known historical events of mass murder.* Finally, one must refer again to those outrageous but nonetheless prevalent attempts by groups and governments to deny, censor, revise, and destroy the records of human history about known genocides. Anti-Semitic groups of all sorts, including political enemies of Israel who are also entirely comfortable exploiting anti-Semitism in their battles against Israel, claim that there was no Holocaust, that there were no gas chambers, that the number of more than six million Jewish victims is grossly exaggerated, that Hitler never gave an order to kill the Jews, and that if something happened to the Jews on whatever smaller scale, it was at the behest of low-level commanders.[20]

The most insidious revisionists are those who don't deny that people were killed but who seek cleverly to deny that the given historical event fulfills the demanding criteria that they ostensibly seek to ensure in the definition of genocide. It is abominable to see pseudo-intellectual products in ostensibly academic journals and books by bona fide, tenured academicians of prestigious institutions of scholarship (for example, Arthur Butz[21]) who rewrite the facts and figures of known mass deaths in order to disqualify an event of genocide.

Another insidious variant of revisionism is seen in recent publications by German historians, prominent among them Professor Ernest Nolte, who seek to diminish the significance of the events of the Holocaust, and in effect to diminish the significance of the underlying category to which it belongs, by advancing the observations that after all such events of mass murder have always occurred in history, thus the Holocaust should not be treated as being of unusual significance and certainly not as a historically definitive event. To play a sophisticated game of revisionism properly, one must, of course, add a caveat that one's intention is not at all to dismiss the significance of any genocide, it is only to put it in a proper perspective; but the underlying meaning of such arguments is that the event of genocide need not be an object of civilization's great concerns. The real purpose of revisionism, in its various propagandist forms, is always to re-create a climate of moral support and approval of genocide past, present, and future.

Even democratic governments such as the United States and Israel—which in addition to being a democracy, is, on another level, the representative of a victimized people who should certainly know better—enter into full-blown conspiracies of denial and revisionism. As previously mentioned, the U.S. State Department has made its share of references to the Armenian Genocide as an "alleged genocide" and has opposed even commemorative events about the Armenian Genocide because of its ongoing political interest in relations with the

arch-revisionist Turks who to this day deny that there ever was an Armenian Genocide at their hands. It is a sad and obscene commentary on the cultural history of our times that the executive branch of the United States government has several times devoted its full energies to diverting the Congress from passing legislation that would have created a ceremonial day of remembrance for the victims of the Armenian Genocide (to join the literally hundreds of other days of commemoration that have been mandated by congressional legislation)—a day that was, as defined by its Armenian sponsors, also to have commemorated the victims of all genocides in history. It is by now well known that Israel, the land of Holocaust memorial—which protests, as it should, every vestige of revisionism of the Holocaust—conspires to suppress the story of the Armenian Genocide, whether in the massive government efforts to stop the International Conference on the Holocaust and Genocide in 1982 (which has become a cause célèbre in the history of academic freedom and a critical example of governmental suppression of information about genocide)[22] or more recently in assisting Turkish diplomats to lobby the American Congress against the Armenian Genocide bill.[23]

In all these instances, the battle is not only about history and the authenticity of the records of past events in our civilization, it is about the extent to which we today hold our governments responsible for their actions. For as long as there is normative support for the realpolitik of government revisionism, we will see the facts of current history erased within days after massacres by governments everywhere, in Tiananmen Square, Sri Lanka, Kurdish villages in Iraq, and elsewhere.

Toward a Generic Definition of Genocide

What is needed, I would argue, is a generic definition of genocide that does not exclude or commit to indifference any case of mass murder of any human beings, of whatever racial, national, ethnic, biological, cultural, religious, and political definitions, or of totally mixed groupings of any and all of the above.

I propose that whenever large numbers of unarmed human beings are put to death at the hands of their fellow human beings, we are talking about *genocide*. Shortly after the adoption of the UN Convention on Genocide, Dutch jurist Pieter Drost wrote:

> A convention on genocide cannot effectively contribute to the protection of certain described minorities when it is limited to particular defined groups. . . . It serves no purpose to restrict international legal protection to some groups: firstly, because the protected members always belong at the same time to other unprotected groups.[24]

In 1985 the authoritative Whitaker Commission of the UN, referred to earlier, called for decisive amendment of the Convention to include all political mass murders. Some years ago, I proposed *a humanistic definition* of genocide, namely, "the wanton murder of a group of human beings on the basis of any identity whatsoever that they share—national, ethnic, religious, political, geographical, ideological."[25] Similarly, John Thompson has written, "There seems to be no adequate conceptual criteria for distinguishing between groups whose destruction constitutes genocide and groups whose destruction does not."[26]

With the regrettable but necessary exception of actual military combat, I call on fellow scholars to be faithful to the commonsense meanings of loss of human lives so that we do not exclude in arbitrary, cynical, or intellectual elitist ways the deaths of *any* group of our fellow human beings from our definitions of genocide. I believe there is no task of greater importance than that of committing ourselves to the protection of all human lives.[27]

In Table 2, I have assembled a proposed matrix for a new, encompassing definition of genocide.

I would argue that a *generic definition of genocide* be as follows:

Genocide in the generic sense is the mass killing of substantial numbers of human beings, when not in the course of military action against the military forces of an avowed enemy, under conditions of the essential defenselessness and helplessness of the victims.

Raphael Lemkin correctly underscored the overriding motivation of many mass killings to exterminate a given people, and therefore wisely called to our attention that the murder of a people's culture or elimination of their rights and abilities to maintain biological continuity are also forms of destruction of the species to which we dare not be indifferent. First and foremost, however, we must have a language that clearly defines as genocide any actual *biological* murder of masses of people, even if the people are not all of the same ethnicity, religion, or race.

At the same time, since there are also a great many important reasons to distinguish between different kinds of genocide, having defined genocide in its generic sense, we also need to create a series of definitions of categories of genocide. Each event of genocide is to be classified into the one or more subcategories for which it qualifies. It is to be expected that, over the course of time, there will always emerge new categories, as the complexity of life and reality unfold, for example, in our time we may witness the creation of a category to define accomplices to genocide who supply deadly weapons of mass destruction to those who commit genocide, and some day in the future perhaps of a category for the destruction of planets (which I have elsewhere called *planeticide*, *partial planeticide*, as well as *attempted planeticide*).[28]

TABLE 2. A Proposed Definitional Matrix for Crimes of Genocide.

A. *Generic Definition of Genocide*
Genocide in generic sense is the mass killing of substantial numbers of human beings, when not in the course of military action against the military forces of an avowed enemy, under conditions of the essential defenselessness and helplessness of the victims.

1. *Genocidal Massacre*
Mass killing as defined above in the generic definition of genocide but in which the mass murder is on a smaller scale, that is, smaller numbers of human beings are killed.

2. *Intentional Genocide*
Genocide on the basis of an explicit intention to destroy a specific targeted victim group (ethnic/religious/racial/national/political/biological/or other), in whole or in substantial part.

   a. *Specific Intentional Genocide* refers to intentional genocide against a specific victim group.

   b. *Multiple Intentional Genocide* refers to intentional genocide against more than one specific victim group at the same time or in closely related or contiguous actions.

   c. *Omnicide* refers to simultaneous intentional genocide against numerous races, nations, religions, etc.

3. *Genocide in the Course of Colonization or Consolidation of Power*
Genocide that is undertaken or even allowed in the course of or incidental to the purposes of achieving a goal of colonization or development of a territory belonging to an indigenous people, or any other consolidation of political or economic power through mass killing of those perceived to be standing in the way.

4. *Genocide in the Course of Aggressive ("Unjust") War*
Genocide that is undertaken or even allowed in the course of military action by a known aggressive power, e.g., Germany and Japan in World War II, for the purpose of or incidental to a goal of aggressive war, such as massive destruction of civilian centers in order to vanquish an enemy in war.

5. *War Crimes Against Humanity*
Crimes committed in the course of military actions against military targets, or in treatment of war prisoners, or in occupation policies against civilian populations which involve overuse of force or cruel and inhuman treatment and which result in unnecessary mass suffering or death.

6. *Genocide as a Result of Ecological Destruction and Abuse*
Genocide that takes place as a result of criminal destruction or abuse of the environment, or negligent failure to protect against known ecological and environmental hazards, such as accidents involving radiation and waste from nuclear installations, uncontrolled smog, or poisonous air from industrial pollution, pollution of water supplies, etc.

TABLE 2. *Continued*

B. *Accomplices to Genocide*
Persons, institutions, companies, or governments who knowingly or negligently assist individuals, organizations, or governments who are known murderers or potential murderers to gain access to mega-weapons of destruction, or otherwise to organize and execute a plan of mass murders, are to be held responsible as accomplices to the defined crimes of genocide or war crimes.

C. "Cultural Genocide"

1. *Ethnocide*
Intentional destruction of the culture of another people, not necessarily including destruction of actual lives (included in original UN definition of genocide but, in present proposed definitions, *ethnocide* is not subsumed under *genocide*).

   a. *Linguicide*
   Forbidding the use of or other intentional destruction of the language of another people—a specific dimension of *ethnocide*.

Genocidal Massacre

Events of mass murder that are on a smaller scale than mass events may be defined, as Leo Kuper[29] originally proposed, under a category of "genocidal massacre." I would define *genocidal massacre* as follows:

Mass killing as defined above in the generic definition of genocide, but in which the mass murder is on a smaller scale, that is, smaller numbers of human beings are killed.

With this category we are now equipped to describe many pogroms, mass executions, and mass murders that are, intrinsically, no less vicious and no less tragically final for the victims, but in which the numbers of dead are small in comparison to the events of genocide and of which even the well-meaning people who do not approve conceptually of "numbers games" have found it difficult to speak of as genocide. Thus, we would apply the specific concept of genocidal massacre to the government of Sri Lanka's rounding up some five thousand Tamils over a weekend and executing them;[30] and to the government of China's mowing down an estimated similar number in Tiananmen Square.[31]

Intentional Genocide

The category for which there is generally the greatest interest is that of genocides that are executed on the basis of an ideological and operational commitment to destroy a specific targeted people. In a sense, this has been the most "coveted" category, that is, the ultimate, pure form of genocide, in which the premeditated, malevolent intention and the totality of operational commitment to destroy a specific people generate a comprehensive evil plan.

If there were to be only one ultimate, seemingly pure form of genocide, this would be its definition; but this pure-form definition, sadly, has also set off competitions between different events of mass extermination, where the debate as to which would be admitted to the "royal club" of "true genocide" has taken precedence. In some cases, there developed claims that only the Holocaust qualified as a true genocide, to which no other mass murder could be compared. I refer once again to Leo Kuper's recent criticism of demands for exclusivity and a dubious categorization of "uniqueness" for the Holocaust at the expense of common sensitivity and respect for the plights of many other peoples who, although they were not led to slaughter in the Holocaust's terrifying scenarios of protracted persecution, torture, and organized factories of death, were no less wantonly slaughtered.

As noted earlier, the present proposal is for a definitional matrix that combines a generic definition of genocide and specific subcategories. Such a definitional matrix makes it possible, first, to recognize all events of mass murder as genocide, and second, to assign each event to a further definitional category in which the specific characteristics of each event are recognized and groups of phenomena that share common structural features can be subjected to analyses of their characteristic sequences and dynamics and to comparative analyses with other types of genocide.

I would define *intentional genocide* as follows:

Genocide on the basis of an explicit intention to destroy a specific targeted victim group (ethnic/religious/racial/national/political/biological/or other), in whole or in substantial part.

Under the category of intentional genocide, I would further define *specific intentional genocide* as intentional genocide against a specific victim group; *multiple intentional genocide* as intentional genocide against more than one specific victim group at the same time or in closely related or contiguous actions; and *omnicide* as simultaneous intentional genocide against numerous races, nations, religions, and so on.[32]

The heartbreaking events of the Armenian Genocide, the Holocaust

of the Jews, the Holocaust of the Gypsies, the Holocaust of homosexuals, Sukarno's massacre of the Communists in Indonesia, the tragic gassing of the Kurds in recent years by Iraq, and many other events quality in the category of intentional genocide. Note that within this communality, there are still many further distinctions to be made in the course of the analyses of the different incidents, involving, for example, numbers of victims, totality of intention, commitment to implementation, and many more; and there is every reason to establish the specific ways in which a given genocide was unique, but without in the process downplaying the recognition of other events as genocide.

Genocide in the Course of Colonization or Consolidation of Power

Genocides in the course of colonization have taken the lives of countless indigenous peoples. Such genocidal colonization of indigenous peoples continue throughout the world.[33]

Using this category in combination with the earlier category of genocidal massacre to describe, as has Arens,[34] the mass killing of the Ache Indians, we will finally solve the difficult conceptual problems created by that admirable and electrifying report. Arens described the murder of perhaps a thousand people, and yet adopted the powerful term *genocide* without further subspecification or definition. An uncomfortable intellectual situation thus developed whereby the cruel killings of a quantitatively small indigenous people was being defined in liberal circles as *genocide*, while some years later the murder of millions of Cambodians was excluded from the field of inquiry of genocide on the grounds of its being an internal affair of the Cambodian government. The present proposed definitional system would confirm from the outset, without hesitation, that both events were indeed genocide under a generic definition of mass killings of defenseless human beings; the specific type of genocide then is assigned to further categories, both as to the type of genocide and as to its quantitative aspects.

There are also numerous situations in which governments seek to consolidate their power through genocidal campaigns against constituent minority ethnicities or against political opponents. At this point at least, I choose to combine these situations with events of genocide in the course of colonization in a single conceptual category. These too are first of all prima facie cases of genocide in the generic sense, since masses of helpless human beings are exterminated. Thus, it will no longer be necessary to struggle laboriously to justify including Stalin's record of murdering perhaps twenty million victims as genocide (again, see note 1, below). I believe one reason that, incredibly, the Western world for the longest time acted as if it did not know of this monstrous record was that as long as the crime had no name and did not qualify in the same category of genocide that included the Holocaust's six million Jewish victims, there was no convenient conceptual-experiential basis for people to organize the information. (I would note that the same is true for the other estimated six million non-Jewish victims of Nazi Germany,[35] including those whom we identified earlier as victims of specific intentional genocide [e.g., Gypsies and homosexuals] and including the many millions of civilians of all nationalities in the countries invaded by Nazi Germany, whom we will identify shortly in the next definitional category as victims of genocide in the course of war.) Under the existing limited definition of genocide, it was necessary for scholars, such as those previously referred to, to argue that because there were instances in which specific ethnicities were eliminated by Stalin, it was legitimate to call these events genocide, and it was necessary, also as noted earlier, to resort to the same intellectual tour de force to prove that the Pol Pot regime committed genocide in Cambodia. But it is absurd, as well as intellectually corrupt, for us to resort to such devices to allow us to justify calling clear cases of mass murder by the name genocide.

I propose the following definition of *genocide in the course of colonization or consolidation of power:*

Genocide that is undertaken or even allowed in the course of or incidental to the purposes of achieving a goal of colonization or development of a territory belonging to an indigenous people, or any other consolidation of political or economic power through mass killing of those perceived to be standing in the way.

Genocide in the Course of Aggressive ("Unjust") War

Above and beyond the fact that genocides of all categories take place frequently under conditions of war, there are mass murders of defenseless noncombatant civilians in the course of war that are an important definitional focus in their own right. The number of civilians who die in the course of wars increases with the growth of destructive mega-weapons. Anatol Rapoport observes that since 1945 "the proportion of civilian deaths in war has ranged from 65% to 90%," and that "these killings, being indiscriminate, could well be subsumed under genocide" unless "only deliberate selective extermination of identifiable groups is subsumed under genocides."[36]

There are two legal categories* for serious crimes against human life in the course of conduct of war: *war crimes* or crimes committed primarily against combatants but also against noncombatants, in the course of military actions, and *crimes against humanity* or crimes committed against civilians in particular.

Whether mass deaths of civilians in the course of war should also qualify as a form of genocide is a complex subject that necessarily raises many serious legal, political, and philosophical questions regarding uses of mega-weapons and the large-scale destruction of civilian populations during wartime. The issues are at their sharpest focus when one considers whether massive civilian deaths are to be understood as (1) tragically inadvertent and necessary in the course of intrinsically "just wars" of self-defense against an acknowledged mass murdering power, such as Nazi Germany, and against a war-initiating power intent on aggressive occupation of another people's lands, or (2) as mass killings of civilians in the course of "unjust wars." I therefore propose to take advantage of the distinction between "just" and "unjust" wars to suggest that the mass civilian deaths committed by aggressive powers in pursuit of "unjust" wars at the onset be defined decisively as genocidal. By first addressing genocide in the course of *aggressive ("unjust") war*, we postpone until later consideration of the issue of mass civilian deaths by intended victim peoples fighting "just wars" of self-defense. In the present category, the issue of mass civilian deaths is unambiguously genocide. The deaths issue from an identifiably aggressive war, and the attacks on civilians are made by rulers such as Hitler, Hirohito, and Saddam Hussein; there is no question that they are not at war in self-defense.

The following definition is proposed for *genocide in the course of aggressive ("unjust") war:*

> Genocide that is undertaken or even allowed in the course of military actions by a known aggressive power, such as Germany and Japan in World War II, for the purpose of or incidental to a goal of aggressive war, such as massive destruction of civilian centers in order to vanquish an enemy in war.

War Crimes Against Humanity

In addition to massive killing of civilians who are specifically and purposely targeted for killing in the course of war, there are also many events where large numbers of soldiers, and perhaps also civilians, are killed as the result of overly cruel or lethal means employed to conduct the war or to manage the detention of captured enemy soldiers, and where large numbers of civilians are terrorized and killed by being taken hostage or under the brutal control of occupied territories. As indicated, mass deaths brought about by such extreme policies have been defined as *war crimes* and/or as *crimes against humanity*.

*I am indebted to Professor Irwin Cutler for his reading of an earlier draft of this chapter and discussion of these legal concepts.

I propose a single combined category of *war crimes against humanity* which is intended to define any use of overly cruel or lethal means of war in the course of military actions during the war, or after the war, in such acts as treatment of war prisoners or in the conduct of occupation of an enemy land and rule of its people. When mass deaths result from overuse of force by a warring country, even if it is morally justified by self-defense in its original conduct of the war, it retains no moral advantage with respect to genocidal policies of overkill in its military tactics or in its treatment of the enemy's war prisoners or occupied civilians. Note especially that this category defines genocidal crimes against soldiers and civilians *regardless* of whether the war being waged is aggressive or in self-defense.

Personally, I yield to the fact that, at least at this point in human evolution, there must be allowance for war and certainly for truly just wars of self-defense, and that under the circumstances of modern war there is a certainty and perhaps even inevitability of disasters to large numbers of noncombatant civilians. This has to be true at times when technologies of mass destruction are utilized purposefully against operational enemy centers in heavily populated civilian neighborhoods, such as the enemy's war ministry, communication headquarters, and so on. Nonetheless, caring people and history must be free to question whether the large number of dead, such as that which resulted from the Allied firebombing of Dresden and the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in World War II, should be defined as excessive and therefore criminal, and not be allowed to slip unnoticed into being simply another aspect of war. I acknowledge that this categorization of events is intellectually and emotionally extremely painful to many of us in the free world, but I prefer such distress over feigned ignorance or the denial of events where millions died, and over indifference to the issues.

Whatever one's personal opinions, the category of war crimes against humanity organizes these events for further analysis. We need the category to capture the many events in which millions of innocent people are killed because of extreme uses of power, so that we are forced into painful encounters with the moral dilemmas such events present. Defining events in this category does not preclude continuing political and moral analysis and debate as to what instances of mass killing of defenseless people in the course of just wars may be justified.

I propose the following definition of *war crimes against humanity:*

> Crimes committed in the course of military actions against military targets, or in the treatment of war prisoners, or in occupation policies against civilian populations which involve overuse of force, or cruel and inhuman treatment, and which result in unnecessary mass suffering and death.

Genocide as a Result of Ecological Destruction and Abuse

Increasingly, it becomes clear that many human lives are being lost to man-made ecological disasters that are a result of the criminal destruction or abuse of the environment, or of uncaring malevolent indifference to the inevitability of the disaster because of palpable ecological negligence. Direct military abuse of the environment as a weapon of genocidal destruction, such as the Germans' poisoning of the Herero people's water holes at the beginning of the century, are obvious genocidal instances. But there are also degrees of abuse of nature that are more negligent in origin, such as the development of an increasingly large hole in the ozone layer surrounding our planet, which is attributable to widespread use of aerosols and which is already seen as causing a dramatic increase in melanomas; the poisoning of frighteningly large numbers of bodies of water on Earth; the pollution of the air above cities; the radioactive contamination of a huge geographical area (smaller instances around nuclear installations in the U.S., and the largest instance at Chernobyl in the U.S.S.R.[37]) that require new policies of intergovernmental cooperation, even among long-standing military rivals, to forestall ecological mass disasters. It is now indisputable that as the instruments of man's power grow, the hazards of massive ecological destruction increase.

I propose the following definition of *genocide as a result of ecological destruction and abuse:*

Genocide that takes place as a result of criminal destruction or abuse of the environment or negligent failure to protect against known ecological and environmental hazards, such as accidents involving radiation and waste from nuclear installations, uncontrolled smog, or poisonous air from industrial pollution, pollution of water supplies, and so on.

I would add that the subject of ecology also leads us to consider the tragic extent to which millions die each year of hunger, and that there is room to consider those actions that create the conditions of unnecessary starvation, which cause the deaths of millions, as genocidal.[38]

Accomplices to Genocide

It is now time to define a new category of accomplices to genocide. If in normal criminal law there are concepts pertaining to a party that supplies a known murderer or intended murderer with the murder weapon, I believe there needs to be clear legal definitions of the direct responsibility of those who supply the financial and technical means to mass murderers. We need legal criteria for defining the responsibility of the contractors, scientists, and others—individuals, companies, and governments—who, knowingly and maliciously, arm a mass murderer, and for assigning lesser criminal responsibility to those who were perhaps more innocent yet should not have been when they undertook to work for known and would be killers who were heard to threaten the massacre or incineration of a people. Such perfidies require firm responses under international law.

I propose to define *accomplices to genocide* as follows:

Persons, institutions, companies, or governments who knowingly or negligently assist individuals, organizations, or governments who are known or potential murderers to gain access to mega-weapons of destruction, or otherwise to organize and execute a plan of mass murders, are to be held responsible as accomplices to the defined crimes of genocide or war crimes.

Cultural Genocide

As noted earlier, Raphael Lemkin was correctly concerned not only with the physical destruction of a people but also with the destruction of their cultural identity. However, Lemkin's definitional system inadvertently leads to situations in which destruction of a culture's continuity is labeled as committing genocide while others in which millions of people are actually murdered are not.

Ethnocide

I propose to utilize a specific category of *ethnocide* for major processes that prohibit or interfere with the natural cycles of reproduction and continuity of a culture or a nation, but not to include this type of murderous oppression directly under the generic concept of genocide. Note again, that as in the case of the other proposed classifications, so long as data of a given type of events are assembled into a clearly labeled definitional context, they are awaiting the emergence of new thinking and a new consensus as scholars continue to struggle with the enormous issues that are raised by virtually every definition. Note also that retaining this category of ethnocide adjacent to and in effect as part of the overall matrix of definitions of genocide (rather than removing it to a separate list of further human rights violations) retains a recognition of the closeness of the subjects, and also retains respect for the historical inclusion of ethnocide in the original definition of genocide that the world community first adopted. I strongly prefer, however, to reserve the concept of genocide for actual mass murders that end the lives of people. I propose to define *ethnocide* thus:

Intentional destruction of the culture of another people, not necessarily including destruction of actual lives (included in the original UN definition of genocide, but, in the present proposed definitions, *ethnocide* is not subsumed under genocide).

Linguicide

Linguicide is a definitional subcategory of ethnocide which involves forbidding various uses of a people's language—printing of books, teaching the language, or everyday communication in the language.[39] I define *linguicide* thus:

Forbidding the use of or other intentional destruction of the language of another people—a specific dimension of *ethnocide*.

Degrees of Criminal Responsibility

Finally, I believe that the definitional system will gain if it is also possible to assign different weights or gradations to various crimes of genocide. One system for doing so that is immediately familiar for purposes of legal definition is to utilize known gradations of murder; thus, genocide in the first degree, second degree, and third degree. Just as definitions of individual murder vary in degree of premeditation, purposeful organization, cruelty, and more, so do programs of mass extermination.

I propose the following criteria by which to define degrees (first, second, third) of genocide, war crimes, and ethnocide:

- Premeditation
- Totality or singlemindedness of purpose
- Resoluteness to execute policy
- Efforts to overcome resistance
- Devotion to bar escape of victims
- Persecutory cruelty

Table 3 presents the overall proposed matrix of definitions that we saw previously with the addition of the option to further classify and assign degrees of criminal responsibility.

Although it has not been included in the table at the present time, I also suggest that the classification system lends itself to concepts of *attempted genocide*, in much the same way as "attempted murders" are categorized.

TABLE 3. A Proposed Definitional Matrix for Crimes of Genocide (Extended).

A. *Generic Definition of Genocide*
Genocide in generic sense is the mass killing of substantial numbers of human beings, when not in the course of military action against the military forces of an avowed enemy, under conditions of the essential defenselessness and helplessness of the victims.

To establish first, second, or third degree of genocide, evaluate extent of:
- Premeditation
- Totality or singlemindedness of purpose
- Resoluteness to execute policy
- Efforts to overcome resistance
- Devotion to bar escape of victims
- Persecutory cruelty

TABLE 3.

1. *Genocidal Massacre*
Mass killing as defined above in the generic definition of genocide but in which the mass murder is on a smaller scale, i.e., smaller numbers of human beings killed.

To establish first, second, or third degree genocidal massacres evaluate extent of:
- Premeditation
- Totality or singlemindedness of purpose
- Resoluteness to execute policy
- Efforts to overcome resistance
- Devotion to bar escape of victims
- Persecutory cruelty

2. *Intentional Genocide*
Genocide on the basis of an explicit intention to destroy a specific targeted victim group (ethnic/religious/racial/national/political/biological/or other), in whole or in substantial part.

To establish first, second, or third degree intentional genocide, evaluate extent of:
- Premeditation
- Totality or singlemindedness of purpose
- Resoluteness to execute policy
- Efforts to overcome resistance
- Devotion to bar escape of victims
- Persecutory cruelty

a. *Specific Intentional Genocide* refers to intentional genocide against a specific victim group.

b. *Multiple Intentional Genocide* refers to intentional genocide against more than one specific victim group at the same time or in closely related or contiguous actions.

c. *Omnicide* refers to simultaneous intentional genocide against numerous races, nations, religions, etc.

TABLE 3. *Continued*

3. *Genocide in the Course of Colonization or Consolidation of Power* Genocide that is undertaken or even allowed in the course of or incidental to the purposes of achieving a goal of colonization or development of a territory belonging to an indigenous people, or any other consolidation of political or economic power through mass killing of those perceived o be standing in the way.	To establish first, second, or third degree genocide in the course of colonization or consolidation of power, evaluate extent of: • Premeditation • Totality or singlemindedness of purpose • Resoluteness to execute policy • Efforts to overcome resistance • Devotion to bar escape of victims • Persecutory cruelty
4. *Genocide in the Course of Aggressive ("Unjust") War* Genocide that is undertaken or even allowed in the course of military action by a known aggressive power, e.g., Germany and Japan in World War II, for the purpose of or incidental to a goal of aggressive war, such as massive destruction of civilian centers in order to vanquish an enemy in war.	To establish first, second, or third degree genocide in the course of aggressive ("unjust") war, evaluate extent of: • Premeditation • Totality or singlemindedness of purpose • Resoluteness to execute policy • Efforts to overcome resistance • Devotion to bar escape of victims • Persecutory cruelty
5. *War Crimes Against Humanity* Crimes committed in course of military actions against military targets, or in treatment of war prisoners, or in occupation policies against civilian populations which involve overuse of force or cruel and inhuman treatment and which result in unnecessary mass suffering or death.	To establish first, second, or third degree war crimes against humanity, evaluate extent of: • Premeditation • Totality or singlemindedness of purpose • Resoluteness to execute policy • Efforts to overcome resistance • Devotion to bar escape of victims • Persecutory cruelty

TABLE 3. *Continued*

6. *Genocide as a Result of Ecological Destruction and Abuse* Genocide that takes place as a result of criminal destruction or abuse of the environment, or negligent failure to protect against known ecological and environmental hazards, such as accidents involving radiation and waste from nuclear installations, uncontrolled smog, or poisonous air owing to industrial pollution, pollution of water supplies, etc.	To establish first, second, or third degree genocide as a result of ecological destruction and abuse, evaluate extent of: • Premeditation • Totality or singlemindedness of purpose • Resoluteness to execute policy • Efforts to overcome resistance • Devotion to bar escape of victims • Persecutory cruelty
B. *Accomplices to Genocide* Persons, institutions, companies, or governments who knowingly or negligently assist individuals, organizations, or governments who are known murderers or potential murderers to gain access to mega-weapons of destruction, or otherwise to organize and execute a plan of mass murders, are to be held responsible as accomplices to the defined crimes of genocide or war crimes.	To establish first, second, or third degree complicity to genocide, evaluate extent of: • Premeditation • Totality or singlemindedness of purpose • Resoluteness to execute policy • Efforts to overcome resistance • Devotion to bar escape of victims • Persecutory cruelty
C. "Cultural Genocide"	
1. *Ethnocide* Intentional destruction of the culture of another people, not necessarily including destruction of actual lives (included in original UN definition of genocide but, in present proposed definitions, *ethnocide* is not subsumed under *genocide*).	
a. *Linguicide* Forbidding the use of or other intentional destruction of the language of another people—a specific dimension of *ethnocide*.	To establish first, second, or third degree cultural genocide, evaluate extent of: • Premeditation • Totality or singlemindedness of purpose • Resoluteness to execute policy • Efforts to overcome resistance • Devotion to bar escape of victims • Persecutory cruelty

On the Ills of "Definitionalism"

To conclude, the basic spirit and intention of the proposed definitional matrix is that, almost without exception, most events of mass deaths of innocent, helpless people qualify under the generic rubric of *genocide*. At the same time, my intention is to develop a rational, systematic series of differential classifications of subtypes of genocide. Both the generic definition of genocide and the various subcategories should stand up, first of all, to the test of natural logic and understanding; there should be no instance in which masses of human beings lie murdered while our definitional categories do not encompass the event of their deaths. The classification of different categories of genocide will allow for effective further study of their different properties and the development of proper legal definitions for assigning criminal responsibility in each case.

Most definitions of genocide have tended to be exclusive, that is, they sought to define what types of mass killings deserve to be called genocide, and hence also to define, directly or indirectly, what types of mass killings were to be excluded from the universe of genocide.[40] The present proposal is strongly inclusive; it seeks to create a wide conceptual base that includes all known types of mass murder and mass deaths that are brought about at the hands of man, and thus to insure that few tragic events of destruction of large numbers of human lives will fall by the theoretical wayside, as if they were of no legal, historical, or spiritual importance. The advantage of treating genocide first of all as a generic category is that one brings into the net virtually all instances of mass killings at the hands of man (other than bona fide wars of self-defense). At the same time, this conceptualization allows room to subclassify into more specific and stringent classificatory groups the different types of events of mass killing. Once the competition to decide which tragic events will and won't be accepted into the vaunted "genocide club" is ended, one can study the different types of genocide more honestly and come to understand their individual characteristics and differences from one another. It would be a moral absurdity and an insult to the value of human life to exclude from full historical recognition any instance of mass killing as if it were undeserving of inclusion in the record.

I would like to conclude with a serious criticism of what I shall call "definitionalism," which I define as a damaging style of intellectual inquiry based on a perverse, fetishistic involvement with definitions to the point at which the reality of the subject under discussion is "lost," that is, no longer experienced emotionally by the scholars conducting the inquiry, to the point that the real enormity of the subject no longer guides or impacts on the deliberations. The discussions about whether a given massacre or mass murder can be considered genocide are often emotionless, argumentative, and superrational, and one senses that the motivations and meta-meanings of the discussions often are based on intellectual competition and the claims to scholarly fame of the speakers rather than on genuine concern for the victims. The predominant intellectual goal of most participants in these definitional turf battles over what is and is not genocide is generally to exclude unfavored categories from the field.

For me, the passion to exclude this or that mass killing from the universe of genocide, as well as the intense competition to establish the exclusive "superiority" or unique form of any one genocide, ends up

creating a fetishistic atmosphere in which the masses of bodies that are not to be qualified for the definition of genocide are dumped into a conceptual black hole, where they are forgotten.

I propose that, instead of expressing our dubious zeal for excluding categories of mass deaths from the realm of genocide, we put together the whole rotten record of all types of mass murder committed by man (an excellent collection of such events can be found in the scenarios created by Fein,[41] who uses fictitious names in order to highlight the various models of genocide), and thereby generate an even more powerful force that will protest, intervene, and seek to reduce and prevent any and all occurrences of mass destruction of human lives. In my opinion, that is the real purpose of genocide scholarship.

Notes

1. The figure of twenty million victims of Stalin's U.S.S.R. was generally accepted by scholars for many years. Most recently, political scientist R. J. Rummel of the University of Hawaii has marshaled systematic evidence that no less than "61,911,000 people, 54,769,000 of them citizens, [were] murdered by the Communist party—the government—of the Soviet Union from 1917 to 1987" (R. J. Rummel, "The Death Toll of Marxism in the Soviet Union," Special Section of *Internet on the Holocaust and Genocide*, double issue 30/31 [February, 1991]: 9–12). On the Soviet mass killings, see R. J. Rummel, *Lethal Politics: Soviet Genocide and Mass Murder since 1917* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Press, 1990). For other cases of genocide, see R. J. Rummel, *China's Bloody Century: Genocide and Mass Murder since 1900* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Press, 1991), and *Democide: Nazi Genocide and Mass Murder* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Press, 1991).

2. See the following works by Leo Kuper: *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982); *International Action Against Genocide* (London: Minority Rights Group, 1984); and *The Prevention of Genocide* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985).

3. "Germany Strongly Implicated in Build-up of Iraq Mega-Weapons," *Internet on the Holocaust and Genocide* 29 (November, 1990): 1.

4. Israel W. Charny, "The Psychology of Denial of Known Genocides," in *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographic Review, Volume 2*, ed. Israel W. Charney (London: Mansell Publishing Ltd.; New York: Facts on File, 1991); Richard G. Hovannisian, "Genocide and Denial: The Armenian Case," in *Toward the Understanding and Prevention of Genocide* (Proceedings of the International Conference on the Holocaust and Genocide), ed. Israel W. Charny (Boulder, CO: Westview Press; London: Bowker Publishing, 1984), 84–99.

5. Herbert C. Kelman and F. Lee Hamilton, *Crimes of Obedience: Toward a Social Psychology of Authority and Responsibility* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1989).

6. Daliah Karpel, "What Happened to the Killers of Kfar Kassem?" *Ha'ir* (Hebrew weekly newspaper, Tel Aviv), 10 October 1986, p. 10.

7. "Campaign to Bring Khmer Rouge to Trial," *Internet on the Holocaust and Genocide* 10 (June 1987): 1; "Legal Charges of Genocide Versus Lynch," *Internet on the Holocaust and Genocide* 24 (January 1990): 2.

8. Israel W. Charny, *How Can We Commit the Unthinkable?: Genocide, the Human Cancer*, in collaboration with Chanan Rapoport, foreword by Elie Wiesel (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1982; paperback, with title change: *Genocide, the Human Cancer: How Can We Commit the Unthinkable?*, New York: Wm. Morrow Co. [Hearst Professional Books, 1983]); Charny, *Toward the Understanding and Prevention of Genocide;* Charny, *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographic Review.*

9. See Barbara Harff, "Humanitarian Intervention," 146–53; David Kader, "Progress and Limitations in Basic Genocide Law," 141–45; and Barbara Harff and David Kader, "Bibliography of Law and Genocide," 154–72, all in Charny *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographic Review, Volume 2.*

10. Irving Louis Horowitz, *Taking Lives: Genocide and State Power*, 3d ed. (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1980 [first edition, 1976]).

11. Lyman H. Letgers, "The Soviet Gulag: Is It Genocide?" in Charny, *Toward the Understanding and Prevention of Genocide*, 60–66; James E. Mace, "Genocide in the U.S.S.R.," in *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographic Review*, 116–36.

12. David Hawk, "Pol Pot's Cambodia: Was it Genocide?" in Charny, *Toward the Understanding and Prevention of Genocide*, 51–59; David Hawk, "The Cambodian Genocide," in Charny, *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographic Review*, 137–54.

In Andreopoulos, George, (Ed.), Genocide: Conceptual and Historical Dimensions. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; pp. 64-94.

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Unit vi
Reading #4

The Definition of Genocide

Having dealt above with several definitions of genocide and with our critiques of them, in this section we formulate and elaborate our own definition. It is deliberately restrictive. We have rejected the UN definition as well as others proposed because we want to confine our field of study to extreme cases. Thus, we hope that the term *ethnocide* will come into wider use for those cases in which a group disappears without mass killing. The suppression of a culture, a language, a religion, and so on is a phenomenon that is analytically different from the physical extermination of a group.

We have considered the utility of coining a new term and have rejected this possibility partly because we have not been able to think of an adequate alternate term and partly because the term *genocide* is by now so widely accepted. For the purposes of our research we have adopted the following definition:

> *Genocide* is a form of one-sided mass killing in which a state or other authority intends to destroy a group, as that group and membership in it are defined by the perpetrator.

The terms of this definition require some comment. We start with a *form* of one-sided killing because we want to emphasize that there are many forms of mass killings and that we are proposing to deal with only one of them. We emphasize *one-sided* to indicate that we are dealing with cases in which there is no reciprocity; while the perpetrator intends to wipe out the victim group, the latter have no such plans. The term *mass killing* is meant to denote those cases in which all of the members of a group were labeled as victims, notwithstanding the fact that historically the extermination of 100 percent of a victim group is very rare. A distinction must be made here between the intent to destroy all of the members of a victim group and the empirical methods by which this may be achieved. We mean to exclude from consideration here those cases of mass killing, massacres, riots, and so forth that had a lesser aim, no matter how objectionable such cases are.

The term *one-sided mass killing* is also essential in order to exclude from our analysis the casualties of war, whether military or civilian. When countries are at war, neither side is defenseless. Although individually the civilians may be defenseless, they are part of the group or nation that is at war. In our analysis, the group is the operable unit of analysis because we are concerned with the behavior of groups rather than individuals. Although our case materials include genocides that occurred during or after a war, these are not to be interpreted as exceptions because they do not concern the victims of combat. The genocide of the Armenians occurred during World War I, that of the Gypsies and Jews during World War II; but in neither case were the victims killed as a result of warfare. Similarly, when we include the victims of the Assyrians, the Mongols, and the Romans in Carthage, we do not mean to deal with war casualties, but with the killing of the entire population after the outcome of the war had already been decided.

A further implication of *one-sided* is that the victim group has no organized military machinery that might be opposed to that of the perpetrator. Even in those cases in which the victims engaged in attempts to oppose the power of the perpetrators, the very hopelessness of such attempts underscores the one-sidedness of these mass killings. Isolated attempts to oppose the perpetrator —the Warsaw Ghetto uprising or the defense of Van, for example—serve more to assert the solidarity of the victims than to defeat the perpetrator.

Our definition of genocide also excludes civilian victims of aerial bombardment in belligerent states. In this we differ from Jean-Paul Sartre and Leo Kuper. Kuper writes, "I cannot accept the view that . . . the bombing, in time of war, of such civilian enemy populations as those of Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Hamburg, and Dresden does not constitute genocide within the terms of the [UN] convention" (Kuper 1981,1985). We base our dissenting position on the fact that in this age of total war belligerent states make all enemy-occupied territory part of the theater of operations regardless of the presence of civilians. Civilians are regarded as combatants so long as their governments control the cities in which they reside. This practice was started by the Italians and the Germans, and it became the practice of both sides in World War II. It seems unfair to single out the Allies for their bombings without mentioning Guernica and Warsaw, Rotterdam and Brest, and Rouen and London. On the other hand, the rules of war clearly entitle enemy civilians living in territory occupied by the victor to certain protections, including freedom from arbitrary killing, which would seem to place the Nazi killing of Jews, Gypsies, and others in a quite different category from wartime bombings.

In taking this view, we find ourselves in agreement with Telford Taylor, who has written,

> [Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Hamburg and Dresden] were certainly not "genocides" within the meaning of the Convention, which limits genocide to "acts committed with intent to destroy . . . a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such." Berlin, London and Tokyo were not bombed because their inhabitants were German, English or Japanese, but because they were *enemy* strongholds. Accordingly, the killing ceased when the war ended and there was no longer any enemy.

The term *group*, in our usage, may present some difficulties. We realize that the culturally defined meaning of a group and group membership was quite different in antiquity and throughout history before the rise of nationalism. In ancient times the victims of genocide, as we have defined it, were likely to be the residents of a city-state in conflict with a rival power. Whole races, cultures, religions, or ethnic groups were generally not singled out for killing. Indeed, these concepts hardly existed in the ancient world. Thus, even if the Romans killed the residents of the city of Carthage after the fall of that city in 146 B.C. they did not also seek the elimination of the Phoenicians, who had founded and peopled Carthage. The Romans defined the residents of Carthage as a group, recognizing that Carthage had long before become independent of Phoenicia. Nor did the Romans try to kill Carthaginians living in Numidia and other nearby states on the grounds that they were Carthaginians and must die. Those Carthaginians living in the hinterland were not considered by the Romans as part of the victim group because they were not viewed as guilty of rebellion or as likely rivals for power once the city of Carthage and most of its residents had been destroyed. A crucial aspect of our definition of genocide is the definition of the group used by the perpetrator.

Another difficulty may arise when the definition of the perpetrator does not agree with conventional usage. In many cases, the victim group is a real one, in the sense that it is defined by generally agreed-upon criteria of the culture of the time. But, in keeping with W. I. Thomas's famous dictum that if people define a situation as real it is real in its consequences, a group may be any collectivity of people that is so defined by the perpetrator of a genocide. (A more detailed discussion of this point will be found below in the elaboration of our typology.)

To the extent that a group of people has been targeted by the perpetrator, it is of crucial importance to these victims whether membership has been defined by the perpetrator as voluntary or as ascribed. Thus, individual Armenians sometimes could have saved themselves by converting to Islam, whereas the Nazis defined Jews in racial laws that left no room for individual decisions to opt out.

Because our definition leaves open the nature of the victim group, it allows the inclusion of groups that were excluded from the UN Convention. Further, it allows the inclusion of groups that had not previously been considered under the UN Convention as potential victim groups (for example, the retarded, the mentally ill, and homosexuals, as in Nazi Germany, or city dwellers in Pol Pot's Cambodia) and groups that have no existence outside a perpetrator's imagination (for example, demonic witches in Western Europe and "wreckers" and "enemies of the people" in Stalin's Russia), but whose fate was no less tragic, for all that.

Genocides are always performed by a *state or other authority*. In the twentieth century, the perpetrator is almost always the state because authority and power are highly centralized and the modern means of communication are so efficient that such centralization can be effectively imposed. The addition of *or other authority* was found necessary to deal with some cases in which the perpetrator was a local authority other than the state.

Finally, a word about *intent*. The inclusion of the criterion of intent is common to most of the definitions found in the literature. It is essential in order to exclude those cases in which the outcome was neither planned nor predicted. It thus excludes not only natural disasters, but also those mass deaths that were the result of some human action that did not have this intent (for example, the spread of diseases as a result of migration).

As we said above, our definition is deliberately restrictive in order to facilitate analysis. It excludes all cases that do not clearly fit our definition. A problem that remains to be dealt with concerns those actual cases that fit part of our definition, but not all of its restrictions. What do we do with those cases of "one-sided mass killing" in which there was no intent to destroy the entire group? How do we deal with cases of an intent to destroy a group that was in fact destroyed, though only a small part of it was actually killed?

Since we suspect that many such cases are analytically instructive, we think we should not ignore them, at least not until sufficient research has accumulated to permit a more clear-cut decision. We have resolved this dilemma by including them under the label *genocidal massacres*. It should, however, be clearly understood that this is not a category designed to allow the inclusion of every case of massacre or communal violence. The cases of genocidal massacre should fit several dimensions of our definition.

The term *genocidal massacre* will also be applied to a number of cases that seem to be a combination of genocide and ethnocide, that is, there is no intent to kill the entire victim group, but its disappearance is intended. In these cases, a part of the victim group will be killed in order to terrorize the remainder into giving up their separate identity or their opposition to the perpetrator group or both.

We have defined genocide because we assume that it is a definable form of human behavior. But it must be remembered that the very term *genocide* was coined only in the middle of the twentieth century. This raises questions about the applicability of the term to earlier periods of history, and about the judgmental and moral loadings that have become attached to it.

No problem lies in applying the term to those phenomena that seem to fit the definition—assuming the reliability of the evidence—no matter when these phenomena occurred. A more serious problem is raised by the moral loading attached to the term. Western liberalism, as it has developed since the Enlightenment, raises the issue of moral relativism in historical and comparative studies. Thus, we take it for granted today that we are all against genocide whenever and wherever it occurred. But this obscures our knowledge of how it was perceived by contemporaries. In some societies, it was perceived as cruel and harsh punishment, even by the standards of the day. In other societies, it was fatalistically accepted as the fate of the losers and the weak. There were even societies in which it was seen—at least by the perpetrators—as the just and justified outcome of previous actions. But since the late Middle Ages, it has increasingly been thought of as inconsistent with the values and attributes of a fully human society. This inconsistency has resulted until recently in what we have called the *collective denial* of the prevalence of genocidal events; that is, the ignoring of these events in historical reporting, or their glossing over by the use of vague or ambiguous terminology.

From the perspective of the victims, the most prevalent perception seems to have been a fatalistic acceptance that is hard to understand in the post-Holocaust era with its increasing emphasis on equality and human rights. Our current existential, or even future-oriented, Zeitgeist makes it difficult to appreciate the brutishness of values and living conditions and the acceptance of inequality throughout most of human history. Life was short, disease was rampant, and food, clothing, and shelter were almost always problematic—even at a minimal level. In many cultures, improvements were not looked for or expected in this life, but rather in the afterlife or in another incarnation. Thus, the terrible things that happened to people were accepted as being in the nature of life in this "vale of tears."

Some Preconditions for Genocide

The most painful question about genocide is, How is it possible for people to kill other people on such a massive scale? The answer seems to be that it is not possible, at least not as long as the potential victims are per-

ceived as people. We have no evidence that a genocide was ever performed on a group of equals. The victims must not only not be equals, but also clearly defined as something less than fully human.

Historically and anthropologically peoples have always had a name for themselves. In a great many cases, that name meant "the people" to set the owners of that name off against all other peoples who were considered of lesser quality in some way. If the differences between the people and some other society were particularly large in terms of religion, language, manners, customs, and so on, then such others were seen as less than fully human: pagans, savages, or even animals. The greater the perceived gap between the people and the out-group, the less were the values and the standards of the people applicable to the out-group.

Thus, in order to perform a genocide the perpetrator has always had to first organize a campaign that redefined the victim group as worthless, outside the web of mutual obligations, a threat to the people, immoral sinners, and/or subhuman. Even after such a campaign of vilification and dehumanization the actual performance of the mass killing seems to have required a good deal of coercion and centralized control: Unfortunately, we lack adequate data on the actual behavior of the perpetrators in most cases. But it seems that mass killing is extremely difficult for ordinary people to carry out; it requires the recruitment of pathological individuals and criminals. Thus, the reputedly bloodthirsty Mongols under Genghis Khan seem to have been reluctant to carry out his orders when the entire population of a city was to be wiped out. He had to make sure that his orders were obeyed; to do this he divided the estimated population of the city by the number of his troops to determine how many each soldier had to kill, and then ordered each soldier to cut an ear off each victim and deliver the ears to his superior officer for counting. Both the Turks and the Nazis had to deal with symptoms of psychological breakdown when attempting to use regular troops for mass killing. Given such reluctance on the part of most ordinary people in all societies to carry out a mass slaughter of defenseless victims, it becomes clearer why the performance of a genocide has always required a high degree of centralized authority and quasi-bureaucratic organization. The only exceptions probably occur when the victim group is numerically small, such as the indigenous tribes wiped out by colonizing settlers.

Having said all this, one might be tempted to turn the question around and ask why such killings should have been so difficult, particularly in premodern times, when human life was not highly valued. In spite of this, the performance of a genocide required, first, the dehumanization of the victims, and second, a strong, centralized authority and bureaucratic organization.

A Typology of Genocide

Throughout our work we have felt it important to develop a typology that would allow us to group those phenomena that could be meaningfully compared. We found that typologies available in the literature were unsatisfactory for a variety of reasons—some of which we have discussed above. We have devised several typologies ourselves and discarded them for similar reasons. Our present thinking has resulted in a fourfold typology, based on the motives of the perpetrator. This typology is presented here as a heuristic device; its validity can arise only from its usefulness in further research. But it seems to us that in the comparative research on genocide a crucial distinction is to be made in terms of the motives of the perpetrator. Therefore, our current *typology* classifies genocides according to their motive:

1. to eliminate a real or potential threat;
2. to spread terror among real or potential enemies;
3. to acquire economic wealth; or
4. to implement a belief, a theory, or an ideology.

In any actual case, more than one of these motives will be present. We propose to assign each case of genocide to one of these types by deciding which of the four motives was the dominant one.

A number of other dimensions may be considered as bases for constructing a typology. While we have temporarily rejected them in favor of our simpler typology based only on motives, we consider them to be important dimensions to be explored in future research. Here we indicate briefly what these other bases are.

Type of society. One kind of typology deals with the nature of the societies in which genocides have occurred. The earliest of these was proposed by Jessie Bernard (1949) in her effort to develop a continuum of accommodation for racial and ethnic conflicts in the international community (see p. 12). More recently Irving Louis Horowitz (1980) has developed a continuum of modern societies. His key variable is the extent to which the state permits or represses dissent and the right to be different. His eight types range from genocidal to permissive societies (see pp. 13–14). The weakness of these efforts lies in their tautological nature; that is, a society is assigned a type or category on the basis of outcomes, not on the basis of characteristics that lead to specific outcomes. It is exactly this kind of perceived discrepancy between the character of a society and its actions that led to the worldwide incredulity when the first news of Hitler's Final Solution became public. Such an outcome seemed at the time incongruous because it was not in accord with expected behavior—behavior appropriate to a modern, Western, developed society.

Types of perpetrator. Throughout history most genocides were committed by empires to eliminate a threat, to terrorize an enemy, or to acquire and keep wealth. Another way of putting this is to say that they were committed in the building and maintaining of empires. These types of genocides have become rare in the twentieth century. Our fourth type, committed to implement an ideology, has become most frequent and seems to be associated with the rise of new regimes and states (Lamer 1981). It would require a great deal of research to discover the nature of the link between the rise of the nation-state and the increase in genocides. Is it a matter of imposing a new discipline on a recalcitrant population, or is it the enforced implementation of a new ideology? As will be seen, this dichotomy of empire versus nation-state overlaps with some of the dimensions described below.

Types of victims. In the first three types of genocides in our typology the victim groups were usually located outside the perpetrator society. This had significant effects on the genocidal process. Thus, it was not necessary to dehumanize the victim group. All societies have considered outsiders as less than equal or less than fully human. In our fourth type the victim group has usually been found within the perpetrator society (especially in the twentieth century). It is this phenomenon that made it necessary first to identify the victim group as separate from the larger society, and second, to isolate and segregate it. This has to be done in such a way that the members of the perpetrator society accept the new definition; if they fail to do so, the genocide will also fail.

Types of groups. This base for constructing a typology has been much discussed ever since the UN Convention included only four types of groups in its definition. Various authors have suggested the inclusion of economic, political, or social groups or all three. As shown in our definition above, we avoid this problem entirely by using the perpetrator's definition of the victim group. However, another important distinction must be considered: that between real groups and pseudo-groups. The former can be identified by an outside observer, while the latter can be identified only by the perpetrator. The outside observer can identify such groups only after the victimization has started. The transition cases here, as we have noted, include the victims of the Great Witch-Hunt, and, in modern times, Stalin's persecution of the "enemies of the people" is a classic case. This distinction is particularly relevant to efforts at prevention because the victim group can be identified by outsiders only after the victimization has been carried out, or at least started.

Types of accusation. Much has been written about the various reasons for persecution. There seems to be a close connection between the type of group that is being victimized and the type of offense that it is being accused of. The distinction that seems important here is whether the accusation is based on verifiable fact or whether it is a pseudo-accusation that has no reality outside the frame of reference of the perpetrator. Thus, heretics usually did not deny their deviant beliefs while witches confessed to conspiracy with the devil only under torture.

In the context of genocide it is necessary to differentiate clearly between individual and collective guilt. Confessions may be extracted from individuals, but the perpetrator always victimizes a group that is accused of collective guilt. Therefore, the confessions to be extracted placed little emphasis on what the victim had done, focusing rather on the identities of the co-conspirators, that is, the members of the group.

Types of results for the perpetrator society. The bulk of the literature deals with the results of genocide for the victims, but little deals with the results for the perpetrators. For those of us who have an interest in prediction and prevention this should be a serious issue because it might lead to avenues of preventive action.

Historically, the results for the perpetrator society seem to be directly related to their motives. Genocides committed to eliminate threats, to spread terror, or to acquire wealth are motivated by concrete situations. To the extent that these situations are perceived as pressing problems by the perpetrator state, successful genocides eliminate the problem and materially enrich the perpetrator. That is, the threatening group is eliminated or terrorized into subservience, and the economic wealth is in fact acquired. In ideological genocides, however, the motive is much more abstract: it may be to enforce conformity, to purify the race, to legitimate a new regime, or to homogenize a nation-state. Such abstract motives are much harder to realize and the resulting abstract benefits have no direct relation to material costs. This seems to account for the historical fact that such ideological genocides are always carried out at tremendous costs to the perpetrator society—notwithstanding the fact that individuals may have enriched themselves (see pp. 415–21).

It bears repeating that any typology must be evaluated in terms of the results it aids in producing. Clearly, the most important results would be those that help us predict and prevent genocides in the future.

During a faculty workshop on mass killings some of our friendly critics suggested several other bases for typologies. The one most frequently mentioned was the scale of casualties. Regardless of whether this is done in numbers or in percentages, it has not been shown that any meaningful research results would be arrived at by using this method. Similarly, it has been suggested that the method of killing and its technological sophistication or the organizational

complexity of such killing operations might be treated as important variables. However, it seems doubtful that these aspects would yield anything beyond descriptive categories. This is not meant to be a flippant statement; it merely reflects a conviction that the major reason for doing comparative research on genocides is the hope of preventing them in the future. Such prevention will pose difficult applied problems, but first it must be based on an understanding of the social situations and the social structures and processes that are likely to lead to genocides. Only by acquiring such knowledge can we begin to predict the likely occurrence of genocides and direct our efforts toward prevention.

Unit vi
Reading #4

Senate Votes to Carry Out Treaty Banning Genocide

By IRVIN MOLOTSKY
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 14 — The Senate gave final legislative approval tonight to a change in American laws that will permit the United States to join 97 other countries in an international treaty outlawing genocide. The treaty was first proposed 40 years ago by President Truman.

The measure was approved by voice vote. It will be sent to President Reagan, a supporter of the treaty, for his signature.

The Senate had given its constitutionally required advice and consent for American compliance with the treaty two years ago, but a political battle over whether to mandate capital punishment for genocide had blocked approval of the legislation.

Prompted by Nazi Mass Killings

The treaty was drafted in reaction to the Holocaust, the systematic killing of millions of Jews, among others, by the Nazis during World War II.

Speaking of those victims, Senator William Proxmire, Democrat of Wisconsin, said shortly before passage: "They were gassed, lined up and shot, and they were worked to death. Why? Only because they worshiped God in a different way."

Senator Proxmire, who is retiring at the end of this session, had conducted an often solitary crusade to persuade Congress to approve the treaty and the change in laws to put it into effect. For 19 years, he opened the Senate's sessions each morning with a speech urging it. The treaty itself won Senate approval in February 1986 by a vote of 83 to 11.

Criminal Code Amended

The measure will change the United States criminal code to include penalties for genocide, which it defines as acting with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group.

The maximum penalties are a $1 million fine and life in prison for a killing under the code, and a $1 million fine and 20 years in prison for trying to cause bodily harm, attempting to cause permanent mental impairment through torture or drugs, trying to destroy a group, or trying to prevent births by members of a group.

William Korey, director of international policy research for B'nai B'rith International, who has lobbied for approval of the treaty for many years, said of the Senate vote: "It is a moment to savor. The long dark night of embarrassment for America in international forums is finally at an end. The United States can now more effectively champion international human rights and blow the whistle on would-be perpetrators of genocide."

The measure had been held up for six months by Senator Strom Thurmond, Republican of South Carolina, who had insisted that the new law call for the death penalty.

Mr. Proxmire, although he opposes capital punishment, said he would be willing to accept a death-penalty provision if that were the only way to win passage. But others in the Senate and the House said it was not acceptable, and a stalemate resulted.

Senator Thurmond ended his insistence on the death penalty, clearing the way for approval, after the Senate's Democratic leadership agreed to go ahead with confirmation votes for some Republican judges, which some Democrats said had been one of Mr. Thurmond's main goals all along.

In arguing for adoption of the enabling legislation with life imprisonment as the maximum punishment for genocide, Senator Proxmire noted that of the 97 countries with the treaty in effect, only 14 had death-penalty provisions, and that most of those were Communist countries.

The House approved the bill to carry out the treaty on April 25, and it was approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee on April 14, but Senator Thurmond had effectively blocked it since.

Before the vote, several senators took the floor to praise Senator Proxmire. Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr., Democrat of Delaware, said, "I would suggest that this monumental achievement would never have occurred were it not for the Senator from Wisconsin.

"For so many years, he was the lonely voice in pursuit of justice on this issue. There would be no treaty without Senator Proxmire. It is the hallmark of his entire career."

Seal and Deliver The Genocide Pact

Unit vi
Reading #4

By William Korey

Finally, after nearly 40 years the Congress appears to be moving toward the crucial action required for ratification of the historic genocide treaty — the enactment of implementing legislation. With hearings in both houses recently completed, the target date set by Congressional proponents of the pact is April 14, Holocaust Day. Still, the endless delays for nearly 40 years generate a little uncertainty about the outcome.

Further delay would emphasize the extraordinary anomaly of a nation committed by law and spirit to commemorating the trauma of the Holocaust and not yet being a contracting party to the one international treaty whose aim is the prevention of its repetition.

While the treaty is largely symbolic, it nonetheless "can play some role," in the words of the United States Holocaust Commission, in stopping genocidal "acts in the future."

In recent testimony to Congressional bodies, William Proxmire, Democrat of Wisconsin, the principal advocate of ratification (he has delivered 3,300 Senate addresses on the subject), properly invoked the memory of the late Raphael Lemkin.

It was this Polish Jewish immigrant who coined the term "genocide" (joining the Greek word for "species" to the Latin word for the infinitive "to kill"). What Winston Churchill had called "a crime without a name" was forever given an appropriate one.

Using 11 languages, Mr. Lemkin had lobbied several dozen United Nations delegations between 1946 and 1948 in order to win a unanimous General Assembly vote for the treaty on Dec. 9, 1948. To the media's United Nations correspondents, he was a remarkable figure who had somehow prevailed over formal diplomatic niceties and the initial indifference of sovereign countries.

A brilliant international legal scholar, Mr. Lemkin had survived the Holocaust by fleeing first to Sweden and then to the United States, where he served on the law faculties of Duke University and Yale University. He remained painfully conscious of what the Nazi extermination policy involved, for it embraced some 50 members of his own family. The genocide treaty marked for him "an epitaph on my mother's grave."

It was to his adopted country that he looked for early ratification. This would serve, Mr. Lemkin said, as "an inspiration to the world." Indeed, the United States was the first to sign the treaty and President Harry S. Truman soon afterward transmitted it to the Senate for its early "advice and consent." But there the treaty became caught up in interminable ideological conflicts, the logic of which makes little sense today.

The delay in ratification stunned the treaty's architect. He feared, as very well he might, that people would forget the Holocaust. Already, he noted, many "believe that Dachau, Auschwitz, Buchenwald are manufactured war propaganda." He died in 1959, disappointed but still hoping that America would provide the required leadership to champion human rights and international law.

Failure to ratify the treaty has, in fact, proved costly to the American image in the international community, and this inevitably has been exploited by the Soviet Union. Last Dec. 10, Human Rights Day, the press agency Tass, not surprisingly, trumpeted both at home and abroad the United States' nonratification of the treaty.

> Congress should end its delay by Holocaust Day.

But our national embarrassment may soon be at an end. Implementing legislation making genocide a Federal crime with appropriate penalties seems to have won broad support in the Congress. Only the ultra-right has testified in opposition.

Enactment of the legislation in both houses by April 14 would enable the United States to deposit with the United Nations Secretary General its formal instrument of ratification, which the Senate approved two years ago, together with the essential enabling statute.

"We have waited long enough," said Senator Bob Dole in calling for the advice and consent vote on Feb. 19, 1986. That cry is even more valid today, as Holocaust Day draws near. Raphael Lemkin would have welcomed such a moment as offering an epitaph for all genocide victims. □

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Unit Unit vi

Reading #5

2. Genocide as Principle

The reason for emphasizing the feature of physical destruction in the structure of genocide is evident. Where life itself remains, as in cultural genocide or ethnocide, the possibility also remains of group revival; but this is not the case where genocide involves physical annihilation. A conceptual relation has already been asserted, furthermore, between the *genos* subjected to genocide and the type of destruction involved in that act. Here again, physical destruction would also result in cultural genocide, but the converse does not hold: for a group which is defined genetically, physical destruction is the one form that genocide can take. Thus genocide in which both the *genos* and the means of destruction are defined in biological terms represents genocide in its most extreme and unequivocal form; it is, in effect, the "paradigm" of genocide. This is, we recognize, the form that the Nazi genocide against the Jews took, as that also remains, for other reasons, the most explicitly articulated and fully documented instance of the idea and act of genocide. Any general claims about genocide as a phenomenon, including the contention which follows here of the moral distinctiveness of genocide, can thus be measured against the structure—in intention and act—of the Nazi genocide.

In itself, the claim for the distinctiveness of the Nazi genocide in these terms still faces many of the standard questions relevant to other and less extreme instances of morally culpable decisions. Here, too, the question recurs of how an agent's intentions can be determined and of how important a role intentions have in the ascription of responsibility; here, too, the question is unavoidable of how culpability is to be measured in relation to the consequences of an act. Insofar as these considerations bear on ethically relevant decisions in general, the distinctiveness of the Nazi genocide must lie elsewhere. It seems clear, moreover, that such distinctiveness is not to be based only on the number of victims involved, although the reference in "genocide" to a group or kind suggests that that number is likely to be large. The total number of noncombatant victims of the Nazis in World War II, for example—killed in concentration and death camps, by forced labor, massacres, bombings—has been estimated to be on the order of twenty million. (The figure itself guarantees that it is at most an approximation; but this is not the immediate issue.) The size of that figure and the enormity of the acts which produced it can be acknowledged, however, without maintaining that all the people included in it were victims of genocide. Obviously, the term used to designate an act of killing makes little difference to the victim. But there remains a significant distinction, conceptually and morally, between mass murder and genocide—a distinction that does not depend on numbers at all. (This does not mean that the question of numbers will not have psychological or even moral force. In 1949, for example, the American Bar Association—which remained until 1973 a consistent and influential opponent to American ratification of the UN Convention on Genocide—recommended to the United States Senate a reservation to be appended in the event that the Senate did vote to ratify the convention, to the effect that a minimum number of people [in the "thousands"] should be fixed for defining the groups covered by the Convention.)

What distinguishes the concept of genocide in its extreme form, then, is its requirement of the physical destruction of a group of people as a consequence of their membership in an allegedly "natural" (biologically defined) group. There are two implications which follow from the convergence of these identifying features. The first implication is that the persons against whom the genocide is directed retain, neither as individuals nor as a group, any agency in the rationale or justification for that process. No personal deed or possession of the victims is at issue; the persons who constitute the group can do nothing, short of revising their biological history, to alter the terms of genocidal intention. They cannot affect that intention by renouncing a cultural or religious identity, or by proposing ransom or compensation; they cannot ask or be offered the options of exile or conversion or assimilation as "assurances" against the future. Genocide singles them out by their identification with a group quite apart from any choices they have made of identity or character and indeed aside from all individual characteristics other than the biological feature(s) which (allegedly) mark them as group members. Apparent individual divergences from the stereotype of the group can only be interpreted as superficial and accidental: the verdict against such "exceptions," like the broader one against "ordinary" members of the group, follows from the claim of a *generic* essence that is irrefutable at the level of individuals.

This status of the victim of genocide is linked to the second implication: that the agent of genocide requires nothing from his victims except their destruction and that in setting this condition he acts on a principle that is categorical and nonutilitarian. He is not motivated here by the hope of gain, like a robber who might be satisfied to acquire the money for which he commits robbery by other means; he differs also from a murderer who anticipates a reward for his act or who has a personal score to settle or even one who acts on sadistic impulse. Evidently, these or similar motives may influence individual agents of genocide, but by themselves they could not account for the distinguishing features of that act.

It may be objected that the decision to destroy a group and its members can be, and at times has been, based on categorical premises which are nonetheless utilitarian. This argument has been made, in fact, in respect to the Nazi genocide—on the basis of the claims by the Nazis that the existence of the Jews was a threat to the well-being of other groups in the society or of the society as a whole. Defended on these grounds, the extermination of the Jews would then be warranted or even obligatory, for instrumental or possibly "moral" reasons.

It is important to note against this line of reasoning, however, that the utilitarian justification for the policy of genocide, so far as it was a factor at all, was inconsistently applied by the Nazis both in practice and in principle. This inconsistency, moreover, was not an accidental lapse but was symptomatic of a rejection of the utilitarian rationale within the

Nazi ideology itself. There is a variety of evidence for this contention, but it appears most clearly in respect to the medical or biological metaphors that Nazi ideologists frequently employed in their public attacks on the Jews.[13] In these metaphors, the Jews were compared to various types of bacilli or disease: cancers, plague, tuberculosis. On the basis of these analogies, the extirpation of the Jews would then represent a cure; genocide would in effect be a requirement of public health.

The inconsistency that appears in connection with this justification is not in the use of these analogies or metaphors, however, but in the context of justification of which they are part. Had the Nazis held consistently to the values implied by the metaphors of disease, the value of self-preservation—the ostensive reason for attacking agents of disease—would have been a dominant motive for them, and the genocide against the Jews would then follow justifiably from that premise. But on a number of occasions when the policy of genocide conflicted with the requirements of self-preservation that became progressively more urgent in the general war the Nazis were fighting, it was the former, not the latter, that won out. It can be stated as a general conclusion, in fact, that the Nazis were willing to increase the risk that they would lose the wider war—with whatever consequences this would have for their survival individually or as a nation—in order to wage their war against the Jews. That this order of priorities was a matter of policy and not simply a result of circumstance is clear from a number of statements and decisions. So, for example, the Minister for Occupied Eastern Territories who had ordered the extermination in those territories of Jews who might have been used for forced labor to support the war effort con-

13. The use of the disease metaphor recurs in Nazi ideology. So, for example, in *The Jew in German History*, a German army indoctrination booklet from 1939 (cited in Dawidowitz, *War Against the Jews*), the Jews are a "plague," "poisonous parasites." Hitler in a letter of 16 September 1919 writes that the "effect of Jewry will be racial tuberculosis of nations"; and in *Mein Kampf*, he speaks of them as "germ carriers," as an "abscess." A remarkable extension of the metaphor appears in a speech by Hitler in February 1942 (cited by Fest, *Hitler*, 212): "The discovery of the Jewish virus is one of the greatest revolutions which has been undertaken in the world. The struggle we are waging is of the same kind as in the past century, that of Pasteur and Koch. How many diseases can be traced back to the Jewish virus? We shall regain our health only when we exterminate the Jews." Alex Bein points out that the disease metaphor was used to reinforce the distinction between the Jews and "inferior races" who nonetheless remained human ("The Jewish Parasite: Notes on the Semantics of the Jewish Problem with Special Reference to Nazi Germany," *Yearbook of the Leo Baeck Institute* 9 (1964), 3–40. See also the discussion of the disease metaphor by Saul Friedländer, "On the Possibility of the Holocaust," in Yehuda Bauer and Nathan Rotenstreich (eds.), *The Holocaust as Historical Experience* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1981), 7–8.

firmed that order with the assertion that "as a matter of principle no consideration should be given to economic interests in the solution of this problem" (Nuremberg Document PS-3666). A similar statement would be made by Himmler himself in 1944, when the course of the war was still more obviously going against the Nazis.[14] It was in that year also that the evidence most frequently cited for the claim that the Nazis were willing to sacrifice their own interests appears; this is the use by the Nazis, even on the brink of defeat, of badly needed railroad transport to convey Jews (mainly during this period, the Jews of Hungary) to the death camps. At his trial in Jerusalem, Eichmann was to appeal to this fact as evidence of the disinterested and self-sacrificing "principles" that had motivated him.

Additional reasons for rejecting Nazi references to the Jews as pestilence or disease as a consistent rationale of their acts are suggested by the history of the metaphors themselves. The most immediate implication of the nineteenth-century discovery of the "germ theory of disease" was that the way to fight disease would be to attack the organisms which caused it or their carriers. The medical campaigns based on these premises spoke of immunizing or curing the individuals affected by disease, or at most of "sanitizing" certain geographical ares—but virtually never of eradicating the source of the disease.[15] (These more modest goals undoubtedly reflected what were seen as the realistic possibilities of medical science at the time.) It was only late in the nineteenth century

14. See Yitzhak Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1987), 133. *This* emphasis is in flagrant contrast to one of the main reasons given by the Allied governments for their negative responses, while the Nazi genocide was being committed, to proposals for the rescue of the Jews. So, for example, in a memo from the British Foreign Office (15 December 1943): "The Foreign Office are concerned with the difficulties of disposing of any considerable number of Jews should they be rescued from enemy or occupied territory . . . [including the] difficulties of transportation, particularly shipping . . ." (cited in David Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews* (New York: Pantheon, 1984), 182.

15. Medical histories have not focused on this issue, but see, e.g., Robert P. Hudson, *Disease and Its Control* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980), chaps. 8 and 9; and Arturo Castiglioni, *A History of Medicine* (New York: Knopf, 1985), 692–93. Bein points out ("Jewish Parasite") that biological metaphors (e.g., "parasite") go back at least to the eighteenth century. But parasites do not themselves *cause* disease: the step toward that identification comes after the development of the germ theory of disease in the nineteenth century. Thus the medical prescription for eradicating the source of disease and the impulse for genocide have a proximate historical—and more than metaphorical—relation. Consider in respect to this background, for example, the statement by Paul Legarde (1887): "One does not negotiate with trichinae and bacilli; trichinae and bacilli are not chosen to be educated, they are exterminated quickly and as thoroughly as possible." (cited in Bein, "Jewish Parasite," 32).

and in the early twentieth century that the possibility was envisioned that a disease-related organism might be exterminated *as a kind*.

The difference between preventing or curing a disease, on the one hand, and eliminating its cause, on the other hand, approximates the relation in political terms between common warfare and genocide. The historical development of these two forms of "defense" was so closely linked chronologically, moreover, that the developing idea of political genocide might have contributed to the goal of medical prevention as well as the more obvious other way around. It could be argued, still more extremely, that use of the concept of disease as a political metaphor is itself a foreshadowing of the phenomenon of genocide. For the latent content of that metaphor seems almost calculated to provoke the genocidal reaction: that the members of a particular group pose a mortal danger because of their inherent characteristics; that those characteristics cannot be controlled by the people who "have" them or anyone else—and thus that attempts either to change or to quarantine the group would necessarily fail; that there are no compensating features among the group; and that extermination is the obligatory response to the danger they pose. The group and its members are in effect irremediable.

Viewed in these terms, the disease metaphor employed by the Nazis is symptomatic of the structure of genocidal intention most basically in denying any semblance of humanity or personhood to members of the group singled out. It is not necessary to settle the disputed question of what those features of humanity or personhood are to recognize that they will in some form involve an individual power of agency and self-determination, a sense of continuing identity or character, and a capacity of intersubjective rationality or power of discourse. Where the individual person is considered only as the member of a group—and the group itself defined by characteristics over which the individual has no control—nothing remains to any of these aspects of the person qua person. Not self-determination or individual identity or the capacity for shared discourse is admitted for members of the group, and this reiterative denial of the self makes the disease metaphor appropriate symptomatically to the act of genocide in which the *genos* is to be destroyed, with the individuals within the *genos* entirely incidental. (The Nazi order of 17 August 1938 that German Jews whose first names were not already on an approved list should "legally" take common names—"Israel" for the men, "Sara" for the women—was itself a step in this direction.)

What emerges from analysis of the utilitarian justifications proposed by the Nazis for their genocide against the Jews is a basis *in principle* which contradicts those supposedly prudential arguments. A bitter

irony appears here in the form of an inverted conception of moral agency: the agent of genocide does not treat his victims as a means; he attacks them as ends in themselves and on grounds of principle rather than of inclination. There is no use that the agent wishes to make of his victim, nothing he requires or wants of the latter except to deprive him of all claims of selfhood. In the act of physical destruction on the basis of group identity, all claims of the individual are denied: the agent is here entitled, even obligated, to act toward his victims in a way that demonstrates that they have no claims as persons. To act otherwise—to take account of the individual as a person or even to allow this as possible—would in these terms be a fault, a moral parody in the sense that anthropomorphism always is. The principle applied here asserts that certain persons may—more strongly, *ought*—to be treated not as ends in themselves, but as the negation of ends in themselves. The individual is attacked not for anything he himself is or does, but for his relation to a group, a relation over which he has no control; the reason for the attack is not personal interest, gain, or inclination, but the principle that membership in the group itself suffices to exclude him from the domain of humanity. This principle may not itself *require* the physical destruction of the group—but annihilation is the one way of affirming the principle that leaves no doubt either about the principle or about its applicability to the group.[16]

This aspect of genocide suggests the surprising conclusion that there may be differences among wrongdoers in respect to the measure of humanity they acknowledge in the persons of their victims. To be sure, a robber violates the person of his victim, treating the victim as a means. But insofar as the robber wants what his victim *has*, he is not attacking or denying everything that the victim *is;* this condition holds also for the thief who steals simply for the pleasure of the act: here, too, there could be surrogates or substitutes. Even a murderer may be responding (however disproportionately) to something his victim possesses or has done as an individual. It is only where a person is defined in every essential characteristic by an abstraction of group membership beyond the person's own choosing, and where the attack on the group is itself raised to the level of principle, that all sense of individual agency in the victim—choice, deliberation, the potentiality for change—is denied. It is only

16. Such a principle is presupposed in statements such as that by Hitler, in his political Last Will and Testament (29 April 1945), written hours before his death and with the thousand-year Reich in ruins around him: he could still urge (one wonders whom) that "above all I charge the leaders of the nation and those under them to scrupulous observance of the laws of race and to merciless opposition to the universal poisoner of all peoples, international Jewry."

here, in genocide, that the victim is no longer, except in an accidental physical sense, a person at all.

No other morally relevant action can be consistently described in these terms, and it is in this that the distinctiveness of genocide consists. Most wrongdoing is directed against individuals as individuals and against groups only insofar as those groups reflect the deliberate histories or traits of their members. Even where group identification beyond the control of individual members affects the choice of the victim (for example, in sexual attacks), the act will usually be emotionally expressive—for example, the means of revenge—not a matter of principle. Anger or hatred often lead to actions which conflict with the practical interests of the agent, but then, too, the agent chooses among interests; he does not forego them in the name of principle. It is extraordinary, moreover, that actions directed against classes or groups of people should call for their complete destruction, wherever they might go or be; here, too, the sense of individual agency is denied. So long as *some* alternative is proposed (e.g., ransom, religious or cultural conversion), or where the "punishment" itself follows an alleged injury, the sense remains that compensation is being exacted for something the members of the group are held responsible for. When, however, identification in the group is entirely out of the hands of its members, when the act of destruction is directed against individuals entirely as members of the group, willing the extinction of both as a matter of principle and oblivious to even self-interested consequences, there we have a distinctive act, one in which physical destruction or murder has become an end in itself.

It might be objected that to identify the act of genocide with a process of *de*humanization, even for the Nazi genocide but more obviously as a general rule, begs the question. What is at issue in the ideological structure of genocide as represented in Nazi policy, for example, might be judged a consequence of bad science, not of moral criminality—since if the Nazis genuinely believed that the Jews *were* a disease, there would be no force to the charge of dehumanization: the Jews would not have been human to begin with. Nor would there be any basis for the more general claim that genocide was for the Nazis nonutilitarian and a matter solely of principle. Since (in this view) the Jews posed a grave threat, their destruction, like any other act of self-defense, could be justified on prudential or even moral grounds.

But this interpretation faces an objection identical to the one cited before against the view of Nazi genocide as based on more general utilitarian considerations. The contention that the Jews were not human was not consistently maintained by the Nazis, and the inconsistencies are so

flagrant that they undermine any force that the contention would otherwise have. The conclusion is difficult to avoid, in fact, that it was a deliberate and systematic feature of Nazi policy to dehumanize the victims of the genocide they were implementing—and this feature of their policy itself suggests a quite different starting point than the premise that the Jews were not human.

There is undoubtedly some basis for attributing this belief to the Nazis; the Jews, in contrast to the Slavic peoples, who according to the Nazi typology were *inferior* human beings, were formally classified as *sub*-human, i.e., not human at all. But there is substantial evidence beyond that already cited that the Nazis themselves did not either consistently credit this claim or, more to the point, act on it. I refer here not only to the many expressions of awareness on the part of the Nazi leadership, in quite conventional terms, that their policies were open both to serious moral and to scientific question, but more importantly, to the *practice* of dehumanizing their victims that was so constant a part of the Nazi design. For a period of more than eight years from the time that they came to power, Nazi policy did not initiate the systematic extermination of the Jews. It was, in fact, only in October 1941 that the emigration of German Jews from Germany was formally prohibited; before that, forced emigration had been the principal feature of the "Solution" proposed by the Nazis to the "Jewish Question." (In the period between 1933 and 1938, about a third of the German Jewish community did in fact leave Germany, something that would have been impossible if the policy of extermination had even been anticipated.) But neither during that time nor subsequently was there any doubt about the systematic brutality and degradation which figured in Nazi policy and which itself, by a cruel inversion, testifies more strongly even than extermination itself to the essentially human status accorded the Jews to begin with. In the face of alleged danger, a justification for violence based on the right of self-defense can plausibly be invoked. But a systematic pattern of torture and degradation is only intelligible on the premise that the victims are not essentially dissimilar from the perpetrators and that something much more morally complex than self-defense is at issue. When Franz Stangl, the commandant of Treblinka, was asked, after his capture, why, if it was clear that the Jews were to be killed anyway, such extremes of cruelty and humiliation were made part of that process, he responded that this was done in order "to condition those who actually had to carry out the policies."[17] Even if one accepts this response as credible, it acknowledges that those "who actually had to carry out the policies" saw (and recognized that they saw) in their victims a shared humanity, not nonhumans threatening them with mortal danger.

17. In an interview with Gitta Sereny, recorded in Gitta Sereny, *Into That Darkness* (New York: Random House, 1983), 101.

Unit vi
Reading 6

ACCOUNTING FOR GENOCIDE

Helen Fein

National Responses and Jewish Victimization during the Holocaust

THE HOLOCAUST

Reverberations of German Defeat in World War I (2)

Germany, defeated by the Allies in World War I, resumed political existence as a republic after aborted revolutions and right-wing coups. The weakness of this republic, never formally overthrown even after Hitler's accession as chancellor, has been attributed to many causes: lack of a liberal tradition among the middle classes, lack of traditional legitimation, an authoritarian pattern of organization throughout German life, the insecurity among the middle classes generated by the catastrophic inflation of the early 1920s and the subsequent world depression, the inability of left-wing parties to work in concert, the accomodation of the middle-class parties, the opportunism of the conservative industrialists, and the onus of the Versailles Peace Treaty, which required Germany to assume war guilt and pay reparations. Although the reparations absorbed only 1.7% of Germany's budget between 1923 and 1929, less than half of the loans received from foreign governments, they were a symbol of German national subordination.[49] A. J. P. Taylor contends that it was the adherence of most German parties to the nationalists' goal of German supremacy that ultimately undermined the low potential for democracy: the antidemocratic parties could play the nationalist game better, as they were not inhibited by any respect for international commitments or internal democracy.[50] Hitler was an astute organizer and charismatic orator, but he was only one of many agitators demanding militant national action to redress German grievances. Many commentators agree that Hitler's popularity reflected how well he resonated popular moods—aspirations, resentment, and blame—and reiterated attacks on conventional targets, such as the Jews.[51] Germany's loss in World War I was never acknowledged as a defeat in either his oratory or his personal testament, *Mein Kampf*, written while imprisoned for his participation in the unsuccessful Munich putsch of 1923.[52] Instead, he attributed the loss to internal enemies, especially the Jews, who he claimed had stabbed Germany in the back.

Rise of the Nazi Party and Its Ideology (3)

Although the Socialist, Catholic Center, and Liberal parties obtained a parliamentary majority and formed the government in 1928, the Nazi party (the NSDAP) secured 12 seats in the Reichstag and 2.6% of the vote. They multiplied their representation ninefold after the Depression began, securing 107 seats in 1930. In 1932, they doubled their vote, winning 230 seats, thus becoming the strongest party in the Reichstag. Analyses of voting patterns show that the Nazis gained disproportionately from the lower middle classes, which had earlier been most likely to support the non-Catholic middle-class parties.[53]

President (and Field Marshal) von Hindenburg appointed Hitler chancellor on 30 January 1933, after Franz von Papen won support of the Ruhr industrialists for his appointment. Hitler was later named president after Hindenburg's death in 1934, fusing both offices and transforming the former parliamentary bureaucracy into a totalitarian state in which authority was legitimated by his charisma. Those not swayed by charisma were beaten up by his brown-shirted paramilitary (the SA). The Nazi goon squads magnified their own losses in order to sustain the fear of the Communist threat. The Nazis' exploitation of the burning of the Reichstag chambers, an arson that they attributed to a conspiracy involving German Communists despite the evidence that it was set independently by a Dutch Communist,[54] helped them to obtain more seats but not a majority (288 of 647) in the election of March 1933. The government invoked the emergency powers provided by the Weimar constitution not only to suppress all civil liberties but also to rule by decree. Its rule was confirmed by the Reichstag, which passed the Enabling Act granting Hitler this authority permanently. The Communist and Socialist parties were successively repressed and other parties dissolved themselves, so that the Nazi party was soon established as the only legal party. Taylor observes how Hitler's rule was consolidated by the rise of a new class personally loyal to him: "Hitler discovered a 'Hitler class,' his unshakeable resource in extremity. . . . The S.S.—the middle class of education but no property."[55]

The populist violence of Hitler's early street fighters, the SA, was replaced by the violence of the SS, a central internal security organization coordinating all the German states' police apparatus. Political prisoners were funneled into the vastly expanded concentration camps, from which they returned, if they returned, silenced, living testimonies to the cost of dissidence.

The ends that Hitler promised to achieve and the themes of his speeches that triggered most audience approval were not novel, but resonated German ideologies and popular notions fully developed fifty years before the beginning of World War II.[56] The German nationalist ideologies united romantic nationalism with anti-Semitism and modern racism. They assumed an underlying mythic identity or homogeneity among the German people, or *Volk*, based on "blood." The Jews were not *Volk*, but aliens to whom the Germans owed no obligation. This was explicit in the Nazi party program of 1920. While the Germans belonged to the Aryan race, whose supremacy over the Slav and nonwhite races they unhesitatingly asserted, the Jews, according to the Nazis, were nonhuman; bloodsuckers, lice, parasites, fleas, bacilli. The hidden agenda seems an obvious implication from the definition of the problem itself: these are organisms to be squashed or exterminated by chemical means. "The murderous design was made plain, for example, in a speech in May 1923 when he (Hitler) declared: 'The Jews are undoubtedly a race, but not human. They cannot be human in the sense of being an image of God, the Eternal. The Jews are an image of the devil. Jewry means the racial tuberculosis of the nations.' "[57]

The *Volk* had a messianic mission, entailing the destruction of other races and nation-states in the way of its achievement. This conception was expounded by pan-German ideologues in turn-of-the-century Vienna, where Hitler, by his own account, first became politically educated.[58] They were obsessed by envy of the Jews, of their cohesion and their claim to chosenness. The explanatory power of anti-Semitism was expanded by the diffusion of the fraudulent *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, published by the Czar's secret police and spread by anti-Bolshevik émigrés to reactionary circles in Germany after World War I. The *Protocols* depicted a worldwide conspiracy, holding Jews responsible for Bolshevism.[59]

The metahistory of the *Volk* differed from the actual history of the Germans, for whose misfortunes actual Germans were not responsible. They had been betrayed, stabbed in the back, by the enemy within—the Jew. The *Volk* demanded not only equality with other nations—the right to defend their frontiers without restriction—but additional room to expand—*Lebensraum*. Other nationals of German blood (*Volksdeutsche*) who could be reclaimed resided from the Rhine to the Vistula. The nations that they inhabited would become incorporated into the Reich or colonized by it during the next decade. Natives of colonized nations belonging to the inferior Slavic race would be stripped of rights, reduced to subliteracy, exploited ruthlessly, and frequently subjected to collective violence.[60]

Paving the Road toward the "Final Solution" (4)

During the first five years of the Nazi regime, Germany prepared itself for European domination before intervening openly in 1938 in Czechoslovakia. It repudiated war reparations but attempted to show pacific intentions by signing a treaty respecting the Polish frontiers and professing diplomatic assurances to Western nations. The program to isolate the Jews by successively processing them in a functional sequence—first in order to expel them but later to annihilate them—was not rationalized until 1938, when it was tested in Vienna. In Germany itself, the regime wavered before initiating new steps, reacting to the consequences of earlier steps for the primary goals of that period, rearmament and economic autarchy. Jews were stripped of offices in the government and schools by local administrative actions beginning in 1933, and a boycott was instigated against Jewish enterprises that had been marked. But only in 1935 were Jews (as differentiated from non-Aryans) defined. They were classified by lineage, corresponding to the Nazi belief that Jews were a race, rather than a religious community, and new intermarriages and cohabitation were prohibited to prevent Jews from evading their fate by assimilation and to protect Aryans from being polluted by them. Identification mechanisms were perfected in 1938 with marked identification cards and passports preventing free movement within Germany and easy exodus from it. But exit requirements, foreign nations' immigration laws, Nazi regulations stripping the Jews of their wealth, and the hopes of some Jews that they could accomodate to the new regime deterred Jews from emigrating. From the 1933 peak of 37,000, annual Jewish emigration declined to 20,000 in 1938.[61] But in November 1938 their hopes were shattered as were the glass panes of Jewish enterprises in Germany.

Attempting to diminish the number of Jews on its soil, Germany reacted to an order by Poland revoking citizenship of Poles living abroad over five years—which was used to deprive about 50,000 Jews residing in Germany of the right to any state's protection—by physically expelling such Polish Jews over the border on 28 October 1938. Seventeen-year-old Hershl Grynzpan, then visiting Paris, was incensed to read his parents' report of the treatment they had endured after being ejected from Germany overnight despite having lived there for twenty-four years. Grynzpan responded by shooting Ernst vom Rath, a third secretary in the German embassy in Paris on 7 November 1938: the Ambassador, his intended target, was out. Allegedly reacting to this provocation, the Nazi party instigated a pogrom on 10 November 1938, burning nearly 300 synagogues, breaking windows and vandalizing Jewish

shops and interning 30,000 male Jews in concentration camps. But *Kristallnacht*, the "night of the broken glass," was the SA's "final fling," as Hitler vowed.[62] Reichsmarschall Göring regretted the cost; damage for glass alone owed by insurance companies to German owners was estimated at 24 million marks. He solved the immediate problem by imposing a fine of one billion marks upon the Jews. Jewish policy was rapidly coordinated after this event and executed principally by the SS. With identification mechanisms accomplished, successive segregation measures inhibited the freedom of Jews to move and to communicate. The deprivation of liberty, the intensified drive to "Aryanize" economic enterprise, and the threat of further violence spurred Jews who still had businesses to liquidate them hastily and get out of Germany. By state decree, the Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland, a nationwide Jewish voluntary association, became an organization coordinating all persons labeled as Jews; it was now the Reichsvereinigung. It informed the Jews of new government measures, fed the Gestapo the information they needed, and later assisted in the execution of such measures. Thus, Jews became collectively regulated by the co-optation rather than the elimination of Jewish leadership, although such leaders functioned within a control structure that insured their powerlessness. No ghettoization was instituted in Germany since the few remaining Jews had been completely segregated and isolated within the German sea before being compelled to wear the yellow star in September 1941, expediting the next task of the Gestapo—to seize them.

Although Germany sought to lessen the observability or perception of extermination in the old Reich, its organization, Raul Hilberg has pointed out, involved all agencies of the state: "The machinery of destruction, then, was structurally no different from organized German society as a whole: the difference was only one of function. The machinery of destruction *was* the organized community in one of its special roles."[63] With the modern social organization of bureaucracies, characterized by hierarchy and a high division of labor, the important killers are white-collar criminals who command the diverse staffs that must be mobilized. Bureaucracy is not in itself a cause of the choice of destructive ends, but it facilitates their accomplishment by routinizing the obedience of many agents, each trained to perform his role without questioning the ends of action. Max Weber foresaw society's becoming an "iron cage" in his classic analysis of modernity.[64] But he did not anticipate that the cage could become an elevator, descending mechanically to crush the members excluded from the universe of obligation. The passengers within shrank from observing the walls around them, denying or repressing their vision of former members being systematically extruded to the pit below, accustomed as they were to assigning direction to the Führer—the only operator.

When did the "Final Solution" begin? The answer depends on which phase of the transformation from conception to execution of the plan to annihilate the European Jews we focus upon. Its execution depended first on success of the plan of conquest.

It was established during the international trials at Nuremberg that the order to devise implementation of an annihilation plan all over Europe was transmitted orally from Hitler to Göring in the spring of 1941 and from Göring to Reinhard Heydrich, chief of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), on 31 July 1941. Heydrich was instructed to make "all necessary preparations . . . for bringing about a complete solution of the Jewish problem"—code words as usual.[65] Heydrich told Adolf Eichmann, his section chief on Jewish affairs, to make plans. Representatives of all major German bureaucracies and occupation authorities were informed of the blueprint for implementing the Final Solution at a conference at RSHA headquarters at Wannsee (a suburb of Berlin) on 20 January 1942, a meeting originally supposed to be held on 9 December 1941, but delayed because of United States entry into the war.[66] Orders to massacre Jews in the territory formerly oc-

cupied by the Soviet Union during the invasion were given by Hitler to the army High Command and the RSHA chief, who established the special SS mobile execution squads, the Einsatzgruppen, during the spring of 1941.[67] Between June 1941 and the spring of 1942, the SS discovered the superiority of prussic acid over carbon monoxide for mass gassing and built the extermination camps that enabled them to murder more Jews more efficiently than had been done before in mobile gas vans and carbon monoxide chambers.[68]

The date when the determination to annihilate the Jews crystallized in Hitler's mind cannot be proven. Before the war, the most radical goal of Germany—admitted without dissembling—was to expel the Jews from the country. Despite some German Jews' initial reluctance to leave (some leaders urged they not abandon their rights by flight) and the greater reluctance of other nations to accept them as immigrants, Germany would have succeeded, for by September 1941 over two of every three Jews in Germany in 1933 had fled.[69] But Germany's aggressive design vastly expanded the number of Jews in her domain: the Polish government-in-exile estimated there were 2,042,000 Jews in the German-occupied area in 1939.[70]

Scholars differ as to whether Hitler's decision to exterminate the Jews was latent from the beginning of his career or developed incrementally in response to the failure of previous plans to eliminate them—emigration, the Lublin reservation, and the Madagascar plan.[71] The proposal by German Foreign Office bureaucrats in 1940 to resettle the Jews in a ghetto within a police-state on Madagascar was not entirely original; Poland had proposed forced resettlement of its Jews there in 1937.[72] Christopher Browning, reviewing the Foreign Office and SS correspondence in 1940, concludes that Hitler selected extermination as the Final Solution sometime between the fall of 1940 and the spring of 1941 after it became evident the war against Britain would be prolonged, forestalling naval access to Madagascar. Contemplating the invasion of Russia, Hitler decided to slaughter the Jews in Soviet territory systematically.[73]

Others view the Madagascar Plan as a blind or way-station; in retrospect it appears both as a smokescreen and a strategic tactic to allow the German bureaucracies concerned to adjust by stages to their roles as white-collar executioners. Lucy Dawidowicz emphasizes that "the Final Solution had its origin in Hitler's mind," showing how his fantasy revealed in *Mein Kampf* (written in 1924) of gassing the Jews was related to their subsequent execution.[74] She infers that Göring and Himmler were told of Hitler's plans around 1936, a plausible happening considering Hitler's habit of freely verbalizing fantasies for extermination, but a disclosure that is not possible to corroborate.[75] There is no question as to "the purpose of a reservation that can be derived from the report—surely a sick joke—that Philipp Bouhler, the head of Hitler's private chancellery, was slated to become governor of the Madagascar reservation. Bouhler headed the so-called Euthanasia Program, the first mass murder by gassing; an experience that doubtless qualified him to run a reservation for Jews that would become truly their final destination."[76] Gideon Hausner, the Israeli prosecutor of Adolf Eichmann, also asserts that Reinhard Heydrich (RSHA head) was aware that extermination was to be the Final Solution by September 1939, based on his interpretation of Eichmann's pretrial police interrogation.[77]

Hitler publicly signified his intent in a speech to the Reichstag on 30 January 1939, masked characteristically by projecting onto the Jews his own aim of domination that would provoke war:

> And one thing I wish to say on this day which perhaps is memorable not only for us Germans: In my life I have often been a prophet, and most of the time I have been laughed at. . . . Today I want to be a prophet once more: If international-finance Jewry inside and outside of Europe should succeed once more in plunging nations into another world war, the consequence will not be the Bolshevization of the earth and thereby the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation [Vernichtung] of the Jewish race in Europe.[78]

Only nine days earlier, he had told the Czechoslovakian foreign minister that "we are going to destroy the Jews."[79] It appears that his closest associates were aware of his intent according to a memorandum reaching the British Foreign Office in November 1938. This recorded the message received by a British consul on leave who had gone to Germany to rescue a friend from the Dachau concentration camp and who had talked with a senior member of Hitler's chancellery in order to get him to intercede for his friend. The chancellery official had "made it clear that Germany intended to get rid of her Jews, either by emigration or if necessary by starving or killing them, since she would not risk having such a hostile minority in the country in the event of war." The official added that Germany "intended to expel or kill off the Jews in Poland, Hungary and the Ukraine when she took control of those countries."[80]

Although the Jews had been characterized by Hitler and Nazi ideologues as enemies of the new Germany before the war, Karl Schleunes stresses Hitler's paradoxical dependence upon the Jews earlier:

> It was the Jew who helped hold Hitler's system together—on the practical as well as the ideological level. . . . The continued search for a solution of the Jewish problem allowed Hitler to maintain ideological contact with elements of his movement for whom National Socialism had done very little.[81]

How then, one may ask, could one rid Germany of the Jews if they served as the mortar making the blocks of National Socialism cohere? One may infer that only when Germans were mobilized behind an external enemy could they live without an internal enemy. Once the war began, ideology and opportunities converged for Hitler, providing means to commit the crime while other options that might eliminate the Jews and deterrents to their annihilation vanished. But the war was not an instigator of their extermination but an enabling condition. SS Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler, speaking to assembled SS Major-Generals at Posen on 4 October 1943, justified the single-minded ideological motivation of the extermination of the Jews, discriminating them from other peoples whom they regarded as inferior:

> Our basic principle must be the absolute rule for the SS man: we must be honest, decent, loyal, and comradely to members of our own blood and to nobody else. What happens to a Russian, to a Czech does not interest me in the slightest. What the nations can offer in the way of good blood of our type, we will take, if necessary by kidnapping their children and raising them here with us. . . . Whether 10,000 Russian females fall down from exhaustion while digging an anti-tank ditch interests me only in so far as the anti-tank ditch for Germany is finished. We shall never be rough and heartless when it is not necessary, that is clear. We Germans, who are the only people in the world who have a decent attitude towards animals, will also assume a decent attitude towards these human animals. . . .
>
> I also want to talk to you, quite frankly, on a very grave matter. Among ourselves it should be mentioned quite frankly, and yet we will never speak of it publicly. . . .
>
> I mean the clearing out of the Jews, the extermination of the Jewish race. It's one of those things it is easy to talk about—"The Jewish race is being exterminated," says one party member, "that's quite clear, it's in our program—elimination of the Jews, and we're doing it, exterminating them." And then they come, 80 million worthy Germans, and each one has his decent Jew. Of course the others are vermin, but this one is an A-1 Jew. Not one of all those who talk this way has witnessed it, not one of them has been through it. Most of *you* must know what it means when 100 corpses are lying side by side, or 500 or 1,000. To have stuck it out and at the same time—apart from exceptions caused by human weakness—to have remained decent fellows, that is what has made us hard. This is a page of glory in our history which has never been written and is never to be written.[82]

To write this "page of glory" in history, war goals were not allowed to

stand in the way. Skilled Jewish workers were killed and railroad cars diverted to bring the Final Solution into effect rather than to mobilize against the Allies, just as Armenian workers had been annihilated in Turkey during World War I, hindering Turkey's mobilization. The Final Solution became an end-in-itself, the only one attempted by Hitler that was virtually fulfilled in Central and Eastern Europe. Had Germany won, the Jews of North and South America were next on the list for gassing.[83]

PLAYING DEITY: CREATING A PURE RACE

Extermination of the Unfit

Reifying the *Volk* justified using the state to play deity, correcting the results of past breeding and exploiting new conceptions to transform the German people into a race "of pure blood," as Himmler put it.[84] The plan to kill people with physical or mental defects or diseases was implemented in 1939 simultaneously with the invasion of Poland. Hitler had observed in 1935 that if war came "such a program could be put into effect more smoothly and readily and in the general upheaval public opposition would be less likely."[85] On 1 September 1939, Hitler authorized Dr. Karl Brandt and Reichsleiter Philip Bouhler to authorize "certain physicians" to grant "incurable" persons a "mercy death."[86] In Nazi ideology, these were considered to be people unfit to breed, who served no function for the state. They included the mentally ill, deformed or retarded children, tuberculars, arteriosclerotic adults, and people of all ages held captive or institutionalized by the state.[87] This program, which led to the death of an estimated 275,000 German psychiatric patients alone, has mistakenly been called "euthanasia" when it was simple murder.[88] Supervised by psychiatrists, the program was justified by theories of eminent German psychiatrists writing from 1920 onward.[89] But the program did not serve only to eliminate Germans. It was also a prototype for future mass extermination. Jews, Poles, and Czechs in concentration camps interned as political prisoners, foreign workers in Germany who became unable to work, and Poles institutionalized in insane asylums also were killed. The same staff that developed the gas chambers for the special killing centers within Germany developed the massive installations at Auschwitz, and many members of the staff transferred to extermination camps.[90] The gassing of German children transported by the busload to special extermination centers was halted by Hitler's edict in response to protests by Germans and their widespread expressed revulsion and fears; however, he authorized murders to be continued by less visible means, such as the injection of poisons.[91] The gassing of German Jews was never stopped; few Germans felt any need to remark or protest their absence.

Expansion of the *Volk*

The fantasy of a pure race also inspired the *Lebensborn* ("well of life") program, first established by Heinrich Himmler within the SS in 1935 to enlarge and purify the Aryan race by selective mating from existing stock. During the war, maternity homes and clinics were established throughout Europe for women of diverse nationality whom SS officers had impregnated, thus fulfilling their duty (dictated by Himmler).[92] The pregnant women had to pass racial screening tests for admission (as the prospective fathers had done to become SS officers). The children of unmarried parents became the legal wards of Himmler and could not be claimed by their parents. Robert Kempner, chief U.S. prosecutor at Nuremberg (1946-1949), estimates that 50,000 to 100,000 children were born under *Lebensborn* auspices.[93] *Lebensborn* established homes in Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands, and Poland by taking over expropriated Jewish property and

hospitals.[94] Further, children of suitable racial characteristics (screened in orphanages, schools, and special centers) in the Protectorate, Poland, and the occupied eastern territories were openly kidnapped, institutionalized, and later (if they passed all racial tests) adopted by German parents. Those not selected died in concentration camps. It is estimated that 200,000 children were snatched from Poland alone.

The kidnapping of Polish children also served the German drive to extinguish Poland as a nation through destruction of the intelligentsia, reducing the masses to subliteracy, lowering the rate of population growth (by raising the minimum marriage age, depressing the standard of living, penalizing out-of-wedlock births), physical resettlement, and racially stratifying the population to induce or coerce Poles classified (often arbitrarily) as of German blood to become "re-Germanized."[95] This plan for gradual cultural genocide—Poles might remain alive, but not as Poles—was supplemented by selective extermination of especially vulnerable groups: Polish workers in Germany who became incapacitated for some reason and those in mental institutions in Poland. An attempt (not successful, because of German opposition) was also made to exterminate tubercular Poles in institutions.[96]

While the ancient Pharaohs constructed pyramids triangulating to the heavens to symbolize their union with the immortals, Hitler's gas chambers produced pyramids of corpses whose ashes descended to the netherworld of Hell, symbolizing his kingdom over the dead. The living had to be annihilated for the sake of the new kingdom, the dominion of an ideal race, not yet existent. Hitler did not hesitate to authorize the sacrifice of Germans deemed imperfect in 1939. Nor did he hesitate in 1945 to order the destruction of basic resources affecting the food and energy supply of the German people whom he believed no longer deserved to live because they were unwilling to make the sacrifices he demanded.[97] It was never the real people but the ideal *Volk* that dictated any means necessary.

Extermination of the Gypsies

The Jews were not the only group in Germany stigmatized as alien, but they were the only stigmatized group of political significance whose elimination had been promised publicly by Hitler twenty years before it began. The Gypsies were also designated for destruction, although scarcely any publicity was devoted to the "Gypsy problem." We are indebted (except where otherwise stated) to Kenrick and Puxon for this documentation.[98]

Although Gypsies have not played a symbiotic role similar to that of the Jews—they cannot be labeled a "middleman minority"—they have been accused of crime and corruption since their entry into Europe, charged with assistance at the Crucifixion, unnatural copulation, cannibalism, necrophiliac activity, and spreading filth and disease. The first response of European states from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century was to expel them: 148 such laws were passed by German states alone between 1416 and 1774. Violence was commonly employed for enforcement and deterrence. As late as the nineteenth century, Gypsy hunts (like fox hunts) occurred in Denmark. Only after drives for expulsion and extermination had failed did states attempt to assimilate them, denying the right of Gypsies to live together, by encouraging settlement and criminalizing the nomads' life. By 1933 police in France, Baden, and Prussia already had files with fingerprinted identification of Gypsies there.

Gypsies were officially defined as non-Aryan by the Nuremberg laws of 1935, which also first defined Jews; both groups were forbidden to marry Germans. Gypsies were later labeled as asocials by the 1937 Laws against Crime, regardless of whether they had been charged with any unlawful acts. Two hundred Gypsy men were then selected by quota and incarcerated in

Buchenwald concentration camp. By May 1938, SS Reichsführer Himmler established the Central Office for Fighting the Gypsy Menace, which defined the question as "a matter of race," discriminating pure Gypsies from part Gypsies as Jews were discriminated, and ordering their registration. In 1939, resettlement of Gypsies was put under Eichmann's jurisdiction along with that of the Jews. Gypsies were forbidden to move freely and were concentrated in encampments within Germany in 1939, later (1941) transformed into fenced ghettos, from which they would be seized for transport by the criminal police (aided by dogs) and dispatched to Auschwitz in February 1943. During May 1940, about 3,100 were sent to Jewish ghettos in the Government-General: others may have been added to Jewish transports from Berlin, Vienna, and Prague to Nisko, Poland (the site of an aborted reservation to which Jews were deported). These measures were taken against Gypsies who had no claim to exemption because of having an Aryan spouse or having been regularly employed for five years.

Some evaded the net at first. Despite a 1937 law excluding Gypsies from army service, many served in the armed forces until demobilized by special orders between 1940 and 1942. Gypsy children were also dismissed from schools beginning in March 1941. Thus, those who were nominally free and not yet concentrated were stripped systematically of the status of citizens and segregated. The legal status of Gypsies and Jews, determined irrevocably by the agreement between Justice Minister Thierack and SS Reichsführer Himmler on 18 September 1942, removing both groups from the jurisdiction of any German court, confirmed their fate. Thierack wrote, "I envisage transferring all criminal proceedings concerning [these people] to Himmler. I do this because I realize that the courts can only feebly contribute to the extermination of these people."[99]

The Citizenship Law of 1943 omitted any mention of Gypsies since they were not expected to exist much longer. Himmler decreed the transport of Gypsies to Auschwitz on 16 December 1942, but he did not authorize their extermination until 1944. Most died there and in other camps of starvation, diseases, and torture from abuse as live experimental subjects. By the end of the war, 15,000 of the 20,000 Gypsies who had been in Germany in 1939 had died.[100] Kenrick and Puxon make no estimate of those imprisoned Gypsies who endured sterilization and/or trauma leading to future debilitating diseases and breakdowns so their estimate of Gypsy victims is not comparable to my estimate of Jewish victims (see Table 3.1).

One explanation of Himmler's pause before the annihilation of the Gypsies was an early plan of his to spare two groups, the supposedly pure Sinti and the indigenous German Lalleri. But Martin Bormann, head of the Nazi Party Chancellery, objected on 3 December 1942:

> I have been informed that the treatment of the so-called pure Gypsies is going to have new regulations. . . . Such a special treatment would mean a fundamental deviation from the simultaneous measures for fighting the Gypsy menace and would not be understood at all by the population and the lower leaders of the party. Also the Führer would not agree.[101]

Soon after (16 December), Himmler, when authorizing the transit of Gypsies to Auschwitz, exempted the two groups from the first police raids. He had co-opted representatives of these groups (as the SS had sought out Jewish elders), asking them to prepare lists of pure Sinti and Lalleri. But ultimately, these lists usually saved neither the named nor the namers: "Most of this activity proved a futile blind."[102]

CONCLUSION

The victims of twentieth-century premeditated genocide—the Jews, the Gypsies, the Armenians—were murdered in order to fulfill the state's design for a new order. That design arose from the political formulas adopted by the new elites that rose to power and transformed the state into a criminal in-

strument. Such ideologies radically denied their past national failures. Both Germany and the Ottoman Empire had suffered military defeats within the generation the new regime that authorized genocide came to power. Any elite seeking to capture the state needed a political formula to justify its rule, which addressed the critical question of the nation's existence. The right of a master race, the unique destiny of a chosen people, was such a formula. War was used in both cases (an opportunity anticipated and planned for by Germany but simply seized by Turkey after World War I began) to transform the nation to correspond to the ruling elite's formula by eliminating groups conceived of as alien, enemies by definition. Thus, victims are labeled as adversaries.

While the political formulas justifying the extinction of the targeted group were the tools of new leadership, in both cases the victims had earlier been decreed as outside the universe of obligation, by Koranic injunctions and by Christian theodicy, respectively. However, a church holding out the possibility of conversion to all must assume a common humanity, and therefore may not sanction unlimited violence. But a doctrine that assumes people do not belong to a common species knows no limits inhibiting the magnitude of permissible crime.

Can we apprehend other premeditated genocides? Paradoxically, at the beginning of such crimes are ideals, radical ideals actualized by organized movements or elites that were not checked. The last defense against actualization of such programs was sanctions from other nations. War between nations and internal war now (as then) diminishes the possibilities of observing and checking genocide; peace allows but does not in itself instigate allies to probe what may be considered "internal affairs." Those who seek to deter future genocide will have to look beyond preconceptions, for it has and will appear again masked by new ideologies that justify it among nations to whom racism is an abhorrent and/or stigmatized doctrine. Only by focusing on the identity of the victim and that of the perpetrator can we strip the mask of ideology and the accounting mechanisms used by perpetrators to disguise their responsibility.

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Unit vi
Reading #7

D. The Definition of Genocide in the Criminal Code of the United States

S. 1851

One Hundredth Congress of the United States of America
At the Second Session
Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday,
January 25, 1988
An Act
To Implement the International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE

This Act may be cited as the "Genocide Convention Implementation Act of 1987 (the Proxmire Act)".

SECTION 2. TITLE 18 AMENDMENTS

(a) In General.—Part I of title 18, United States Code, is amended by inserting after chapter 50 the following:

CHAPTER 50A—GENOCIDE

Sec.
1091. Genocide
1092. Exclusive remedies.
1093. Definitions.

Sec. 1091. Genocide

(a) Basic Offense.—Whoever, whether in time of peace of in time or war, in a circumstance described in subsection (d) and with the specific intent to destroy, in whole or in substantial part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group as such—
(1) kills members of that group;
(2) causes serious bodily injury to members of that group;
(3) causes the permanent impairment of the mental faculties of members of the group through drugs, torture, or similar techniques;
(4) subjects the group to conditions of life that are intended to cause the physical destruction of the group in whole or in part;
(5) imposes measures intended to prevent births within the group; or
(6) transfers by force children of the group to another group; or attempts to do so, shall be punished as provided in subsection (b);

(b) Punishment for Basic Offense.—The punishment for an offense under subsection (a) is—
(1) in the case of an offense under subsection (a) (1), a fine of not more than $1,000,000 and imprisonment for life; and
(2) a fine of not more than $1,000,000 or imprisonment for not more than twenty years, or both, in any other case.

(c) Incitement Offense.—Whoever in a circumstance described in subsection (d) directly and publicly incites another to violate subsection (a) shall be fined not more than $500,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

(d) Required Circumstance for Offenses—The circumstance referred to in subsections (a) and (c) is that—

(1) the offense is committed within the United States; or

(2) the alleged offender is a national of the United States (as defined in section 101 of the Immigration and Nationality Act [8 U.S.C. 1101]).

(e) Nonapplicability of Certain Limitations.—

Notwithstanding section 3282 of this title, in the case of an offense under subsection (a) (1), an indictment may be found, or information instituted, at any time without limitation.

Sec. 1092. Exclusive remedies

Nothing in this chapter shall be construed as precluding the application of State or local laws to the conduct proscribed by this chapter, nor shall anything in this chapter be construed as creating any substantive or procedural right enforceable by law by any party in any proceeding.

Sec. 1093. Definitions

As used in this chapter—

(1) the term "children" means the plural and means any individuals who have not attained the age of eighteen years;

(2) the term "ethnic group" means a set of individuals whose identity as such is distinctive in terms of common cultural traditions or heritage;

(3) the term "incites" means urges another to engage imminently in conduct in circumstances under which there is substantial likelihood of imminently causing such conduct;

(4) the term "members" means the plural;

(5) the term "national group" means a set of individuals whose identity as such is distinctive in terms of nationality or national origins;

(6) the term "racial group" means a set of individuals whose identity as such is distinctive in terms of physical characteristics or biological descent;

(7) the term "religious group" means a set of individuals whose identity as such is distinctive in terms of common religious creed, beliefs, doctrines, practices, or rituals; and

(8) the term "substantial part" means a part of a group of such numerical significance that the destruction or loss of that part would cause the destruction of the group as a viable entity within the nation of which such group is a part.

Auschwitz

A Doctor's Eyewitness Account

By DR. MIKLOS NYISZLI

A FAWCETT CREST BOOK
FAWCETT PUBLICATIONS, INC., GREENWICH, CONN.

Unit vi
Reading #

1 MAY, 1944. INSIDE EACH OF THE LOCKED cattle cars ninety people were jammed. The stench of the urinal buckets, which were so full they overflowed, made the air unbreathable.

The train of the deportees. For four days, forty identical cars had been rolling endlessly on, first across Slovakia, then across the territory of the Central Government, bearing us towards an unknown destination. We were part of the first group of over a million Hungarian Jews condemned to death.

Leaving Tatra behind us, we passed the stations of Lublin and Krakau. During the war these two cities were used as regroupment camps—or, more exactly, as extermination camps—for here all the anti-Nazis of Europe were herded and sorted out for extermination.

Scarcely an hour out of Krakau the train ground to a halt before a station of some importance. Signs in Gothic letters announced it as "Auschwitz," a place which meant nothing to us, for we had never heard of it.

Peering through a crack in the side of the car, I noticed an unusual bustle taking place about the train. The SS troops who had accompanied us till now were replaced by others. The trainmen left the train. From chance snatches of conversation overheard I gathered we were nearing the end of our journey.

The line of cars began to move again, and some twenty minutes later stopped with a prolonged, strident whistle of the locomotive.

Through the crack I saw a desert-like terrain: the earth was a yellowish clay, similar to that of Eastern Silesia, broken here and there by a green thicket of trees. Concrete pylons stretched in even rows to the horizon, with barbed wire strung between them from top to bottom. Signs warned us that the wires were electrically charged with high tension current. Inside the enormous squares bounded by the pylons stood hundreds of barracks, covered with green tar-paper and arranged to form a long, rectangular network of streets as far as the eye could see.

Tattered figures, dressed in the striped burlap of prisoners, moved about inside the camp. Some were carrying planks, others were wielding picks and shovels, and, farther on, still others were hoisting fat trunks onto the backs of waiting trucks.

The barbed wire enclosure was interrupted every thirty or forty yards by elevated watch towers, in each of which an SS guard stood leaning against a machine gun mounted on a tripod. This then was the Auschwitz concentration camp, or, according to the Germans, who delight in abbreviating everything, the KZ, pronounced "Katzet." Not a very encouraging sight to say the least, but for the moment our awakened curiosity got the better of our fear.

I glanced around the car at my companions. Our group consisted of some twenty-six doctors, six pharmacists, six women, our children, and some elderly people, both men and women, our parents and relatives. Seated on their baggage or on the floor of the car, they looked both tired and apathetic, their faces betraying a sort of foreboding that even the excitement of our arrival was unable to dispel. Several of the children were asleep. Others sat munching the few scraps of food we had left. And the rest, finding nothing to eat, were vainly trying to wet their desiccated lips with dry tongues.

Heavy footsteps crunched on the sand. The shout of orders broke the monotony of the wait. The seals on the cars were broken. The door slid slowly open and we could already hear them giving us orders.

"Everyone get out and bring his hand baggage with him. Leave all heavy baggage in the cars."

We jumped to the ground, then turned to take our wives and children in our arms and help them down, for the level of the cars was over four and a half feet from the ground. The guards had us line up along the tracks. Before us stood a young SS officer, impeccable in his uniform, a gold rosette gracing his lapel, his boots smartly polished. Though unfamiliar with the various SS ranks, I surmised from his arm band that he was a doctor. Later I learned that he was the head of the SS group, that his name was Dr. Mengele, and that he was chief physician of the Auschwitz concentration camp. As the "medical selector" for the camp, he was present at the arrival of every train.

In the moments that followed we experienced certain phases of what, at Auschwitz, was called "selection." As for the subsequent phases, everyone lived through them according to his particular fate.

To start, the SS quickly divided us according to sex, leaving all children under fourteen with their mothers. So our once united group was straightway split in two. A feeling of dread overwhelmed us. But the guards replied to our anxious questions in a paternal, almost good-natured manner. It was nothing to be concerned about. They were being taken off for a bath and to be disinfected, as was the custom. Afterwards we would all be reunited with our families.

While they sorted us out for transportation I had a chance to look around. In the light of the dying sun the image glimpsed earlier through the crack in the box car seemed to have changed, grown more eery and menacing. One object immediately caught my eye: an immense square chimney, built of red bricks, tapering towards the summit. It towered above a two-story building and looked like a strange factory chimney. I was especially struck by the enormous tongues of flame rising between the lightning rods, which were set at angles on the square tops of the chimney. I tried to imagine what hellish cooking would require such a tremendous fire. Suddenly I realized that we were in Germany, the land of the crematory ovens. I had spent ten years in this country, first as a student, later as a doctor, and knew that even the smallest city had its crematorium.

So the "factory" was a crematorium. A little farther on I saw a second building with its chimney; then, almost hidden in a thicket, a third, whose chimneys were spewing the same flames. A faint wind brought the smoke towards me. My nose, then my throat, were filled with the nauseating odor of burning flesh and scorched hair. —Plenty of food for thought there. But meanwhile the second phase of selection had begun. In single file, men, women, children, the aged, had to pass before the selection committee.

Dr. Mengele, the medical "selector," made a sign. They lined up again in two groups. The left-hand column included the aged, the crippled, the feeble, and

women with children under fourteen. The right-hand column consisted entirely of able-bodied men and women: those able to work. In this latter group I noticed my wife and fourteen-year-old daughter. We no longer had any way of speaking to each other; all we could do was make signs.

Those too sick to walk, the aged and insane, were loaded into Red Cross vans. Some of the elderly doctors in my group asked if they could also get into the vans. The trucks departed, then the left-hand group, five abreast, flanked by SS guards, moved off in its turn. In a few minutes they were out of sight, cut off from view by a thicket of trees.

The right-hand column had not moved. Dr. Mengele ordered all doctors to step forward; he then approached the new group, composed of some fifty doctors, and asked those who had studied in a German university, who had a thorough knowledge of pathology and had practiced forensic medicine, to step forward.

"Be very careful," he added. "You must be equal to the task; for if you're not . . ." and his menacing gesture left little to the imagination. I glanced at my companions. Perhaps they were intimidated. What did it matter! My mind was already made up.

I broke ranks and presented myself. Dr. Mengele questioned me at length, asking me where I had studied, the names of my pathology professors, how I had acquired a knowledge of forensic medicine, how long I had practiced, etc. Apparently my answers were satisfactory, for he immediately separated me from the others and ordered my colleagues to return to their places. For the moment they were spared. Because I must now state a truth of which I then was ignorant, namely, that the left-hand group, and those who went off in cars, passed a few moments later through the doors of the crematorium. From which no one ever returned.

2 STANDING ALONE, A LITTLE APART FROM the others, I fell to thinking about the strange and devious ways of fate, and, more precisely, about Germany, where I had spent some of the happiest years of my life.

Now, above my head, the sky was bright with stars, and the soft evening breeze would have been refreshing if, from time to time, it had not borne with it the odor of bodies burning in the Third Reich's crematoriums.

Hundreds of searchlights strung on top of the concrete pillars shone with a dazzling brilliance. And yet, behind the chain of lights, it seemed as though the air had grown heavier, enveloping the camp in a thick veil, through which only the blurred silhouettes of the barracks showed.

By now the cars were empty. Some men, dressed in prison garb, arrived and unloaded the heavy baggage we had left behind, then loaded it onto waiting trucks. In the gathering darkness the forty box cars slowly faded, till at last they melted completely into the surrounding countryside.

Dr. Mengele, having issued his final instructions to the SS troops, crossed to his car, climbed in behind the wheel and motioned for me to join him. I got into the back seat beside an SS junior officer and we started off. The car bounced crazily along the clay roads of the camp, which were rutted and filled with potholes from the spring rains. The bright searchlights flew past us, faster and faster, and in a short while we stopped before an armored gate. From his post an SS sentry came running up to let the familiar car through. We drove a few hundred yards farther along the main road of the camp, which was bounded on either side by barracks, then stopped again in front of a building which was in better shape than the others. A sign beside the entrance informed me that this was the "Camp Office."

Inside several people, with deep, intelligent eyes and refined faces, wearing the uniform of prisoners, sat working at their desks. They immediately rose and came to attention. Dr. Mengele crossed to one of them, a man of about fifty, whose head was shaved clean. Since I was standing a few steps behind the Obersturmführer, it was impossible for me to hear what they were saying. Dr. Sentkeller, a prisoner, and, as I later learned, the F Camp doctor, nodded his head in assent. At his request, I approached another prisoner's desk. The clerk rummaged for some file cards, then asked me a number of questions about myself, recorded the answers both on the card and in a large book, and handed the card to an SS guard. Then we left the room. As I passed in front of Dr. Mengele I bowed slightly. Observing this, Dr. Sentkeller could not refrain from raising his voice and remarking, ironically rather than with intended malice, that such civilities were not the custom here, and that one would do well not to play the man of the world in the KZ.

A guard took me to another barracks, on the entrance to which was written: "Baths & Disinfection," where I and my card were turned over to still another guard. A prisoner approached me and took my medical bag, then searched me and told me to undress. A barber came over and shaved first my head, then the rest of my body, and sent me to the showers. They rubbed my head with a solution of calcium chloride, which burnt my eyes so badly that for several minutes I could not open them again.

In another room my clothes were exchanged for a heavy, almost new jacket, and a pair of striped trousers. They gave me back my shoes after having dipped them in a tank containing the same solution of calcium chloride. I tried on my new clothes and found they fitted me quite well. (I wondered what poor wretch had worn them before me.) Before I could reflect any further, however, another prisoner pulled up my left sleeve and, checking the number on my card, began skillfully to make a series of little tattoo marks on my arm, using an instrument filled with a blue ink. A number of small, bluish spots appeared almost immediately. "Your arm will swell a little," he reassured me, "but in a week that will disappear and the number will stand out quite clearly."

So I, Dr. Miklos Nyiszli, had ceased to exist; henceforth I would be, merely, KZ prisoner Number A 8450.

Suddenly I recalled another scene; fifteen years before, the Rector of the Medical School of Frederick Wilhelm University in Breslau shook my hand and wished me a brilliant future as he handed me my diploma, "with the congratulations of the jury."

3 FOR THE MOMENT MY SITUATION WAS TOLerable. Dr. Mengele expected me to perform the work of a physician. I would probably be sent to some German city as a replacement for a German doctor who had been drafted into military service, and whose functions had included pathology and forensic medicine. Moreover, I was filled with hope by the fact that, by Dr. Mengele's orders, I had not been issued a prisoner's burlap, but an excellent suit of civilian clothes.

It was already past midnight, but my curiosity kept me from feeling tired. I listened carefully to the barracks chief's every word. He knew the complete organization of the KZ, the names of the SS commanders in each camp section, as well as those of the prisoners who occupied important posts. I learned that the Auschwitz KZ was not a work camp, but the largest extermination camp in the Third Reich. He also told me of the "selections" that were made daily in the hospitals and the barracks. Hundreds of prisoners were loaded every day onto trucks and transported to the crematoriums, only a few hundred yards away.

From his tales I learned of life in the barracks. Eight hundred to a thousand people were crammed into the superimposed compartments of each barracks. Unable to stretch out completely, they slept there both lengthwise and crosswise, with one man's feet on another's head, neck, or chest. Stripped of all human dignity, they pushed and shoved and bit and kicked each other in an effort to get a few more inches' space on which to sleep a little more comfortably. For they did not have long to sleep: reveille sounded at three in the morning. Then guards, armed with rubber clubs, drove the prisoners from their "beds." Still half asleep, they poured from the barracks, elbowing and shoving, and immediately lined up outside. Then began the most inhumane part of the KZ program: roll call. The prisoners were standing in rows of five. Those in charge arranged them in order. The barracks clerk lined them up by height, the taller ones in front and the shorter behind. Then another guard arrived, the day's duty guard for the section, and he, lashing out with his fists as he went, pushed the taller men back and had the short men brought up front. Then, finally, the barracks leader arrived, well dressed and well fed. He too was dressed in prison garb, but his uniform was clean and neatly pressed. He paused and haughtily scanned the ranks to see if everything was in order. Naturally it was not, so he began swinging with closed fists at those in the front rank who were wearing glasses, and drove them into the back rank. Why? Nobody knew. In fact you did not even think about it, for this was the KZ, and no one would even think of hunting for a reasonable explanation for such acts.

This sport continued for several hours. They counted the rows of men more than fifteen times, from front to back and back to front and in every other possible direction they could devise. If a row was not straight the entire barracks remained squatting for an hour, their hands raised above their heads, their legs trembling with fatigue and cold. For even in summer the Auschwitz dawns were cold, and the prisoners' light burlap served as scant protection against the rain and cold. But, winter and summer, roll call began at 3:00 A.M. and ended at 7:00, when the SS officers arrived.

The barracks leader, an obsequious servant of the SS, was invariably a common law criminal, whose green insignia distinguished him from the other prisoners. He snapped to attention and made his report, giving a muster of those men under his command. Next it was the turn of the SS to inspect the ranks: they counted the columns and inscribed the numbers in their notebooks. If there were any dead in the barracks—and there were generally five or six a day, sometimes as many as ten—they too had to be present for the inspection. And not only present in name, but physically present, standing, stark naked, supported by two living prisoners until the muster was over. For, living or dead, the prescribed number of prisoners had to be present and accounted for. It sometimes happened that when they were overworked, the kommando whose job it was to transport the dead in wheelbarrows failed to pass by for several days. Then the dead had to be brought to each inspection until the transportation kommando finally arrived to take charge of them. Only then were their names crossed off the muster list.

After all I had learned, I was not sorry to have acted boldly and tried to better my lot. By having been chosen, the very first day, to work as a doctor, I had been able to escape the fate of being lost in the mass and drowned in the filth of the quarantine camp.[1]

Thanks to my civilian clothes, I had managed to maintain a human appearance, and this evening I would sleep in the medical room bed of the twelfth "hospital" barracks.

At seven in the morning: reveille. The doctors in my section, as well as the personnel of the hospital, lined up in front of the barracks to be counted. That took about two or three minutes. They also counted the bed-ridden, as well as the previous night's dead. Here too the dead were stretched out beside the living.

During breakfast, which we took in our rooms, I met my colleagues. The head doctor of barracks-hospital number 12 was Dr. Levy, professor at the University of Strasbourg; his associate was Dr. Gras, professor at the University of Zagreb; both were excellent practitioners, known throughout Europe for their skill.

With practically no medicines, working with defective instruments and in surroundings where the most elementary aseptics and antiseptics were lacking, unmindful of their personal tragedy, unconscious of fatigue and danger, they did their best to care for the sick, and ease the sufferings of their fellow men.

In the Auschwitz KZ the healthiest individual was given three or four weeks to collapse from hunger, filth, blows and inhuman labor. How can one describe the state of those who were already organically ill when they reached the camp? In circumstances where it was difficult to forget that one was a human being, and a doctor besides, they practiced their profession with complete devotion. Their example was faithfully followed by the subaltern medical corps, which was composed of six doctors. They were all young French or Greek doctors. For three years they had been eating the KZ bread made from wild chestnuts sprinkled with sawdust. Their wives, their children, their relatives and friends had been liquidated upon arrival. Or rather, burned. If by chance they had been directed to the right-hand column they had been unable to stand up under the ordeal for more than two or three months and, as the "chosen," had disappeared into the flames.

Overcome by despair, resigned, apathetic, they nevertheless attempted, with the utmost devotion, to help the living-dead whose fate was in their hands. For the prisoners of that hospital *were* the living-dead. One had to be seriously ill before being admitted to the KZ hospital. For the most part they were living skeletons: dehydrated, emaciated, their lips were cracked, their faces swollen, and they had incurable dysentery. Their bodies were covered with enormous and repulsive running sores and suppurating ulcers. Such were the KZ's sick. Such were those one had to care for and comfort.

4

I STILL HAD NO CLEARLY DEFINED JOB. During a visit around the camp in the company of a French doctor, I noticed a sort of annex jutting out from one side of a KZ barracks. From the outside it looked like a toolshed. Inside, however, I saw a table about as high as a man's head, built of unplaned, rather thick boards; a chair; a box of dissecting instruments; and, in one corner, a pail. I asked my colleague what it was used for.

"That's the KZ's only dissecting room," he said. "It

[1] The quarantine camp was that area to which the prisoners selected for the right-hand column were first sent. They were kept there till they had bathed, been disinfected and shaved, and had traded their civilian clothes for a prisoner's burlap. Later they were sent to various sections throughout the camp.—*Tr.*

hasn't been used for some time. As a matter of fact, I don't know of any specialist in the camp who's qualified to perform dissections, and I wouldn't be a bit surprised to learn that your presence here is tied in with Dr. Mengele's plans for reactivating it."

The very thought dampened my spirits, for I had pictured myself working in a modern dissecting room, not in this camp shed. In the course of my entire medical career I had never had to work with such defective instruments as these, or in a room so primitively equipped. Even when I had been called into the provinces on cases of murder and suicide, where the autopsy had had to be performed on the spot, I had been better equipped and installed.

Nevertheless I resigned myself to the inevitable, and accepted even this eventuality, for in the KZ this was still a favored position. And yet I still could not understand why I had been given almost new civilian clothes if I were slated to work in a dirty shed. It didn't make sense. But I decided not to waste my time worrying about such apparent contradictions.

Still in the company of my French colleague, I gazed ~~out~~ across the barbed wire enclosures. Naked dark-skinned children were running and playing. Women with Creole-like faces and gaily colored clothes, and half-naked men, seated on the ground in groups, chatted as they watched the children play. This was the famous "Gypsy Camp." The Third Reich's ethnological experts had classified gypsies as an inferior race. Accordingly, they had been rounded up, not only in Germany itself, but throughout the occupied countries, and herded here. Because they were Catholics, they were allowed the privilege of remaining in family groups.

There were about 4,500 of them in all. They did no work, but were assigned the job of policing the neighboring Jewish camps and barracks, where they exercised their authority with unimaginable cruelty.

The Gypsy Camp offered one curiosity: the experimental barracks. The director of the Research Laboratory was Dr. Epstein, professor at the University of Prague, a pediatrician of world renown, a KZ prisoner since 1940. His assistant was Dr. Bendel, of the University of Paris Medical School.

Three categories of experiments were performed here: the first consisted of research into the origin and causes of dual births, a study which the birth of the Dionne quintuplets ten years before had caused to be pursued with renewed interest. The second was the search to discover the biological and pathological causes for the birth of dwarfs and giants. And the third was the study of the causes and treatment of a disease commonly called "dry gangrene of the face."

This terrible disease is exceptionally rare; in ordinary practice you scarcely ever come across it. But here in the Gypsy Camp it was fairly common among both children and adolescents. And so, because of its prevalence, research had been greatly facilitated and considerable progress made towards finding an effective method of treating it.

According to established medical concepts, "dry gangrene of the face" generally appears in conjunction with measles, scarlet fever and typhoid fever. But these diseases, plus the camp's deplorable sanitary conditions, seemed only to be the factors that favored its development, since it also existed in the Czech, Polish and Jewish camps. But it was especially prevalent among gypsy children, and from this it had been deduced that its presence must be directly related to hereditary syphilis, for the syphilis rate in the Gypsy Camp was extremely high.

From these observations a new treatment, consisting of a combination of malaria injections and doses of a drug whose trade name is "Novarsenobenzol," had been developed, with most promising results.

Dr. Mengele paid daily visits to the experimental barracks and participated actively in all phases of the research. He worked in collaboration with two prisoner-doctors and a painter named Dina, whose artistic skill was a great asset to the enterprise. Dina was a native of Prague, and had been a KZ prisoner for three years. As Dr. Mengele's assistant she was granted certain privileges that ordinary prisoners never enjoyed.

Auschwitz

A Doctor's Eyewitness Account

BY DR. MIKLOS NYISZLI

TRANSLATED BY
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WITH A FOREWORD BY
BRUNO BETTELHEIM

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Unit vi
Reading #9

THE TEN THOUSAND DAY WAR

VIETNAM: 1945-1975

Michael Maclear

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The My Lai massacre of civilians was only disclosed by journalists in late 1969 after the known facts had been suppressed by the military for more than a year. On 16 March 1968, Lieutenant W.L. Calley led a platoon of thirty men into a village complex in the central Quang Ngai province, and subsequent accounts estimate that between 200 and 500 unarmed villagers were slaughtered. Says the study by career officers: 'Even the staunchest defenders of the army agree that in normal times a man of Lieutenant Calley's low intelligence and predispositions would never have been allowed to become an officer if the army had maintained its normal standards for officer selection, and that because the army did in fact lower its standards it must share in the guilt and culpability for the My Lai affair. The lowering of standards was a wound that the officer corps inflicted upon itself.'

Seymour Hersh, the journalist whose investigation brought the first full national exposure of the massacre, wrote in *My Lai 4: A Report on the Massacre and its Aftermath:* 'If there was any concurrence among former members of Calley's platoon in Vietnam, it is the amazement that the army considered Calley officer material.' Author George Walton, a retired

Lieutenant-Colonel, gives this description of William Laws Calley, nickname 'Rusty' in his book *The Tarnished Shield: A Report on Today's Army*: 'The lieutenant was a below-average, dull, and inconspicuous boy, his father, a World War II naval veteran, had made a modest success as a salesman of heavy construction machinery, and being moderately affluent the Calleys maintained a residence in Miami and a home in the mountains near Waynesville, North Carolina, where Rusty and his three sisters spent happy summer months. He first attended the Edison High School in Miami and thereafter the Georgia Military Academy but his grades in both schools were such that he was unable to attend a college and ended by going to Palm Beach Junior College in Lake Worth, Florida. There his grades were even worse than they had been in high school. At the end of the first year he flunked out with two Cs, one D, and four Fs.' Calley enlisted in 1966, was named for Officer Candidate School and 'although Calley graduated in the middle of his class, he had not even learned to read a map properly'.

Calley was a platoon leader in Charlie Company, 1st Battalion, 20th Infantry of the newly formed Americal Division. Charlie Company arrived in Vietnam in December 1967. It was the height of 'Search and Destroy', and just weeks before the ultimate attrition of the Tet Offensive with its random killings of civilians by both sides. The towns of Can Tho and My Tho had been destroyed in order to 'save' them. Ancient Hue, Vietnam's Mecca, was a ruin and its victims reportedly included hundreds of civilians executed by the guerrillas. Walton quotes Calley as having spoken of the My Lai massacre as '. . . no big deal, Sir'.

My Lai-4 was one of several hamlets in a village known to the Vietnamese as Son My. Among the GIs the area was known as 'Pinkville' - the guerrillas were entrenched there, though in which hamlet no one was certain. On 25 February, a patrol from Charlie Company stumbled onto a minefield and six men were killed and another twelve severely wounded. On 14 March there were more casualties, and early the next day battalion commander Lieutenant-Colonel Frank A. Barker Jr, a veteran of twenty years, summoned the commanding officer of Charlie Company, Captain Ernest L. Medina, who had advanced through enlisted ranks and after eight years graduated fourth in his officer class of 1966. The Colonel told the Captain, according to published accounts, that a guerrilla force of perhaps 250 men was believed operating from My Lai-4. The intelligence reports were that on Tuesdays the women and children went to the market by 7 am. Medina's company was to attack the village after that hour and destroy it. They had twenty-four hours to prepare; some are quoted as regarding it as their 'first real live battle'; others as having 'a score to even up'.

Tim O'Brien, who would search the same area a year later before the disclosure of the massacre, describes the atmosphere: 'I knew it was a bad place. We were afraid to go to Pinkville. It was a sullen, hostile, unpeopled place. We'd go among the My Lai villages and there were never any people: deserted, and yet there were smoldering fires - people obviously lived there.

It was a place where men died. It was a heavily mined area. There was no tangible object to attack except the land itself. And in a sense the area of My Lai itself became the enemy, not the people of My Lai, not even the Viet Cong, but the physical place - the sullen villages, the criss-cross paddies, the bomb craters and the poverty of the place became the enemy. We took revenge, burning down huts, blowing up tunnels.'

At sunrise on Tuesday 16 March 1968, the Hueys airlifted the entire Charlie Company west of the hamlets to a clearing designated Landing Zone Dotti. The company commander, Captain Medina, set up his CP in an old graveyard. As the gunships put down, other senior officers were described as observing the operation from aircraft stacked at 1000 and 2000 feet. Calley's thirty men advanced on My Lai-4, just a cluster of thatched roof huts. The accounts note that with platoons spread out through 'Pinkville' no one observed the entire events. The accounts, however, state that at My Lai-4 there was no opposing fire and that Calley ordered his platoon to go in shooting and to throw grenades into the dwellings. As women and children ran out they were mowed down by automatic fire, and soon 'the contagion of slaughter was spreading throughout the platoon'. Other civilians - all women, children or old men - were described as being led with hands above their heads to a large ditch and there systematically shot. Two other platoons beyond the hamlet cut down the few who had managed to run from My Lai-4.

The author of *The Tarnished Shield*, retired Lieutenant-Colonel George Walton, is a former attorney and a professor of political science. He wrote this account: 'Within My Lai-4 the killings had become more sadistic. Several old men were stabbed with bayonets and one was thrown down a well to be followed by a hand grenade. Some women and children praying outside of the local temple were killed by shooting them in the back of the head with rifles. Occasionally a soldier would drag a girl, often a mere child, to a ditch where he would rape her. One GI is said to have thrown a grenade into a hootch where a girl of five or six lay that he had just raped. The young were slaughtered with the same impartiality as the old. Children barely able to walk were picked off at point blank range.'

In an observation helicopter Hugh C. Thompson, a warrant officer on second duty tour, saw what was happening and put down in My Lai-4. After threatening a shoot out with Calley's platoon, Thompson is credited with saving the lives of sixteen children and was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross. It was at 9 am - two hours after it all began - when battalion commander Colonel Barker was described as arriving over the area in his helicopter and only then realizing what had occurred. He radioed Captain Medina at the graveyard CP to cease all action.

The army chain of command in Vietnam kept silent on the reports it received of My Lai-4. The usual practice of submitting such findings to Washington was not followed. My Lai-4 might never have been known - or

at least never proved – except for the fact that a *Stars and Stripes* reporter on the operation took photographs of the Belsen-style bodies piled in the ditch. One soldier, GI journalist Ronald Ridenhour, investigated the rumors and for months persisted in trying to get US political and religious leaders to recommend an inquiry. He sent written evidence to thirty prominent people, including President Nixon and sixteen Congressmen. Only two of these thirty people – House Member Morris K. Udall and Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee L. Mendel Rivers – took vigorous action, demanding a Pentagon investigation. The chief of Army Reserve, Lieutenant-General William R. Peers, was assigned to conduct the inquiry.

Officially, it was estimated that about 200 civilians were murdered in My Lai-4. Among others who investigated was the American international law expert Richard A. Falk who estimated there were 500 civilian victims, and in his survey US army author George Walton estimates 700 were massacred.

General Peers, himself a former divisional commander in Vietnam, concluded: 'The principal failure was in leadership. Failures occurred at every level within the chain of command, from individual squad leaders to the command group of the Division. It was an illegal operation, in violation of military regulations and of human rights, starting with the planning, continuing through the brutal, destructive acts of many of the men involved, and culminating in abortive efforts to investigate and, finally, the suppression of the truth.'

Despite this uncompromising indictment, only thirteen officers and enlisted men were charged with war crimes and an additional twelve were charged with cover-up. Of the twenty-five men charged, only William Laws Calley was court-martialed, found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment. Calley spent just three days in military jail, then on White House orders he was transferred to house arrest where he spent three and a half years pending appeals to various military courts. All these appeals were denied, but after its final review the White House concurred in suggestions for parole. In effect, President Nixon pardoned Calley.

Wrote General Peers, 'I think it unfortunate that of the twenty-five men charged with war crimes or related acts, he was the only one tried by court-martial and found guilty.... Above and beyond that, he personally participated in the killing of non-combatants. So I don't consider him a scapegoat.' George Walton in his study of 'today's' army states: 'When an army is required to fight a war without the support of society it is forced to commission its Calleys.'

Wrote law authority and military consultant Richard Falk: 'The Vietnam war has amply demonstrated how easily modern man and the modern state – with all its claims of civility – can relapse into barbarism in the course of pursuing belligerent objectives in a distant land where neither national territory nor national security is tangibly at stake.' And he added: 'It would be misleading to isolate the awful happening at Son My from the overall

conduct of the war [or from] the general line of official policy that established a moral climate in which the welfare of Vietnamese civilians is totally disregarded.'

In the most searing verdict on My Lai-4, the mother of platoon member David Paul Meadlo was reported in the *New York Times* of 30 November 1969 saying: 'I sent them a good boy, and they made him a murderer.'

Few would question that the boys America sent to Vietnam were, as they set out, a cross-section of humanity as good as any – but they were just boys, and years later, unable to comprehend, few Americans would care to ask how the boys came back so different. My Lai was a collective consequence of the individual emotional overload which almost every American ground combatant in Vietnam came to endure in a war without any recognizable front, enemy or cause, waged without national participation or unity.

Sergeant Tim O'Brien had just patrolled the My Lai area when he heard of its infamy: 'On the one hand I was shocked and I thought that this is terrible: you don't kill the people. And then I wasn't shocked. After all the frustrations we had been through, I understood the frustrations that were felt by Calley's company. This is not to excuse his behaviour. I hated what he did. I thought it was wrong and terrible and I still do. I think that he should have been sent to jail for life. But at the same time, as a man who was there, and who saw men die in the My Lais, I understand what happened.'

But some GIs would feel that their training as much as Vietnam's environment conditioned them – and the events. Marine medic Jack McCloskey remembers the mock Vietnamese village at training camp: 'It was taught to us, go into this Ville, and you have to blow everything away in this Ville. Your basic mistrust of the Vietnamese people is already ingrained in you: anything with slant eyes was a "gook" – they were not human beings.' McCloskey, with his body full of shrapnel, would later devote a decade to counseling emotionally disturbed veterans through his self-help organization 'Twice Born Men'.

Special Forces member Lou Carello recalls: 'We were always told, "As long as you don't make human contact with them, you will always see them as the enemy."' He was 'part of a team that killed civilians, civilians who were in key spots. I was like a hired gun, you know. I still can't sleep without a light on. All the people that I either put away or helped put away are going to get me.' Carello lost both legs in Vietnam. Back home, he returned to school to study sociology. Condemned for life to a wheelchair, he says, 'I don't want people to know my whole story. But understand me when you see me.'

All wars brutalize, but in Vietnam the war's nature and strategy produced a schizophrenic norm. Ivan Delbyk, Special Forces, remembers: 'You could be walking and it was quiet and peaceful, and you are listening to the birds singing, and the air smells good, and the trees and the greenery look beautiful. And then all of a sudden all hell breaks loose. From a rocket or a mortar. And a few seconds later it is quiet again. And if nobody is wounded you continue on your way. And if they are, you wait until you have Medevac. One second

Universal Declaration of Human Rights



United Nations
Department of Public Information

On 10 December 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the full text of which appears in the following pages. Following this historic act, the Assembly called upon all Member countries to publicize the text of the Declaration and "to cause it to be disseminated, displayed, read and expounded principally in schools and other educational institutions, without distinction based on the political status of countries or territories".

Javier Pérez de Cuéllar
SECRETARY-GENERAL

All human beings are born with equal and inalienable rights and fundamental freedoms.

The United Nations is committed to upholding, promoting and protecting the human rights of every individual. This commitment stems from the United Nations Charter, which reaffirms the faith of the peoples of the world in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person.

In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations has stated in clear and simple terms the rights which belong equally to every person.

These rights belong to you.

They are your rights.

Familiarize yourself with them. Help to promote and defend them for yourself as well as for your fellow human beings.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Preamble

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have deter-

mined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, Therefore,

The General Assembly

proclaims

This Universal Declaration of Human Rights

as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-selfgoverning or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11

(1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14

(1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

(2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political

crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

(1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16

(1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17

(1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21

(1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

(2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23

(1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

(2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

(3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

(4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25

(1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

(2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26

(1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27

(1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

(2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29

(1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

(3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

THE HOLOCAUST IN COMPARATIVE AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

By R.J.Rummel

(Paper Delivered to the Conference on "The 'Other' as ThreatQDemonization and Antisemitism," June 12-15, 1995, at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

A massive amount of research has been done on the Holocaust, the most extensive, best organized, thorough, and unlimited case of genocide in the modern age. The second most studied genocide has been that of the Armenians in Turkey. But little research has been done on other genocides per se, and virtually no systematic historical or comparative research has been done on genocide in general. There are collections of studies on different genocides.[1] There are exemplary lists of genocides.[2] But until the publication of my Death By Government[3] and availability of its auxiliary work, Statistics of Democide [4], the field has been lacking a comprehensive collection of all the genocides and mass murders to have occurred.[5] Moreover there are few attempts to compare the occurrence of genocide to other forms of mass murder or to fit genocide within a larger context of mass killing. Finally, there has been virtually no systematic attempt to assess the underlying conditions and causes of genocide.[6] Here I will present and describe results as yet unpublished that may help fill this void.[7] And in th process I will try to save the idea of genocide to mean that for which we badl need an exclusive conceptQthe murder of individuals by virtue of their ethnicity, race, religion, language, or nationality.

At its the core there is no doubt as to what genocide isQall recognize that the Nazi program to kill all Jews was genocide. Nor is there any doubt that the Bosnian Serb massacre of Bosnian Moslems and vice versa, or the

slaughter of Hutu by Tutsi and Tutsi by Hutu in Rwanda was genocide. But was genocide also the recent massacre of helpless villagers in the Sudan by government forces fighting a rebellion, the 1965-1966 Indonesian army purge of communists, the 1948 assassination of political opponents by the Nationalist government on Formosa, the 1949-1953 "land-reform" executions of landlords in communist China, or the 1975-1980 rapid death of inmates in Vietnamese re-education camps? What about non-killing which has been called genocide, such as the absorption of one culture by another, the disease spread to natives by contact with colonists, the forced deportation of a people, or African slavery?

Let me remind the reader that in international conventions and the professional literature, genocide was initially defined in part as the intentional destruction of a people because of their race, religion, ethnicity, or some other indelible group membership. As now well known, the origin of the concept is the 1944 work by Raphael Lemkin on Axis Rule in Occupied Europe:

[OPEN QUOTE] New conceptions require new terms. By "genocide" we mean the destruction of a nation or of an ethnic group. This new word, coined by the author to denote an old practice in its modern development, is made from the ancient Greek word genos (race, tribe) and the Latin cide (killing), thus corresponding in its formation to such words a tyrannicide, homicide [sic], infanticide, etc. Generally speaking, genocide does not necessarily mean the immediate destruction of a nation, except when accomplished by mass killings of all members of a nation. It is intended rather to signify a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves. The objectives of such a plan would be disintegration of the political and social institutions, of culture, language, national feelings, religion, and the economic existence of national groups, and the destruction of the personal security, liberty, health, dignity, and even the lives of the individuals belonging to such groups. Genocide is directed against the national group as an entity, and the actions involved are directed against the individuals, not in their individual capacity, but as members of the national group.[CLOSE QUOTE][8

Of course this was written at the height of the Jewish Holocaust, a clear case of a regime trying to exterminate a whole group, its intellectual contributions, its culture, and the very lives of all its people. There was an immediate need for some way of conceptualizing this horror and "genocide" did it. During the Nuremberg trials of the Nazi war criminals and in the post-war discussion and debate over how to prevent such killing in the future, "genocide" became commonly used. And in incredible little time, it passed from Lemkin's pages into international law. In 1946 the United Nations General Assembly recognized that "genocide is a crime under international law which the civilized world condemns, and for the commission of which principles and accomplices are punishable." Then two years later the General Assembly made this concrete. It passed the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. This international treaty, eventually signed by well over a majority of states, affirms that genocide is a punishable crime under international law, and stipulates the meaning of genocide to be

[BEGIN QUOTE] any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

(a) Killing members of the group;
(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.
[END QUOTE]

Note that the Convention is consistent with Lemkin's definition and elaboration. Relevant here, the gravity of both is that genocide is the intent to destroy in whole or part a group. One way of doing this is to kill members of the group, but also genocide includes the intent to destroy a group in whole or in part by other means, such as by preventing births in the group or causing serious mental harm. That is, by both definitions, genocide does not necessarily include killing group members.

In the early years of its use "genocide" was applied almost entirely to the Jewish Holocaust and then, especially through the work of Armenian scholars, to the mass murder of Armenians by the Young Turk regime during World War I. However, scholars increasingly have come to realize that restricting the killing aspect of the concept to those murdered by virtue of their group membership does not even account for the millions of non-Jewish Poles, Ukrainians, Yugoslavs, Czechs, Frenchmen, and others, the Nazis wiped out. How then do we conceptualize the purposive government killing of protesters or dissidents, the reprisal shooting of innocent villagers, the beating to death of peasants for hiding rice, or the indiscriminate bombing of civilians? How do we conceptualize torturing people to death in prison, working them to death in concentration camps, or letting starving them to death, when such killing is done out of revenge, for an ideology, or for reasons of state having nothing to do with the social groups to which these people belong?

Because of such questions some scholars have generalized the meaning of "genocide." In some cases it has been extended to include the intentional killing of people because of their politics or for political reasons,[9] even though this has been explicitly excluded from the Genocide Convention. Some scholars also have extended the definition of genocide to cover any mass murder by government whatsoever;[10] some have even stretched the concept much further, such as to characterize the unintentional spread of disease to indigenous populations during European colonization, including that in the American West.[11] To all these scholars the critical aspect of "genocide" is intentional government killing.

All this is confusing. Because of the non-killing aspect of "genocide" and the need to have a concept covering other kinds of government murder, all the following have been called genocide: the denial of ethnic Hawaiian culture by the American run public school system in Hawaii, government policies letting one race adopt the children of another race, African slavery by Whites, South African Apartheid, any murder of women by men, death squad murders in Guatemala, deaths in the Soviet gulag, and, of course, the Jewish Holocaust. The linking of all such diverse acts or deaths together under one label has created an acute conceptual problem that begs for the invention of new concepts to cover and be limited to intentional government murder. Thus, both Barbara Harff[12] and I have independently developed the concept of politicide for a government's premeditated killing of people because of their politics or for political reasons. But this new concept is still not sufficient, since many mass murders by government cannot be so labeled either, such as the working of POWs to death by the Japanese army in World War II or the killing of Black Africans that resisted enslavement.

Clearly, a concept is needed that includes all intentional government killing in cold blood and that is comparable to the concept of murder for private killing.

The killing of one person by another is murder whether done because the victim was Black or White, refused to repay a loan, or hurled an insult. It is murder if the killing was a premeditated act or the victim died because of a reckless and wanton disregard for their life. Nor does it matter whether the killing is done for high moral ends, for altruistic reasons, or for any other purpose, it is murder under Western and most other legal codes (unless officially authorized by government, as for judicial executions or military combat). And as a crime murder is limited by definition to intentionally taking the life of another in some way. Although we use murder metaphorically, as in someone "murdering" the language, it is not the crime of murder to hurt someone

psychologically, to steal their child, or to rob them of their culture.

As an analogous concept for public murder, that intentionally done by government agents acting authoritatively, I offer the concept of democide. Its one root is the Greek demos or people; the other is the same as for genocide, which is from the Latin caedere, to kill. Democide's necessary and sufficient meaning is that of the intentional government killing of an unarmed person or people. Unlike the concept of genocide, it is restricted to intentional killing, and does not extend to attempts to eliminate nations, races, or religions by means other than killing members of the group. Moreover, democide is not limited to genocide (that aspect involving the killing of group members), nor to politicide, mass murder or massacre, or terror. It includes them all and also what they exclude, as long as such killing is a purposive act, policy, process, or institution of government. In short democide is government murder.

Since much killing takes place during wartime, I must be absolutely clear on what then constitutes democide. War related killing by military forces that international agreements and treaties directly or by implication prohibit is democide, whether the parties are signatories or not. That killing explicitly permitted is not democide. Thus, the death of civilians during the bombing of munitions plants in World War II is not democide. Nor is the death of civilians when through navigation or bombing errors, or the malfunction of equipment, bombs land on a school or hospital, unless it is clear that the bombing was carried out recklessly in spite of a high risk to such civilian buildings. Nor is the death of civilians in a bombed village democide when beneath it has been built enemy bunkers. Nor is the death of civilians caught in a cross fire between enemy soldiers democide, or those civilians killed while willingly helping troops haul supplies or weapons. Seldom is it easy to make these distinctions, but the aim here must be clear. In the findings to be described below I discriminate between democide in time of war and war-deaths. The latter are those of the military and civilians from battle or battle related disease and famine. The former are those victims (which may include the military, as when POWs are massacred) of internationally prohibited war-time killing, what may be called war-crimes or crimes against humanity. Such was the Holocaust.

Pulling all this together, a death constitutes democide if it is the intentional killing of an unarmed or disarmed person by government agents acting in their authoritative capacity and pursuant to government policy or high command (as in the Nazi gassing of the Jews). It is also democide if these deaths were the result of such authoritative government actions carried out with reckless and wanton disregard for the lives of those affected (as putting people in concentration camps in which the forced labor and starvation rations were such as to cause the death of inmates). It is democide if government promoted or turned a blind eye to these deaths even though they were murders carried out "unofficially" or by private groups (as by death squads in Guatemala or El Salvador). And these deaths also may be democide if high government officials knowingly and purposely allowed conditions to continue that were causing mass deaths and issued no public warning (as in the Ethiopian famines of the 1970s). All extra-judicial or summary executions comprise democide. Even judicial executions may be democide, as in the Soviet show trials of the late 1930s. Judicial executions for "crimes" internationally considered trivial or non-capital, as of peasants picking up grain at the edge of a collective's fields, of a worker for telling an anti-government joke, or of an engineer for a miscalculation, are also democide.

Genocide (in its killing aspect) is then a type of democide that involves the government murder of people because of their ethnicity, race, religion, language, or nationality.

With the understanding of both genocide and democide, what can we empirically say about their general occurrence, patterns, causes and conditions?

I have collected data on this century's democide by all state regimes,

quasi-state regimes (e.g., the communist soviet enclaves in Nationalist China or the White army territories in Russia during the civil war in 1920), and group regimes (such as the Palestine Liberation Organization). The largest of the resulting estimates, including that for genocide, are listed in Table 1.

####

TABLE 1: 20TH CENTURY DEMOCIDE

(In Table 1 the first column gives the names of the regimes committing democide. The numbers following this define for each regime its years of existence, the total democide in thousands [a], the total domestic democide in thousands, the genocide in thousands, and the annual domestic rate of democide in percent [b]. Footnotes in brackets are given at the bottom of the table. All figures are from Rummel (1994))

U.S.S.R.		1917-87	61,911	54,769	10,000	0.42
China (PRC)	1949-87	35,236	35,236	375	0.12	
Germany	1933-45	20,946	762	16,315	0.09	
China (KMT)	1928-49	10,075	10,075	Nil	0.07	[e]
Japan	1936-45	5,964	Nil	Nil	Nil	
China (Mao Soviets) [c]		1923-49	3,466	3,466	Nil	0.05[e]
Cambodia		1975-79	2,035	2,000	541	8.16
Turkey	1909-18	1,883	1,752	1,883	0.96	
Vietnam	1945-87	1,670	944	Nil	0.1	
North Korea [f]		1948-87	1,663	1,293	Nil	0.25
Poland	1945-48	1,585	1,585	1,585	1.99	
Pakistan		1958-87	1,503	1,503	1,500	0.06
Mexico [f]		1900-20	1,417	1,417	100	0.45
Yugoslavia (Tito)		1944-87	1,072	987	675	0.12
Russia [f]		1900-17	1,066	591	502	0.02
TOTAL MEGAMURDERS		1900-87	151,491	116,380	33,476	0.92 [d]
LESSER MURDERERS		1900-87	17,707	13,529	5,090	0.26
WORLD TOTAL	1900-87	169,198	129,909	38,566		0.09[g]

TABLE NOTES

a. Includes genocide, politicide, and mass murder; excludes war-dead. These are most probable mid-estimates in low to high ranges.

b. The percent of a population killed in democide per year of the regime

c. Guerrilla period.

d. Average.

e. The rate is the average of that for three successive periods.

f. Suspected megamurderer: data insufficient for a final judgment.

g. The world annual rate is calculated for the mid-century 1944 global population

####

The figures in Table 1 are for this century's megamurderersQthose states killing in cold blood, aside from warfare, 1,000,000 or more men, women, and children. These fifteen megamurderers alone have murdered over 151,000,000 people, almost four times the almost 38,500,000 war-dead for all this century's international and civil wars up to 1987.[13] The most totalitarian regimes, that is the communist U.S.S.R., China and preceding Mao guerrillas, Khmer Rouge

Cambodia, Vietnam, North Korea, and Yugoslavia, as well as Nazi Germany, account for nearly 128,000,000 of them, or 84 percent. In addition to this democide by these megamurderers, 203 lesser murderers have killed near 17,700,000 more people.

These figures on democide are new to students of the Holocaust and genocide. They are based on almost 8,200 estimates of genocide, politicide, massacres, terrorism, extrajudicial executions, and other relevant types of killing. These estimates were recorded from over a thousand sources, which include general works, specialized studies, human rights reports, journal articles, and news sources.[14]

Of course estimates of democide are very uncertain[15] and often propagandistic. Therefore I generally calculated a low to high range of probable democide, the low being the sum of the lowest estimates across events for a regime and the high being a similar sum. In this way I tried to bracket the most probable figure, which I then judged or calculated based on the central thrust, objectivity, and quality of the estimates. However, many of the figures in Table 1 will seem so precise as to belie this cautious approach. The reason for this apparent over precision lies in the method by which they were determined, which often involved calculations on dozens and sometime hundreds of estimates. The democide I give here for, say Cambodia, was then the outcome of all these calculations, including polynomial regressions of estimates of her population for each year from the early 60s to late 1980s.

In addition, much of this democide occurred during wartime and may appear to be confused with war-deaths. I have tried to separate battle-dead or those dying in the wake of war from genocide and mass murder. The Holocaust during the Second and genocide of the Armenians during the First World War are easy cases of this separation. So is the reprisal killings of Czechs or Yugoslavs by the Nazis, or those who died in Soviet labor camps during the Second World War. Some cases are not so easy, as of American and British indiscriminate bombing of urban populations during the Second World War, American bombing in Vietnam and Cambodia, or the British food blockade of the Levant in the First World War which caused many deaths from starvation and malnutrition. I have followed this approach in classifying those killed or dying in war as either war-dead or democide. If these deaths would be considered a crime against humanity or a war crime, if they are now internationally outlawed by the Geneva Conventions and their 1977 Protocols, they are counted as democide.

Finally, to make sure I understood the democide estimates and could qualitatively evaluate them, I did case studies on democide by the Soviet Union,[16] Chinese regimes 1900-1987,[17] Nazi Germany,[18] Cambodian regimes, Vietnamese regimes, Turkey's regimes 1900-1923, North Korea, Russia 1900-1917, Mexico 1900-1920, Pakistan, Yugoslavian regimes 1941-1987, and Japan 1936-1945.[19]

With this in mind consider again the total democide of near 170,000,000 given in Table 1. This figure is incredible, indigestible, and unimaginable. One simply cannot comprehend how many people these are. It surpasses the 1987 population of all but six nations in the world. If without stopping one were to have this many people come in one door, walk at three miles per hour across a room with three feet between them (assume generously that each person is also one foot thick, naval to spine), and exit an opposite door, the time it would take for all to pass through the room would be over four years and ten months. If all these dead were laid out head to toe, and assuming each is an average five feet tall because of the many children, they would reach from Honolulu, Hawaii, across the vast Pacific and then the huge continental United States to Washington D.C. on the East coast, and then back again over sixteen times.[20]

What about genocide deaths? As can be seen from Table 1, near 39,000,000 people have been killed in genocide, or near 23 percent of this toll. This itself is more than all the war-dead of all this century's international and civil wars, including World Wars I and II, the Korean and

Vietnam Wars, the Russian and Mexican Revolutions, and the Spanish and Chinese Civil Wars. These genocides not only involved the Holocaust and the killing of the Armenians, the best known of this century's genocides, but also the lesser known genocide of Gypsies by the Nazis and of Greeks by the Turks. But then there were also the many genocides by other regimes, such as Stalin's deadly deportations of the Volga Germans, Greeks, Koreans, Chechens, and Crimean Tatars, and other nations groups; Kaiser Germany's almost total annihilation of the Herero in Namibia ; Pre-Revolutionary Mexico's genocide against its Indians; post-World War II Poland's, Yugoslavia's, and Czechoslovakia's killing deportation and genocidal treatment of their ethic and Reich Germans; Croatia's World War II genocide of their Jews, Gypsies and Serbians and the subsequent genocidal treatment of Croatians by the Tito partisans and then new post war Tito regime; Indonesia's post-coup 1965-1967 slaughter of ethnic Chinese (as a side-show to their massacre of communists) and in later years of East Timorese after their invasion of the country; Communist Chinese genocide of Tibetans and Nationalist Chinese of Formosans and both of Muslims; Rwanda's genocide of Tutsi and Burundi's of Hutu; East Pakistan's mass genocide of Bengalis in former West Pakistan (now Bangladesh); the Cambodian Khmer Rouge genocide of Buddhists, Chan (Muslims), ethnic Vietnamese, and ethnic Chinese; and on and on for a total of 141 regimes committing genocide. In no way, however, does listing these genocides or lamenting over their toll demean the importance, horror, and uniqueness of the Holocaust. For of all these genocides, the Holocaust is the only one in which a regime, as a matter of public policy, aimed to exterminate all members of a specific religious groupQthe JewsQroot and branch, where ever they could be found, whether in Germany or some occupied country, and the Nazis even prepared plans to kill them all in countries not yet defeated, such as in Great Britain. In this sense the Holocaust is unparalleled among genocides.

What now can be said about the conditions and patterns of genocide (again, understood as the killing aspect), including the Holocaust? How does genocide empirically relate to other forms of democide? How does it correlate with socio-economic, cultural, and geographical conditions and assumed causes? What are the best predictors of genocide? In order to answer these questions, I will present in summary fashion the results of a multivariate analysis of 214 state-regimes, including all 141 of them committing some kind of democide in this century, 1900-1987. A state-regime is a particular kind of government, such as a military dictatorship, a monarchy, or communist system. A country may have had several regimes during the century. Russia, for example has had three up to 1987, that of the Czar, then the brief Kerensky government, followed by the Bolshevik coup and communist rule. The Czar and communist regimes are two that were analyzed among the 214 regimes. For Germany there were the regimes of the Kaiser, Weimar Republic, Hitler, communist East Germany and democratic West Germany. All, with the exception of the Weimar Republic, were included in the analysis. Some countries, such as the United States, Canada, and Great Britain had only one regime through this century. In total 432 regimes have existed 1900-1987. The focus is on the regime rather than the state, since it is the regime that commits democide and at issue is whether certain types of regimes are more or less disposed to murder their citizens or foreigners. As to the analysis, this is not the conference within which to present the actual methods, correlations, coefficients, and the like; and they are given elsewhere.[21] Technical material, where possibly useful, will be confined to the footnotes. Now for the results.

The first question has to do with whether genocide correlates with other forms of democide. That is, does genocide comprise a general empirical pattern in state murder? Now such an empirical pattern would be a distinct and observable intercorrelation among different kinds of killing, such as genocidal murders and nongenocidal massacres, extrajudicial executions, and assassinations. And intercorrelation means (if positive) that when a regime commits genocide it also commits such other killing, and when it does not commit genocide it also does not commit these other kinds of killing. Many

would argue, I am sure, that genocide is a basic and pervasive pattern among regimes, that genocide reflects wide-scale murder by regimes and is a central indicator that general democide is occurring. And that therefore to focus on genocide is to deal with the central and most basic state murder.

Yet, surprisingly, I have found that this is not so. Rather, Genocide is a pattern of democide independent of other empirical democide patterns. That is, genocide is largely uncorrelated with other kinds of democide. For all 432 state regimes in this century, 1900-1987,[22] I determined the empirical patterns among fourteen different types of democide, including those killed in genocide, deportations, massacres, terror, forced labor, concentration camps and prisons, man-made intentional famines, indiscriminate bombing, and the killing of POWs; and also including total democide, domestic democide, foreign democide, and the annual rate of domestic democide.[23] The major and statistically independent patterns comprise domestic democide, foreign democide, the annual rate of domestic democide, indiscriminate bombing, and genocide (which is highly intercorrelated only with massacres).

Genocide itself is therefore a distinct empirical pattern of democide. This means that in the history of a regime it may or may not have committed genocide and massacres regardless of what other types of democide it has engaged in. Moreover, one cannot predict from the amount of democide that has been committed or the lethality of regime, as measured by the annual domestic democide rate, that genocide or massacres will or will not occur. Nor will the extent of a regime's foreign democide indicate that it will commit genocide. All this means that the IMMEDIATE causes and conditions of genocide are different than those for other types of democide or democide overall. Nonetheless, at a higher and more basic level there still may be causes and conditions that encompass genocide and other patterns of democide. And there is one that I will now point out.

The more totalitarian and less democratic a regime the more democide, the more genocide, and the greater the annual rate of democide that it commits. That is, although the independent patterns of domestic democide, foreign democide, genocide, and the others, are not correlated, together they are accounted for by a regime's totalitarian power.[24] Power is the means through which a regime can accomplish its goals or whims. When a regime's power is magnified through its forceful intervention in all aspects of society, including its control over religion, the economy, and even the family, then when conjoined with an absolutist ideology or religion, mass killing becomes a practical means of achieving its ends. Thus we have the megamurderers shown in Table 1, such as the totalitarian USSR, communist China, Nazi Germany, and Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge. And thus, when the regime finds for whatever reason that the continued existence of a social group is incompatible with its beliefs or goals, totalitarian power enables it to destroy that group. Genocide follows. On the other hand, democratic elites generally lack the power to, and democratic culture anyway opposes, the outright extermination of people or social groups for whatever reason.

Power is the basic explanation and empirical correlate of genocide and other kinds of murder by the state. But there is also a related characteristic that is intrinsic to power. The more power a regime has the more it is likely to commit foreign violence and to have rebellions against it. The empirical evidence on this is overwhelming.[26] The least warlike regimes are democratic the most are totalitarian. Indeed, democratic regimes do not make war on each other at all while warfare between totalitarian regimes, such as the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, are the most deadly of all. Using the number killed in war or rebellion as the indicator of such violence and connecting this now to genocide, I find that the likelihood of genocide by a regime increases significantly the greater the characteristic number of its people killed in war and rebellion. The more a regime has or will suffer dead from involvement in war or rebellion, the greater its foreign democide and genocide.[27] Clearly, war or rebellion provide an excuse and cover in the fog of war for a regime to eliminate those social groups it finds objectionable. But also, the results

show that over the life of a regime the more disposed it is to be involved in deadly foreign and domestic wars, the more likely it will commit democide, whether or not carried out during these wars. This is because totalitarian power not only underlies democide and genocide, but also because such power underlies as well the occurrence and intensity of war.

But, many would ask, what about racial, ethnic, and religious diversity and accompanying hostility? What about antisemitism and Nazi Germany? Turkey and the Armenians? Pakistan and India and the Hindus and Moslems. Rwanda and Burundi and Hutu and Tutsi. And all the other ethnically, racially, or religiously diverse societies in which their regimes have systematically carried out genocide. Surely such diversity is correlated with genocide.

But it is not. The social diversity of a nation is not correlated with nor does it predict its regime's overall domestic or foreign democide or in particular the regime's genocide. This is the most difficult to accept but the case studies and quantitative analyses are consistent. A nation's ethnic, religious, racial, linguistic, or national divisions, the relative size of such minorities or the nation's overall social diversity are uncorrelated with its domestic or foreign democide or its genocide. This is true even when various controls are introduced for the level of power, involvement in war or rebellion, education and level of economic development, or the nature of its culture.[28] In other words, some regimes whose societies are riven with social diversity will commit little genocide and some regimes with little diversity will commit much genocide; and some with much diversity will also commit much genocide and those with little diversity will have little genocide. And this lack of correlation is apparently not caused by any intervening or masking conditions.[29]

For domestic genocide to occur, of course, there must be some social diversity and such usually will exist even in apparently homogenous nations. For example, Japan is looked at as highly homogenous, yet its pre-militarist regime allowed 2,600 to 11,000 Korean residents to be massacred in Japan after the 1923 Yokohama earthquake (they were accused of poisoning public water, hoarding food, and starting fires). It is not diversity that predicts to genocide, but a regime's power. Minorities have been massacred in authoritarian or totalitarian states while in democracies very large minorities usually are secure in their lives, as in Switzerland or Belgium.[30]

Perhaps it is not a question of diversity but of culture. Possibly some cultures are more disposed to genocide than others and there are those that would pin such infamy on Western cultures; others might point to African cultures or Asian. Still we might even be more specific and say that Christians are less disposed to genocide than non-Christian or Moslem societies. Many other cultural distinctions might be made and I have tried to include measures of them in my analyses.

No matter. Whatever the cultural distinction, the nature of a regime's culture is uncorrelated with and does not predict to its overall foreign or domestic democide or its genocide. This is almost as hard to accept as the lack of correlation with diversity, but the analyses are consistent for this also.[31] The variation among regimes in the degree to which they are Christian or Moslem, or influenced by English culture, or anti-women, or even whether they are located in Africa, Europe, Asia, and so forth, does not predict to a regime's overall domestic or foreign democide or its genocide. As with diversity this is generally true for genocide even if one introduces various socio-economic controls.

Aside from diversity, perhaps the most popular solution to genocide has been education. It is often assumed that the more educated a population, the less likely its regime will commit, or be allowed to commit, genocide. This is the belief that with greater education comes a greater understanding of other groups, of the horror of genocide, and of a willingness to compromise. In line with this some add to this that economic development is also necessary. They assume that an educated and prosperous society has no reason to destroy minoritiesQthat the mass frustrations and deprivation attendant upon poverty

and that can be organized and unleashed upon out groups by elites no longer exists. I wish it were true, especially about education, but the data deny it. The level of education or economic development of a nation is uncorrelated with and does not predict to the foreign or domestic democide or the genocide of its regime.

This finding may be no surprise to those who realize that just before World War II Germany was considered one of the most developed and educated nations in the world. Moreover, Japan was the most educated and developed nation in Asia at the same time it was carrying out mass extermination campaigns in China. The megamurders by Nazi Germany and militarist Japan alone should caution those who believe that improving national education and wealth will decrease the likelihood of genocide and mass murder. The results for all democides confirm this in general. There is no meaningful correlation of these socio-economic characteristics and regime's overall democide, or genocide specifically. This is also true even when various political controls or a regime's involvement in war and rebellion is taken into account.[32]

What does this say in particular about the "other" as a threat and demonization, a central topic of this conference. I have not done systematic comparative research on this question, but the various case studies I have published are helpful in answering this. First, demonization and perception of the other as a threat appears a general process in war, whether international or domestic. We all know that in war enemies dehumanize each other, publicize each other as threats to humanity, civilization, and the Good, and thus justify their mutual destruction. Thus in World War II the Japanese were treated in the American media as monkeys, unfeeling and inscrutable, savage and barbaric, and a threat not only to Asia and the United States, but to Western civilization.

But aside from national enemies in time of war, what about internal groups? Is there a relationship between demonization, the perception of threat, and genocide. Here I must deal with elite opinion, particularly that of those in power, for there is little information on what the mass of people perceived preceding one or another democide. Now, we do know well that in some genocides the victims have been perceived by the regime as a threat and publicly characterized as less than human, as apes, pigs, cockroaches, vermin, and the like. The Nazi view of the Jews well exemplifies this. Not only were they the lowest of humanity, if at all seen as human, but they were believed to be a direct genetic threat to the master race of Aryans and a pollutant of the good German society and culture.

The Armenians genocide by the Young Turk regime is another example. In build up to this genocide during World War I the Armenians were treated as bloodsuckers, aliens, greedy, unpatriotic, anti-Turk, Pro-Russian, and a direct threat to the security of Turkey in the East where its forces confronted massed Russian armies. That the Armenians were a distinct ethnic, national and Christian subgroup in Muslim Turkey and dominated commerce, crafts, and professions, gave substance to these claims. However, the real threat of the Armenians was to the desire of the Young Turks to purify Turkey of non-Turks and to recreate the ancient glory of the Turk. In particular, the Armenians had been protected in the past by the intervention of Britain, Germany, and Russia, and thus were perceived as a continual threat to true Turkish independence. Once the Armenian protectors were engaged in war with each other and turkey allied with Germany, then this alien group and threat to Young Turk designs could be exterminated.

Another example is of the Bengalis in East Pakistan. They were already ethnically, linguistically, and geographically separated from the governing majority in West Pakistan, and although also Moslem, their beliefs were considered by Moslems in the West as vulgar. They were not a threat, however, until they won a majority in the national legislature were thus in position to achieve the desired political independence of East Pakistan. The dehumanization of the Bengalis by the governing military elite and the resulting genocide soon followed.

Indeed, I am sure that demonization and the elite perception of threat

from the outgroup was a general part of the process of genocide in this century. But this seems almost axiomatic. After all, genocide is by definition (again, in its killing aspect) the attempt to eliminate a social group. By definition, therefore, the concept of genocide only applies to those who a regime has killed by virtue of their membership in a distinct group. For such killing to take place, therefore, a group as such must be singled out for the killing. And it hardly conceivable that , as in war, such killing would not be preceded by a media blitz dehumanizing and demonizing the group and its members.

A broader question is whether democide in general involves such demonization. And I believe the answer is no. Much of the nongenocidal killing took place because the victims opposed a regime, criticized it, were killed as examples to deter others from opposition or sabotage (as in hanging ten subjects selected at random in retaliation), were of the wrong class (as of a landowner), did not work hard enough, violated a minor rule, were disrespectful (as in hanging one's coat on a bust of Lenin), or were worked to death. Many were simply worked to death, as in the German, Soviet, and Chinese forced labor camps, and had done nothing more, if anything (and people were often arrested for nothing but to supply slave labor) than violate a petty law or rule, or come under suspicion of being an enemy of the state or people. Tens of millions of people were killed simply as expendable bricks and lumber in the building of a utopia, as in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, Vietnam, or communist China.

Near 40,000,000 people died or were killed in the Soviet slave-labor system alone, a number that exceeds all the genocides of this century. And although once within the system political prisoners were systematically dehumanized as "enemies of the people" and were treated by guards and true criminals (those that had committed murder, burglary, and the like) as worse than scum, they may have been before imprisonment highly respected members of society. Many, in fact, were former communist party members themselves. Therefore, I argue, demonization and seeing or treating the other as a threat is not a necessary preliminary to democide in general. It is, however, an intrinsic part of the process of genocide.

In any case, demonization is an handmaiden of power. Where civil liberties and political rights exist, where regimes are democratic, where power is thus balanced, checked, and accountable, some demonization of outgroups may exist, but genocide is most unlikely. Where the opposite it true. Where a few or one dictator holds all power and such power is arbitrary, neither controlled by law or publicly responsible, then demonization is a technique, a means of eradicating some group that may be perceived as a threat to power, an evil presence, or a block to creating utopia.

In sum, the bottom line of this research is that power kills and the more power the more killing. The degree of a regime's power along a democratic to totalitarian scale is a direct underlying cause of domestic democide, including genocide. Moreover, acting through war and rebellion it is an indirect cause of foreign democide as well. The more power a government has, the more it can act arbitrarily according to the whims and desires of the elite, the more it will make war on others and murder its foreign and domestic subjects. The more constrained the power of governments, the more it is diffused, checked and balanced, the less it will aggress on others and commit democide. At the extremes of power, totalitarian governments have slaughtered their people by the tens of millions, while many democracies can barely bring themselves to execute even serial murderers.

FOOTNOTES

1. There are of course many collections of case studies and qualitative analyses, such as Charny (1984), Fein (1992), Porter (1982b), Veenhoven (1975-1976), and Wallimann and Dobkowski (1987). There are also excellent overviews and analyses of genocide and mass murder. See in particular Chalk and Jonassohn (1988), Kuper (1981, 1985), and Glaser and Possony (1979). For

bibliographic reviews, see Charny (1988, 1991a).

2. See, for example, Porter (1982a).

3. Rummel (1994).

4. Rummel (1995). So far a publisher for this volume has not been found. Because of its importance to this and other papers and to Death By Government, I have deposited a manuscript copy with The Vidal Sassoon International Center For The Study of Antisemitism, the sponsor of the conference at which this paper will be given.

5. Harff and Gurr (1988) presents a list of genocides and politicides since World War II; Rummel (1987, 1988) gives a preliminary list of genocides and mass murder in this century. These are the only two lists of which I am aware that are meant to be comprehensive and are presented in a comparative context, but neither focuses on or presents a list of genocides per se and which is genocide versus politicide or mass murder is not always clear.

6. The only application of quantitative analysis to genocide that I have seen is FeinUs (1979) use of multiple regression.

7. These are mainly presented in Rummel (1995). See footnote 4.

8. Lemkin (1944, p. 79).

9. See, for example, Fein (1984); Kuper (1981) and Porter (1982a).

10. See, for example, Chalk and Jonassohn (1988); Charny (1991b).

11. See Stannard (1992).

12. See Harff and Gurr (1988).

13. Battle-dead up to 1980 is from Small and SingerUs (1982) compilation of foreign and domestic war battle-dead. I added to this my own estimate for the years 1981-1987).

14. The estimates, sources, and calculations for the Soviet Union are given in Rummel (1990); for the Chinese Warlords, Nationalist regime, communist guerrillas, and communist regime, see in Rummel (1991); and for Nazi Germany, see Rummel (1992). All other sources and estimates are given in Rummel (1995).

15. After decades of scholarly research in the German archives, study of reports and official documents of other involved countries, and interviews with participants and survivors, the best estimates of the Holocaust dead still vary by over 40 percent.

16. Rummel (1990).

17. Rummel (1991).

18. Rummel (1992).

19. Those case studies not footnoted are published in Rummel (1994).

20. Back and forth, over 4,838 miles one way, near sixteen times? This is so incredible that I would not believe the calculation and had to redo it several times.

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21. Rummel (1995).

22. For only this analysis I was able to do it on all the 432 regimes; all other analyses had to be limited to 214 regimes.

23. This was done through component analyses with varimax orthogonal and oblique rotation of all 432 state regimes existing during 1900-1987. What I am calling an empirical pattern is a dimension (component, factor) defined by orthogonal rotation.

24. This is based on many different canonical, regression, and component analyses of various subsets of variables from a set of over eighty democide, political, socio-economic, cultural, and geographic variables for 214 state regimes.

25. [footnote omitted].

26. This is not the place to go into this evidence in detail. See Ray (1993, 1995), Russett (1993), and Weart (1994, 1995).

27. This is clear from a regression analysis of genocide on a variety of characteristics, including a regimeUs war dead and rebellion dead.

28. In this context, RcontrolsS means that these variables were held constant. Their influences were partialled out of the correlations between diversity and democide, and still the correlations between these two, or with genocide, were near zero.

29. Because of the importance of this finding, a variety of data were analyzed in many ways. For example, various component analyses were done with genocide and other types of democide and a variety of measures of diversity, and redone with indicators of diversity and various political, socio-economic, cultural and geographic indicators. Genocide also was regressed alone on diversity measures and then on diversity indicators plus the other indicators and severa interaction terms. The multiple R was .52, with only the political indicators and war and rebellion-dead being significant.

30. Note that Rwanda and Burundi are not really diverse, less so than the United States, Canada, Great Britain, or many other European, Latin American, or Asian countries. In Rwanda and Burundi the majority Hutu comprise about 85 percent of the population and around 70 percent of the population are Christia in Rwanda and over 60 percent in Burundi.

31. This is based on component, canonical, and regression analyses.

32. This is based on component, canonical, and regression analyses.

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In the Dock: Balkan Nationalism

By ROGER COHEN

THE HAGUE, Netherlands

IN September 1992, near the eastern Bosnian town of Gorazde, I came upon the corpses of five Serbian civilians who had been killed in an ambush by Muslim-led Bosnian Government forces. The bodies had been sprawled on the road long enough to fill the late-summer air with an overwhelming putrescence.

I have no idea of the names of the gunmen who killed these Bosnian Serbs as they tried to leave their homes. I do know that those who opened fire on this convoy of Serbian men, women and children committed a crime. A crime of retribution for the many crimes perpetrated by Serbs, certainly, and one committed amid the frenzy of war — but a crime nonetheless because it violated the long-accepted standard that armies cannot set out to murder innocent civilians.

An Ordinary Man

This scene came to mind as I gazed last week at Dusan Tadic, a Bosnian Serb who became the first suspected war criminal to appear before an international tribunal since the Nazi surrender 50 years ago led to the Nuremberg and then Tokyo trials. A former cafe owner, a man who never had any rank or formal position in the motley array of Serbian forces in Bosnia, Mr. Tadic looked, in his brown leather jacket, like everyman: the guy next to you on the bus or at the ball game. Measured against all the bloodshed, the bereavement and the mayhem of Bosnia over the last three years, he appeared ill-qualified to carry all that weight.

So should he have been placed there, behind bullet-proof glass in a U.N. court, as a representative of the many-faceted Bosnian nightmare?

The indictment from the international tribunal for the former Yugoslavia accuses him of killing, raping and torturing Muslims during the Serbian onslaught on the northwestern Prijedor region in 1992. These would be crimes representative of methods used by Serbs in forcing over 700,000 Muslims from much of Bosnia. But Mr. Tadic denies the charges. And what of the killers of those Serbian men and women found lying in the road near Gorazde? What of the political responsibility for all the slaughter? Why Bosnia, and not Cambodia or El Salvador? What chance, in the end, of drawing neat legal lines through Bosnia's labyrinth of horror?

Richard Goldstone, the South African judge who is the chief prosecutor at the tribunal, appears unruffled

Can a war-crimes trial at last help warring groups see each other and their deeds?

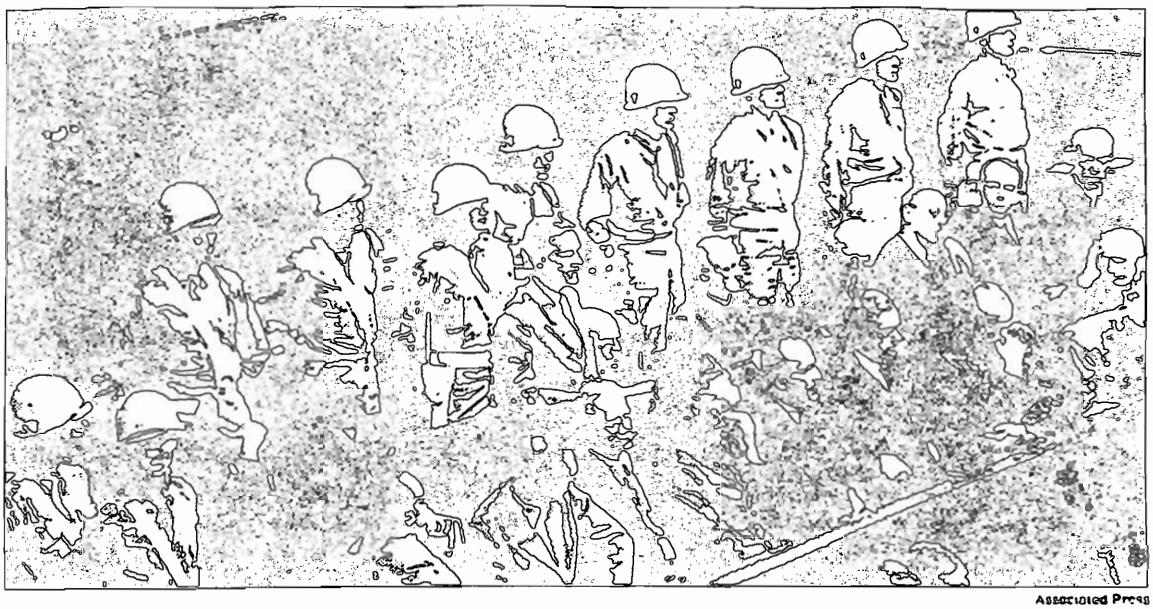
by these problems. He says he will try whatever war crimes he can identify, whoever committed them. Last week he named Radovan Karadzic, the political leader of the Bosnian Serbs and Ratko Mladic, their military commander, as suspected war criminals — a decision that will make a Bosnian peace even more elusive. "I really have not taken political considerations into account," he says, "and I will not in the future."

Myth and Martyrology

But the political repercussions are already mounting up. In Belgrade, the fact that the tribunal's first 22 indictments have been issued to Serbs has reinforced the impression that the world wants to persecute Serbs. The Bosnian Serbs described the tribunal last week as another vehicle for the "demonization" of Serbs.

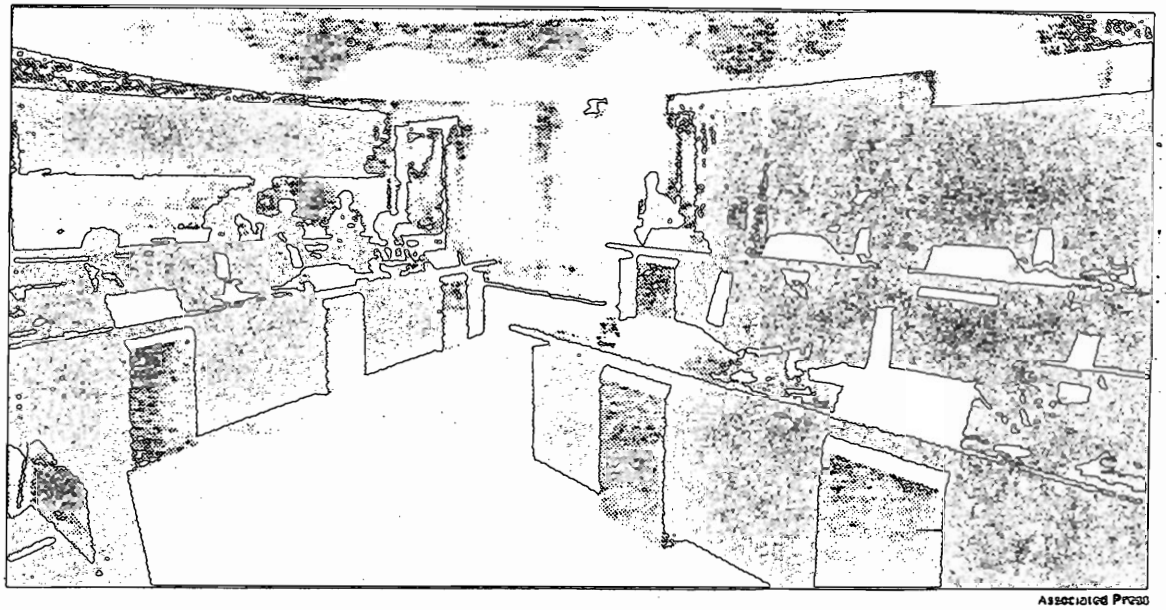
This sense of persecution has been growing among the Serbs for some time. It is rooted in the unusually strong mythology of the Serbian people, built around their epic, centuries-long struggle for liberation from Turkish domination as well as the bravery and great suffering of many Serbs during the two world wars. This is a mythology of heroism and sacrifice; its every element runs counter to the notion that Serbs could commit war crimes against innocent civilians.For a Serb to confront the Omarska concentration camp, where Mr. Tadic is said to have killed Muslims, is extremely difficult — a task comparable, perhaps, to that of a Jew confronting his conscience over what happened at Beirut's Sabra and Shatila camps for Palestinians. It is here, then, that despite its tardiness and obvious limitations, the United Nations tribunal may still be able to play a constructive role.

Yugoslavia was ill-born in 1918, in a way that left a terrible violence simmering. The Croats felt unjustly dominated by the Serbs. The Serbs, after their victory and sacrifices in World War I, felt the new country was rightfully theirs to govern and the "liberated" Croats had no right to grumble. The Bosnian Muslims, as they gradually came to a national self-awareness, felt their place in Yugoslavia was not clear. All these grievances, in turn, were fed by myth and rumor.



Associated Press

Nuremberg, 1946: High-ranking Nazis in the defendants' box at the international war-crimes tribunal.



Associated Press

The Hague, 1995: Dusan Tadic, in background flanked by guards, before the U.N. tribunal.

In the Dock: Balkan Nationalism

By moving too slowly against Balkan atrocities, the world community is encouraging still more war crimes

By JAMES O. JACKSON THE HAGUE

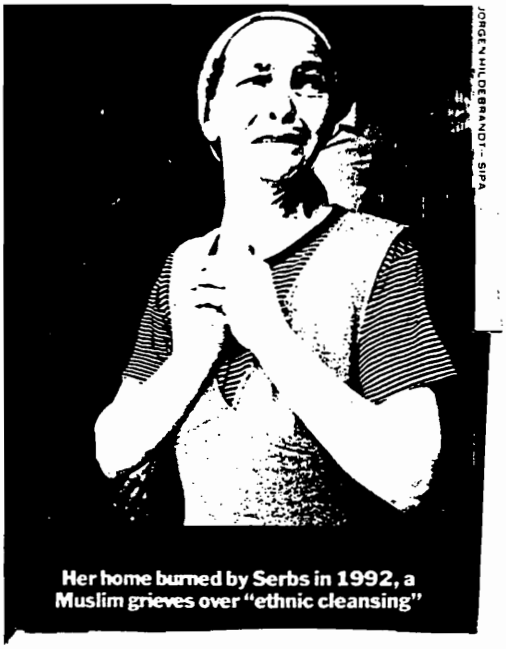
ELMA AHMIC, 17, IS HAUNTED BY memories of the brutal destruction of her village near Vitez, 37 miles north of Sarajevo, on April 16, 1993. A unit of the Bosnian Croat militia called the Jokers first shelled the mostly Muslim town, then moved in to finish off the men. Relations with local Croats had been good, she said, but after the arrival of the militiamen, "about 20 people surrounded our house, shouting, 'Get out of here! This is Croatia, not Turkey!' My father came out and asked them what they wanted. They took my father and killed him. They shot my brother when he was coming down the stairs. Then they shot my grandfather and two uncles in the front yard."

At least 107 Muslims died that day in the village of Ahmici. "Many of the people who killed my family are still there," says Ahmic. "I know who killed them." So does Sefkja Dzedzic, a local Bosnian Muslim commander. "After the war," he says, "the dogs will eat these men."

As outside powers press the Bosnian factions to settle their civil war and accept the permanent dismemberment of Bosnia and Herzegovina, there is other unfinished business. The war has been as ugly as any in history. At least 85% of the 200,000 killed in three years of fighting have been civilians. An additional 4 million have become refugees, most of them driven from their homes in pogroms of "ethnic cleansing." Survivors tell of concentration camps, brutal guards, starvation rations, killing grounds, mass graves. They remember a sadist called the Butcher, the killer gang known as the Jokers. They have witnessed summary executions, decapitations, human beings being thrown on bonfires. Some still hear the moans of raped women, the shrieks of terrified children, the howls of men under torture.

Fifty years after Hitler's fall, war crimes are being committed in the Balkans on a level reminiscent of Nazi Germany. Governments and private organizations have compiled detailed documentary and eyewitness evidence of at least 5,000 specific cases, along with lists of 3,500 named individuals allegedly responsible for committing the crimes.

The atrocities, carried out mainly by Serbs but also by Croats and Muslims, cry out for punishment. So far, the U.N. and



JORGEN HILDEBRANDT—SIPA

Her home burned by Serbs in 1992, a Muslim grieves over "ethnic cleansing"

THE BALKANS

NO RUSH TO JUDGEMENT





RON HAVIV SABA

IN FEAR OF GENOCIDE
Emaciated Muslims and Croats in a Serb camp in August 1992 shocked the world

other international organizations have deliberately been dilatory in tackling them. Although a U.N. war-crimes tribunal has been appointed, it lacks the political support and the funding to begin its work. No international charges have been brought before it. No trials have begun.

The Bush Administration named several top Serbs as potential war criminals, including Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, Radovan Karadzic, the leader of Bosnia's Serbs and General Ratko Mladic, commander of the Bosnian Serb army. The Clinton Administration has compiled evidence of high-level involvement. "We can piece together a heck of a lot," says a U.S. official. A recent State Department report cites evidence that Mladic had "overall responsibility for the camp system." One witness, a Croat who had been an officer in the regular Yugoslav army and later spent 14 months in various Serb-run detention centers, testified that Mladic in some cases decided the fate of individual prisoners. "The Serb detention camps and prison system in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in occupied Croat territory was an integrated entity organized under the corps structure of the army of the [Bosnian] Serb republic and operated with full knowledge and support of the Yugoslav army," the report says.

Only a smattering of cases have been brought. In Bosnia two men have been tried for murder and rape, and authorities in Belgrade have sentenced a Serb to death for killing 16 Muslim civilians. Alleged war criminals have been arrested in Germany and Denmark, and France is investigating charges brought by five Muslims against Bosnian Serbs. The German case against a Serb named Dusan Tadic, 38, arrested in February, will go to trial in Germany or before the Hague tribunal.

ENES HADZIC, A 36-YEAR-OLD MUSLIM truck driver, was held for two months at the Omarska detention camp in the summer of 1992. He says Tadic, who came from his home village of Kozarac, six miles east of Prijedor, was a guard nicknamed the Butcher for the beatings and torture sessions he conducted. "One night six men were called out and killed within an hour," says Hadzic, held in a room nearby. "I could hear the voices saying, 'Please, Dule, don't kill me.' " One of Tadic's victims was Jasmin Hrnic, also from Kozarac. "I personally saw Dule Tadic call Jasmin out of the group," says Hadzic. "A few hours later, he was dead. Jasmin had money and a motorcycle. Dule always hated him."

The war-crimes trials held in Germany and Japan after World War II set the standard for such proceedings, establishing the principle that leaders may be held respon-

sible for starting wars and for atrocities committed during the conflict. A series of Geneva conventions have defined violations under three general headings:

War Crimes, such as mistreatment of prisoners and targeting of civilians;

Crimes Against Humanity, such as enslavement, deportation and murder of civilian populations, and racial, ethnic and political persecution;

Genocide, defined as "deliberately inflicting on a group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part."

Crimes in all three categories have been documented in Bosnia. "The credibility of international humanitarian law demands a tribunal to hold accountable those responsible," says Theodor Meron, professor of international law at New York University Law School. He suggests that such trials "should deter those who envisage 'final solutions' to their conflicts with ethnic and religious minorities." Says Tilman Zülch, director of Germany's Society for Threatened Peoples in Göttingen: "I think we have to show that we've learned something. We have to show where genocide leads."



LUC DELAHAYE - SIPA

TO PUNISH, NOT AVENGE

Muslim civilians bury the dead returned to them in April 1993 by the Croats they had battled north of Sarajevo

TESMA ELEZOVIC, 45, WAS ON HER way home in Braunschweig, Germany, in January 1993, when she came face to face with a man who had forced her and fellow Muslims to flee the town of Kozarac in May 1992. "I was in shock," she says. "This man had his gun on my son's neck the whole way through the journey."

The encounter brought back terrifying memories of the ethnic cleansing of Kozarac, where Muslims and Croats were rounded up and sent to a soccer stadium in Prijedor. "The next morning we were marched to a highway intersection for selection," recalls Elezovic. "The men, women and children, and old people were separated. A man pushing a stroller with his one-year-old son in it was pulled to the side. They put a vicious dog up to his throat. We could see his insides spilling out. Then he was taken to a garage and shot."

Elezovic and other women eventually landed in the Omarska camp. "I don't like to speak about it," she says. "I was raped. I was beaten. The worst was that we had to watch everything. One night they built an enormous bonfire outside and pushed men into it. I was forced to watch from the terrace of the building. I had a gun in my back and was told, 'Look how they're all singing and dancing' as the men hopped around, burning alive."

The Society for Threatened Peoples has evidence that 150 Yugoslav suspects may be living in Germany. Most are Serbs, but the society's list also includes Croats and at least two Muslims. Authorities have launched investigations into 10 occurrences involving 30 individuals suspected of "conspiracy to commit genocide."

But most of the war criminals remain in their homelands, safe from prosecution. Nothing has been done to confront the likes of Milosevic and Karadzic or others on the U.S. list. Leaders at that level will be the most difficult to prosecute even though they bear primary responsibility for crimes committed by underlings. "Dusan Tadic is only a small part in the machinery of evil," says Ragib Hadzic, director of the Bosnia and Herzegovina War Crimes Commission office in Zenica, near Sarajevo. "Who created Dule Tadic? Who created the framework in which Tadic could exist? It is the creators of the system who must be prosecuted." Unfortunately investigators do not have access to military logs or other material that might prove the chain of command.

Cherif Bassiouni, who chairs the U.N. Commission of Experts appointed to study Bosnia war crimes, has passed 65,000 documents to the Hague tribunal. Ten three-woman teams, each consisting of a prosecutor, a mental-health specialist and an interpreter, have interviewed 200 rape victims and gathered data on 800 more cases.

The most persistent investigator is Fadila Memisevic. She has compiled a list of 1,350 suspects along with evidence she believes to be strong enough to satisfy international legal standards. Memisevic, a Muslim refugee from Zenica, has received advice from Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal in developing the cases and has applied his rule that each episode must be supported by the testimony of five witnesses. "In many cases we have 100 witnesses," she says.

NAZIF BEGANOVIC, 59, A MUSLIM TINSMITH from the ethnically mixed Banja Luka neighborhood of Budzjak, had lived for years in friendship with the Serb next door: "Before the war we'd drink brandy and slivovitz every night. After fighting started, he saw that we were lost, and he thought of himself as a force with power over us. I said the war was not my fault. I had no sons fighting against the Serbs. But he screamed 'Be silent, Balija [a pejorative term for Muslims]! I won't waste bullets shooting you. I'll burn you and blow up your house. I tell you straight to your eyes, I'll kill you.'"

For almost two years, said Beganovic, his family lived barricaded in their small home, slipping out a back window to fetch

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE

Though many investigators are convinced that atrocities are organized at the highest levels, the chain of command has proved hard to determine, making any prosecution difficult. Doing so is important, however, in order to establish the legal principle that Serb, Croat and Muslim leaders may be held responsible for crimes committed by their henchmen, and to forestall reprisals by demonstrating to the survivors that justice has been served.



Raised on tales of Serb victimization, he became a fanatic adherent of a Greater Serbia. A refugee in Germany, he was charged there with "systematic murder" as a guard at the Omarska camp, where Muslims were held.



food, harassed nightly by neighbors. The end came on Feb. 16, when two men wearing women's stockings over their heads charged into the house demanding money. The Beganovics had none to give them. "They hit my nine-year-old," says Rasema, Nazif's 33-year-old daughter. "I saw that her nose and ears were bleeding, and I screamed at them to let her go. Then they turned on me and raped me, one after the other. My whole family had to watch." Her sister Nada, 27, was also raped. The family fled to a refugee center in Gasinci in Croatia, 90 miles away. They will not return.

There is little doubt that such brutality is organized and authorized at a high level, even if the available evidence does not satisfy the exacting standards of a courtroom. U.N. officials cite the example of the predominantly Serb Banja Luka region, which was home to 356,000 Muslims and 180,000 Croats before 1991. Today only 50,000 Muslims and 27,000 Croats remain. Their homes and neighborhoods have been taken over by an estimated 250,000 Serbs brought in from Muslim-controlled areas.

The newcomers are instructed by local Serb officials to "integrate" into the villages. "That means they can look for a nice Muslim house and then go get it," says Joran Bjallerstedt, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees' chief protection officer for the former Yugoslavia. "They back up a truck to the house, load up anything that's salable, beat up the men, rape the women. The authorities say they can't control it. The truth is, they don't try."

LJUBOMIR S., 21, IS A SERB FROM THE VILlage of Brdjani. He was one of several hundred men imprisoned by Muslim militiamen in a military barracks at Celebici in June 1992. "We were beaten regularly," he told interviewers from Human Rights Watch/Helsinki. "A young soldier nicknamed Zenga beat us. They killed a man named Corba. They brought in a chair, on which he had to sit. They then shot him in front of his brother and me. This guy Zenga pulled the trigger."

The Western powers have not used what meager authority they have to force the factions into more humane behavior. The U.N. Security Council two years ago asked the five-member Commission of Experts to investigate reports of atrocities. A year ago, after the panel concluded that "grave breaches" of international law had been committed, the Security Council created an 11-judge international court to deal with them. Little has happened since. The judges "are like firemen polishing their engines, waiting for a fire," says an international lawyer. They have prepared rules of procedure and evidence, but the court's offices in a former insurance-company headquarters in the Hague are mostly empty. A small budget—$11.5 million through the end of this year—will cover rent, judges' salaries and overhead. Only a handful of prosecutors are on duty, a chief prosecutor still has not been appointed, and the budget for investigators is tiny.



CALLING TO ACCOUNT
A Muslim woman who charges she was raped by Serbs waits for justice at a refugee camp in Croatia in January 1993

Only two countries have put up hard cash beyond the U.N.'s small budget. Pakistan has contributed $1 million, and the U.S. is about to purchase $3 million in computers for the prosecutor's office. It is also spending $6 million on a task force made up of FBI agents, State Department experts, intelligence analysts and others sifting evidence to build cases.

The U.N. tribunal—if it ever gets started—will be breaking new ground in the history of war-crime prosecutions. Some Nuremberg precedents have been rejected: no defendants will be tried in absentia; nobody will be hanged. All the tribunal can do, says Theo Van Boven, the court's registrar, "is rule that a case exists and issue an international arrest warrant. That would severely limit the movement of such people. They would become pariahs."

In Nuremberg and Tokyo, the defeated were tried by the victors. "In Bosnia there is no victory," says Dominique Wouters, a tribunal legal officer. The chief judge, Italian legal scholar Antonio Cassese, says that makes the creation of the tribunal "a turning point in international relations. For the first time," he says, "the community of states is rendering a justice that is not that of the victors, imposed at the very time when the air is still being rent by the clash of arms and cries of pain."

War-crimes trials are intended as acts of punishment and instruments of deterrence—not only against atrocities elsewhere but also against vengeance. One reason to prosecute in formal, legal surroundings those guilty of war crimes is to let their victims see that justice is being done. What is happening today in Bosnia is the result, in large part, of ethnic violence during World War II and earlier that was never satisfactorily resolved. The international community will have to take responsibility for meting out justice in this Balkan war if it hopes to prevent the next one. ***—With reporting by James L. Graff/Zenica, J.F.O. McAllister/Washington, Nomi Morris/Berlin and Colin Soloway/Vitez***



Commander of Bosnian Serb forces, he had "overall responsibility" for detention camps where war crimes were committed, say investigators. His father was killed during World II by Muslim and at collaborators.



As Yugoslavia fragmented, he fanned the flames of Serbian nationalism, giving arms and money to the Bosnian brethren. Belgrade's consummate politician is dedicated to unifying all Serbs in one nation.

The head of Bosnia's Serbs came from peasant stock in Montenegro. Once a psychiatrist in Sarajevo, he has written poetry and composed music as well as allegedly overseeing the policy of "ethnic cleansing."

EVER AGAIN? A TEN-STEP PROGRAM TO STOP GENOCIDE

Helen Fein

Genocide, said my caller from Zagreb (Dr. Slobodan Lang of the Helsinki Watch Committee), **has become the most successful crime of the century.** Unlike an occupation or colonial enterprise, its results can not be undone. Since 1988, the practice of genocide has reoccurred in Europe, where it was stopped less than 50 years ago. The fall of the Soviet Union and the dissolution of Yugoslavia have led to the precipitants for genocide in Bosnia and many other opportunities elsewhere where mobilized ethnic groups and nations seek to drive their "Other" out.

We can stop genocide if we understand when it is likely to occur, what precipitates it, and what is taken for granted by its perpetrators [see Abstract, "Accounting for Genocide after 1945."] Rather than being a crime of passion, it is a crime of premeditation. Most perpetrators of genocide are repeat offenders, using genocide or genocidal massacre more than once. They have learned from the lack of sanctions that genocide pays. They rely on the support and tolerance of great powers and often are great or regional powers. The West, led by the United States, could change the calculus instigating genocide without waiting for democracy to succeed throughout the world—a much more ambitious goal than preventing states from taking lives and violating bodies of their subjects by design. This goal requires not more money but more discrimination among human rights. We should discriminate between life integrity—negated by gross violations of human rights such as genocide (including starvation by design), mass killings, extrajudicial executions, torture, state-sponsored rape, and slavery—and political and civil rights, culminating in stable democracy. We can require that governments respect life integrity now but cannot require that they create instant democracy or even anticipate the time needed to attain stable democracy. This is not to imply that democracy is not a desirable goal. To prevent gross violations of human rights today is not only a goal in itself but a prerequisite to enable people to employ civil liberties and participate in democracy.

To require respect for life integrity would imply a proactive rather than a reactive policy: to reform states based on an ethnic order nonviolently, to sanction gross violations of human rights of recipients of US aid, to deter wars, and to prevent murderous movements and elites from coming to power. The following ten steps comprise aspects of a proactive policy which would use both sanctions and incentives as levers, assuming that governing elites are rational actors—intent on retaining power, respect, and influence. The first nine ways could start now. Some of the following steps should apply to all cases; others need to be assessed in terms of their appropriateness for particular cases, taking account of the rules of war and US commitments to international treaties and organizations. Although the following steps focus on states as the perpetrators, they can be adapted to also sanction and inhabit nongovernmental actors (often armed or supported by states) who engage in genocide and indiscriminate killing.

The steps the US (and other states) should take include the following:

1. Penalize perpetrators of gross violations of human rights promptly and reward states which rectify past policies of violation. This means we must consistently implement US law and stop arming and giving aid to the perpetrators. We should stop indirect aid to fortify them (as we fortified Iraq) via trade credits, technology transfers, most favored nation status, and assistance from regional and global lending institutions. Also, we should stop economic aid; there just is no evidence that our aid to such perpetrators aids needy people (the only exception in the law) rather than greedy and repressive governments.

To probe the use of torture and arbitrary detention, we can require that jails and holding places be open to international inspection at all times without notice just as potential nuclear sites are open for inspection. This, of course, should also apply to the United States, for unilateral application of such a practice would expose us rightfully to charges of hypocrisy. Using sanctions early is especially important in

the case of countries engaged in lethal repression of the nonviolent expression of ethnic groups. At the same time, we should reward states which have reversed gross patterns of violation (going beyond lip service and symbolic commissions) and are punishing perpetrators of such crimes with increased aid.

2. Tie political legitimacy to protecting human rights by making recognition of new states provisional for at least two years. Permanent recognition should be contingent on demonstrating that states will protect the life, liberty, and property of citizens of all groups. We should promptly delegitimate states holding fraudulent elections that put illegitimate leaders in power (as in Liberia in 1985), states which are likely to provoke ethnically based rebellions and to employ genocidal massacres later.

3. We should **change the political environment of the potential perpetrators** to make sure they lack arms and are isolated. The United States could negotiate with regional powers and allies not to sell arms to gross violators of human rights and use its influence over states neighboring perpetrators of genocide to make sure that they help the victims rather than the perpetrators.

4. **Prevent escalation of conflict wherever possible** and anticipate the effects of sustaining or breaking up existing states. First, we could support the potential peacemakers, the citizens who oppose hate movements and exclusive nationalism, by providing them with recognition and resources. We could have, for example, supported an independent radio and television transmitter run by journalists from Yugoslavia of all ethnic groups committed to truth and to defending human rights. Such a station could have exposed the disinformation, hate propaganda, and manipulation before the war. We still can support such a medium.

If there is evidence of intent to prevent an escalation of ethnic conflict by governments, we could support efforts to mediate such conflicts early and measures to promote political participation in existing or new political institutions. There is a need for disinterested intervenors in some cases to prevent separation; in other cases, there is a need to find ways to separate peoples. "Self-determination" is one of the grounds for justifying new states,but sovereignty (rather than autonomy) is not necessarily the best solution, given how peoples are usually mixed together and how neighbors of the same nationality inhabit adjacent countries. Both in international law and in terms of expected effects, "self-determination" is a more ambiguous right (what groups shall be privileged?) than the elementary rights of individuals to life, to be free of bodily violation (such as torture and rape), and to have their homes, jobs and civil rights protected. We must insist through structural guarantees and through monitoring that collective rights can not be used to violate individual rights.

5. **Enable independent investigators, social scientists, lawyers and mediators to evaluate human rights violations and risks and help countries seeking to change their ways.** To assess our economic health, we have indicators of growth and decline. To assess how bad human rights violations are, we need reliable indices of different rights, indices which are not politically manipulated. We could provide for independent measures of such gross violations by social scientists to keep ourselves honest, segregating judgments from temporary political interests. We could protect local human rights monitors and enhance their visibility. We could train independent interviewers to collect and evaluate refugee testimonies, flying to refugee camps as needed, to confirm or disconfirm reports of atrocities. We could also place special officers in each embassy trained in implementation of international standards of human rights to act as ombudsmen and special consultants to police and criminal justice institutions to improve human rights practices if countries are ready to accept them. To help the victims and deter full-scale unfolding of genocide after it has begun, other steps are necessary.

6. **Take prompt and forceful action to move the perpetrator to stop, or**

Continued on next page

consider means of humanitarian intervention. The U.S. could blockade ports of countries engaged in genocidal campaigns in concert with other nations. It should impose sanctions on perpetrators of genocide on a scale commensurate with sanctions against perpetrators of aggression: not only denunciation, but freezing bank accounts and embargoing arms and trade.

Humanitarian intervention depends in part on having the troops needed ready and assessing the probable costs and effects of different strategies. But to have such a choice, we need armed forces ready. We could pledge US troops to an international standing UN command (as requested by the Secretary General) or could train a NATO unit for this purpose. We can employ our own and multinational troops to intervene in order to protect endangered peoples--for example, by creating safe havens—and to replace the government when whole peoples are in jeopardy--through genocide, mass killing or enslavement.

7. **When we can't stop the perpetrator, help the victims fight back if defense is possible.** One could give arms to the potential victims in order to deter their defeat and annihilation. This was apparently effective in Afghanistan.

8. **Enable the victims of genocide, persecution and indiscriminate killing to flee by providing means of rescue and giving asylum promptly.** We should give incentives to nations of first asylum to harbor refugees and agree to take in a percent (based on prior general negotiation taking into account population and resources) for permanent resettlement should political and military resolution of the situation fail. We can implement the US Refugee Act of 1980 in the spirit in which it was written and give preference to refugees in peril of murder or random death as members of a national, religious, ethnic, or political group. We can cooperate with other nations to provide temporary havens (perhaps rented on a long-term lease basis) under international protection. To finance this, perhaps we could negotiate an international tax system (based on airline tickets) to provide funds to give aid to nations of first asylum harboring refugees and for emergency aid to victims of disasters.

Responses to new crises also depend on maintaining the resonance of memory—of the Holocaust and other genocides—among the populations of democracies. We must consistently also expose the perpetrators and accomplices of genocide and genocidal massacres. This leads to step 9.

9. **Recognize the victims publicly and shame the perpetrators of past genocides.** We should immediately proclaim national days of remembrance to commemorate the victims of the Armenian genocide in the Ottoman Empire (1915–1918) and of the Khmer Rouge genocide in Cambodia (1975–1979). We could also collectively isolate and shun accomplices to murder and use local laws to prosecute them wherever possible.

The last step would create a new institution to enable the victims to go directly to court without relying on a state to advocate their case.

10. **Create an international criminal court to prosecute acts of genocide and other international crimes in order not only to prosecute offenders but to get some restitution for the victims.** Consistent punishment would serve notice to potential offenders that we intend to deter such crimes.

Specific steps are needed to deter genocide; it is too late to say "Never again" again. For it has happened again. And again. And again.

Helen Fein is the Executive Director of the Institute for the Study of Genocide (New York), and author of eight books and many articles on genocide and violence, including *Accounting for Genocide* (1979) and *Genocide: A Sociological Perspective* (1993).

UNIT VII · Issues of Conscience and Moral Responsibility



"Memorial to Children"

UNIT VII

RELATED ISSUES OF CONSCIENCE

The purpose of this unit is to provide lessons that enable the youngster to think and feel about the topics studied in Units 1-6. With the surrender of the German Army on May 8, 1945, it was possible for the allies to liberate every last Jew and other prisoners from the camps. Once released, however, Jews were uncertain about their future. Persistent anti-Semitism in pockets of Europe ruled out for many their return home. Forty-two Jews who went back to Kielce, Poland, for example, were killed in a terrible pogrom on July 4, 1946.

Still in force, the British White Paper (1939) additionally restricted Jewish immigration to Palestine. Some, however, tried - often in vain- to find their way in secrecy. In 1947, survivors on the ship Exodus attempted but failed to evade British notice and were immediately sent back. The situation dramatically improved when the United Nations established the State of Israel on November 29, 1947. After Israel came into existence six months later, many Jews joined the fight in its War of Independence. By 1951, about 200,000 Holocaust Survivors settled in the Jewish state and helped to build it.

In the meantime, many Jews chose to take up temporary residence in "Displaced Persons" camps established by the allies after the war in Germany, Austria, and elsewhere. Here they received protection, medical care, and food until they could decide where they would settle and commence new lives.

But as much as survivors and the rest of humanity were eager to move on, an insatiable need lingered for explanations of the Final Solution and for justice. Even during the war, on December 17, 1942, 11 Allied governments agreed to chartering a court after the war to determine guilt for mass murder and to punish the guilty. Some insisted from the beginning of this process that a regime acting on behalf of its people implicated an entire nation, while others felt that only those who committed crimes should be held responsible.

An International Military Tribunal, known as the Nuremberg Trials, came into existence on August 8, 1945 and commenced proceedings on November 20th. The 1942 Charter called for equal representation among the four allies - France, Britain, Russia, and the United States -- in judging and prosecuting the case against "crimes against humanity." Ten months later, on October 1, 1946, 19 men were found guilty. They comprised 12 who received the death sentence, including Hermann Goering, Alfred Rosenberg, Julius Streicher, and Martin Bormann; three who were sentenced to life imprisonment, including Rudolf Hess; and four others, including Albert Speer, who served from 10 to 20 years in prison.

The pursuit of justice did not end with the trials. Several people, including Simon Wiesenthal and Beate Klarsfeld, have dedicated their lives to locating former Nazis who escaped from judgment to live under false identify in South America and any other country else that would take them in. Israeli secret agents found Adolf Eichmann in Argentina on May 23, 1960 and brought him to trial in Israel, for his central role in deporting more than three million Jews to death camps. He was sentenced to death.

As other former Nazis or "illegal immigrants" to America were eventually tracked down, many Holocaust survivors came forward for the first time to testify. Their testimonies, enriched by scholarly study and the discovery of new documents, comprise an extensive corpus of information and interpretation on the Holocaust era. Textbooks, including the present volume, as well as popular books, videos and films, and journals continue to discuss the Holocaust's considerable dimensions.

This quest for knowledge as well as for justice offers insight as much about ourselves as it does about the Nazi past, for the Holocaust has permanently changed the way we live and think. As difficult and solemn as it is, explaining what happened and, above all, why, heightned awareness of the reality of radical evil and its consequences. In this sense, knowledge fuels action - a determination to fight evil's manifestations. As onerous as their personal memories are, survivors have been able to teach the world that the preservation of life is sacred but fragile and therefore demands constant attention to protecting each individual's human rights and respecting each individual's human dignity.

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STUDENT READINGS
ISSUES OF CONSCIENCE
&
MORAL RESPONSIBILITY

UNIT VII

GOALS	READINGS	TITLE	PAGE
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		Chaim Ginot's letter	
		Nazi Leadership - Furman **Anthology**	2
3	**READING #2**	**Limits of War** - War trials, Judgment at Nuremberg - Xerox Corporation	6
		Nuremberg War Crimes Trial - Furman **Anthology**	5
5	**READING #3**	**EXODUS** by Leon Uris, "Hunger Strike", Chapter 32	16
5		**Home at Last** - Editor Azriel Eisenberg	
		"Stubborn Son of a Stubborn People" by Lena Kichler	19
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8	**READING #4**	**Holocaust Questions** by Yehuda Bauer - Furman, **Anthology**	24
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9	**READING #5**	"Inside the 3rd Reich" - 1993, Responsa Magazine	35
		"Active White Supremacist Groups 1993", Klanwatch, 1994	41
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		"Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents", ADL	48
10	**READING #6**	**Hidden Children**, Dimension Journal, ADL	
		"Children on the Run" by Mordecai Paldiel, Dimensions, ADL	51
		"The Legacy of the Holocaust Survivors", United States Holocaust Memorial Museum	
		"The Pledge of Acceptance of the Second Generation", Ibid	56
11	**READING #7**	**Lessons of Holocaust** by Dennis Prager - **Ultimate Issues**	57
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		Statements of U.S., Polish and German Bishops on the 50th Anniversary of the Liberation of Auschwitz	

AUDIO- VISUAL LIST

UNIT VII

Judgment at Nuremberg - 178 min. b\w

Dramatizes the proceedings of the second Nuremberg trials during which German judges were tried for their abuses of human rights.

Social Studies School Service
1-800-421-4246
$29.98

Exodus - 3 hrs.

Based on the book by Leon Uris, which tells a fascinating story of the survivors after the war who want to emigrate to Palestine. Show clips of this film, especially the scenes of the hunger strike on the Exodus. Chapter 32.

1-800-331-6197
$29.98

Shoah - 9 hrs.

Color documentary by Claude Landsmann which shows Poland and Germany. Talks with survivors, perpetrators and victims without using graphic footage.

Social Studies School Service
1-800-421-4246
$299.95
Some local libraries may have a copy of this Video.

Beyond Hate - 90 min.

Bill Moyer's tape includes revealing interview with haters and the hated and shows the harmful effects of stereotyping.

Social Studies School Service
1-800-421-4246

Skokie - 121 min.

Television Docudrama based on true story, showing how the citizens of Skokie, IL., a town with a high percentage of survivors, try to stop street demonstrations of Neo-Nazis.

Social Studies School Service
1-800-421-4246
$17.50

California Reich- 25 min.

Rebirth of U.S. Nazi Party.

Social Studies School Service
1-800-421-4246

UNIT__VII__: Issues of Conscience and Moral Responsibility
UNIT GOAL: Students will analyze society's moral codes and assess issues of conscience and moral responsibility and their effect.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
1. Students will analyze responsibility; values and morality.	A. Use survey/discuss. B. Discuss the relationship between level of education and moral responsibility.	• A. Furman, Harry. **Anthology, Assess and Defining Responsibility**, p. 180 •B. 1. Ibid p. xxi - Ginot's letter • 2. Ibid pp. 100-101 **Nazi Leadership**
2. Students will be able to differentiate between a crime and a war crime.	A. Students will investigate the difference between crimes and war crimes. Students will research legal basis for establishing War Crimes Tribunal. Students will be able to define and discuss the following: 1. ex-post facto 2. Common law 3. Statute Law 4. Conspiracy 5. The Hague Convention 1899, 1907 6. The Geneva Convention 1929 7. Subsequent Geneva Rules/Conduct of Warfare 8. German rules of conduct 1944 9. Tribunal	A. Conot, Robert E. **Justice at Nuremberg**, NY, Harper & Row, 1983. Very extensive, behind the scene look at eleven months trial, based on interviews, memoirs, letters and testimony. Documents of Human Rights, Volume 1 and 2
3. Students will analyze setting up and administration of the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal.	A. Students will research the background of the 1. War Crime Tribunal 2. Establishment of the Charter of Tribunal 3. How the charges were determined. 4. List and describe the four counts of Indictment: a. Conspiracy b. Crimes against Peace c. War Crimes d. Crimes against Humanity 5. Nuremberg Trial - 22 defendants crimes/outcomes (See **Limits of War**) 6. Subsequent trials - Gen. Telford Taylor 7. Number of trials, defendants, convictions, sentences.	A. 1. Conot, Robert E. **Justice at Nuremberg**, NY, Harper & Row, 1983. Very extensive, behind the scene look at eleven months trial, based on interviews, memoirs, letters and testimony. 2. Davidson, Eugene. **The Trial of the Germans,** Macmillan, 1966. Long fascinating account of Berman, Spear, Goering and Von Papen. 3. Telford, Taylor. **The Anatomy of the Nuremberg Trial,** Little, Brown, 1992. 4. Gilbert, G.M. **Nuremberg Diary,** Farras, Straus and Giroux, 1947, Signet Book, 1961. A prison psychologist in the Nuremberg jail tells his meticulous story about Speer, Goering, Hess and many others. 5. Woetzel, R. **The Nuremberg Trials in International Law,** Praeger, NY, 1960. A thorough analysis of the trials basis in, and implications to international law.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
		• 5. **The Limits of War** - Judgment at Nuremberg, Public Issues Series, Xerox Corporation,., 1978, pp. 12-33. 6. Shapiro, William E., Project Editor Staff of CBS News. **The Trial at Nuremberg,** Franklin Watts, Inc., 1967. 7. Tusa, John and Ann. **The Nuremberg Trial,** Fairfield Graphics, PA, 1986. Video: **Judgment at Nuremberg**, video from S.S.S.S. or Rent from Video store.
	B. Conduct mock Nuremberg Trial given background vital and other pertinent information.	• B. Furman, Harry. **Anthology, Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal,** pp. 180-183.
	C. Reenact/show a select scene from the play or movie: **The Man in the Glass Booth** or student can perform play, **The Sunflower** by Seymour Siegler and Jack Needle. Dilemma of victims.	C. Shaw, Robert. **The Man in the Glass Booth**, , (fiction) a play, Grove Press Inc., 53 E. 11th St. , NY, NY 10003, 1968, $295. Play - **The Sunflower** - see Appendix.
	D. Discuss the various issues brought up at the Eichmann Trial, i.e. 1. Legality of apprehension. 2. Jurisdiction for the conduct of trial. 3. Verdict	D. Hausner, Gideon. **Justice in Jerusalem,** Holocaust Library, NY. First published by Harper Row, 1966. **Great Trial in History** - High School Library.
	E. Show selected trial scenes from **Judgment at Nuremberg** and **QBVII**.	E. **Judgment at Nuremberg**, S.S.S.S., **QBVII** - Columbia Pictures.
	F. Investigate recent trials of Ivan "the Terrible" or Demjanjuk and Klaus Barbie - Butcher of Lyon. Research other trials of Nazi war criminals.	F. 1. Murphy, Brendan. **The Butcher of Lyon, The Story of Infamous Nazi Klaus Barbie**, Empire Books, NY, 1983. 2. Dabinhaus, Erhard Dr. **Klaus Barbie,** Acropolis Books Ltd., Washington DC., 1983. 3. Teicholtz, Tom. **The Trials of Ivan The Terrible,** St. Martins Press, 175 5th Ave., NY NY 10010, 1990. 4. Klarsfeld, Beate. **Wherever They May be**, Vanguard Press, 1972. 5. See **Reader's Guide** - to periodicals for related article. 6. Wiesenthal. Simon. **The Murderers Among Us.** 7. Rosenbaum. Alan S. **Prosecuting Nazi War Criminals**, Westview Press, 1993.

UNIT__VII__: Issues of Conscience and Moral Responsibility
UNIT GOAL: Students will analyze society's moral codes and assess issues of conscience and moral responsibility and their effect.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	G. Read/perform selected scenes from play: **The Deputy** by Rolf Hochhuth, pp. 371-389, included in **Out of Whirlwind** (Abridged version).	G. 1. Bonhoeffer, Emmi. **Auschwitz Trials; Letters from an Eyewitness,** Richmond, John Knox Press, 1967. 2. Friedlander, Albert. **Out of the Whirlwind,** Union of American Hebrew Congregations, NY, 1968, pp. 371 - 389.
4. Students will study and analyze the wider issues of conscience beyond the scope of the First Nuremberg Trials.	A. Students will analyze what issues were resolved and not resolved. 1. How to prevent future genocides. 2. Recurrence of the Holocaust. 3. Moral issues regarding Germany. 4. Unpunished individuals, institutions: e.g. I.G. Farben Krupp, Military High Command 5. Reparations 6. Bystanders 7. Moral responsibility 8. Corruption of power 9. What was accomplished? 10. Medical experiments in camps.	A. 1. Video - **Judgment at Nuremberg**, S.S.S.S.. Final scene or rent from video store. 2. Furman, Harry. **Anthology - I. G. Farben,** pp. 136-138. 3. Appelman, John, Alan. **Military Tribunals and International Crimes,** 1971, pp. 177-183, 185-193, Westport, CT, Greenwood Press, 1971. 4. Harris, Whitney. **Tyranny on Trial,** p. 549, Southern Methodist University Press, 1958. 5. Borkin, Joseph. **The Crimes and Punishment of I.G. Farben,** Free Press, 1978. 6. Tusa, Ann and John. **The Nuremberg Trial,** pp. 170-171, 435 - 439, Fairfield Graphics, Fairfield, PA, 1984. 7. Miale, Florence and Selzer, Michael. **The Nuremberg Mind,** The Psychology of Nazi Leaders, Chapter 19, pp. 268-287, Chart on p. 269 (The Mind of Nazi Leaders), Quadruples, NY, Times Book Co. 1975. 8. Lifton, Robert. **The Nazi Doctors.**
5. Students will assess the relationship between the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel.	A. 1. Read selected book excerpts or show parts of the video **Exodus**. Discuss challenge and difficulties. 2. View video about the establishment of the State of Israel and discuss the challenges and problems that the new nation faced	A. • 1.. Uris, Leon. **Exodus**, Chapter 32, Jews go on hunger strike because they want to leave for Palestine. Video - **Exodus,** 3.5 hour movie. Use clip to show above scene, beginning of film. Rent from video store or TV. 2. Video - **Israel - A Nation is Born** Part I, Ergo (1-800-695-3746)

UNIT__VII__: Issues of Conscience and Moral Responsibility
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PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	B. 1. Read and write a book review on **One Hundred Children** by Lena Kuchler Silverman. (Issue of orphaned children.) 2. Read personal experiences by teenage survivor. a. **Stubborn Son of a Stubborn People** from **Home at Last** by Lena Kuchler Silverman. b. Other selections from **Open the Gates** 3. Review proclamation of the State of Israel by the provisional government of the State of Israel. Explain how the State was established.	B. 1. Silverman Kuchler, Lena. **One Hundred Children**, Doubleday, 1961. Video - TV. Docudrama by same name. 2. • a. Eisenberg, Azriel, ed. **Home at Last**, Block Publishing, NY, 1977 b. Avriel, Echud. **Open the Gates**, Atheneum, NY, 1975. c. Helmreich, William. **Against All Odds**, Simon Shuster, NY, 1992. • 3. Eban, Abba. **My People**, pp. 455-457, Proclamation of State of Israel.
	C. Students will make a comparison of the similarities and differences of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and the War of Independence 1948 and 1949. Read: **50 Years Ago - Revolt Amid the Darkness.** D. Have students write a response to the hypothetical question. What would have happened if the Jews of Europe had Palestine (Israel) as a safe haven to flee to in the 1930's?	C. 1. See **50 Years Ago -Revolt Amid the Darkness, 1993.** U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, pp. 185 - 219. 2. Write to Ghetto Fighters House, Kibbutz Lochamei Hagetaot, D.N, Oshrat, 25220, Israel. 3. Eban, Abba. **A Nation is Born.** About Israel. Also video by same name, Ergo Video. See Appendix

UNIT__VII__: Issues of Conscience and Moral Responsibility

UNIT GOAL: Students will understand that issues of moral responsibility and conscience that exist in the world have an impact on life and that choices must be made in a responsible manner with an understanding of their outcomes.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
6. Students will discuss individual and collective responsibility for the Holocaust.	A. Review the issue of individual moral responsibility vs. obedience to authority through moral dilemmas and discussions. B. Discuss questions of guilt and responsibility of the Nazis. Students can present a play about individual responsibility.	A. See videos • **Joseph Schultz**, ADL, $125 video or rent film for $45. Questions on the video. • **The Bystanders Dilemma**, thinking skills and values exploration. S.S.S.S. B. 1. **The Sunflower**, by Simon Wiesenthal 2. **The Choice - A Play in Two Acts** - Gene Ruffino Niccacci
7. Students will evaluate the complex issues of uniqueness and universal lessons of the Holocaust.	A. Student will research why the Holocaust was unique.	A. 1. Furman, Harry. **Anthology.** • 2. Bauer, Yehuda. Read **Holocaust Questions,** pp. 184-186. 3. Bauer, Yehuda. **A History of the Holocaust**, read book,
8. Assess the motives and tactics of the deniers of the Holocaust.	A. Students will investigate the history of the denier's movement 1. How does it relate to classical anti-Semitism? 2. In the U.S., what are the First Amendment implications? 3. What will happen when there are no more survivors and liberators, when new generations are further removed from the Holocaust?	A. – Lipstadt, Deborah. **Denying the Holocaust: The History of the Revisionist Assault on The Truth and Memory**, Free Press, 1993. For Advanced Students, Chapter 2, pp. 31-50, "The Antecedents - History and Conspiracy". – **Holocaust Denial** - a Pocket Guide - ADL. Ibid, **Beyond Belief: The American Press and Coming of the Holocaust, 1933-1948,** Free Press, 1986. • – Stern, Kenneth. **Holocaust Denial**, 1993, American Jewish Committee, 225 Milltown Ave., Millburn NJ 07041. (1-201-379-7844). Deals with denial in the U.S., around the world. Refuting denial, long-term battle. pp. 6-9.

UNIT__VII__: Issues of Conscience and Moral Responsibility

UNIT GOAL: Students will understand that issues of moral responsibility and conscience that exist in the world have an impact on life and that choices must be made in a responsible manner with an understanding of their outcomes.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
		• Video - **Skokie** - Based on true story. Depicts how citizens of Skokie, IL., a town with a high percentage of survivors tries to stop street demonstration of Nazis, 121 Min., S.S.S.S., $17.50. • Video: **Never to Forget** - A story of Mel Mermelstein survivor of Auschwitz - Birkenau challenged by hate group to prove in court of law that anyone was gassed in Auschwitz, 95 Min., 1991, S.S.S.S., $79.98. Act out playlet: **It's Really True** written by the students of the SJCC, Summit, NJ.
9. The students will examine post-Holocaust persecution of Jews in Eastern Europe.	A. Students will read and/or view **Shoah** to examine post-Holocaust persecution and attitudes is toward the Jews in E. Europe. B. Students will discuss remaining Holocaust survivor's lot, their families, identity, homes and countries. C. Students will review the ADL fact-finding reports about the rise of Nazi movements, incidents in 1990's. 1. Students will write an essay. How can Americans be Nazis after the Holocaust?	A. 1. Landzman, Claude. Video - **Shoah** - 9 hrs.. An oral history of Holocaust without graphic footage, 1985, S.S.S.S. Text is also available. 2. Rossel, Seymour. **The Holocaust, the World and the Jews, 1932- 1945.** C. Responsa Newsletters - Simon Wiesenthal Center Inside the 3rd Reich, 1993, Vol. 14 Summer of 1993. 1. a. **Nazis and Neo-Nazis**, ADL. b. **Hate Groups in America**. A record of bigotry and violence, $15.00, classroom materials. c. **Hip to Hate.** Hateful lyrics in Rap & Rock, ADL. d. **The German Neo-Nazi: An Update,** Investigative report. Ask for the latest. e. Video - **Beyond Hate**, 90 Min. Bill Moyers tape includes revealing interviews with haters and the hated and shows harmful effects of stereotyping, S.S.S.S. f. Video - **Crimes of Hate** - 29 Min. Video has 3 parts - Crimes of Racism. Crimes of anti-Semitism and Crimes of Gay Bashing. ADL.

UNIT__VII__: Issues of Conscience and Moral Responsibility
UNIT GOAL: Students will analyze society's moral codes and assess issues of conscience and moral responsibility and their effect.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
		2. a. **Young Nazi Killers - The Rising Skinhead Danger**. The growing menace of American Neo-Nazis, Skinheads, who target American youth, ADL, booklet. b. **Active White Supremist Groups**, 1993, Klanwatch Magazine.
10. Students will examine the impact of the Holocaust upon camp and other survivors, hidden children, survivor families, and the impact of the aforementioned on contemporary life.	A. Read and discuss the psychological studies that examine at the impact of the Holocaust on hidden children. B. Students will read "Children on the Run" by Mordecai Paldiel - **Dimension Magazine.**	A. – **Dimensions** - A Journal of Holocaust studies, special editions on "Hidden Children", ADL. – Nir, Yehuda - **The Last Childhood**, Harcourt Brace, San Diego, 1991. – Hano, Roth, Renee - **Touch Wood - A Girlhood in Occupied France,** Puffin Books, 1989. – Tec, Nechama - **Dry Tears: The Story of a Lost Childhood**, Oxford. • – **Dimension Magazine**, "Children on the Run" by Mordecai Paldiel. – Mark, Jane. **The Hidden Children**, Fawcett, Columbine, 1993.
		Videos: – **Assisi Underground**, Italy, Monks save Jews, 2 Hrs., S.S.S.S. – **Miracle at Moreaux** - 1 Hr., S.S.S.S. – **Anne Frank** - 1955 Version the best. Millie Perkins, Black and white, S.S.S.S. – **Courage to Care** - 30 Min., S.S.S.S., Righteous Rescuers. – **As if it Were Yesterday** - Hiding Belgian Children, S.S.S.S.

UNIT GOAL: **Students will understand that issues of moral responsibility and conscience that exist in the world have an impact on life and that choices must be made in a responsible manner with an understanding of their outcomes.**

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	F. View videos about survivors and their families.	F. Videos - all available from ADL (1-800-343-5540) – **Breaking Silence** – **In Dark Place - Remembering the Holocaust** – **A Generation Apart** – **The Legacy** – **Same Sky, Same Earth** – **About the Holocaust** – **Survivors of the Holocaust**
11. Students will form conclusion concerning the "lessons of the Holocaust" as it applies to future acts of worldwide anti-semitism and other forms of prejudice.	A. Write an essay on the importance of studying the Holocaust for today and the future. B. Create a collage of materials gathered to show your impressions of the Holocaust. C. Examine other forms of present day prejudice as it affects our daily lives.	A. See texts from **United States Holocaust Museum** (1-202-488-0400) with teachers guide. B. Write to institutions who publish materials on Holocaust. See Appendix. C. 1. Video: **Multicultural Education: Will Extremists Destroy the Dream?** 47 Min., video $10. Six panelist who affirm the value of multicultural education and danger posed by extremists. 2. Video: **Rapmatazz: A notebook Against Prejudice**, 14 Min., $100. Teens in Boston communicate through the arts their fears and prejudices of those who are different. ADL.

UNIT__VII__: Issues of Conscience and Moral Responsibility
UNIT GOAL: Students will analyze society's moral codes and assess issues of conscience and moral responsibility and their effect.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	B. Compare diaries of survivors who were not hidden to those who were hidden.	**Books:** B. – Leitner, Isabella. **Fragments of Isabelle: A Memoir of Auschwitz**, Crowell, 1978, Teenage story. – Wiesel, Elie. **Night**, Avon P/B, 1960. Story of teenage boy caught in Auschwitz, Birkenau – Geve, Thomas. **Guns and Barbed Wire - A Child Survives the Holocaust,**, 1987, teenage story. – Zuckerman, Abraham - **A Voice in the Chorus**
	C. Have students do oral histories of survivors. Invite a survivor to class to speak about their struggles to survive and contributions to our society.	C – Steinitz, Lucy. Ed. **Living After the Holocaust**, Bloch, 1975, Teenage story – Schwarz, Bart, Andre. **The Last of the Just,** Atheneum Books, 1973. – Rabinowitz, Dorothy. **New Lives: Survivors of the** – **Holocaust and Living in America**, Avon, 1976. Helmreich, William. **Against all Odds**
	D. Students will review readings and psychological studies of survivors and their families and child survivors.	D. – Epstein, Helen - **Children of the Holocaust** – Hess, Aaron - **In the Shadow of the Holocaust** – Hemmindinger, Judith - **Survivors, Children of the Holocaust** – Sigal, John J. and Weinfeld, Morton - **Trauma and Rebirth: Intergenerational Effects of the Holocaust** – Sichrovsky, Peter - **Strangers in their Own Land - Young Jews in Germany and Austria Today** – **Wardi, Dina - Memorial Candles** – Wiesel, Elie - **The 5th Son** E. • Wiesel, Elie - **The Legacy,** Jerusalem, Israel, June, 1981 • **Pledge of Acceptance**

UNIT GOAL: **Students will understand that issues of moral responsiblity and conscience that exist in the world have an impact on life and that choices must be made in a responsible manner with an understanding of their outcomes.**

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	D. Students will study where and why anti-Semitic incidents manifest themselves. 1. College Campuses	D. – See Video - **Anti-Semitism on the College Campus**, ADL, 30 Min., $50. Anti-Semitic incidents on American campus. Students analyze the issue and grapple with their reactions and reach for appropriate responses. – **Facing Difference: Living Together on Campus**, 11 Min., $90, ADL. Increases student awareness of overt and covert acts of prejudice. – See **Reader's Guide** to periodical literature for updated materials.
	E. Students will assess the relationship of the Holocaust to their own lives using issues of theology and Western Civilization.	E. – Hartman, Geoffrey, ed., **Bitburg in Moral and Political Perspective,** University Press. 1986/ – Littel, Marcia Sachs. **Liturgies of the Holocaust,** Stimulus Foundation, P.O. Box 2147, Philadelphia, PA. – Pawlikowski, John. **The Challenge of the Holocaust for Christian Theology.** – Rosenfeld, Alvin H. **Double Dying**, Indiana University Press, KTAV, 1973. • – **Act Out Playlet: It's Really True**, written by students of the SJCC, Summit, NJ.
	F. Prepare a school program for **Yom Hashoah Holocaust Remembrance Day** Commemorations.	F. Call **Waldor Memorial Library** (201-428-7400, ext. 325) Roskies, David. **Night of Words, A Midrash of Holocaust**, B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation. **Days of Remembrance Memorial Books,** U.S. Holocaust Museum, Washington, DC. See Appendix. Section No. 8.

UNIT GOAL: **Students will analyze society's moral codes and assess issues of conscience and moral responsibility and their effect.**

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES	INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL/RESOURCES
	G. Culminating Activities 1. Create a class list of all the reasons "Why the Holocaust must be studied." 2. Students will prepare personal reaction papers: a. Why the Holocaust must be studied? b.. What are the lessons of the Holocaust? 3. Debate whether or not the Holocaust can happen again?	F. See sources listed in each unit. • 1. Prager Dennis - **Ultimate Issues** - "Lessons of Holocaust", pp. 3 - 8, copyright Dennis Prager, 60020 Washington Blvd., Culver City CA, 90232. • 2. Berenbaum, Michael. **The World Must Know**, "The Afterward", pp. 220-223, Little, Brown & Co., 1993. • 3. Bishops' Statements on 50th Anniversary of the Liberation of Auschwitz
12. Student will assess their own responsibilities to prevent another Holocaust.	Each student will write a personal response paper that discusses his or her own responsibility to prevent another Holocaust.	

Unit 7

Assessing and Defining Responsibility

As best you can, define what the term "responsibility" means to you. Now list ten "responsibilities" you see yourself having.

If you were a judge, how would you assess the "responsibility" of these people for what happened in the world between 1933 and 1945? Indicate one of the following:

1. Not responsible
2. Minimally responsible
3. Responsible
4. Very responsible

What penalty, if any, could you foresee yourself giving to each of them?

____ 1. Adolf Hitler, Chancellor of Germany
____ 2. One of Hitler's direct subordinates, such as Heinrich Himmler or Joseph Goebbels
____ 3. A German who voluntarily joined Hitler's special elite, the SS
____ 4. A German industrialist who financially supported Hitler's rise to power and continued to support him verbally
____ 5. A judge who carried out Hitler's decrees for sterilization of the "mentally incompetent" and internment of "traitors"
____ 6. A doctor who participated in sterilizations of Jews
____ 7. A worker in a plant producing Zyklon B gas
____ 8. The Pope who made no public statement against Nazi policy
____ 9. An industrialist who made enormous profits by producing Zyklon B gas
____10. A manufacturer who used concentration camp inmates as slave labor in his plants
____11. American industrialists who helped arm Hitler in the 1930s for their own profit
____12. A person who voluntarily joined the Nazis in the 1930s
____13. A person who agreed to publicly take the Civil Servant Loyalty Oath (swearing eternal allegiance to Adolf Hitler in 1934)
____14. A person who complied with the law excluding Jews from economic and social life
____15. A person who regularly and enthusiastically attended Hitler rallies
____16. A person who always respectfully gave the "Heil Hitler" salute
____17. A person who served as a concentration camp guard
____18. A person who turned the lever to allow the gas into the chambers
____19. A driver of the trains that went to the concentration camps
____20. A diplomat for the Nazi government
____21. The American Government which limited emigration of Jews to the United States in the 1930s
____22. The "little guy" who claimed "he doesn't get involved in politics" and thus went about his business as quietly as he could in the Hitler regime
____23. The soldier who carried out orders to roust Jews from their homes for "evacuation and resettlement"
____24. The German couple who took up residence in a home evacuated by Jews
____25. The Christian who took over a store just abandoned by Jews
____26. The German who refused all pleas to participate in hiding and smuggling of Jews
____27. The policemen who helped round up escaping Jews
____28. A teacher who taught Nazi propaganda in the schools
____29. Children who joined the Hitler Youth
____30. Parents who sent or allowed their children to attend Hitler Youth meetings

Dear Teacher:

I am a survivor of a concentration camp. My eyes saw what no man should witness:
Gas chambers built by LEARNED engineers
Children poisoned by EDUCATED physicians
Infants killed by TRAINED nurses
Women and babies shot and burned by HIGH SCHOOL and COLLEGE graduates.
So I am suspicious of education.

My request is: Help your students become human. Your efforts must never produce learned monsters, skilled psychopaths, educated Eichmanns.

Reading, writing, and arithmetic are important only if they serve to make our children more humane.

Haim Ginott—Teacher and Child

Nazi Leadership

The Reverend Harry Cargas, in his book, *A Christian Response to the Holocaust*, asks:

> "Who were the architects who designed the ovens into which people were delivered for cremation? Who meticulously executed the plans for the efficient gas chambers into which naked men, women and children were herded to die? Who originated the design for the camps, those models of economical, technological destruction? Which firms bid on the contracts to build the camps, the gas chambers, the ovens? Who bribed whom to win the coveted contracts, to gain the chance to make a profit and serve the Fuehrer by erecting houses of death and torture? Which doctors performed experiments on Jewish victims? Who shaved their heads, and all bodily hairs, to gain materials for cloth and rugs? We've heard of lampshades made from Jewish skins, of "enforcers" throwing Jewish victims—most of them dead, but not all—into huge pits, of brutal guards crushing Jewish babies' skulls with rifle butts, and shooting aged and unhealthy Jews who couldn't keep up on forced marches, and forcing naked Jews to stand for hours in freezing weather for either convenience or amusement. Who were these tormentors? What of the train engineers who guided the cattle cars packed with starving, dying, dead Jews to their locales of interment? And what of the ordinary citizens of many European nations who, as the death trains passed through their communities, would throw bits of bread into the cattle cars to be entertained by watching famished Jews fight over the food in an agonizing display of attempt at survival?" (pgs. 3-4)

The following is a short list of the occupational backgrounds of some leading Nazis. An operation as immense as the efficient process of murder demanded the services of many educated people.

Name	Age in 1933 (Beginning of Third Reich)	Profession	Position in Reich
Hans Frank	33	lawyer	Governor General of Poland; in Einsatzgruppe
Franz Six	24	professor of political science	Anti-Semitic expert; in Einsatzgruppe
Helmut Knochen	23	professor of literature	Colonel, SS; Commander of Security Police, Paris, 1940-44
Otto Ohlendorf	26	economist; doctorate in jurisprudence	In Einsatzgruppe

Name	Age in 1933 (Beginning of Third Reich)	Profession	Position in Reich
Roland Freisler	40	lawyer; summa cum laude at Jena	President of the People's Court of Berlin, 1942-45; the "hanging judge"; at Wannsee Conference
Joachim Mugrowski	28	professor of bacteriology	Head of SS Health Dept
Paul Blobel	—	architect	In Einsatzgruppe
Ernst Biberstein	34	Protestant pastor	In Einsatzgruppe; Blobel's colleague
Richard Korheer	30	statistician	Himmler's Institute for Statistics; devout Catholic
Karl Brandt	29	physician	Hitler's private surgeon; conducted medical experiments in camps
Karl Clauberg	35	physician	Sterilized women at Auschwitz and Ravensbruck
Leonard Conti	33	physician	Reich "Health" leader; wrote books on racist medicine; interested in artificial insemination; director of German Red Cross
Franz Gurtner	52	lawyer	Reich Minister of Justice; originator of "Night and Fog Decree" of Dec 7, 1941 allowing Nazis to seize persons "endangering German security"
Johan von Leers	31	lawyer	Nazi propagandist
Walter Schellenberg	33	lawyer	Number 2 man in Gestapo after Himmler
Kurt Becher	24	grain salesman	SS Colonel; assistant to Himmler; head of SS horse purchasing commission; later directed to conduct negotiations to exchange Jews for money.
Robert Mulka	—	businessman	Death camp commandant at Auschwitz
Robert Ley	43	chemist	Head of German Labor Front
Victor Bracke	28	student of economics	Helped set up camps in Poland
Ludwig Muller	50	Evangelical theologian	Reich Bishop 1933-35; confidante on church-state problems
Josef Mengele	22	physician; degrees in philosophy and medicine	"Medical experiments" at Auschwitz; responsible for "selection" in the death camp
Karl Gebhardt	35	physician	Conducted "medical experiments" at Ravensbruck

Name	Age in 1933 (Beginning of Third Reich)	Profession	Position in Reich
Victor Capesius	26	physician	Headed camp pharmacy at Auschwitz
Werner Best	30	lawyer	First legal advisor to SD and Gestapo
Hans Globke	35	lawyer	Helped frame Nuremburg laws of 1935; high official in Minister of Interior
Kurt Lischka	23	law student at Breslau	Ran Compiegne, a concentration camp in France; head of Secret Police in Paris
Otto Ambros	—	chemist	Top I.G. Farben executive; expert on Buna and poison gas at I.G. Farben at Auschwitz
Albert Speer	28	architect	Minister of Armaments and War Production
August Hirt	35	anthropologist and surgeon	SS Director of Anatomical Research; studied skulls
Gregor Ebner	—	physician	Head of Lebensborn program
Herta Oberhauser	—	physician	She gave lethal injections to women at Ravensbruck
Willi Frank	30	physician	Chief of Dental Station at Auschwitz
Bernhart Rost	40	secondary school teacher	Reich Minister of Science, Education and Culture
Waldemar Klingelhofer	—	professional opera singer	In Einsatzgruppe
Alfred Rosenberg	40	educated as engineer	Hon. General, SS; writer of numerous books
Fritz Todt	42	construction engineer	Reich Minister of Armaments and Munitions; chief engineer in charge of construction at I.G. Farben Works at Auschwitz
Ernst Grawitz	34	physician	Chief of SS medical service; head of German Red Cross
Gerhart Wagner	45	physician	One of the originators of the Euthanasia program
Sigmund Rascher	24	physician	Did "freezing" experiments at Dachau
Wilhelm Frick	56	lawyer	Reich Minister of the Interior; close friend of Hitler
Ernst Kaltenbrunner	30	lawyer	Chief of the SD
Otto Thierach	44	lawyer	Reich Minister of Justice 1942-45
Heinz Kammler	—	construction engineer	Head of SS Works Dept; built gas chambers at Auschwitz

Name	Age in 1933 (Beginning of Third Reich)	Profession	Position in Reich
Fritz Reinhardt	38	schoolmaster	Leader of Nazi party school for orators
Arthur Seyss-Inquart	41	lawyer	Reich Commissioner for the Netherlands
Hermann Behrends	26	lawyer	First leader of Berlin SD; major general in SS
Richard Gluecks	44	businessman	Head of Concentration Camp Inspectorate
Herbert Linden	—	physician	Member of Heath Dept; commissioner of all insane asylums in Germany
Erwin Weimmann	—	physician	Under Blobel in Einsatz-gruppen; former commander of Security Police and SD in Prague
Alfred Baeumler	46	professor, University of Berlin	Academic philosopher of the Reich
Dieter Allers	—	lawyer	Appointed chief administrative of T4 (Euthanasia Program)
Albert Hartl	—	Roman Catholic Priest	Member SS; appointed Chief of Church Information at the Reich Security Office
Hans Lammers	54	lawyer; jurist	Reich Minister and State Secretary of the Chancellory; expert on constitutional law; served during the Weimar Republic
Oswald Pohl	41	economist	Head of Economic Administration of the SS (WVHA)
Fritz Ter Meer	—	scientist, held doctorate	Chief executive of I.G. Farben
Walter Duerrfeld	—	engineer	Chief engineer of construction at I.G. Farben at Auschwitz

Questions for Discussion

1. What kinds of occupations are listed? What preliminary conclusions might be drawn about the average age of many Nazi leaders? Does this surprise you?
2. As indicated here, what occupations were represented in the *Einsatzgruppen?*
3. Does an "educated" professional like a medical doctor or a lawyer have any special responsibility to people or to society?
4. How do you think the professional skills of these people were used to carry out Nazi policy?
5. What values should an educated person have? What values should an uneducated person have?

Definitions

SS—Political police, later also assigned the duty of administering the concentration and death camps
SD—the intelligence branch of the SS

Reading #3

Unit 7

Judgment at Nuremberg

In 1945 Nazi leaders were tried for their involvement in Germany's master plan to dominate Europe and exterminate the Jews.

BALD, bullet-headed Julius Streicher (pictured on opposite page) glared at his accusers from the prisoner's dock in the crowded Nuremberg courtroom.

"They are crucifying me now, I can tell," he said. "Three of the judges are Jews. I know because I can recognize blood. Three of them get uncomfortable when I look at them. I can tell. I've been studying race for 20 years. I'm an authority on that subject...."

Streicher had, indeed, been regarded as an authority by Adolf Hitler. And as one of Hitler's leading advocates of racial hate during the years of Nazi rule in Germany, he had done much to spark the bitterness that led to the wholesale murder of more than 12 million men, women, and children—half of them Jews.

Nazi leaders, exploiting long-standing anti-Jewish feelings, had blamed the Jewish people for Germany's humiliating defeat in World War I and for the economic depression that followed.

Now, in November of 1945, Germany lay defeated by the United States, England, the Soviet Union, France, and their Allies. Hitler and some of his aides were dead. Streicher and 21 others were captured by the Allies and were facing trial before an international tribunal in the Palace of Justice in Nuremberg, Germany.

They stood accused not only of the murder of millions of Jews but also of "aggressive war" and a "master plan" to rule other nations by force and terror.

With Streicher were such Nazi leaders as Hermann Göring, former German air force chief; Joachim von Ribbentrop, Hitler's foreign minister; Alfred Jodl, army chief of staff; and Nazi political leaders such as Rudolf Hess and Hans Frank . . . men whom an American prosecutor called "living symbols of racial hatreds, of terrorism and violence, and of the arrogance and cruelty of power."

The trial of these men was to become a model for later trials of about 10,000 other Germans.

Throughout the war, as reports of Nazi atrocities mounted, the Allies promised that Germans would be held accountable for war crimes, and this became a major goal.

With victory, war-weary peoples of the world demanded swift action against war criminals. "Line them up and shoot them" was a common suggestion. "No, shooting is too good for them," others insisted. And some suggested cynically that captured Nazi leaders should be given a fair trial and then shot. But it was decided that an International Tribunal should be held for the sake of justice and so that the deeds of Nazi Germany might be fully documented and permanently recorded for the world.

UNITED STATES Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson, chief American prosecutor, had outlined the scope and purposes of the trials in a report to President Roosevelt months earlier: "Our case against the major defendants is concerned with the Nazi master plan, not with individual barbarities and perversions which occurred independently of any central plan. The grounds of our case must be... authentic and constitute a well-documented history of what we are convinced was a grand, concerted pattern to incite and commit the aggressions and barbarities which have shocked the world...."

An agreement signed in London on August 8, 1945, by representatives of the four powers defined the crimes falling under the Tribunal's jurisdiction:

1. **Conspiracy:** Leaders, organizers, instigators, and accomplices in the formulation or execution of a common plan, or conspiracy, to commit any of the following crimes are responsible for all acts performed by any persons in execution of such plan.
2. **Crimes Against Peace:** Planning and waging of a war of aggression or a war in violation of international agreements....
3. **War Crimes:** Violations of the laws or customs of war, including murder, mistreatment or enslavement of civilians in occupied territories or at sea, mistreatment of prisoners of war, and destruction of public or private property not justified by military necessity.
4. **Crimes Against Humanity:** Murder, mistreatment, enslavement, or deportation of civilians before and during the war; also, political, racial, or religious persecutions, whether or not in violation of domestic law of the country where it was practiced. (War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity overlap.)

Eight judges were to try the Nazis—two judges from each of the four Allied powers. (None of them was Jewish, as Streicher charged.)

DAYS BEFORE Streicher's emotional and bitter outburst, Justice Jackson had presented a more objective view of the proceedings in his opening statement for the United States.

While the world press watched and listened, while interpreters sat ready to feed the microphones with German, French, Russian, and English versions of the proceedings, Justice Jackson began:

"The privilege of opening the first trial in history for crimes against the peace of the world imposes a grave responsibility. The wrongs which we seek to condemn and punish have been so calculated, so malignant, and so devastating, that civilization cannot tolerate their being ignored because it cannot survive their being repeated. That four great nations, flushed with victory and stung with injury, stay the hand of vengeance and voluntarily submit their captive enemies to the judgment of the law is one of the most significant tributes that Power ever has paid to Reason . . . .

"THIS INQUEST represents the practical effort of four of the most mighty of nations, with the support of fifteen more, to utilize International Law to meet the greatest menace of our times—aggressive war. The common sense of mankind demands that law shall not stop with the punishment of petty crimes by little people. It must also reach men who possess themselves of great power and make deliberate and concerted use of it to set in motion national evils which leave no home in the world untouched. . . .

"In the prisoner's dock sit twenty-odd broken men. Reproached by the humiliation of those they have led almost as bitterly as by the desolation of those they have attacked, their personal capacity for evil is forever past. It is hard now to perceive in these miserable men as captives the power by which as Nazi leaders they once dominated much of the world and terrified most of it. Merely as individuals, their fate is of little consequence to the world.

"What makes this inquest significant is that these prisoners represent sinister influences that will lurk in the world long after their bodies have returned to dust. They are living symbols of racial hatreds, of terrorism and violence, and of the arrogance and cruelty of power. They are symbols of fierce nationalisms and of militarism, of intrigue and war-making which have embroiled Europe generation after generation, crushing its manhood, destroying its homes, and impoverishing its life. They have so identified themselves with the philosophies they conceived and with the forces they directed that any tenderness to them is a victory and an encouragement to all the evils which are attached to their names. Civilization can afford no compromise with the social forces which would gain renewed strength if we deal ambiguously or indecisively with the men in whom those forces now precariously survive.

"What these men stand for we will patiently and temperately disclose. We will give you undeniable proofs of incredible events . . . . They took from the German people all those dignities and freedoms that we hold natural and inalienable rights in every human being. The people were compensated by inflaming and gratifying hatreds toward those who were marked as 'scapegoats.' Against their opponents, including Jews, Catholics, and free labor, the Nazis directed such a campaign of arrogance, brutality, and annihilation as the world has not witnessed since the pre-Christian ages. They excited the German ambition to be a 'master race,' which of course implies serfdom for others. They led their people on a mad gamble for domination. They diverted social energies and resources to the creation of what they thought to be an invincible war machine. They overran their neighbors. To sustain the 'master race' in its war-making, they enslaved millions of human beings and brought them into Germany, where these helpless creatures now wander as displaced persons."

FOR THE NEXT 15 weeks the Allied prosecutors presented evidence against the accused. Most of the evidence consisted of official documents, movies, and photographs confiscated from German files. The evidence weighed tons and filled several trucks.

The American prosecutor, seeking to prove that Germany had planned a war of aggression, quoted from Hitler's own words to his advisers: "There is no question of sparing Poland, and we are left with the decision: to attack Poland at the first suitable opportunity."

Charging that Nazi organizations had carried out the plan, the American counsel said: "They fabricated the border incidents which Hitler used as an excuse for attacking Poland . . . ." (Concentration camp inmates were dressed in Polish uniforms and forced to "attack" a German radio station at Gleiwitz. The Germans mowed them down and displayed the bodies to the press as "proof" of the attack.)

THEN ONE afternoon the Allied prosecution showed a film of concentration camps at the time they fell into Allied hands. In these camps millions of prisoners were killed or made to perform slave labor.

An observer, Gerald Dikler, described the film:

"The cameras coursed slowly over the mounds of hollow-cheeked corpses left behind in the final rout, the bones of inmates hastily buried alive, the gaping mouths of the still-warm crematorium ovens, the bales of human hair consigned to patriotic German bedding, the lampshades made of human skin."

Reactions of defendants are taken from *Nuremberg Diary* by Gustave M. Gilbert. Farrar, Straus Company, New York, 1947. Used with permission of the publisher.

THE DEFENDANTS, who had been jovial in the morning, suddenly had a change of mood—described by a prison psychiatrist:

"Fritzsche (who had not seen any part of film before) already looks pale and sits aghast as it starts with scenes of prisoners burned alive in a barn... Keitel wipes brow, takes off headphones ... Hess glares at screen, looking like a ghoul with sunken eyes over the footlamp... Keitel puts on headphone, glares at screen out of the corner of his eye... von Neurath has head bowed, doesn't look ... Funk covers his eyes, looks as if he is in agony, shakes his head ... Ribbentrop closes his eyes, looks away... Sauckel mops brow ... Frank swallows hard, blinks eyes, trying to stifle tears... Fritzsche watches intensely with knitted brow, cramped at the end of his seat, evidently in agony... Göring keeps leaning on balustrade, not watching most of the time, looking droopy... Hess keeps looking bewildered... piles of dead are shown in a slave labor camp... Göring looks sad, leaning on elbow... Sauckel shudders at picture of Buchenwald crematorium-oven... as human skin lampshade is shown. Streicher says 'I don't believe that'... Göring coughing... Attorneys gasping... Now Dachau... Schacht still not looking... Frank nods his head bitterly and says, 'Horrible!'... British officer starts to speak, saying he has already buried 17,000 corpses... Ribbentrop sitting with pursed lips and blinking eyes, not looking at screen... Funk crying bitterly, claps hand over mouth as women's naked corpses are thrown into pit... Keitel and Ribbentrop look up at mention of tractor clearing corpses, see it, then hang their heads... Streicher shows signs of disturbance for first time... Film ends.

"After the showing of the film, Hess remarks, 'I don't believe it.' Göring whispers to him to keep quiet.... Streicher says something about 'perhaps in the last days.' Fritzsche retorts scornfully: 'Millions? In the last days? No.' Otherwise there is a gloomy silence as the prisoners file out of the courtroom."

Testimony on Nazi 'Final Solution' for Jews

The Nazis had worked out what they called a "final solution to the 'Jewish problem'": wholesale extermination. Of the 9,600,000 Jews who lived in Nazi-dominated Europe, 6 million are estimated to have perished.

A German construction engineer in the Ukraine, Hermann Graebe, described the scene in one concentration camp as follows:

"ON 5TH OCTOBER, 1942, when I visited the building office at Dubno my foreman told me that in the vicinity of the site, Jews from Dubno had been shot in three large pits, each about 30 metres long and 3 metres deep. About 1,500 persons had been killed daily. All the 5,000 Jews who had still been living in Dubno before the pogrom were to be liquidated. As the shooting had taken place in his presence he was still much upset.

"Thereupon I drove to the site accompanied by my foreman and saw near it great mounds of earth, about 30 metres long and 2 metres high. Several trucks stood in front of the mounds. Armed Ukrainian militia drove the people off the trucks under the supervision of an S.S. man. The militiamen acted as guards on the trucks and drove them to and from the pit. All these people had the regulation yellow patches on the front and back of their clothes, and thus could be recognized as Jews.

"My foreman and I went directly to the pits. Nobody bothered us. Now I heard rifle shots in quick succession from behind one of the earth mounds. The people who had got off the trucks—men, women, and children of all ages—had to undress upon the orders of an S.S. man, who carried a riding or dog whip. They had to put down their clothes in fixed places, sorted according to shoes, top clothing, and underclothing. I saw a heap of shoes of about 800 to 1,000 pairs, great piles of underlinen and clothing. Without screaming or weeping these people undressed, stood around in family groups, kissed each other, said farewells, and waited for a sign from another S.S. man, who stood near the pit also with a whip in his hand.

"During the 15 minutes that I stood near, I heard no complaint or plea for mercy. I watched a family of about eight persons, a man and a woman both about 50 with their children of about 1, 8, and 10, and two grown-up daughters of about 20-29. An old woman with snow-white hair was holding the one-year-old child in her arms and singing to it and tickling it. The child was cooing with delight. The couple were looking on with tears in their eyes. The father was holding the hand of a boy about 10 years old and speaking to him softly; the boy was fighting his tears. The father pointed to the sky, stroked his head, and seemed to explain something to him.

"At that moment the S.S. man at the pit shouted something to his comrade. The latter counted off about 20 persons and instructed

them to go behind the earth mound. Among them was the family which I have mentioned. I well remember a girl, slim and with black hair, who, as she passed close to me, pointed to herself and said '23.' I walked around the mound and found myself confronted by a tremendous grave. People were closely wedged together and lying on top of each other so that only their heads were visible. Nearly all had blood running over their shoulders from their heads. Some of the people shot were still moving. Some were lifting their arms and turning their heads to show that they were still alive. The pit was already two-thirds full. I estimated that it already contained about 1,000 people. I looked for the man who did the shooting. He was an S.S. man, who sat at the edge of the narrow end of the pit, his feet dangling into the pit. He had a tommy gun on his knees and was smoking a cigarette. The people, completely naked, went down some steps which were cut in the clay wall of the pit and clambered over the heads of the people lying there, to the place to which the S.S. man directed them. They lay down in front of the dead or injured people; some caressed those who were still alive and spoke to them in a low voice. Then I heard a series of shots. I looked into the pit and saw that the bodies were twitching or the heads lying motionless on top of the bodies which lay before them. Blood was running away from their necks. I was surprised that I was not ordered away, but I saw that there were two or three postmen in the uniform nearby. The next batch was approaching already. They went down into the pit, lined themselves up against the previous victims and were shot. When I walked back round the mound I noticed another truckload of people which had just arrived. This time it included sick and infirm persons. An old, very thin woman with terribly thin legs was undressed by others who were already naked, while two people held her up. The woman appeared to be paralysed. The naked people carried the woman around the mound. I left with my foreman and drove in my car back to Dubno."

The Defense: 'No Crime Without a Law'

HANDLING the defense of the accused was a battery of attorneys, selected by the prisoners from the best German lawyers, judges, and professors—including a few Nazis. Their collective talent was reduced somewhat by their unfamiliarity with the adversary system of criminal trials prevailing at Nuremburg. Patterned on the Anglo-American tradition, this procedure centers on a duel between rival advocates, refereed from the bench —in contrast to European trials, which take the form of investigations conducted by the judges with the assistance of counsel. However, with the passage of time, the defense attorneys adjusted themselves to the system and handled themselves skillfully.

In opening the prosecution's case, Justice Jackson had emphasized a "master plan" that directed all the defendants and all the Nazi organizations toward their criminal deeds. But the defense counsel challenged the idea of a conspiracy. The typical line of dissent was offered by Herr Jahrreiss, one of Göring's lawyers:

"The Prosecution is based upon the completion of a conspiracy to conquer the world on the part of a few dozen criminals.... But the Führer Principle has... been the organizational guiding principle in the development of the Reich constitution after 1933.... Now in a state in which the entire power to make final decisions is concentrated in the hands of a single individual, the orders of this one man are absolutely binding on the members of the hierarchy.... An order by the Führer was binding—and indeed legally binding—on the person to whom it was given, even if the directive was contrary to international law or to other traditional values.... If such a conspiracy (to commit crimes against peace, usages of war, and humanity) had existed, then Hitler would have been... the leader of these conspirators. But it has already been emphasized that a conspiracy headed by a dictator is a contradiction in itself.... Hitler was an autocrat. He was not concerned with the approval of these men, but merely with having his decisions executed... The concept of conspiracy belongs to the sphere of Anglo-American law... and is entirely unknown to German law ... May a criminal procedure, bent upon realizing justice, employ legal concepts which are... utterly alien to the defendants and to the legal trend of thought of their people?...

"As a further criticism, the Prosecutors... want to punish... the conspirators for individual actions they did not participate in ... Article 6 of the Charter [establishing the Tribunal] says that all conspirators are responsible for any action committed by any one of the conspirators 'in execution of such plan.' These are the decisive words for the interpretation. In my opinion, the meaning of these words is as follows: The other conspirators are also responsible for any actions of their comrades forming part of the common plan which they helped to conceive, desired, or at least condoned.... A legal principle extending the fellow conspirator's responsibility to actions not included in their common responsibility is alien to German law. Whether or not it belongs to Anglo-American law, the application of such a principle in the present trial would make punishable acts which heretofore could not be punished. This would clearly contradict the rule of *nullem crimen sine lege* (no crime without a law)."

DEFENSE LAWYERS also challenged the responsibility of a government official or a general for the actions of others or even for his own actions in a state ruled by an absolute dictator. One of the accused prisoners, Alfred Jodl, the former German army chief of staff, was defended by his counsel, Dr. Exener, in the following terms:

"The decision to start the war was far removed from his influence.... If Hitler had extensive plans right from the start, Jodl did not know of them, let alone consent to them.... Every time a

fense based on either of these doctrines can be entertained."

According to Jackson, not only had many of the defendants gone "above and beyond the call of duty" in their zeal for carrying out "orders," but also German officials must have known their orders "from above" violated accepted principles of international law.

The Judgment

IN ITS judgment, the Tribunal stated: "Crimes against international law are committed by men, not by abstract entities such as states, and only by punishing individuals who commit such crimes can the provisions of international law be enforced.

"That a soldier was ordered to kill or torture in violation of the international law of war has never been recognized as a defense for such acts of brutality .... The true test, which is found in varying degrees in the criminal law of most nations, is not the existence of the order, but whether moral choice was in fact possible."

On the question of conspiracy the Tribunal declared:

"In the opinion of the Tribunal, the evidence establishes the common planning to prepare and wage war by certain of the defendants. It is immaterial to consider whether a single conspiracy ... has been conclusively proved. Continued planning, with aggressive war as the object, has been established beyond doubt .... The argument that such common planning cannot exist where there is complete dictatorship is unsound .... Hitler could not make aggressive war by himself. He had to have the cooperation of statesmen, military leaders, diplomats, and businessmen. When they, with knowledge of his aims, gave him their cooperation, they made themselves parties to the plan he had initiated ....

"To initiate a war of aggression is ... not only an international crime; it is the supreme international crime .... "

Eight of the highest officials in the Nazi party were convicted of conspiracy (Count One). Twelve defendants were convicted of waging aggressive war (Count Two).

THE TRIBUNAL convicted all but two of the 20 defendants who were indicted on one or both of Counts Three and Four. It then sentenced 12 defendants to death by hanging, three to life imprisonment, and four to imprisonment ranging from 10 to 20 years. Three were acquitted.

When the prisoners stood to receive their sentences, each was allowed to make a personal statement. Von Ribbentrop stated that the Tribunal had been guilty of severe injustice by rejecting certain evidence—evidence showing that other nations hadn't protested when Germany initiated her policies of defensive expansionism.

"This trial will go down in history," Von Ribbentrop declared,

such as the Kellogg-Briand Pact did not have the force of international law because practical politics made them unenforceable. Furthermore, these agreements forbade nations, not individuals, to start wars.

e. The so-called "war crimes" did not violate the law of the German nation, which is the highest law to which any German owed obedience.

f. Many of the actions for which the Germans were being tried were also committed by the Allies. Why bring to trial only Germans? Why not try Allied war criminals also?

4. Applying the Principles of Nuremberg. Consider the following case:

The Creeks were perhaps the most "civilized" of the Indian tribes living in the Southeast. They had settled permanently, built homes, cultivated the land, and raised herds. They spun and wove into cloth cotton they had grown. They laid out roads, built mills, carried on business, and sent their children to schools run by missionaries. And, finally, they had established a representative government like that of the American states.

But white settlers and traders, in violation of existing treaties between the Creeks and the United States Government, moved onto Creek land in large numbers.

The whites generally considered the Creeks inferior and best kept out of the way of progress. The whites deceived the Indians into giving them land and money, and many Creeks became homeless wanderers. In desperation, some Creeks began attacking and killing whites. But U.S. troops quickly defeated the Creek uprising.

In 1836, when the Creek "war" ended, the move west began. Creek warriors, including aged and dignified chiefs, were handcuffed and chained, and marched 90 miles in double file. After them followed a long train of wagons bearing children, old women, and the sick. In July, 2,498 Creeks were crowded into the holds of two river steamboats. Many died of fever, dysentery, diarrhea, and cholera.

Those Indians who survived the river trip began their journey westward over the prairie by horse and by oxcart. A prairie dweller who watched the Creeks pass wrote: "Thousands of them are entirely destitute of shoes or cover of any kind for their feet; many of them are almost naked, but a few of them wear anything more than a light dress calculated only for the summer, or for a warm climate. . . . In this . . . condition, they are wading in cold mud, or are harried on over the frozen ground, as the case may be. Many of them have in this way had their feet frostbitten; and being unable to travel, fall in the rear of the main party . . . where they remain until devoured by wolves. . . ."

In all, 14,609 Creeks were removed from Alabama in 1836 in this manner. Of these, 2,495 were listed as hostile. Some were hanged in Alabama for taking part in attacks. The whites of Alabama held a number of others, mostly children, as slaves. But the Creek "problem" was solved.

a. Compare the European settlers' response to the American Indian with the Nazi treatment of the Jews. How were the two situations similar? different? For example, Hitler's "final solution" to the "Jewish problem" in

campaign had been resolved upon, he did indeed do his bit to carry it out successfully.... It is true that without his generals Hitler could not have waged the wars.... If the generals do not do their job, there is no war. But one must add: If the infantryman does not, if his rifle does not fire,... there is no war. Is therefore the soldier, the gunsmith... guilty of complicity in the war...? Does Henry Ford share in the responsibility for the thousands of accidents which his cars cause every year?"

THE DEFENSE filed a joint objection against Count Two of the indictment concerning Crimes Against Peace in violation of international treaties and assurances. The defense contended that planning and waging aggressive war had never before been considered a crime. Even the League of Nations, which had been created to prevent wars, had only condemned aggressive states as violators of international law. It had never thought of putting on trial the statesmen, generals, and industrialists of those states.

For the prosecution to indict German leaders under Count Two, the defense argued, was to hold them guilty for actions that at the time were not regarded as criminal acts. In effect, the Allies were changing the law *after* the so-called crime had been committed. Such a policy, the defense concluded, "is repugnant to a principle of jurisprudence sacred to the civilized world...."

Defense lawyers challenged the notion that aggressive war was recognized as an international crime. They declared that although the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which Germany had signed, condemned war "as an instrument of national policy," the pact did not specifically state that international aggression was a criminal act, nor did it set up courts to try aggressors.

Counsel for Von Ribbentrop said: "All... plans for outlawing war during the period between the First and Second World Wars remained mere drafts... because practical politics would not follow these moral postulates." The defense contended, therefore, that the Kellogg-Briand Pact was meaningless as a mechanism for punishing aggressors.

Counts Three and Four were handled together at the trials. The category "Crimes Against Humanity" was new, extending international law to cover offenses not anticipated in earlier definitions of war crimes. Crimes against humanity included acts by German officials against German citizens during the war, even though these acts did not violate the laws of the Nazi state itself.

THIS LAST provision aroused the defense lawyers to protest again that the prosecution was making retroactive law. They said that since Nazi law permitted policies such as the extermination of political or racial groups, the Tribunal had no right to punish the defendants later.

Then the defense argued: Was it fair to judge German leaders by standards that the Allies themselves had violated? What about the Allied airmen who bombarded German cities to terrorize civilians? Alfred Jodl spoke bitterly of the annihilation of women and children by the machine guns of low-flying Allied pilots. He complained that the Canadians had bound prisoners with ropes that ran around their necks, down their backs, and around their legs, resulting in some prisoners being strangled. Göring described the Allied shooting of German planes marked with a Red Cross.

But the Tribunal refused to accept evidence or arguments comparing Allied and Nazi conduct in the war. When one defendant mentioned that the prewar military training of youth in the U.S.S.R. far exceeded Germany's program, the Court rebuked him for making "an irrelevant comparison." At one point the Tribunal explained: "We are not trying whether any other powers have committed breaches of international law, or crimes against humanity, or war crimes; we are trying whether these defendants have."

Defense lawyers then argued that the Tribunal had no authority to hold the defendants *individually* responsible.

Counsel for Von Ribbentrop, the former foreign minister, argued: "... when informed of imminent War Crimes, he did what was in his power to prevent execution of Allied prisoners. ... It would be unjust to hold a foreign minister with limited authority responsible for war crimes and crimes against humanity, the more so as it has been conclusively proved that he was excluded from any influence on the conduct of the war.

Several of the defense counsels for German military leaders pointed out that the notion of individual responsibility was especially inappropriate in the military sphere. For example, Dr. Exener (representing Alfred Jodl) gave examples to show the impossibility, especially during wartime, of permitting military commanders to question the orders or judgment of political leaders.

The Prosecution's Rebuttal

Defense objection to the charge of *individual* responsibility of the accused had been answered in advance by two sections of the Charter establishing the Tribunal. The first rejected pleas based on "acts of state," or the principle that an individual is not responsible for actions that he commits while serving as a government official. The second section rejected pleas based on the principle that an individual is not punishable for actions carried out on orders from a higher official. Jackson explained why the Allies had decided ahead of time to rule out such pleas:

"Of course the idea that a state, any more than a corporation, commits crimes is a fiction. Crimes always are committed only by persons.... The Charter recognizes that one who has committed criminal acts may not take refuge in superior orders nor in the doctrine that his crimes were acts of state. These twin principles working together have heretofore resulted in immunity for practically everyone concerned in the really great crimes against peace and mankind. Those in lower ranks were protected against liability by the orders of their superiors. The superiors were protected because their orders were called acts of state. Under the Charter, no de-

Germany was extermination of the Jews in gas chambers. To what extent has the United States solved the "Indian problem" in this country?

Nazi Germany was unsuccessful in its attempt to dominate European nations because other major countries came to the defense of the nations attacked. The United States, on the other hand, has been successful in dominating the Indian nations without alienating other major nations in the world.

b. As the U.S. expanded westward in the 1800's, Americans defended their annexation of new land by saying it was their "manifest destiny" as a people to spread over the continent. Was this doctrine related to their treatment of the Indians?

c. Do you think that the charges against the Germans at Nuremberg apply in any way to the American treatment of the Indian? Why or why not?

The Trial of Captain Levy. Consider the following case:

"Kill, kill. Cure, cure."

With these words Captain Howard B. Levy, a U.S. Army medical officer, age 30, expressed his inability to reconcile killing men with curing them.

Captain Levy was called into the Army in 1965 and he reported, reluctantly, to Fort Jackson, South Carolina—reluctantly because he strongly disapproved of what the U.S. was doing in Vietnam.

He told patients in his clinic that the war was wrong; he told Green Beret medical aides that they were "killers of peasants and murderers of women and children"; he told enlisted men that he would not serve in Vietnam if ordered to do so; he told Negro soldiers that if he were a Negro he would leave Vietnam and come home to fight the real battle—civil rights.

In the fall of 1966 Captain Levy's commanding officer at the hospital where he was assigned, Colonel Henry F. Fancy, ordered the young doctor to train Green Beret medical aid men.

Captain Levy refused on the grounds that it was contrary to medical ethics to do so because aid men were used as a friendly entry into South Vietnamese villages. Levy said this was the "political use of medicine."

Captain Levy was charged with willfully disobeying an order and with making statements designed to promote disloyalty among the troops. He was brought before a general court-martial.

Captain Levy's civilian attorney, Charles Morgan, Jr., of the American Civil Liberties Union, argued that Green Beret men were in fact "killers of peasants" and "murderers of women," and Captain Levy was justified in refusing to be a party to war crimes. Morgan defended Levy by bringing in witnesses who said that Green Berets participated in the destruction of villages and turned over Viet Cong prisoners to the South Vietnamese.

It was known by the Berets that such prisoners were sometimes tortured, Morgan's witnesses asserted. Military medics are traditionally noncombatants, but Green Beret aid men are cross-trained in such skills as demolition or intelligence. Therefore, it was argued, the men Captain Levy trained could become parties to the crimes allegedly committed by Green Beret forces.

However, Colonel Earl Brown, the law officer (judge), declared that Morgan's defense amounted to accusing the Green Berets of committing war crimes of the kind that had been condemned at Nuremberg. After hearings, he ruled that there was insufficient evidence to bring the issue of war crimes before the court-martial.

Colonel Brown said: "While there have been perhaps instances of needless brutality in the struggle in Vietnam . . . there is no evidence that would render this order to train medical aid men illegal on the grounds that . . . these men would become engaged in war crimes or in some way prostitute their medical training by employing it in crimes against humanity."

On June 3, 1967, ten officers found Captain Levy guilty on all charges of disloyalty and disobedience. He was sentenced the next day to three years at hard labor, dishonorable discharge from the Army, and forfeiture of all pay.

Levy was justified in refusing to train Green Beret medics for service in Vietnam? Why or why not? Find evidence from other sources to help you draw conclusions.

b. Should Captain Levy have been tried in a civilian court?

c. Col. Brown is the only American judge who has allowed the Nuremberg issue of war crimes to be raised in a court case. Suppose a court were to conclude that a policy of the American government was a war crime. What could the court do about it?

d. According to *The Law of Land Warfare* (U.S. Army Field Manual, No. 27-10) "complicity in the commission of crimes against humanity, and war crimes [is] punishable." Does this mean that Green Beret forces can or should be held responsible for what happens to prisoners whom they have turned over to the South Vietnamese?

The Troubles at San Royalto State. Consider the following case in which a major American university develops a unique plan to control its radical students.*

San Royalto State, a branch of a major state university, had a history of radical protest. The protests ranged from the "free speech" movement (the right to use obscene four-letter words in public) to countless sit-ins on university property to prevent buildings from being erected in "people's parks" (vacant lots developed into playgrounds for local residents by student volunteers).

Over the past few years local and state police had become increasingly short-tempered with student radicals, who were often allied with poor blacks living near the university. This alliance earned the radicals sympathy from moderate students and faculty, who supported attempts to control police action.

Great tensions developed between students, faculty, and local residents on one side and the police on the other. Finally, feelings boiled over when the police adopted a new tactic secretly labeled Demonstration Prevention and Control (DPC).

DPC involved essentially four steps: identification of small crowds around the university that might constitute a "hazardous demonstration"; rapid encirclement of the crowd by gas-masked police using police dogs; appearance of a low-flying helicopter that dropped Mace* or tear gas on the crowd; finally, in the midst of the confusion, "detention" of faculty and students (and any other bystanders) in compounds for up to 48 hours under the most brutal conditions.

The tactic was used effectively three times. University authorities reported that crowds and demonstrations were no longer a problem on the campus. But American Civil Liberties Union lawyers, protesting that DPC violated basic civil rights, attempted to bring the issue into the courts.

However, police officials always admitted that some officers had behaved in an "irregular fashion," and then handed out brief suspensions and minor discipline and the matter was closed. In the absence of a specific legal case involving contending sides, it was difficult to get a clear-cut court ruling on DPC.

Several distinguished law professors on the campus appealed to both the United States Attorney General and the President of the United States, but with no effect. It was well-known that many of the students, as well as high university and state officials, were pleased with the DPC program. From their point of view, it was an effective method of controlling radical students and maintaining peace.

Finally, faced with seemingly endless delays in their efforts to stop "a deliberate policy of repression," the Dean of the Law School developed a brief arguing that the DPC program was a violation of fundamental human rights; that the use of gas and dogs constituted gross political persecution comparable to that used by the Nazis.

The document was directed to the Secretary General of the United Nations. It requested that a special tribunal be constituted (similar to that at Nuremberg) to try a number of university and state officials who directed the DPC program.

a. If you were Secretary General of the U.N., how would you respond to the request?

b. If you were a student at San Royalto who had been Maced and beaten by police, where would you turn for help after the state, local, and federal governments had refused to act? Or would you simply call the police action an "unfortunate mistake"?

c. If you were a police officer tried for crimes against humanity, what would be your defense?

5. Determining Impact of Precedent. In conducting the war crimes trials at Nuremberg, the Allies hoped that they would discourage nations from planning and waging aggressive wars in the future. The influence of Nuremberg has been felt in concrete ways. *The American Army Field Manual*, for example, states: "the fact that domestic law does not impose a penalty for an act which constitutes a crime under international law does not relieve the person who committed the act from responsibility under international law." Legal cases involving draft resistance have referred to Nuremberg.

a. Will the Nuremberg trials:
- be forgotten?
- cause people to conclude that might makes right?
- cause people to resist what they believe to be unjust demands by their government?

b. To what extent, if any, do you think the Nuremberg trials will deter individuals from planning or participating in an aggressive war? Keep in mind that the U.N. General Assembly has unanimously accepted the principles on which the trials were held.

c. It has been proposed that there be a Permanent Criminal World Court, similar to Nuremberg and representing all the major power blocs of the world, that could try people for international crimes. Would you recommend that such a court be established now? If so, how would it operate?

6. Definitions of Aggression.

a. At Nuremberg, individuals were convicted of having planned and waged a war of aggression. Define a "war of aggression," spelling out what kinds of aggression should be forbidden.

b. Using your definition, decide which side was the aggressor in the following historical situations.
- In 1961, India attacked and conquered the Port of Goa, a tiny Portuguese colony on the west coast of India. Most of the residents of Goa were Indian, though they held Portuguese citizenship.
- In 1967, the Egyptian government declared that Israel shouldn't be governed by Jews, because they had seized control at a time when Arabs were in a majority there. Egypt asked the United Nations to withdraw its small peacekeeping force from the border and blockaded a nearby shipping lane of some importance to Israel. Israel attacked Egypt, explaining that this was necessary to prevent Egypt from attacking first.
- In 1950, North Korean troops crossed into South Korea. They were opposed by United Nations troops (mainly American and South Korean) who forced the North Koreans back to their homeland. However, U.N. forces then conquered much of North Korea. China, an ally of North Korea, entered the conflict and helped drive the U.N. forces back across the border dividing North and South Korea.

taken from:
The Limits of War
National Plocicy and World Conscience, 1970
Xerox Corporation
55 High Street
Middletown, Conn. 06457

The Nuremberg Defendants

HERMANN GÖRING
Chief of the air force, ranked second after Hitler: *"The victor will always be the judge, and the vanquished the accused."*
Guilty 1, 2, 3, 4* Death

RUDOLF HESS
Reich Minister Without Portfolio, ranked third after Göring: *"I can't remember."* (He suffered from amnesia.)
Guilty 1, 2 Life in prison

JOACHIM VON RIBBENTROP
Foreign Minister: *"The Indictment is directed against the wrong people."*
Guilty 1, 2, 3, 4 Death

ERNST KALTENBRUNNER
Head of the Security Police: *"I do not feel guilty of any war crimes; I have only done my duty as an intelligence organ."*
Guilty 3, 4 Death

WILHELM KEITEL
Army general and Chief of the German High Command: *"For a soldier, orders are orders."*
Guilty 1, 2, 3, 4 Death

ALFRED ROSENBERG
Nazi Party Leader for Ideology and Foreign Policy: *"I must reject an Indictment for conspiracy."*
Guilty 1, 2, 3, 4 Death

HANS FRANK
Reich Minister Without Portfolio: *"I regard this trial as a God-willed world court, destined to examine and put an end to the terrible era of suffering under Adolf Hitler."*
Guilty 3, 4 Death

JULIUS STREICHER
Editor of *Der Stürmer*, an anti-Jewish newspaper and a favorite of Hitler: *"This trial is a triumph of World Jewry."*
Guilty 4 Death

WILHELM FRICK
Reich Minister of the Interior and Director of the Central Office for all Occupied Territories: *"The whole Indictment rests on the assumption of a fictitious conspiracy."*
Guilty 2, 3, 4 Death

WALTER FUNK
Press Chief, later Minister of Economics: *"I have never in my life consciously done anything which could contribute to such an Indictment. If I have been made guilty of the acts which stand in the Indictment, through error or ignorance, then my guilt is a human tragedy, and not a crime."*
Guilty 2, 3, 4 Life in prison

HJALMAR SCHACHT
Reich Minister of Economics and President of the Reichsbank: *"I do not understand at all why I have been accused."*
Acquitted

KARL DÖNITZ
Commander in Chief of the German Navy: *"None of these Indictment counts concerns me in the least—typical American humor."*
Guilty 2, 3 10 Years

ERICH RAEDER
Admiral of the German Navy:
Guilty 1, 2, 3 Life in prison

BALDUR VON SCHIRACH
Reich Governor and Leader of Youth: *"The whole misfortune came from racial politics."*
Guilty 4 20 Years

FRITZ SAUCKEL
Reich Governor and General in the SS: *"...The terrible happenings in the concentration camps has shaken me deeply."*
Guilty 3, 4 Death

ALFRED JODL
Army General and Chief of Staff to General Keitel: *"I regret the mixture of justified accusations and political propaganda."*
Guilty 1, 2, 3, 4 Death

MARTIN BORMANN
Chief of Staff to Rudolf Hess and Hitler's secretary. Bormann disappeared and has never been found.
Guilty 3, 4 Death (*in absentia*)

FRANZ VON PAPEN
Reich Vice-Chancellor and Ambassador in Vienna and Turkey: *"I believe that paganism and the years of totalitarianism bear the main guilt."*
Acquitted

ARTUR VON SEYSS-INQUART
Deputy Governor-General of occupied Poland and the Netherlands: *"Last act of the tragedy of the second World War, I hope!"*
Guilty 2, 3, 4 Death

ALBERT SPEER
Reich Minister for Armament and Munitions: *"The trial is necessary. There is a common responsibility for such horrible crimes . . . even in an authoritarian system."*
Guilty 3, 4 20 Years

KONSTANTIN VON NEURATH
Foreign Minister before Ribbentrop and Protector of Bohemia and Moravia: *"I was always against punishment without the possibility of a defense."*
Guilty 1, 2, 3, 4 15 Years

HANS FRITZSCHE
Director of Propaganda: *"It is the most terrible Indictment of all times."*
Acquitted

* *The four counts of the Indictment were (1) Common Plan or Conspiracy, (2) Crimes Against Peace, (3) War Crimes; (4) Crimes Against Humanity. Quotes were recorded by prison psychiatrist, Gustave M. Gilbert*

The Nuremberg War Crimes Trial

With the defeat of Germany in 1945, the world saw firsthand photographs of the concentration camps. The Allies made plans to bring to justice the Nazis responsible for what happened during the war.

Millions of Germans and other Europeans were considered eligible for possible prosecution. Of these, only a small number were actually prosecuted, the most famous in the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal. Nineteen major Nazis were brought to trial. The defense questioned the legality of Germans being tried by the Allies. Even today, some people doubt that "war crimes" can be defined in legal terms adequate enough to prosecute people's actions. The Germans responded by arguing that they followed orders of the government and that they could not be tried for breaking laws that did not exist until after the war. The defense charged that Allied airmen were also guilty of war crimes when they bombed German cities to terrorize civilians. Germans spoke of the fire-bombing of Dresden.

Many Germans, according to surveys, regarded the photographs of atrocities in the concentration and death camps with disbelief and without sorrow. This refusal to accept the reality of the death camps continues today with the publication of books such as Arthur Butz's *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. Butz denies that the camps served as death factories and that 6 million Jews were killed. He claims that the Holocaust never happened, that it is a Zionist propaganda hoax.

Many Germans could not understand why they were being prosecuted. Consider this exchange between a German prisoner and his Allied captors quoted in *The Jew as Pariah* by Ron H. Feldman:

Q: Did you kill people in the camp?
A: Yes.
Q: Did you poison them with gas?
A: Yes.
Q: Did you bury them alive?
A: It sometimes happened.
Q: Were the victims picked from all over Europe?
A: I suppose so.
Q: Did you personally help kill people?
A: Absolutely not. I was only paymaster in the camp.
Q: What did you think of what was going on?
A: It was hard at first but we got used to it.
Q: Did you know the Russians will hang you?
A: (Bursting into tears) Why should they? What have I done?

November 12, 1944

As the trials proceeded, Holocaust victims slowly began to reintegrate their lives. It soon became clear to many survivors that they had lost almost their entire families. Many experienced the normal responses of loss and depression. Many survivors were placed in Displaced Persons (DP) camps while the Allies discussed the issue of where these people were to go. Poland and Germany were no longer nations in which most Jews felt they had any future. Some Jews boarded ships and attempted to run the British blockade of Palestine. Many were caught and sent back to DP camps. But in 1948, the United Nations voted for partition of Palestine, resulting in the creation of the state of Israel. In the ensuing years, many Jews went to Israel; and when immigration barriers were lifted in the early 1950s many Jews came to North and South America, most especially the United States, where survivors of the Holocaust began new lives.

Questions for Discussion

1. Robinson Jeffers, the poet, has written:

   "Justice and mercy are human dreams; they do not concern the birds nor the fish nor eternal God."

   How could justice really be served after the Holocaust?

2. Did the Allied nations have the moral right to bring Nazis to trial after the war?
3. Do you think it was possible for survivors to forget their past and forgive those who committed acts of atrocity against them? Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal wrote a novel called *The Sunflower* in which just such an issue is raised. A 21-year-old soldier lies on his deathbed just after the war. Wiesenthal is called in to hear the soldier's last words, in which he confesses his acts during the war and begs Wiesenthal to forgive him so that he can die in peace. What should Wiesenthal have done?
4. Examine the chart on the preceding pages of those Nazis judged in the most famous of all Nuremberg Trials. On what basis do you think the decisions were reached? Examine the quotations; did any of the Nazi leaders repent? Of all those listed on the chart, Rudolf Hess along remains imprisoned in Spandau Prison in Germany. Some critics argue that Hess, who has served more than thirty years and is now an old man, should be released. Would you agree or disagree?

HUNGER STRIKE CALLED ON EXODUS!

Children vow starvation rather than return to Caraolos.

After allowing the story to build up over a two-week period, Ari Ben Canaan fooled everyone by launching an offensive. It was no game of "wait and see" now; the children were forcing a decision.

A huge sign was tied to the sides of the *Exodus* with lettering in English, French, and Hebrew. The sign read:

Hunger Strike/Hour #1

Hunger Strike/Hour #15

Two boys and a girl, aged ten, twelve, and fifteen, were brought on the forward deck of the *Exodus* and laid out, unconscious.

Hunger Strike/Hour #20

Ten children were stretched out on the forward deck.

"For Christ's sake, Kitty, stop pacing and sit down!"

"It's over twenty hours now. How much longer is he going to let this go on? I just haven't had the courage to go to the quay and look. Is Karen one of those children unconscious on deck?"

"I told you ten times she wasn't."

"They aren't strong children to begin with and they've been cooped up on that ship for two weeks. They have no stamina left." Kitty pulled nervously at a cigarette and tugged at her hair. "That man is a beast. An inhuman beast."

"I've been thinking about that," Mark said. "I've been thinking about it a lot. I wonder if we really understand what is driving those people so hard. Have you ever seen Palestine? It's worthless desert in the south end and eroded in the middle and swamp up north. It's stinking, it's sun-baked, and it's in the middle of a sea of fifty million sworn enemies. Yet they break their necks to get there. They call it the Land of Milk and Honey . . . they sing about water sprinklers and irrigation ditches. Two weeks ago I told Ari Ben Canaan that the Jews don't have a patent on suffering but I'm beginning to wonder. I swear I wonder. I wonder how something can hurt so badly that can drive them so hard."

"Don't defend him, Mark, and don't defend those people."

"Try to remember one thing. Ben Canaan couldn't do this without the support of those kids. They're behind him one hundred per cent."

"That's what hurts," Kitty said, "this loyalty. This fantastic loyalty they have for each other."

The phone rang. Mark answered, listened, and hung up.

"What is it? I said what is it, Mark!"

"They've brought some more kids up on the deck unconscious. A half dozen of them."

"Is . . . is . . . Karen . . . ?"

"I don't know. I'm going to find out."

"Mark."

"What?"

"I want to go on the *Exodus*."

"That's impossible."

"I can't take it any more," she said.

"If you do this you're finished."

"No, Mark . . . it's different. If I knew she were alive and well I could bear it. I swear I could. I made myself know that. But I can't just sit idly and know she's dying. I can't do that."

"Even if I can get Ben Canaan to let you on the *Exodus* the British won't let you."

"You must," she said fiercely, "you must."

She stood with her back to the door and blocked his exit. Her face determined. Mark lowered his eyes. "I'll do what I can," he said.

Hunger Strike/Hour #35

Angry crowds in Paris and Rome demonstrated before the British embassies. Fierce oratory and placards demanded the release of the *Exodus*. Police clubs and tear gas were used in Paris to disperse the mob. In Copenhagen and in Stockholm and in Brussels and in The Hague there were other demonstrations. These were more orderly.

Hunger Strike/Hour #38

A spontaneous general strike swept over the island of Cyprus in protest against the British. Transportation stopped, businesses shut down, the ports closed, theaters and restaurants locked their doors. Famagusta, Nicosia, Larnaca, and Limassol looked like morgues.

Hunger Strike/Hour #40

Ari Ben Canaan stared at his lieutenants. He looked into the somber faces of Joab, David, Zev, and Hank Schlosberg.

Zev, the Galilee farmer, spoke up first. "I am a soldier. I cannot stand by and watch children starve to death."

"In Palestine," Ari snapped, "youngsters this same age are already fighters in Gadna."

"It is one thing to fight and it is another to starve to death."

"This is only another way of fighting," Ari said.

Joab Yarkoni had worked with Ari for many years and had served with him in World War II. "I have never gone against you, Ari. The minute one of these children dies this whole thing is liable to boomerang on us."

Ari looked over to Hank Schlosberg, the American captain. Hank shrugged. "You're the boss, Ari, but the crew is getting jittery. They didn't bargain for this."

"In other words," Ari said, "you want to surrender."

Their silence confirmed it.

"David, what about you? I haven't heard from you."

David, a scholar, was steeped in the Torah and in the holy books. He had a closeness to God that none of the rest of them had and they respected it.

"Six million Jews died in gas chambers not knowing why they died," he said. "If three hundred of us on the *Exodus* die we will certainly know why. The world will know too. When we were a nation two thousand years ago and when we rebelled against Roman and Greek rule we Jews established the tradition of fighting to the last man. We did this at Arbela and Jerusalem. We did this at Beitar and Herodium and Machaerus. At Masada we held out against the Romans for four years and when they entered the fort they found us all dead. No people, anywhere, have fought for their freedom as have our people. We drove the Romans and the Greeks from our land until we were dispersed to the four corners of the world. We have not had much opportunity to fight as a nation for two thousand years. When we had that opportunity at the Warsaw ghetto we did honor to our tradition. I say if we leave this boat and willingly return to barbed-wire prisons then we will have broken faith with God."

"Are there any further questions?" Ari said.

Hunger Strike/Hour #42

In the United States, South Africa, and England mass prayer meetings were being held in synagogues, and in many churches there were prayers for the safety of the children on the *Exodus*.

Hunger Strike/Hour #45

The Jews in Argentina began to fast in sympathy with the children aboard the *Exodus*.

Hunger Strike/Hour #47

It was getting dark as Kitty boarded the *Exodus*. The stench was overpowering. All over the deck, in the lifeboats, on the superstructure she saw the crush of humanity. Everyone was lying down and absolutely motionless to conserve energy.

"I want to see those children who have passed out," she said.

David led her to the bow of the ship where there were three rows of unconscious children, sixty in number. David knelt and held his lantern close to the bodies as Kitty moved from one to the other, feeling their pulses and looking into the pupils of their eyes. Half a dozen times she thought she would faint as her heart pounded and she rolled over a child who looked like Karen.

David led her around the packed deck, stepping over the prostrate bodies. The children stared listlessly at her with dazed eyes. Their hair was matted and dirt caked their faces.

David led her down the steep ladder onto the hold. She nearly vomited as the stink enveloped her. In the half light she saw the ghastly sight of the children packed in shelves one atop the other.

On the deck of the hold they lay piled against each other. She found Karen in a corner, enmeshed in a tangle of arms and legs. Dov was asleep next to her. They lay on a pile of rags and the deck was slimy beneath them.

"Karen," she whispered. "Karen, it's me, Kitty."

Karen's eyes fluttered open. There were huge black circles beneath them and her lips were caked dry. She was too weak to sit up.

"Kitty?"

"Yes, it's me."

Karen held her arms open and Kitty held her tightly for many moments. "Don't leave, Kitty. I'm so frightened."

"I'll be near," Kitty whispered, releasing the girl.

She went to the hospital and examined the limited supply of drugs and sighed despondently. "There is very little that can be done," she said to David. "I'll try to make them as comfortable as possible. Can you and Joab work with me?"

"Of course."

"Some of those unconscious are in serious condition. We'll have to try to sponge them to get their fevers down. It is chilly up on deck. We'll keep them covered. Then I want everyone who is capable of working to get this ship clean."

Kitty labored feverishly for hours to ward off death. It was like trying to fill an ocean with a thimble. As soon as one child was brought under control three more became seriously ill. She hadn't the drugs, water, or other facilities to do very much. Food, the one weapon, could not be used.

Hunger Strike/Hour #81

Seventy children in coma lay on the deck of the *Exodus*.

On the quay of Kyrenia harbor there were angry grumbles of insubordination from the British ranks. Many of the soldiers could stand it no longer and asked to be removed, even at the risk of court-martial. The eyes of Cyprus fastened on Kyrenia.

Hunger Strike/Hour #82

Karen Hansen Clement was carried to the bow of the ship, unconscious.

Hunger Strike/Hour #83

Kitty walked into the wheelhouse and slumped exhausted into a chair. She had worked for thirty-five straight hours and her mind was muddled and dazed. Ari poured her a stiff brandy.

"Go on and drink," he said. "You aren't on strike."

She swallowed it down, and a second drink brought her to her senses. She stared at Ari Ben Canaan long and hard. He was a powerful man. He showed almost no effects of the siege. She looked into his cold eyes and wondered what thoughts, what plots, what tricks were running through his brain. She wondered if he was frightened or even knew fear. She wondered if he was sad or shaken.

"I was expecting you to come up here to see me much sooner," he said.

"I won't beg you, Ari Ben Canaan. Ben Canaan and God . . . in that order . . . isn't that right? Well, there are a dozen children on the verge of death. I am merely reporting to you like a good Palmachnik. They're going to die, Mr. Ben Canaan. How do you rule?"

"I've been insulted before, Kitty. It doesn't bother me. Is this humanity of yours so great that it cries out for all these children or does it appeal for the life of one child?"

"You have no right to ask that."

"You are begging for the life of one girl. I am begging for the lives of a quarter of a million people."

She rose. "I had better get back to work. Ari, you knew why I wanted to come on board the *Exodus*. Why did you let me?"

He turned his back to her and looked from the window out to sea where the cruiser and destroyers stood watch. "Maybe I wanted to see you."

Hunger Strike/Hour #85

General Sir Clarence Tevor-Browne paced up and down Sutherland's office. The smoke from his cigar clouded the room. He stopped several times and looked out the window in the direction of Kyrenia.

Sutherland tapped out his pipe and studied the array of sandwiches on the tray on the coffee table. "Won't you sit down, Sir Clarence, and have a bite to eat and a spot of tea?"

Tevor-Browne looked at his wrist watch and sighed. He seated himself and picked up a sandwich, stared at it, nibbled, then threw it down. "I feel guilty when I eat," he said.

"This is a bad business to be in for a man with a conscience," Sutherland said. "Two wars, eleven foreign posts, six decorations, and three orders. Now I've been stopped in my tracks by a band of unarmed children. A fine way to end thirty years of service, eh, Sir Clarence?"

Tevor-Browne lowered his eyes.

"Oh, I know you've been wanting to talk to me," said Sutherland.

Tevor-Browne poured some tea and sighed, half embarrassed. "See here, Bruce. If it were up to me . . ."

"Nonsense, Sir Clarence. Don't feel badly. It is I who feel badly. I let you down." Sutherland rose and his eyes brimmed. "I am tired. I am very tired."

"We will arrange a full pension and have the retirement as quiet as possible. You can count on me," Tevor-Browne said. "See here, Bruce. I stopped over in Paris on my way here and I had a long talk with Neddie. I told her about your predicament. Listen, old boy, with some encouragement from you, you two could get together again. Neddie wants you back and you're going to need her."

Sutherland shook his head. "Neddie and I have been through for years. All we ever had between us that was meaningful was the Army. That's what held us together."

"Any plans?"

"These months on Cyprus have done something to me, Sir Clarence, especially these past few weeks. You may not believe this, but I don't feel that I've suffered a defeat. I feel that I may have won something very great. Something I lost a long time ago."

"And what is that?"

"Truth. Do you remember when I took this post? You told me that the only kingdom that runs on right and wrong is the kingdom of heaven and the kingdoms of the earth run on oil."

"I remember it well," Tevor-Browne said.

"Yes," Sutherland said, "I have thought so much about it since this *Exodus* affair. All my life I have known the truth and I have known right from wrong. Most of us do. To know the truth is one thing. To live it . . . to create the kingdom of heaven on earth is another. How many times in a man's life does he do things that are repulsive to his morality in order to exist? How I have admired those few men in this world who could stand up for their convictions in the face of shame, torture, and even death. What a wonderful feeling of inner peace they must have. Something that we ordinary mortals can never know. Gandhi is such a man.

"I am going to that rotten sliver of land that these Jews call their kingdom of heaven on earth. I want to know it all . . . Galilee, Jerusalem . . . all of it."

"I envy you, Bruce."

"Perhaps I'll settle down near Safed . . . on Mount Canaan."

Major Alistair entered the office. He was pale and his hand shook as he gave Tevor-Browne a note to read. Tevor-Browne read it and reread it and could not believe his eyes. "Great God, save us all," he whispered. He passed the note to Bruce Sutherland.

URGENT

Ari Ben Canaan, spokesman for the Exodus, *announced that beginning at noon tomorrow ten volunteers a day will commit suicide on the bridge of the ship in full view of the British garrison. This protest practice will continue until either the* Exodus *is permitted to sail for Palestine or everyone aboard is dead.*

Bradshaw, with Humphrey Crawford and half a dozen aides, sped out of London to the quiet of a peaceful, isolated little house in the country. He had fourteen hours to act before the suicides on the *Exodus* began.

He had badly miscalculated the entire thing. First, the tenacity and determination of the children on the ship. Second, the powerful propaganda the incident created. Finally, he had not imagined that Ben Canaan would take the offensive and press the issue as he had. Bradshaw was a stubborn man but he knew when he was defeated, and he now turned his efforts to making a face-saving settlement.

Bradshaw had Crawford and his aides cable or phone a dozen of the top Jewish leaders in England, Palestine, and the United States to ask them to intervene. The Palestinians, in particular, might possibly dissuade Ben Canaan. At the very least they could stall the action long enough to enable Bradshaw to come up with some alternate plans. If he could get Ben Canaan to agree to negotiate then he could talk the *Exodus* to death. Within six hours, Bradshaw had his answers from the Jewish leaders. They answered uniformly: WE WILL NOT INTERCEDE.

Next Bradshaw contacted Tevor-Browne on Cyprus. He instructed the general to inform the *Exodus* that the British were working out a compromise and to delay the deadline for twenty-four hours.

Tevor-Browne carried out these instructions and relayed Ben Canaan's answer back to England.

URGENT

Ben Canaan informed us there is nothing to discuss. He says either the Exodus *sails or it doesn't sail. He further states that complete amnesty to the Palestinians aboard is part of the conditions. Ben Canaan summarized: Let my people go.*

Tevor-Browne

Cecil Bradshaw could not sleep. He paced back and forth, back and forth. It was just a little over six hours before the children on the *Exodus* would begin committing suicide. He had only three hours left in which to make a decision to hand to the Cabinet. No compromise could be reached.

Was he fighting a madman? Or was this Ari Ben Canaan a shrewd and heartless schemer who had deftly led him deeper and deeper into a trap?

LET MY PEOPLE GO!

Bradshaw walked to his desk and flicked on the lamp.

URGENT

Ari Ben Canaan, spokesman for the Exodus, *announced that beginning at noon tomorrow ten volunteers a day will commit suicide . . .*

Suicide . . . suicide . . . suicide . . .

Bradshaw's hand shook so violently he dropped the paper.

Also on his desk were a dozen communiqués from various European and American governments. In that polite language that diplomats use they all expressed concern over the *Exodus* impasse. He also had notes from each of the Arab governments expressing the view that if the *Exodus* were permitted to sail for Palestine it would be considered an affront to every Arab.

Cecil Bradshaw was confused now. The past few days had been a living hell. How had it all begun? Thirty years of formulating Middle Eastern policy and now he was in his worst trouble over an unarmed salvage tug.

What queer trick of fate had given him the mantle of an oppressor? Nobody could possibly accuse him of being anti-Jewish. Secretly Bradshaw admired the Jews in Palestine and understood the meaning of their return. He enjoyed the hours he had spent arguing with Zionists around conference tables, bucking their brilliant debaters. Cecil Bradshaw believed from the bottom of his heart that England's interest lay with the Arabs. Yet the Mandate had grown to over half a million Jews. And the Arabs were adamant that the British were fostering a Jewish nation in their midst.

During all the years of work he had been realistic with himself. What was happening? He could see his own grandchildren lying on the deck of the *Exodus*. Bradshaw knew his Bible as well as any well-brought-up Englishman and like most Englishmen had a tremendous sense of honor although he was not deeply religious. Could it be that the *Exodus* was driven by mystic forces? No, he was a practical diplomat and he did not believe in the supernatural.

Yet—he had an army and a navy and the power to squash the *Exodus* and all the other illegal runners—but he could not bring himself to do it.

The Pharaoh of Egypt had had might on his side too! Sweat ran down Bradshaw's face. It was all nonsense! He was tired and the pressure had been too great. What foolishness!

LET MY PEOPLE GO!

Bradshaw walked to the library and found a Bible and in near panic began to read through the pages of Exodus and about the Ten Plagues that God sent down on the land of Egypt.

Was he Pharaoh? Would a curse rain down on Britain? He went back to his room and tried to rest, but a staccato rhythm kept running through his tired brain . . . let my people go . . . let my people go . . .

"Crawford!" he yelled. "Crawford!"

Crawford ran in, tying his robe. "You called?"

"Crawford. Get through to Tevor-Browne on Cyprus at once. Tell him . . . tell him to let the *Exodus* sail for Palestine."

READING # 3 Unit 7

Home At Last

EDITED BY

Azriel Eisenberg and Leah Ain-Globe

Stubborn Son of a Stubborn People: Saul's Story

by Lena Kichler

The years 1945-48 were known as the period of "illegal" immigration. At that time the only hope of the refugees from the Nazi holocaust was Palestine and that was barricaded by the British. World Jewish organizations acquired barges, coastal freighters, ships that had long been pronounced unseaworthy—anything that would float—in which to bring this destitute remnant to Israel. Unfortunately, they did not always succeed in saving their human cargo. In "Saul" we have an example of the refugees' clinging to life and the daring and bravery of those who made every effort to save them.

Saul's rescue was made possible, among others, by the Vaadat Ezrah Hatzalah *organized by Hungarian Jews and financed by the Joint Distribution Committee to rescue their brother Jews from deportation and death. It had a wide network of undercover agents, couriers and contacts with diplomatic offices. It smuggled Jewish refugees from many European countries to havens of shelter and safety. While it succeeded in saving tens of thousands of souls, hundreds of thousands were exterminated by the Nazis.*

This story was told in 1946 by Saul, who was in a Jewish orphanage in Belleville, France, to the woman in charge, Lena Kichler. Saul was born in Lvov and was fourteen years old when he told the story.

I invite Saul to my office. He comes in uncertainly. His face is scarred. He has a sharp, serious, searching look. When his eyes meet mine, he softens a little.

I ask him to sit in the armchair. Saul hesitates—he is not quite sure why he was asked to my office. When I sit down, he also takes a seat.

I tell him why I asked him here, and ask him to tell me his experiences during the war. Saul thinks for a while, and then, begins his story.

From my childhood, I can remember our large courtyard. I can still see the forest, the lakes and the pastures where our horses used to graze. We owned a herd of horses. My father loved horses very much and I do too.

Even when I was still a small child, my father used to seat me in the saddle, and the two of us used to gallop furiously on the horse. My mother used to scream in fright and beg him to be careful of me. She did not agree to my being on the horse. But I was not afraid and I often used to ask my father to put me in the saddle.

For some reason—I do not know why—we moved to Lvov. Things were good there. I was the youngest of the children. I did three years of school—one year of Polish school before the war and two years in a Russian school during the Russian occupation.

As soon as the Germans conquered the city, they carried out a pogrom. They used to seize Jews in the street and torture them to death. They seized my brother in the street and no one knows what happened to him.

I went to look for my brother. I did not care any more—I was not frightened of anything, but I was very sad. I wanted to find my brother—no matter what the cost. He was my oldest brother and we loved him very much. I did not want to hide as my father told me to do: I thought I should be able to find my brother.

I was in Zhilkewska Street and I saw how the Germans collected the Jews. The Jews were in a state of shock and panic, and asked each other: 'What will happen now? What will they do to us now?" There were many men and women there, some of them in beautiful suits, some of them poor, and many small children. They were seized haphazardly while they were innocently walking in the streets. None of them expected anything of the sort.

It was the day after the conquest of Lvov, and the Germans had posted up placards calling on the population to return quietly to work. The Jews did as the Germans said and went to work—but the Ukrainians arrested them. The Jews demanded to be allowed to go to work. They argued that their employers were waiting for them: but the Ukrainians only mocked them. They answered, "Don't worry. Let them wait for you for a while."

Then they took iron bars and began to beat the Jews with them with all their strength, without worrying which part of the body they struck. The people screamed terribly and begged them to stop. It was particulirly bad for the women—the blows were more than they could stand. But amongst the men there were some who could not stand it either.

They beat and tortured them terribly. The Germans stood aside and watched the show. Now and again they called, "Hit that one! Hit him there!" etc. The Ukrainians obeyed their orders.

I was in the street and saw it with my own eyes. I looked for my brother, but I could not find him. I continued to walk on and on. Similar things were taking place everywhere. They were hitting and torturing Jews. One woman stood by and watched them beating up the Jews. She fainted.

I reached the barricade and could go no farther. I returned home, but said nothing of what I had seen. They killed Jews in the street like that for three days. No Jew dared to leave his hiding place. My brother did not return.

Two weeks later our family was removed from our house. It was the first German "action." Apart from myself, there was another brother, my sister, my mother and my father. They made us run to one of the squares where we had to sit down, and placed an armed guard over us. We were guarded by a Gestapo man with a rifle, and by many armed Ukrainians as well.

We were about two hundred Jews there. We sat on the ground and waited. The Ukrainians went wild and did anything they felt like. They would go up to the people and torture them. If they felt like shooting someone, they would shoot him. They amused themselves with us.

A Ukrainian came up to me and hit my arm with the butt of his rifle. I saw stars and I thought my arm had been broken. I could not move it for two weeks, and it continued to hurt me even after that. He hit me for nothing. I was sitting quietly, as I had been told. Suddenly he came at me from the side and hit me with all his strength. Then he beat someone else on the head until his skull was smashed. The Jew fell over dead. Afterwards he was taken away somewhere.

When the Germans had collected a large number of people, lorries arrived, and we were put into them. The old were put into one lorry and the women and children into another. I was in the second lorry with the children. The lorries travelled slowly, because the crowds were in their way.

I took the opportunity and jumped from the lorry. My brother wanted to jump down too, but he could not, because he sat in the forward part of the lorry where there was a Ukrainian. I quietly moved my sister to the side of the lorry so that she could jump too but she was too frightened.

Our parents were in the other lorry with the old people. It continued to move forward until it disappeared.

I hid myself in the crowd and did not look behind. I was not sure whether the Germans had noticed my escape. But I was not afraid. I said to myself: "I do not care—either they will shoot me or I shall manage to escape. Everybody is being taken to his death anyway." The lorries went on to Piaski, and no one returned from there.

If I had had a revolver, as I did later on in the forest, I should have shown them that I could not be taken easily. I would have smashed their skulls first. Those murderers were only brave when they were dealing with the weak—children and old, defenseless people. In other cases, they were real cowards.

Saul ceased to talk for a moment, from excitement. Then he continued:

I went to one of our neighbours, who had a woodshed near his home. His name was Viniarski and he was an acquaintance of my father. I wanted to stay there so that I could see my uncle, who had hidden in a Ukrainian's house. But Viniarski did not agree—he was frightened. I went on my way. I had no choice, had I? My home had been plundered. Everything had been removed—even bedding and furniture. Within half an hour the whole house had been emptied and not a thing had been left behind. There was nothing to which to return.

I turned to another neighbour. She gave me a slice of bread, and I continued on my way. I had no papers (i.e. "Aryan" documents)* and I did not know what to do. I wandered around like that till two in the morning. Then I entered a peasant's hut and asked him to let me stay there for the night. He refused and said that he was afraid to do so, since I had no papers.

I continued to walk in the forest alone at night. Even though I was only ten years old, I was not at all frightened. I did not care whether I lived or died.

I still had ten zloty in my pocket. I walked to the railway station and bought a ticket to Wradzychow. I did not know to whom I was going, but that was unimportant. I thought things were quieter there and that the Germans were not behaving as they were in Lvov.

In fact, it was worse. They were taking the Jews out in the street and killing them on the spot. People were scared to walk in the street, because passers-by were being shot at.

I continued walking until I reached the village of Nemitov twenty-five kilometres away. I wanted to work for a farmer. I knew how to look after horses and I was prepared to learn the other kinds of work.

But I lacked papers. I went to the head of the village and told him that my name was Yanek Komorniczki, and that I was all alone, because the Germans had taken my parents to do forced labour; I had no papers because my parents had not left them behind for me. I told him I was born in Lvov.

He hesitated at first and examined me a little, but in the end he gave me a certificate of identity and confirmed it with a large seal. With that certificate in my hand, I went to a peasant and asked him if he needed a worker, and he accepted me.

He had a medium-sized farm of about thirty acres, a few cows, a few horses, rabbits and chickens, and it was good quality land. The farm supplied him with bread, potatoes and milk. But he used to get drunk very often and then would be away frequently. When he returned home, he would sing, neglect the livestock, and try to find an excuse for a fight. Only when he finally curled up in a corner and snored away was I able to breathe freely. Every week he used to distill rye-whisky because whisky was expensive. But he sold only a small portion, because he used to drink most of it himself.

He was single and had no family. When he was sober, he was quite easy-going. There was not much cooking in his house because there was no woman there. We used to drink milk and eat potatoes and bake bread for the holidays. But I was never hungry while I was with him. While I was pasturing the cows, I used to bake potatoes in the ashes of the fire.

At first I used only to take the cows out to pasture. Afterwards, I used to do any work there was; I used to plough, reap and thresh. I fed the cows, took manure out of the cowshed, cleaned the house and even used to help to make the whisky, etc. At the beginning, I was not used to work and he used to scold me all the time. I did not know how to thresh grain, nor how to milk cows. But I learned quickly, and satisfied him. When the farmer was away, I was alone on the whole farm.

My hands were quite damaged from the hard work. My shoes wore out. I was forced to go barefoot so that I could keep them for Sunday, when we went to church.

I used to rise early, before the sun was up, and take the cattle out to pasture. It was still dark outside and mist covered the ground. My hands and feet were frozen from the cold, and I did not want to get up. I had no warm clothes. But the cows were already lowing in their stalls and the horses used to turn their heads towards me. I was forced to rise. In winter things were worse for me. I had no shoes or warm clothes but I became accustomed to frost.

Sometimes I used to sleep in the stable near the horses—it was warmer for me there. I have told you before that I used to go to church on Sundays. Once, just before Easter, the peasant asked me whether I had been to confession. I said that I had. I did not talk much to the boys from the village, because I did not have much time. But we were on good terms. Once I took a load of manure out to a field. One of the boys from the village came up to me and said, "You are so-and-so, a Jew without documents, who does not know the Paternoster." I said, "Clear off, or I shall knock your teeth out." He left me alone—but went and told the peasant. The peasant did not say a word to me but I saw that his behaviour towards me had changed. From the comments he made about my work, it was clear that he did not want me any more. On Sundays, and whenever I was not at home, the boys would come and incite him against me, and tell him not to keep a Jew in his house.

Once, when I returned early from the field, I heard one lad tell the peasant that he was sure I was a Jew, since I did not know how to cross myself. I understood that I had lost the battle, and I did not bother to go inside. I finished my work, fed the cattle, prepared some potatoes for the way and lay down to sleep in the stable. Early next morning before the peasant was awake, I set out.

I had no place to go to. I could not return to Lvov, because they knew me there. If I had gone to another peasant, the same thing would have happened all over again. I decided to go to the forest. The forest was only a kilometre from the village, but it was not at all easy to penetrate into it.

At that time there were all sorts of people in the forest. There were ordinary robbers, who used to attack passers-by. There were "Bandrovtzi" (Ukrainian Fascists, under the leadership of Stefan Bandra). It was dangerous to go near them. Once, a woman went out to gather mushrooms and unintentionally approached their camp. They shot and killed her. But there were Poles and Jews of all sorts in the forest as well. The farmers were frightened of the forest-dwellers, because if you did not satisfy their demands, they would kill you on the spot, and if you did then the Germans would take it out on you afterwards, or even burn the whole village.

I very much wanted to reach the Russians in the forest, because they had weapons and they were not afraid of the Germans—but how could I find them?

It was the beginning of spring. The forest soil was like a swamp. I wandered all through the forest: about five kilometres I must have walked, and as I did not meet anyone—neither the bad ones nor the good—I began to despair. Suddenly I heard a voice behind me say in Russian, "Where are you going?" I realized that I had come upon the Russians, and I was extremely pleased. I told them (in Russian), who I was—a Jew who wanted to join them in order to fight the Germans. They accepted me, even though I was small.

I told them everything that had happened to me: how the Germans had taken my father and mother and how I had worked in the village, and how the boys had driven me away.

The Russians behaved well towards me. There were other young boys there but I was the youngest. They told me not to be afraid. If I stayed with them, no one would hurt me. They told me that there used to be a Jew among them, 26 years old, and they all liked him because he was a good comrade—but he was killed.

*Documents testifying that the bearer is a Christian.

They were not frightened of the Germans, because they had weapons and the Germans did not enter the forest. They gave me vodka and cigarettes, but I refused to drink or smoke. They cooked for themselves, repaired their own clothes, cleaned their weapons and played cards. Those were the best days I had at that time. I felt that I was a free man. No one called me a "damned Jew." I would not have returned to the village or the town for all the money in the world, even though in the forest we had no roof over our heads and we slept on the bare ground.

There were about 150 of them. There were no women. There were Russians, a few Poles who had escaped from the hands of the Germans and I was the only young Jew among them. The following day they began to ask me about the Germans: where I had seen them and on which side of the forest. I told them all I had seen. Then they wanted to know who the rich farmers in the village were. They were planning a "raid."

In the evening, four of the men harnessed two horses to a cart and saddled two others. Two of them were with me in the cart and the other two rode their horses. There was a Russian officer and an ordinary soldier with me. They took a sub-machine gun and grenades with them. They had revolvers in their pockets. They were dressed as civilians and no one would have imagined that they were soldiers. They looked for all the world like farmers returning from market. The sub-machine gun was covered with straw. There were sacks at the side. It was a pleasure to see how they could disguise themselves, or as we say now, camouflage themselves.

We left the forest after dark. One of the riders went on ahead. He preceded us in order to see if it was all clear in front of us. After that, he returned and we all moved off. We entered the village and stopped at one of the huts. One of the mounted men guarded us from a short distance away and the other one kept lookout. I remained in the cart. The two entered the house with their hands in their pockets. They stood in the doorway and demanded foodstuffs.

They did not even have to show their pistols. The farmer quickly understood what his position was and brought butter, a ham, bread, cheese and sausage. He gave us more than we had expected. We put it all in the sacks and quietly returned to the forest. We did not return via the road, but through the fields. That was how my first raid ended. After that, I often went with them, because 150 men had to be fed and it was not easy.

The following day, I was awakened by shots. The Germans had encircled part of the forest, but were afraid to enter it. Only their dogs rushed up to us, but we were not afraid of the dogs. If they came close, we put a bullet in them from a pistol and that was that.The dogs and the Germans' bullets did not worry us too much.

The Russians packed up, put the sub-machine gun in the cart and, some getting on their horses, moved on into the depths of the forest. It was a large and dark forest and gave us excellent cover. We travelled for about half a day and set up camp in a wilder place which the Germans had not reached. We camped there for about a month and a half. We used to go to the neighbouring village every three days to get food, and we always took weapons with us.

The Russians gave me a small horse. He was black and had a tendency to bite. I used to hold his head with both my hands so that he could not move his jaw. The Russians advised me to whip him whenever he tried to bite me, but I could not. . . I pitied him too much. I used to curry him and brush him every day until his coat glistened in the sun. I used to go a long way every day to bring him fresh hay. Often the Russians used to tease me and take his fodder for their horses. I never said a word: I just waited. After a moment they would slap me on the shoulder, grin, and return the fodder. They treated me well and always gave me plenty to eat and drink: in fact, they looked after me very well indeed. In the evenings, I used to join them around the fire and listen to their stories about the war, about their homes and wives and children. They used to show me pictures of their children and tell me what they would do when they returned home.

I often used to get up at night and go to my horse. The horse stood and chewed silently and I used to caress him, crawl under his stomach and spread fresh straw under him or give him water to drink. I used to take him to the small spring which was close by. The forest was silent then. People were all asleep. Only the fire smoked away, and the guards were walking around. They used to offer me "machorka" (crude tobacco) but I did not smoke. The horse grew accustomed to me and did not bite me any more. As soon as he heard my footsteps he would turn his head towards me. He was healthy, and had become really fat. In winter I used sometimes to lie down next to him so that I could warm myself a little, and when I used to whisper my secrets to him, he would quietly neigh in answer.

The war came to us again. The Russians came closer. Their planes were overhead and dropped weapons, mines and grenades for us. Sometimes they let down five parachutes at once. Our officer had rockets which he used to fire into the air in order to show them where to drop the ammunition.

We were in the rear of the German Army which was retreating before the Russians. We had lots of work on our hands. We mined every place where the Germans were likely to go—yards, paths, under bridges, the edges of the forest. We would dig a hole in the ground and place two mines joined by a copper wire in it. If we knew at what time the Germans would be at a particular spot we would plant time bombs. We used them especially when a train, which was bringing reinforcements to the front, was due. Once we blew up a very long train which was taking gasoline to the front. The explosions were so loud that the forest-creatures fled in fear. I always asked to go to such actions. They used to take me, and I did what they commanded without being frightened. When they would not allow me to go, I had to obey, just as in the army.

They used to send me on foot mainly to scout out the lay of the land. I often approached the Germans very closely and saw just what they were doing. It was very dangerous to enter or leave the forest. It was terribly easy to step on a mine and be blown to pieces. Apart from that the Germans kept careful watch, and if they saw someone, they would shoot him. I often had to crawl more than one hundred yards, over stones or in ditches or along the edges of fields. In winter when the fields were covered with snow, it was impossible to leave the forest because our tracks would have given us away at once. We used to go out only when the snow was falling, so that our tracks would be covered up. It was cold then; we were starving and it was difficult to hold out. We had to light fires at night, so as not to freeze. Even the horses suffered from the cold.

Finally the Russians attacked. The "Katiushas" (batteries of rockets) began to sing and the whole forest shook. Bullets flew over our heads and grenades exploded all the time. The forest went up in flames. The dim forest was lighted like an open field.

The explosions went on the whole night; they approached and retreated, became louder and then softer. There was lightning and thunder; the forest was filled with sound and the ground shook. Everyone was tense and held rifles in his hands.

Two other boys and I were commanded to leave the forest in order to bring food. We had not tasted a thing for two days. My friends went before me and I followed in their tracks. They walked very fast, in order to pass quickly over the dangerous path, and I hardly kept up with them. We left the forest. Now we had to jump over one of the German trenches. The Germans were no longer there. They were retreating and the Russians were advancing. I followed them. I saw how they sprang over the trench. I was supposed to do as they did. Suddenly there was an immense explosion and I was knocked backwards as though by a fist. A pillar of smoke rose and hid everything. I do not know

what happened then, because I lost consciousness. I do not know, either, how long I lay there.

When I awoke I felt that my fingers were wet and I could not move them at all. I could not move my head either—it hurt me. I felt that my hands and feet were not part of my body. Everything around me was black and red. I could not distinguish anything clearly. There were black and white patches before my eyes. My ears were ringing and my chest was wet with blood.

I do not know what happened after that. Everything went hazy. I heard voices of my friends and felt that I was being carried somewhere. I was badly wounded.

I was taken to a hut and lay there all night. I asked about the two boys who had gone before me. The Russians said that both of them had been killed. They had stepped on a German mine, which had blown them to pieces. I had been wounded by fragments from the same mine.

The Germans were no longer there. The Russians captured the village and continued to advance. They gave me first aid and the following day sent me to a Russian hospital in Zapatin.

The doctor gave me an injection immediately. I do not remember very clearly what happened afterwards, because I was very ill. I lay in hospital for more than eight months. They performed operation after operation upon me. They extracted one eye. They took off three of my fingers. Pieces of metal entered my lungs. I was very weak and could barely breathe. There was little food and the patients starved. They used to pick green plums and stuff themselves with them—they were so hungry.

Then Jews began to visit me and brought me food and I was not so hungry after that. After eight months they let me out of hospital and the Jews took me to Poland. I came to Cracow. But I did not want to live among strangers, even though they treated me well. I did not want to be a burden to them. I decided to go to an orphanage. Since I had lung trouble, I was sent to Zacopina.

I did not want to be in Poland for all the money in the world. It seemed to me that everything there was just as it was in the days when the Germans were there. At every turn I was called names and threatend: "You are a dirty Jew! Get out of here—no one needs you!"

as a Jew. The hunger, the cold and the constant danger did not worry him: those were his good days. . . because no one insulted him. None of the partisans ever called him a "dirty Jew." On the contrary, they loved him. They saw that he was no coward and even though he was a small boy he thought like an adult.

The ground collapsed beneath him when he was wounded, near the end of the war. He was incapacitated, weak, ill — he felt that he was useless and unwanted.

He wanted to leave Poland. He wanted to go home. "I want to travel to Eretz Yisrael. . . I want to be at home. I do not mind if I have to do the hardest work there is."

When he heard that he might travel to Eretz Yisrael, he began to have confidence in me. One morning he said to me, "I want to help you!" Then he emphasized, "But only you." That was a great day for me. I saw that he had begun to recover. For once he had confidence in one person, he would soon believe in the good in all people.

After that, I began to give him responsibility. I let him supervise the small children, the ones he used to hit. The educational miracle took place. Saul grew attached to the children and they to him.

In one matter he did not change: he remained a fighter for freedom, a rebel.

One day he came to me with about twenty other 14-16-year-old boys and girls: our oldest group.

"We are leaving the Home," he announced coldly.

"Why? Is it bad here?"

"We are not leaving because it is bad but because it is too good here. We do not want to live here in Paris and visit the theatre and the cinema while our people are suffering on their way to Eretz Yisrael in ghost ships. We want to fight for Israel too. We do not want to wait any longer. We are going."

None of my arguments helped—that we would all be going soon; that he should be careful of himself; that his old wounds were likely to open up.

Saul incited them all against me and they set out. They reached our country in the ship "Exodus, 1947" and in it they received their first baptism of fire in the struggle for freedom and for the establishment of Israel.

Shortly after they arrived in Eretz Yisrael, the War of Independence began. They all joined the army. Saul could not join the fighters because of his bad sight and his missing fingers. To this day it is not clear to me how he managed to persuade the military authorities to take him. He joined the Military Police and was even praised for exemplary conduct in battle.

A few years later he became seriously ill once more; his old wounds reappeared. The doctor did not deceive us as to the probable results.

But Saul won the battle and recovered. Today (1961) he is a sailor in the Israeli Navy.

Saul—stubborn son of a stubborn people.

Proclamation of the State of Israel

Iyar, 5708 (15th May, 1948), until the establishment of the elected, regular authorities of the State in accordance with the Constitution which shall be adopted by the Elected Constituent Assembly not later than the 1st October, 1948, the People's Council shall act as a Provisional Council of State, and its executive organ, the People's Administration, shall be the Provisional Government of the Jewish State, to be called "Israel."

THE STATE OF ISRAEL will be open for Jewish immigration and for the Ingathering of the Exiles; it will foster the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants; it will be based on freedom, justice and peace as envisaged by the prophets of Israel; it will ensure complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, race, or sex; it will guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, language, education and culture; it will safeguard the Holy Places of all religions; and it will be faithful to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

THE STATE OF ISRAEL is prepared to cooperate with the agencies and representatives of the United Nations in implementing the resolution of the General Assembly of the 29th November, 1947, and will take steps to bring about the economic union of the whole of Eretz-Israel.

WE APPEAL to the United Nations to assist the Jewish people in the building-up of its State and to receive the State of Israel into the comity of nations.

WE APPEAL—in the very midst of the onslaught launched against us now for months—to the Arab inhabitants of the State of Israel to preserve peace and participate in the upbuilding of the State on the basis of full and equal citizenship and due representation in all its provisional and permanent institutions.

WE EXTEND our hand to all neighboring States and their peoples in an offer of peace and good neighborliness, and appeal to them to establish bonds of cooperation and mutual help with the sovereign Jewish people settled in its own land. The State of Israel is prepared to do its share in common effort for the advancement of the entire Middle East.

After the liberation, Israeli soldiers stand at the Wailing Wall, or the Western Wall, of the Temple in Jerusalem.

WE APPEAL to the Jewish people throughout the Diaspora to rally round the Jews of Eretz-Israel in the tasks of immigration and upbuilding and to stand by them in the great struggle for the realization of the age-old dream—the redemption of Israel.

PLACING OUR TRUST IN THE ALMIGHTY, WE AFFIX OUR SIGNATURES TO THIS PROCLAMATION AT THIS SESSION OF THE PROVISIONAL COUNCIL OF STATE, ON THE SOIL OF THE HOMELAND, IN THE CITY OF TEL-AVIV, ON THIS SABBATH EVE, THE 5TH DAY OF IYAR, 5708 (14TH MAY, 1948).

Israel Is Born

Holocaust Questions

Yehuda Bauer

There are some people who wish to see the Holocaust as but another example of humanity's historic cruelty, "man's inhumanity to man." They see the Holocaust as no different than any other human event of suffering. And some people feel too much attention has been given to what happened to Jews during the Second World War. Such people feel that other groups were subjected to the same kind of Nazi cruelty and should be "equally recognized."

These arguments are not merely disturbing; they dangerously obscure the reality of what happened during the Holocaust. They also mistakenly set one victim's pain against another. As Professor Yehuda Bauer makes clear in the following essay, the uniqueness of the Holocaust in history and its universal implications for us today are not contradictory. To understand the Holocaust and the role of the Jews in the Holocaust as unique and not simply as another example of "man's inhumanity" does not mean that we cannot apply its lessons to the modern world and to our own lives. At the same time, we must recognize that every example of human suffering demands our attention. The person who calls for the world's attention to Holocaust must also stand against all suffering.

In his recent State of the Union speech, President Jimmy Carter referred to the work of the President's Commission on the Holocaust, which reported its findings in September. A second body is now being set up, with the task of implementing the proposals submitted by the commission and approved by the President. According to Carter, this will involve an "appropriate memorial to the six million Jews and the millions of other victims of Nazism during World War II."

In this most disturbing statement, the Holocaust is redefined to include the sum total of all the atrocities committed by the Nazis during World War II—and there were many.

The Holocaust in this view is no longer a unique historical event, the result of a quasi-religious ideology which saw in the Jewish people a demonic force ruling the world and consequently tried to annihilate it, but a hold-all term for "the inhumanity of man to man," and similar meaningless generalizations. Not only were the six million Jews murdered by their enemies; they now stand in danger of having their unique martyrdom obliterated by their friends.

The trouble is that this is done with the best of intentions by the only country that now stands by the Jewish people on many vital fronts, and by an American President who is the first to have undertaken a number of important steps to memoralize the Holocaust.

The appointment of the commission and the acceptance of its report, as well as the growing recognition of Holocaust Remembrance Day (Nisan 27) by the American public, stand out as symbols of American identification with the Jewish contents of the Holocaust. The total misunderstanding of the event as evidenced by Carter's statement is therefore doubly painful.

The idea of widening the scope of the Holocaust did not originate in Carter's mind. When, on Holocaust Remembrance Day last year he spoke of the 11 million victims of the Holocaust—six million Jews and five million others—he was echoing Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal, among others. At that ceremony, candles were lit, one of them by an Armenian representative. Now, apparently, the

Armenian tragedy is out, and all victims of Nazi brutality are in.

Between the spring of 1979 and his State of the Union speech, the five million non-Jewish "victims of the Holocaust" became the "millions of victims of Nazism." The change is cosmetic only; the content remains.

The Nazis did indeed murder millions of non-Jews—considerably more, in fact, than five million. Their policy towards Poles, Czechs, Serbs and others has rightly been called genocide: the planned destruction of a nation's identity, the selective mass murder of its intellectual elite, the destruction of its religious life, its culture and economy and the enslavement of the rest. But there was no plan of total physical annihilation—the Nazis needed the Slav nations to build the Third Reich's *Kultur*.

The Jews were a different matter: they were not considered subhuman Aryans, as were the Poles. They were not human at all. Rather, they were a satanic force that had to be utterly destroyed. Jews had no choice of resistance or submission as others had; they were killed for the crime of having been born. Their destruction was a sacral act.

Even the method of their murder after 1941—gassing—was different: only a few thousand gypsies and a small number of Soviet prisoners of war shared the fate of the millions of Jews. The place of the Jews in the Nazi world was unique, and was related to the unique history of the Jewish people and their historical relationship to the non-Jewish world.

There is no contradiction between this uniqueness and the universal implications of the Holocaust. The Holocaust could be defined as the planned total, physical destruction by modern industrial means of an ethnic or national group. There are near parallels (such as the fate of Armenians and gypsies), and there is a general mass brutalization, now defined as genocide, to which it is related.

The importance of the Holocaust does not lie only in the fact that it could be repeated in one form or another—toward Jews or others—but that it stems from a unique historical relationship of the Jewish people to the peoples of the world. The Holocaust has caused moral questions not only, perhaps not even primarily, for the Jews. It has brought out a major hiatus of moral issues for Christianity and the gentile world in general. Thus, uniqueness and universality are complementary rather than contradictory.

The fact that a U.S. Administration must necessarily be under political pressure from the many groups that make up the American nation who now, paradoxically, appear to envy the Jews "their" Holocaust, is tragic, or infuriating, or just sad. But that cannot be allowed to silence a very loud voice of protest that must, in all friendship and true gratitude for American good will, be raised.

During World War II, the Western powers were careful not to mention the Jews specifically in order not to be accused of singling them out for special favors—while the Nazis singled out the Jews for unique destruction. Carter is in grave danger of unconsciously repeating the procedure.

It is quite enough for the Jewish people to have been destined for obliteration by its enemies—there surely is no need to obliterate the murder of one-third of it by throwing it together with other kinds of evil. One does not have to confuse Holocaust with genocide in order to oppose the latter—or any other evil, for that matter.

Questions for Discussion

1. What does Bauer believe was the difference between the treatment of Jews and other oppressed people in the Holocaust?
2. Should the federal government build a Holocaust memorial in this country? What is the issue that must be faced before such a memorial is built?
3. The late Arthur Morse, author of *While Six Million Died*, said, "It is not necessary that the analogy be perfect for a young person to hurl himself into peaceful combat against what he regards as barbarism. For him that war in Vietnam or that instance of racial injustice is his Holocaust of the moment." Comment.

Definitions

demonic—of or like a demon, an evil spirit.
sacral—of or for religious rites or observances.
hiatus—a break or gap where a part is missing or lost.

READING #4

Unit 7

HOLOCAUST DENIAL

Kenneth S. Stern

The Beginnings of Holocaust Denial

Holocaust denial began before the Holocaust ended.

"In 1944," explains Gerry Gable,[10] editor of the London-based antifascist monthly *Searchlight*, "people who were SS, who were propagandists, who were involved in the camp system, knew they lost the war, and left Germany. Sweden was one of the places they went. Some went to the Arab states, and into some South American countries. There they began to work for the readjustment of history. Holocaust denial material first appeared very very early after the war."

One of the earliest European Holocaust deniers was Paul Rassinier, a French concentration camp survivor. A former socialist and anarchist, he first blamed the *kapos* for the suffering in the camps, then used every inconsistency he could find in statements about the Holocaust to cast doubt on both the Nazi intention to kill Jews and the numbers of Jews killed. His book, published in French as *Le Monsonge d'Ulysse* in 1949, was translated into English after his death in 1967. It is still widely promoted by neo-Nazis around the world.

Americans added to the early denial literature. Harry Elmer Barnes, an isolationist, was best known for his writings whitewashing the German role in World War I. In 1962, in a pamphlet called *Blasting the Historical Blackout*, Barnes claimed that Germans who were expelled from Poland and Czechoslovakia after World War II suffered a fate "obviously far more hideous and prolonged than those of the Jews said to have been exterminated in great numbers by the Nazis." According to Holocaust scholar Lucy Dawidowicz, Barnes had "already doubted that the Third Reich had committed any atrocities or murder" by 1962.[11] In 1966, he published "Revisionism: A Key to Peace," in which he claimed that "it is almost alarmingly easy to demonstrate that the atrocities of the Allies in the same period were more numerous as to victims and were carried out for the most part by methods more brutal and painful than alleged extermination in gas ovens."[12]

By the late 1960s, both Barnes and Rassinier had died. A new crop of deniers replaced them. David Hoggan wrote *The Myth of the Six Million*,[13] published by Noontide Press, part of the network of anti-Semitic enterprises associated with America's leading anti-Semite, Willis Carto[14] and his Liberty Lobby.[15] This work attempted to disprove the German eyewitness reports of the Holocaust, and otherwise rebut the evidence of the murder of European Jewry.[16]

Denial literature was first noticed outside the neo-Nazi crowd in 1976, when Dr. Arthur R. Butz, an American professor at Northwestern University (who still teaches electrical engineering there), wrote *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century.* Butz admitted that Jews were persecuted, but denied they were exterminated. Any chambers were for delousing, he charged. "Jews," he insisted, "should be elated to discover that large numbers of their people were not deliberately destroyed." People who had never heard of Holocaust denial learned of it through the controversy surrounding Butz, whose right of academic freedom was supported by Northwestern's faculty.[17]

Holocaust denial was launched as a serious enterprise by professional anti-Semites in 1979. Willis Carto, apparently not satisfied to promote denial through his other anti-Semitic outlets, opened the Institute for Historical Review.

Carto, according to Gerry Gable, is "a life-long anti-Semite." Carto and his colleagues "got a bit of money from the Middle East, and elsewhere, and started to recreate history. They give themselves spectacular titles. The Institute of This. The Institute of That. Professor this. Professor that. And you look at some of their professorships, and they've got nothing to do with the subjects they're writing about."

In 1979 the Institute had its first annual conference. Deniers from around the world attended, and exposed American white supremacists and neo-Nazis to this new idea. David Duke, then a Ku Klux Klan leader, attended an IHR meeting. He was apparently so enthralled that a 1980 edition of his Klan paper, the *Crusader,* was dubbed a "Special Holocaust Edition." "Germans and Southerners are invariably portrayed unfavorably by the Jewish-dominated media . . . Photographs . . . of alleged gas chamber victims were fakes," he wrote. Another Nazi leader, Frank Colin, head of the National Socialist Party of America, also enthusiastically embraced this further ideological justification for his anti-Semitism. "There was no Holocaust," Colin said, "but they deserve one—and will get it."[18]

Holocaust denial was attractive to the far right anti-Semitic crowd because it validated their belief that Jews were evil and conspiratorial. By ignoring all the facts and witnesses that belie denial, Holocaust denial can be given an air of truth, especially if this "truth" is written by people with Ph.D.'s. That is why Carto's lie-tank collected professors and began publishing the *Journal of Historical Review,* designed to look like any other academic journal. Today, the IHR churns out not only scholarly looking journals, but also audio and videotapes of its conferences.[19] IHR material—including books and pamphlets—is sent all over the world. The IHR is the spine of the international Holocaust denial movement, and, according to Leonard Zeskind,[20] research director of the Center for Democratic Renewal, the IHR's influence now is only a fraction of what it will be. "It is getting a $10 million bequest from one of the heirs of Thomas Edison," Zeskind notes, "solely for the purpose of promoting Holocaust denial."[21]

What Do They Say to Deny the Holocaust?

The worst mistake any rational person can make is to think that since Holocaust denial is so irrational, it must appear irrational to others. It doesn't.[22] Read any Holocaust denial article that avoids overt Jew-hatred, and the arguments appear logical, internally consistent, and reasonable. French professor Robert Faurisson, for example, denies the existence of gas chambers at Auschwitz by writing about the characteristics of the gas used to kill Jews—Zyklon-B. He argues that Zyklon-B is an effective killer that sticks to surfaces. How, he asks, could such a powerful, combustible, and explosive gas have been used, when the testimony about the camp suggests that no special equipment was used to take the dead bodies out, that there would have been poisoned air pockets between corpses, that the people who removed the bodies smoked while doing so, and that the removal of corpses was said to be immediate when, even with the best technology, it would have required nearly a day to ventilate a gas chamber?

Fred Leuchter, a self-proclaimed and self-taught "expert" on gas chambers, is the newest darling of the denial clan. He says he examined buildings in Auschwitz-Birkenau and Maidanek which would have contained chemical residue from the gas chambers if any Zyklon-B had been used, and found none.[23]

Others point to statistics of Jewish population before and after the war. For example, in a booklet titled *Auschwitz: Truth or Lie*, by Thies Christophersen, the number of Jews in 1938 is given as 15,688,259—source, the American Jewish Committee; and 18,700,000 in 1948—source, a *New York Times* article. How could there have been a Holocaust if there were 3 million more Jews after the war than before?

Each professional denier has developed an "expertise." For the British David Irving, for example, it is the rehabilitation of Hitler. Regardless of their prime focus, however, most deniers come back to a central theme: that the indictment of Nazism as an unequivocally evil episode in human history is simplistic and in error. There are, after all, two sides to every story. After wars, the victors always write the history. Certainly, there must have been atrocities by both sides. Why are the Germans the only ones talked about? What about Allied bombing of German cities—Dresden, for example?

To those who did not live through the events, the recasting of World War II may seem reasonable, especially if it is punctuated with stories that paint Churchill and Roosevelt as conspirators secretly plotting to pull poor Germany into a war it did not want. Evil becomes diluted in relativity. If one believes in a relativized history, then anyone who points to an aspect of the same history, such as Nazi anti-Semitism, as unabashed evil becomes suspect. Jews, then, who knew nothing but unabashed evil during World War II, are double victims of the Holocaust.

"It's Really True"

READING #11 Unit 7

by Joni Rabiner
Ari Kaufmann
Jordan Barry
Philip Paul

Scene 1

(In a classroom)
Teacher: Ok class. Today you will be receiving your history assignments. For your project, you will be talking to your parents and grandparents about some world event that affected them. I would like you to take these reports seriously because I feel it is important that you understand more about your past.
Student #1: May we do a report on the bombing of Hiroshima?
Teacher: If it affected your family you may.
Student #2: May we do something on the Vietnam War?
Teacher: Did your relatives fight in it?
Student #2: Yes, my uncle died in the fighting.
Teacher: Yes, you may then. Anyone else have any questions?
David: What about the Holocaust? May we write our reports on that?
Teacher: Yes, David. I think that would work out fine.
Frans: How can he write a report on something that never occurred?
David: *(Stand up)* How can you say that? It certainly did happen. I have living proof of it! My grandparents and great-aunt barely survived 3 years under control of the Nazi's! The rest of my family was ruthlessly murdered by the Nazi's in the gas chambers! How can you possibly think it never occurred?

Scene 2

(At home)
Grandfather: How was school today?
David: Good. We got our history project today.
Grandfather: What is it on?
David: Some world event that our family has endured. I immediately thought of the Holocaust. I asked about it. Then some kid had the nerve to say to my face that it never happened.
Grandfather: But you know it did, right?
David: Yes. I was so angry, and I told him that the Holocaust certainly did occur.
Grandfather: Well, I'm very proud of you, David.
David: Would you mind telling me about some of those horrible times?
Grandfather: No, go and get your grandmother and aunt. And don't forget

anything we are about to tell you, ever!

Scene 3

(At home)

Grandfather: The year was 1938. Our family was very prosperous. I owned a grocery store in Warsaw. I was 25, and your grandmother was 20. We were not yet married.

Grandmother: Yes, I remember quite well. We felt that we couldn't be happier, and there was nothing that could affect our happiness. We never wanted the good times to end.

Song: Those were the days my friend.
We thought they'd never end.
We celebrated every holiday.
Those days were filled with fun
And joy for everyone.
Oh I am sad those days, they had to end.

Aunt Devorah: Unfortunately the good times for all Jews were soon to end. The Nazi's came into our towns. They made all Jews wear yellow stars to distinguish us from "pure Aryans".

Grandfather: They first wrote "Jew" in large letters on my store window. Then they organized a boycott of all the Jewish stores, and if you walked into one, you were shot. Then they made me close my store completely! Next came the worst part. They forced us out of our homes.

David: Where did you go?

Grandmother: All the Jews were forced into a small part of Warsaw called a ghetto. The ghettos were enclosed and restricted areas where Jews were required to live. We had strict rules about when you could be out on the streets and where you could go.

Aunt Devorah: It was just like being in a prison, but we hadn't committed any crimes! Suddenly we were wondering if we had done something to deserve this. You can't keep this many people locked up without just cause, can you?

Grandfather: If a Jew did something the Nazi's didn't like, he or she was often shot. Without any warning people started being taken out of the ghettos by the hundreds. Radios were banned, so we didn't know what was happening. Then it was our turn.

David: Oh no! What did they do? Where did they send you?

Grandmother: First we were packed into trucks. They brought us to the deportation station. We were then stuffed into over packed, smelly, and unsanitary trains where we were taken to labor camps.
David: How long were the train rides?
Aunt Devorah: I know it was days, but it seemed like years.
David: What did you eat?
Grandfather: There was nothing to eat. We were not allowed to bring anything with us, and the food that was smuggled in was used for the children and elders first.
Grandmother: There were bars on the few windows we had in our car to keep us in like animals! And we were considered the lucky ones.
Grandfather: At the labor camp, we worked almost all day, with only one watered down bowl of soup and a piece of bread to eat. The Nazi's dogs had more to eat than we did. It was horrible. I still thank God that I was in good physical health, so I was not sent to the death camps.
David: What are "death camps"?
Aunt Devorah: Death camps were the places where the children, the older people, the sick, and the weak went to be exterminated by the Nazi's. They were built for the specific purpose of mass murder.
Grandmother: The Jews were forced into rooms where they were told that they were going to take a shower and be disinfected. They even gave the victims bits of soap! Then, as soon as hundreds of Jews were in this room, they turned on the water. Instead of water, a poisonous gas came out of the spouts and gassed the people to death. Then their corpses were burned! When we got off the train, we were separated into two lines, the strong who were ready to work on the right, and the weak who were sent off to one of these camps on the left.
Grandmother: Your Uncle Chaim, Aunt Devorah, grandfather, and I were all together. Then they split us up, and took your uncle and grandfather away. They never knew if we survived or not.
Aunt Devorah: Actually, we all wound up going to the same camps.
David: Oh, no! How could the Nazi's be so cruel to other human beings? Were you ever again forced to ride on one of these filthy trains to go to one of the death camps?
Grandfather: One day, we were again pushed on a train. These train rides were definitely the worst. It was filthy. They didn't tell us where we were going. We could be on the trains for hours or days. Nobody knew where we were going until we arrived there. We all knew where we were when the train stopped at Auschwitz.
David: How did you know? How did you know?

Aunt Devorah: The camp was so dark and dreary,it almost smelled of death. The sky was filled with ashes that came out of the chimney from the crematoria where the Nazi's cremated the bodies of the Jews.
David: Cremated their bodies? Even the children? How could they?
Grandmother: There's no way to describe the thoughts or actions of this sick man named Adolf Hitler. There is also no excuse for anything that he did.
David: Did you see anyone burned alive, or know anyone that was?
Aunt Devorah: Well, not in the crematoria, but it was not uncommon to see people shot in the streets.
Grandmother: Many people we knew diedby being tortured by the Nazi's.
David: What happened at Auschwitz? What was it like there?
Grandfather: Considering some of the treacherous stories I have heard, your Aunt Devorah, your grandmother and I got off extremely lucky. I was with my uncle all the time. Thank God he was there, he gave me my will to survive. He told me that we would make it, because the Jews as a people were stronger than the German's. Uncle Chaim gave me the hope that one day soon we would again be free. I truly owe him my life for never letting me lose faith. After 11 months in a death camp, my uncle died because he was severely beaten by a Nazi for having a button missing from his blue and white striped uniform! And only three weeks before liberation!
David: What a tragic story.
Aunt Devorah: And that's only one out of six million, not including the Gypsies, and the many other groups of people almost totally eliminated by Hitler.
Grandfather: Anyway, after sharing a barrack with hundreds of other men in the dirty conditions, I fell very ill. I was scared to death to go to roll call because the sick were always the first to be called to "take a shower" in the gas chambers. That night I was thinking of all possible escapes when the Americans came in! I had never been so happy in my life. I couldn't wait for the day when the Nazi's would be on trial for their horrendous crimes.
Grandmother: After throwing countless bodies into pits with fires in them, shooting dozens of people because one person, one person, stole a slice of bread, and saying things to us Jews that I will never repeat out loud, they were running from us!
Aunt Devorah: We had survived!
David: You must have been so happy. I'm so glad you all survived. What happened next? Where did you go after you were freed from your prison?
Grandfather: First I went to the hospital. I found out that it wasn't

serious, and that all I needed was a little medicine. A week later, I took a train back to Warsaw. Your grandmother and I were split up, so we agreed to meet back in Warsaw. I met her outside her old apartment building, and do you know what I did next?

David: What? What did you do, Grandpa?

Grandfather: I married her.

David: Did you stay in Poland after that?

Grandmother: Of course not. As soon as we could, we left for Jerusalem in Palestine, or what is now Israel. To us it really was "the "Promised Land".

Song: Yerushalayim shel zahav
Ve'shel nechoshet ve'shel or
Ha'loh le'chol shirayich
Ani kinor

David: And then you came to America, right?

Grandfather: Right. That's what happened to us. Your grandmother, Aunt Devorah, and I were the only ones in out families that survived.

Aunt Devorah: It's only a miracle that we endured so much for so long.

David: So that's what happened. Thank you forteaching me about the Holocaust. Now I know what really happened, firsthand. I never realized it was so bad. How did you make it? How come other countries didn't help out more before all this happened? Why didn't they bomb the camps or try to stop the German's earlier? How did Hitler manage to get everyone to support him? Why did they support them? How could we have let this happen?

Grandfather: These questions will never be answered.

Grandmother: Besides, it is not good to dwell on the past and keep asking "why" or "what if". What happened happened, and it proved that we can and we will survive.

Aunt Devorah: The only thing we can do now is remember. Remember and educate future generations so nothing like this will ever happen again.

Grandfather: David, whatever you do, remember.

(Grandparents walk off stage. David stands up)

David: How could I ever forget?

Song: Oseh Shalom bimromav
Hu ya'aseh shalom aleinu
Ve'al kol Yisrael
Ve'imru Amen

Scene 4

(Back in the classroom)

David: *(Stands up reading report)* So from doing this report, I have learned a lot about myself and my past. I learned that the Jews are strong, and their belief and hope is what has kept them alive all of these years. I would also like to thank my grandparents for giving me something that no book can ever give accurately-a personal and touching view of the Holocaust. *(Sit down)*

Teacher: Thank you David. That was touching and well written. I can tell you put a lot of effort into it. I'm going to give you an A+!

Frans: Was all of that true? My parents never told me anything about that! All they said was that the Jews wanted to blame their problems on someone, and they decided on the Germans! Oh, how could a country like Germany have ever done anything so cruel to anybody? I could never possibly do that! *(Turns to David)* I'm so sorry, David.

David: It's ok now. I really wrote this to show you what happened, because if you don't know about it, then it could happen again. I'm just glad that you finally understand.

Teacher: Class, I hope you have learned something valuable today, because David is right. History has shown us that. If people don't know about an event like the Holocaust, then it could happen again. Since David taught one person, he did his job. *(Turn to audience)* Now it's time to do yours. Educate so nothing like this will ever happen again.

Song:

Anthem of the Zionist movement and the State of Israel, based on a poem by Naphtali Hertz Imber. Hatikvah means "The Hope."

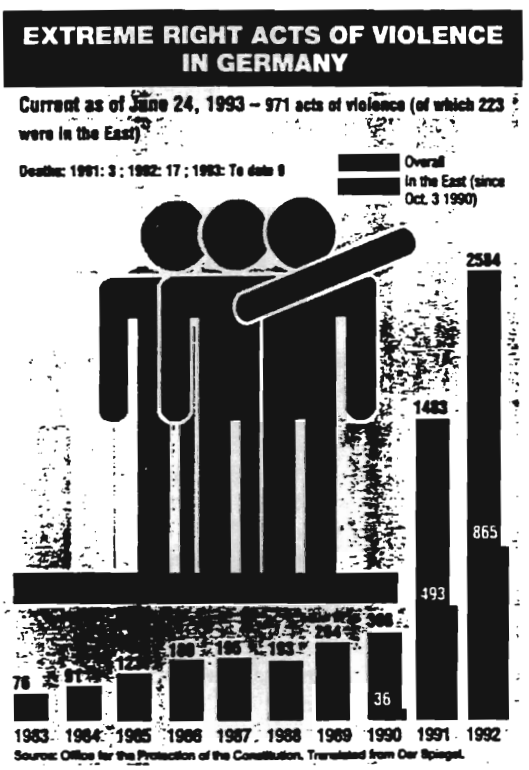
HATIKVAH

As long as in the heart
The Jewish spirit yearns
With eyes turned eastward
Looking towards Zion, then our hope,
The hope of two thousand years,
Is not lost:
To be a free nation in our land,
The land of Zion and Jerusalem.

Israeli Son of Holocaust Survivors Penetrates German Neo-Nazi Leadership

From the Editor...

Civilized people the world over have reacted with shock and fear to the tide of Nazi violence which has swept Germany since the unification of the former GDR into the Federal Republic. Racist murders, thousands of acts of neo-Nazi skinhead hooliganism, racist rock bands, neo-Nazi computer hate games and a resurgent far-right Republikaner Party have left observers reeling at the ominous implications for the future of Germany and Europe.



In his testimony on Capitol Hill (see p.8), Rabbi Hier noted, "There were 2,285 acts of extremist right-wing violence recorded in Germany in 1992, with another 670 attacks counted within the first four months of 1993. Seventeen foreigners were murdered in 1992, and nine were killed this year including the recent deaths of two Turkish women and three children in Solingen. Attacks on Jewish cemeteries have increased in both number and daring, and Holocaust memorials have been vandalized and desecrated." There have even been reports that German Jews, fearing for their children, are sending them to "safety" in England.

Although membership in neo-Nazi and other extremist groups comprises only a small percentage of Germany's overall population, large segments express strong sympathies toward right-wing views. In one poll, 42% of Germans surveyed agreed that Nazism had its good points, and 36% said they felt Jews have too much influence in world affairs (see also *Response*, Winter 1992).

Like other human rights agencies, the Simon Wiesenthal Center has been struggling to gain a global picture of neo-Nazi activity. Who are the real leaders? What is the relationship between "old" and "new" Nazis? Can we verify links between German hate groups and professional bigots in North America?

It was against this backdrop that one brave and motivated person made a difference. For six months, Yaron Svoray, a native Israeli from Kibbutz Gvulot and the son of Holocaust survivors, went undercover for the Simon Wiesenthal Center as right-wing journalist Ron Furey, and penetrated the leadership of the neo-Nazi movement across Germany. Combining incredible *chutzpah*, bravery and relying on the investigative skills honed in the Israeli police, Ron Furey succeeded in being our eyes and ears inside the cold heart of Germany's neo-Nazi movement. His mission culminated with the visit to Germany's self-proclaimed far right leaders by "millionaire Rick" (actually Rick Eaton, a member of the Center's research staff) who was looking to invest big money in the "right" people. Ron Furey also contacted the icons of the movement including Hitler's bodyguard and the children of SS chiefs Himmler and Goering.

The results of the operation have led to heavy international media coverage, Capitol Hill hearings, and in July 1993, official debriefing by federal and state officials in Germany. The following is a synopsis of Yaron Svoray's mission.



Turkish mourners in Solingen, Germany.
(courtesy Sygma)

The Operation

The Center's operation was conducted over four separate trips. After checking through customs in Germany, Yaron Svoray assumed the identity of Ron Furey, an Australian right-leaning journalist seeking to interview leading members of Germany's neo-Nazi movement for the non-existent extreme rightist publication, *The Right Way*. Furey had been provided with a list of leading German radicals who were to be interviewed if possible, and was encouraged to talk to as many others as he could.

Wiesenthal Center researchers meticulously prepared Svoray, and stayed in constant telephone contact throughout the mission. The Center also created fictitious materials for *The Right Way*, including subscription forms and stationery (page 3), should Svoray's background be checked by anyone suspicious of his story. Indeed, on February 12, 1993, the special telephone number created for *The Right Way* (known only to the Center, Furey, and neo-Nazis with whom he met in Germany), was called by Mark Weber of the Institute for Historical Review.

Infiltrating Neo-Nazi Leadership

Early in his odyssey, Ron Furey obtained the address of Heinz Reisz, a self-proclaimed ambassador-at-large for Germany's neo-Nazis. Furey arrived at Reisz' doorstep and simply

asked for an interview, which he was granted. During the interview, Furey dropped hints that he was more than a reporter – he was a supporter of the extreme right with powerful connections in the United States. He wanted to do more than report about the radical right, he asserted. He wanted to polish up its image so that it could gain mainstream respectability and support.

A friendship quickly developed between Furey and Reisz, and slowly, as his trust in Furey grew, Reisz introduced him to other members of the far-right. He turned out to be the key that would unlock the doors of the neo-Nazi leadership.

Ron Furey returned to Los Angeles and was debriefed by the Center's staff. Before returning to Germany, he was provided with Holocaust-denial literature, tapes and Nazi paraphernalia to give to Reisz as an expression of his friendship and good will. The Center urged Furey to solidify his relationship with Reisz.



Yaron Svoray with Heinz Reisz (center) and Friedhelm Busse (right) in the back yard of Curt and Ursula Mueller (see page 5). Displaying the swastika in public is forbidden under German law.

Reisz took the bait. He and Ron Furey were soon driving across Germany to meet one neo-Nazi activist after another. The interviews were taped – some openly and some secretly – and sent back to the Wiesenthal Center for translation and analysis.

Ron Furey's persona soon took on a different dimension. Lavishing dinners, drinks, and gifts on the individuals he met, he intimated that he was fronting for a multi-millionaire living in the United States, who was interested in funding Germany's neo-Nazi movement.



Left to right: Roy Godenau, Heinz Reisz, Yaron Svoray, Wolfgang Juchem, Wilhelm Koeberich.

"Millionaire Sponsor" Dispatched to Germany

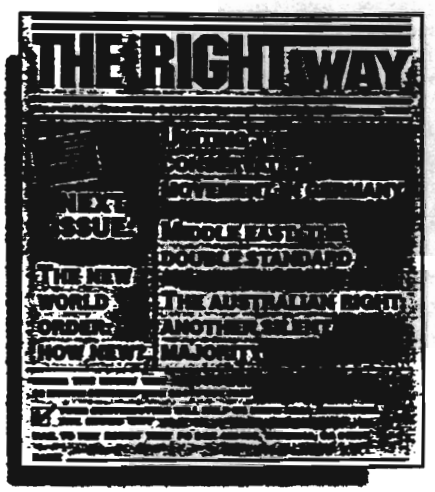
Furey returned to the U.S. where Center officials soon realized that he would have to produce his multi-millionaire sponsor in order to maintain his credibility with his new neo-Nazi acquaintances. It was decided that Richard Eaton, a seven-year veteran of the Center's research department, would play that role. Eaton has long monitored white supremacist and other extremist groups, and thus was well suited to ask the questions that needed to be asked.

After his "millionaire makeover," Eaton accompanied Furey back to Germany where they took rooms in an upscale Munich hotel. Impressed by Mr. Eaton's apparent wealth and Ron Furey's performance as his subservient lackey, Wolfgang Juchem and Roy Godenau (see profiles page 4) agreed to Eaton's request to meet various other leaders of the radical right. At the same time, Eaton told his new acquaintances how important it was for him to know that his money would be going to a movement that had the support of "middle Germany" – doctors, teachers and other professionals. Meetings with such individuals were quickly arranged.

South American Connection

One of the most intriguing pieces of information gathered on this trip came out in a discussion between Roy Godenau, Richard Eaton, and Ron Furey while traveling by car to Bielefeld. Godenau, who claims to travel the world selling antisemitic and anti-Masonic literature published in Argentina by one Juan Maler, confided that Maler is really Reinhard Kops, a former Abwehr officer who, according to Godenau, participated in "cleaning out" partisans in Albania. Kops apparently escaped an allied internment camp and took with him a list of other Abwehr agents throughout the world before making his way to Argentina.

Eaton convinced Godenau to try to arrange a meeting between Kops and himself. Kops was quickly contacted by Godenau and the trip was arranged. In early April, Eaton flew to San Carlos de Bariloche, Argentina where he met with Kops for approximately ten hours over three separate sessions. Kops maintains links with both the moderate and radical right throughout the world. The former Abwehr agent confirmed to Eaton that he reached South America via the "ratline" (an organization that helped ferret suspected Nazi war criminals and others out of Europe in South America after WWII), and claimed to have worked for the organization out of a Vatican based office.



Eaton discussed with Kops logistical and legal difficulties involved in funnelling funds to neo-Nazi groups in Germany. Kops provided Eaton with a letter of introduction to a contact in Luxembourg who could be trusted to safely launder and distribute those funds.

WHO'S WHO:

Althans, B. Ewald

From contacts established by Ron Furey, it was obvious that Ewald Althans is not *the* neo-Nazi leader that the press once made him out to be. Though intelligent and well-spoken, Althans' extravagant lifestyle and sexual preference have made him a pariah within the movement. Althans has maintained contact with the Carto organization, and has attended the most recent conventions of the Institute for Historical Review.

Burwitz, Gudrun

Gudrun Burwitz is the daughter of the late SS Chief, Heinrich Himmler. Though an icon of the neo-Nazi movement, Burwitz is reluctant to speak to anyone either about her father or her political views because of her husband's objections. Nevertheless, Burwitz consented to speak by telephone with Furey, during which time she expressed her satisfaction with his involvement "in the movement." Burwitz is a close friend of Florrie Rost van Tonningen (see profile).

Busse, Friedhelm

Freidhelm Busse, founder in 1971 of the People's Socialist Party of Labor, is a veteran of Germany's far-right. Busse has spent time in prison for inciting racial hatred. Today he is the leader of the Freiheitliche Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (FAP) which declares as its goal the realization of national socialism. Busse has particular power with German skinheads. An admirer of Hitler and a Holocaust denier, he believes in the use of violence and discussed various "actions" with Ron Furey. Busse is a powerful speaker who maintains relationships with the icons of the movement.

Christophersen, Thies

Thies Christophersen has maintained a relationship with the Carto organization which distributes his materials. A notorious Holocaust denier and admitted racist, Christophersen avoided a jail term for related activities by moving to Denmark, where he now lives.

"Deep Throat"

Heinz Reisz (see profile) gets advance warning of police raids on his operation from a sympathetic official within Hesse's state police known only as "Deep Throat." All raids of which Reisz was warned did in fact take place. It is reasonable to assume that "Deep Throat" must be fairly high up within the department to have access to this kind of information.

Godenau, Roy

Roy Godenau (aka Armstrong), a former American G.I. stationed in Germany in the 70s, is married to a German woman who recently won a seat as a representative of the Republikaner Party in local elections in Hesse. Godenau is a walking encyclopedia of Nazism and believes in classical Jewish and Freemason conspiracy theories. He uses his American passport to travel the world selling antisemitic and anti-Masonic literature written and published by Reinhard Kops, (see p. 3). Godenau has extensive contacts with both the Iraqi and Libyan governments, claims to have communicated with Willis Carto and Mark Weber, and knows David Duke, Tom Metzger and Ernst Zundel. Godenau is Wolfgang Juchem's right-hand man and exerts strong influence on him.

Goering, Edda

Edda Goering is the daughter of notorious Nazi war criminal Hermann Goering. Although a meeting with her could not be arranged, her close friend, Florrie Rost van Tonningen confirmed that Goering remained a strong supporter of the neo-Nazi movement. Edda Goering takes part in memorials for Nazi war criminals and is highly respected within the movement.

Graber, Rudolf

Rudolf Graber was the Bishop of Regensburg before his recent retirement and death. Manfred Roeder told Ron Furey and Richard Eaton that Bishop Graber had actually provided him with office space and requested from him an assortment of anti-Masonic literature.

Haverbeck, Prof. W.G.

Werner Georg Haverbeck was one of several people presented by Wolfgang Juchem as an example of his support among average German citizens. Haverbeck told Ron Furey and Richard Eaton that Juchem is "honest, truthful, and clean" and inspires confidence with his leadership ability. He is a signatory of the "Heidelberger Manifest," a 1981 document warning that integration of minorities into German society would prove catastrophic for the country.

Juchem, Wolfgang

Wolfgang Juchem served his country for 30 years, both with the army and later as a spymaster for West German intelligence. Juchem maintains good relations with the leadership of Germany's "respectable" right wing parties, is good-looking, personable and eloquent. Currently, Juchem is not the leader of any particular party, and has told Furey that he is waiting to see which of the radical parties emerges as the strongest before making a move. He is considered to have the best chance of unifying the entire far-right movement. Juchem claims an underground support group of 10,000. Juchem told Ron Furey that the government is out to get him and that the Jews are behind Germany's current troubles. He also told Furey of his admiration of Hitler and belief in Holocaust denial. Furey was able to bring Busse, Reisz and Juchem together where they were secretly filmed by a CBS Television crew. There they decided to create a center from which Nazi ideas could be disseminated throughout Germany. With his "clean" image, considerable power base, and 30 years spent developing relationships, Juchem is considered to be potentially dangerous.

Kempkens, Wolfgang

Wolfgang Kempkens, who formerly worked for *Stars and Stripes* (a U.S. military publication) in Germany, has identification papers for both Canada and Germany. He told Furey that he knows Mark Weber "pretty well" and that he has contributed to the *Journal of Historical Review*. Kempkens often travels to the former Soviet Union to try to buy archival material which might be interpreted to support Holocaust revisionist theories. He maintains strong ties to radicals throughout Europe and America.

Klaren, Dr. Friedrich

Dr. Friedrich Klaren was presented to Furey and Eaton by Wolfgang Juchem as another example of mainstream support. Klaren has high regard for Juchem and is especially impressed with his abilities as an orator. Klaren feels that Juchem will gain considerable support among veterans' organizations.

Klaus, Ewald

Ewald Klaus, a former member of the SS, admitted to having taken part in the notorious Malmedy massacre of American soldiers during the Battle of the Bulge. Klaus served as translator for Ron Furey's discussion with Frank Rennicke (see profile). He

is a minor player in the neo-Nazi movement, an open Holocaust denier and booster of the Viking Youth.

Koeberich, Wilhelm

Wilhelm Koeberich, self-styled statesman of the neo-Nazi movement, spent his youth at the Adolf Hitler School as a child prodigy. The scrawny, fragile-looking Koeberich collects and distributes monies to the various neo-Nazi groups and adapts easily to playing more than one side of the fence at a time. Koeberich is involved in two competing attempts to overthrow the current Republikaner leadership and take the party even further to the right. Koeberich is a virulent antisemite, Holocaust denier and admirer of Adolf Hitler.

Kops, Reinhard (aka Juan Maler)

According to Roy Godenau, Reinhard Kops was a former Abwehr officer (German military intelligence) who escaped to South America through the "ratline." Kops now lives as Juan Maler in the town of San Carlos de Bariloche, Argentina, where he publishes antisemitic materials, and employs Godenau as a traveling salesman for his literature. Godenau has also claimed to having "moved" money for Kops, as well as serving as his go-between with other members of the Nazi movement in 52 countries. Richard Eaton met with Kops in Argentina on three occasions.

Krause, Karl Wilhelm

As Hitler's personal valet and bodyguard, Karl Wilhelm Krause is viewed as a major icon of the neo-Nazi movement. During his service with Hitler, Krause stuck so close to his boss that the Fuehrer nicknamed him his "shadow" (see photos). Interviewed by Furey and Eaton, Krause offered glowing insights into Hitler's personality.













Clockwise from top: (left to right) Roy Godenau, Richard Eaton, Manfred Roeder, Yaron Svoray; Sigrid Schenk; this WWII photo was among those proudly given to Yaron Svoray by Karl Wilhelm Krause, Hitler's valet (pictured in right corner); Constantin Mayer with Heinz Reisz; Meinolf Schoenborn (right) with Yaron Svoray.

Ron Furey was introduced to the major players in Germany's skinhead movement at a "safe house" in the Cologne suburb of Porz. Taking part in the discussion were Furey and nine skinhead leaders, most of whom identified themselves by first name only. They were well acquainted with Holocaust denial literature and the major players in the movement. They also stated their belief that Germany is the center of the white race and that they consider Jews a survival test for Christian society. Pictured is "Jaschka."

Marliany, Ernst

Ernst Marliany is a high school teacher and financial advisor. Although of Italian descent, his family has lived in Germany for centuries and he is accepted by the radical right as German. Marliany is involved in Bernd Thrun's attempt to overthrow the Republikaner leadership and take it more to the right. He is Thrun's choice to assume that leadership role. Marliany told Furey he is willing and able to launder money through his financial services.

Mueller, Curt and Ursula

Curt and Ursula Mueller live near Mainz and run the HNG, a radical Nazi "help group" founded in 1979. Curt Mueller recruits young neo-Nazis and has confided to Ron Furey that he has taken part in "serious Nazi activities." He is a Holocaust denier and admirer of Hitler, and claims to have taken part in the beatings of foreigners. Cover photo was taken in the Mueller's home.

Mayer, Constantin

Constantin Mayer runs the Dresden office of the "National Offensive" which continues to grow despite an official government ban. The former skinhead claims that his cell alone has 15 members, and that he has more than cordial relationships with the police. "We finish all our business with a wink and a nod," he asserted. Mayer, who wants Jews and "other foreigners" out of the country, claims to be in close contact with members of the ultranationalist Viking Youth.

Neubauer, Harald

Harald Neubauer is a member of the European Parliament who was contacted through Bernd Thrun and made aware of Furey's 'interest' in creating a neo-Nazi center in Germany. Neubauer sent a letter expressing his interest in discussing the matter, but a meeting could not be arranged.

Rennicke, Frank

Frank Rennicke, a singer who has sold thousands of cassettes with ultranationalist themes, is thought of as the "Elvis" of the radical right. He has confided his hatred of Jews and foreigners to Ron Furey, expressed his admiration of Hitler and his denial of the Holocaust, and admits that he imparts these sentiments to members of the Viking Youth and other impressionable young people.

Reisz, Heinz

Reisz' importance in the movement lies in the fact that he knows most of the major players and is accepted by them as their go-between and ambassador-at-large. He sees himself as the movement's drum major and not its leader. Reisz was completely taken in by Ron Furey and not only introduced him to much of the neo-Nazi leadership but vouched for him as well. He confided to Furey his strong admiration for Adolf Hitler, his revulsion toward Jews, and his denial of the mass murders at Auschwitz.

Roeder, Manfred

Manfred Roeder, founder of several radical groups, served 9-1/2 years in prison for charges related to the bombing of refugee hostels in 1980 in which two residents were killed. During an interview with Furey and Eaton, Roeder spoke of his role with the PLO and other terrorist groups, adding that he received financial assistance for his work from both American and South African sources. Roeder said that outright violence is the best cure for Germany's ills.

Rost van Tonningen, Florrie

Florrie Rost van Tonningen is the widow of notorious Dutch Nazi collaborator, Meinoud Rost van Tonningen, a leader of Holland's Nazi party and personal favorite of Adolf Hitler and Heinrich Himmler. Florrie Rost van Tonningen has been convicted twice of inciting racial hatred by distributing antisemitic literature, and caused an outcry in 1986 when it was learned that she was using part of her state pension to finance a neo-Nazi party in the Netherlands. She has lectured for the Institute for Historical Review and claims a close friendship with its founder Willis Carto. During a visit to her home in the Netherlands, she confirmed to Furey and Eaton her strong support of Wolfgang Juchem.

Schenk, Sigrid

Sigrid Schenk is a retired police inspector living in Minden, presented to Furey and Eaton as an example of support among average German citizens. She grew up in Nazi Germany and claims there was nothing negative about the Third Reich. She admires Wolfgang Juchem and considers him the best choice to bring Germany together.

Schoenborn, Meinolf

The leader of the illegal Nationalistic Front, Schoenborn claims an "infrastructure" of some 8,600 members. He told Furey and Eaton that he favors overthrow of the government and is seeking the establishment of the Fourth Reich. Enthralled with meeting Eaton, Schoenborn provided him with a wish list for a proposed center in Denmark and safe house services and items that would cost around 1.5 million marks ($950,000). Schoenborn targets young people and wants Jews and "other aliens" out of Germany.

Thrun, Bernd

Bernd Thrun is a member of the Republikaner Party, but is apparently involved in a cabal to overthrow its current leadership so the party can be taken even further to the right. Thrun collects and distributes money to skinheads who volunteer to fight in Croatia. He is a close associate of Heinz Reisz and a backer of Wolfgang Juchem.

Worldwide Links

Editor's Note: Some of the alleged overseas contacts mentioned by Ron Furey's "friends" in Germany:

- **Willis Carto,** perhaps the most influential professional antisemite in the United States, founder of Liberty Lobby, the Institute for Historical Review, the Noontide Press (which distributes a wide range of racist and antisemitic titles), and the Populist Party, whose 1988 Presidential candidate was David Duke.
- **Leon Degrelle,** a former general in the Belgian SS, condemned to death after the war by a court in his native Belgium, Degrelle escaped to Spain where he remains active as a Nazi apologist.
- **Gerhard Lauck,** publisher of the virulently antisemitic "The New Order" in Lincoln, Nebraska, which is translated into five languages and shipped all over the world.
- **Fred Leuchter,** the discredited so-called "gas chamber expert," and author of a pseudo-scientific report denying that people were murdered in the gas chambers of Auschwitz.
- **Former KKK grand wizard Tom Metzger,** a leader of California's White Aryan Resistance Movement, and unabashed fan of The Order.
- **Klaus Vaque,** who has lived in South Africa since 1977 where he publishes a twice monthly newsletter "The Insider." He has also published a book "The Plot Against South Africa" extolling the infamous "Protocols" and raving about the Zionist conspiracy.
- **Mark Weber,** who works for the Institute for Historical Review, called the Center's dedicated telephone number requesting a copy of the fictitious publication, *The Right Way*. Weber was so taken by Furey that he eventually discussed the possibility of working for *The Right Way*.
- **Ernst Zundel,** Canada's convicted Holocaust denier and publisher of revisionist and antisemitic materials.

Walendy, Udo

Udo Walendy is a notorious Holocaust denier who for years has served on the advisory board of the *Journal of Historical Review*. In their telephone conversation, Walendy expressed interest in meeting Furey personally and assisting in the creation of a Nazi center in Germany.

Warmt, D.

D. Warmt, Heinz Reisz' brother-in-law, owns two video studios. His Langen studio is devoted to producing Nazi propaganda films and videos, much of which is apparently forbidden by German law.

Weidner, Norbert

Norbert Weidner is a member of the Freiheitliche Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (FAP) run by Friedhelm Busse. He is a Holocaust denier and admirer of Adolf Hitler who has been involved in attacks on foreigners in Bonn and Cologne. Weidner is a believer in a "greater Germany" whose borders conform with those of the Holy Roman Empire. Weidner and Furey met at a "safe house" in the Cologne suburb of Porz.

Walz, Doris

Doris Walz, a pharmacist married to a physician in Minden, was presented to Ron Furey as another example of support among mainstream Germans. Doris Waltz is enamored with Juchem and thinks that he enjoys

the support of many Germans who fear voicing their sentiments in public.

Williams, Kellner

Kellner Williams is an ex-GI who was apparently a member of the KKK while stationed in Germany. During a telephone conversation, Ron Furey was given to understand that Williams was in a position to facilitate the transfer of funds from the United States to special recipients in Germany.

Key Findings

Enforcement of Laws

Although Germany has passed a number of laws over the years to prevent attempts at Nazi revivalism, they are not always enforced. In some cases, neo-Nazis have actually been tipped off in advance about impending police raids. Constantin Mayer, who leads the Dresden area cell of the recently banned "Nationale Offensive," says he has cordial relationships with the police and that he conducts his business with them "with a wink and a nod."

A retired police inspector, Sigrid Schenk, was presented by Wolfgang Juchem to Ron Furey and Rick Eaton as an example of his support among respectable Germans. In Langen, Reisz' brother-in-law operates a video studio which produces Nazi propaganda, some of which may be forbidden by German law. Nevertheless, the studio continues its operations uninterrupted.

Neo-Nazi Membership

The Office for the Protection of the Constitution is the official German government agency which monitors the activities of the radical right. Its estimates of membership in various neo-Nazi organizations in Germany are considerably lower than the numbers disclosed to Furey and Eaton by German neo-Nazis.





At left, one of the photos given to Svoray by Karl Wilhelm Krause (at left) who as Hitler's valet was always seen by his side; above, Doris Walz.



Above, a young neo-Nazi in training.







At left, Frank Rennicke, the "Elvis" of the neo-Nazi movement with Heinz Reisz; above, the cassette cover for a 1993 recording of Frank Rennicke's music.

The Freiheitliche Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, run by notorious neo-Nazi Friedhelm Busse, is estimated by the Office for Protection of the Constitution at 150 members. Yet while ingratiating himself with Busse, Ron Furey was shown Busse's list of some 980 members. While the government estimates membership in the "Nationale Offensive" at about 100 members, Ron Furey found that the Dresden area cell alone has 150. Meinolf Schoenborn's Nationalistic Front (also officially banned) is estimated at 130 members, but Schoenborn claims an infrastructure of 8,600. While this figure is highly inflated, information obtained during an interview between Furey and Schoenborn indicates that the 130 figure is overly conservative.

Nazi Leadership

The Wiesenthal Center also found that many of the individuals previously identified to the press and German government as the top Nazi leadership no longe enjoy the leadership positions they once held. The most significant find of the trip was that one Wolfgang Juchem, who has a squeaky-clean record and 30 years of service to his country is considered by many to be the odds-on favorite to restore the radical right's tarnished image.

The link between Roy Godenau and Reinhard Kops in South America was clearly established. Evidence was also found of Godenau's contacts wit Iraq and Libya.

Other information led the Center's European Director, Shimon Samuels, to meet with South Africa's Justice Richard Goldstone of the Goldstone Commission on the Prevention o Public Violence and Intimidatio One neo-Nazi activist, Manfred Roeder, in fact visited South Africa in January 1993, and published an article about his visit in the May 3rd issue of "Spotlight," the official publication of Liberty Lobby.

Active White Supremacist Groups in 1993

The following partial listing of active white supremacist groups is based on reports received by Klanwatch. Activities may include, but are not limited to: sponsoring or participating in rallies or marches, publishing newsletters or distributing literature, as well as criminal activity.

KLAN

Alabama Knights of the KKK
Hartselle, AL
American Knights of the KKK
Denver, CO
Aryan Christian Knights of the KKK
Browns Summit, NC
Associated Klans of America
Stephens City, VA
Bayou Patriots Knights of the KKK
Choudrant, LA
Blue Eye Patriots
Lutherville, MD
Christian Knights of the KKK
Mount Holly, NC
Louisa, KY
Beaufort, SC
Church of Jesus Christ United KKK
Massillion, OH
Confederate Forces Knights of the KKK
Conyers, GA
Confederate Knights of America
Huntersville, NC
Newtown, PA
Confederation Knights
Belpre, OH
Confederation of Independent Orders of the KKK
Spartanburg, SC
Disciples of the Ku Klux Klan
Ware Shoals, SC
Fiery Cross Klavern
Allentown, PA
Flaming Sword Knights of the KKK
South Vineland, NJ
Florida Knights of the KKK
Fort Lauderdale, FL
Fraternal White Knights of the KKK
Lantana, FL
Cartersville, GA
Free White Assembly
Siler City, NC
Garden State Knights of the KKK
Vineland, NJ
Guardians of the American Liberty
Mosheim, TN
Holy Swastika Knights of the KKK
Fergus Falls, MN
Imperial Order Knights of the KKK
Manassas, VA
Claymont, DE
Concordville, PA
Independent Knights of the KKK
Orlando, FL
Concord, NC
York, PA
Indiana Knights of the KKK
Bellmore, IN
Invincible Empire Knights of the KKK
LaPlata, MD
Invisible Empire, Knights of the KKK
Gulf, NC
Oakwood, GA
Gainesville, FL
Pawtucket, RI
Forestville, CT
Bakersfield, CA
Huntington, NY
Glendale, AZ
Kelso, WA
Ohio
Jefferson Davis Society
Waynesboro, PA
Kansas White Knights
Wichita, KS
Keystone Knights of the KKK
Johnstown, PA
Knightriders of the KKK
Beloit, IL
Knights of the Flaming Sword
Poplarville, MS
Knights of the KKK
Harrison, AR
Wellington, KS
Central City, KY
Hartselle, AL
Chicago, IL
Waco, TX
South Bend, IN
Aurora, CO
Edgewater, MD
Baker, FL
Bowling Green, MO
Madison, WI
Billings, MT
Nashville, TN
Lafayette, LA
New York
Virginia
North Dakota
Michigan Klan Vanguard
Grand Blanc, MI
Missouri Knights of the KKK
Missouri
Montana Quest
Billings, MT
Nathan Bedford Forrest Society
Forest, VA
New Order
Savannah, GA
Northern Knights
Dayton, OH
Northwest Territory Knights of the KKK
Coshocton, OH
Rebel Knights of the KKK
Cumming, GA
Royal Confederate Knights of the KKK
Rome, GA
Saint Francois County Knights of the KKK
Missouri
Sir Knights of Kamellia
Cross Anchor, SC
Southern Confederate Knights of the KKK
Rome, GA
Southern National Party
Austell, GA
Southern White Knights of the KKK
Redan, GA
Templar Knights
Port St. Lucie, FL
Stillwater, MN
Owensboro, KY
Territorial Klans of America
North East, MD
Bear, DE
Texas Knight Riders, Knights of the KKK
Amarillo, TX
Texas Patriots
Spring, TX
US Klans Knights of the KKK
Stockbridge, GA
Big Sandy, TN
US Klans Knights of the KKK, Inc.
Dallas/Fort Worth, TX
US Knights of the KKK
Hamilton, OH
Gray, KY
Philadelphia, MS
Union of Independent Klansmen
McIntosh, FL
White Camellia Knights of the KKK
Cleveland, TX
White Knights
Wausau, WI
White Knights of the KKK
Kansas City, MO
White Power Ku Klux Klan
Litchfield, IL
White Unity Party
Reading, PA
Winder Knights
Winder, GA

NEO-NAZI

America First Committee
Chicago, IL
American Nazi Party
Chicago, IL
Aryan Liberation Front
Sacramento, CA
Aryan Nations
Hayden Lake, ID
Murfreesboro, TN
Cincinnati, OH
Aryan Separatist Youth Party
Maquoketa, IA

HATE GROUP LISTINGS

Central New York White Pride
Auburn, NY
Church of Jesus Christ Christian of Montana
Noxon, MT
Ethan Allen Coalition
Hardwick, VT
Euro American Alliance
Milwaukee, WI
San Lorenzo, CA
German American Club
Baltimore, MD
Grey Shirts
Chicago, IL
Iron Fist
Chattanooga, TN
National Alliance
Hillsboro, WV
Arlington, VA
Stone Mountain, GA
Hewitt, NJ
Albuquerque, NM
Allentown, PA
New York, NY
National Aryan People's Party
Coeur D'Alene, ID
National Socialist American Workers Free Movement
St. Paul, MN
National Socialist Front
Winston Salem, NC
Redondo Beach, CA
Portland, OR
Vienna, VA
National Socialist German Workers Party
Lincoln, NE
National Socialist Movement
Cincinnati, OH
National Socialist Vanguard
The Dalles, OR
National Socialist White Action Party
Lower Paxton Township, PA
National Socialist White American Party
Peoria, IL
National Socialist White People's Party
Saint Louis, MO
Nationalist Movement
Learned, MS
New Order
Milwaukee, WI
Aberdeen, SD
SS Action
Woodbridge, NJ
Covington, GA
Levittown, NY
Dearborn Heights, MI
Woburn, MA
Hope, ID
Loveland, CO
Florence, AL
SS of America
Huntersville, NC
Marietta, GA
True Knights, Aryan Nation Experiment, GA
United States of America Nationalist Party
Philadelphia, PA
Elizabeth, NJ
Waffen SS
Wendell, NC
White Aryan Religion
Toledo, OH
White Aryan Resistance
Fallbrook, CA
Catoosa, OK
Bremerton, WA
Hartford, CT
White House Network
Detroit, MI
White Power Liberation Front
Binghamton, NY
White Power Movement
Reedy, WV

OTHER

America First Party
Smyrna, GA
Kirkville, NY
Clemmons, NC
Baton Rouge, LA
Philadelphia, PA
Huffman, TX
American Spring
Dana Point, CA
Aryan Army
Baltimore, MD
Aryan Awareness Movement
Tulsa, OK
Aryan Defense Force
Plano, TX
Aryan Separatist Party
Oakhurst, OK
Catholic Defense League
Staten Island, NY
Celtic Guard
Fuquay Varina, NC
Christian Education Society
Jacksonville, FL
Christian Guard
East Ridge, TN
Christian Sons of Liberty
Langley, WA
Church of the Avenger
Tampa, FL
Cordele, GA
Church of the Creator
Niceville, FL
Milwaukee, WI
Warren, MI
Kennesaw, GA
San Diego, CA
Billings, MT
Lancaster, PA
Auburn, WA
Church of the South
Elkins, AR
Crusade Against Corruption
Marietta, GA
Embassy of Heaven
Sublimity, OR
League of Aryan Workers
Poulsboro, WA
National Association for the Advancement of White People
New Orleans, LA
Melbourne, FL
Bellevue, WA
Arlington, TX
Youngstown, OH
Milford, NJ
Valparasio, IN
Stanton, MI
Garden City, AL
Harrison, AR
Banning, CA
National Salvation Front
Los Angeles, CA
Northern Heritage Club
Fergus Falls, MN
Present Truth
Ponderay, ID
Society for the Advancement of White People
Davie, FL
Straight
Denver, CO
White Brotherhood
South Bend, IN
White Union Party
Virginia Beach, VA

SKINHEADS

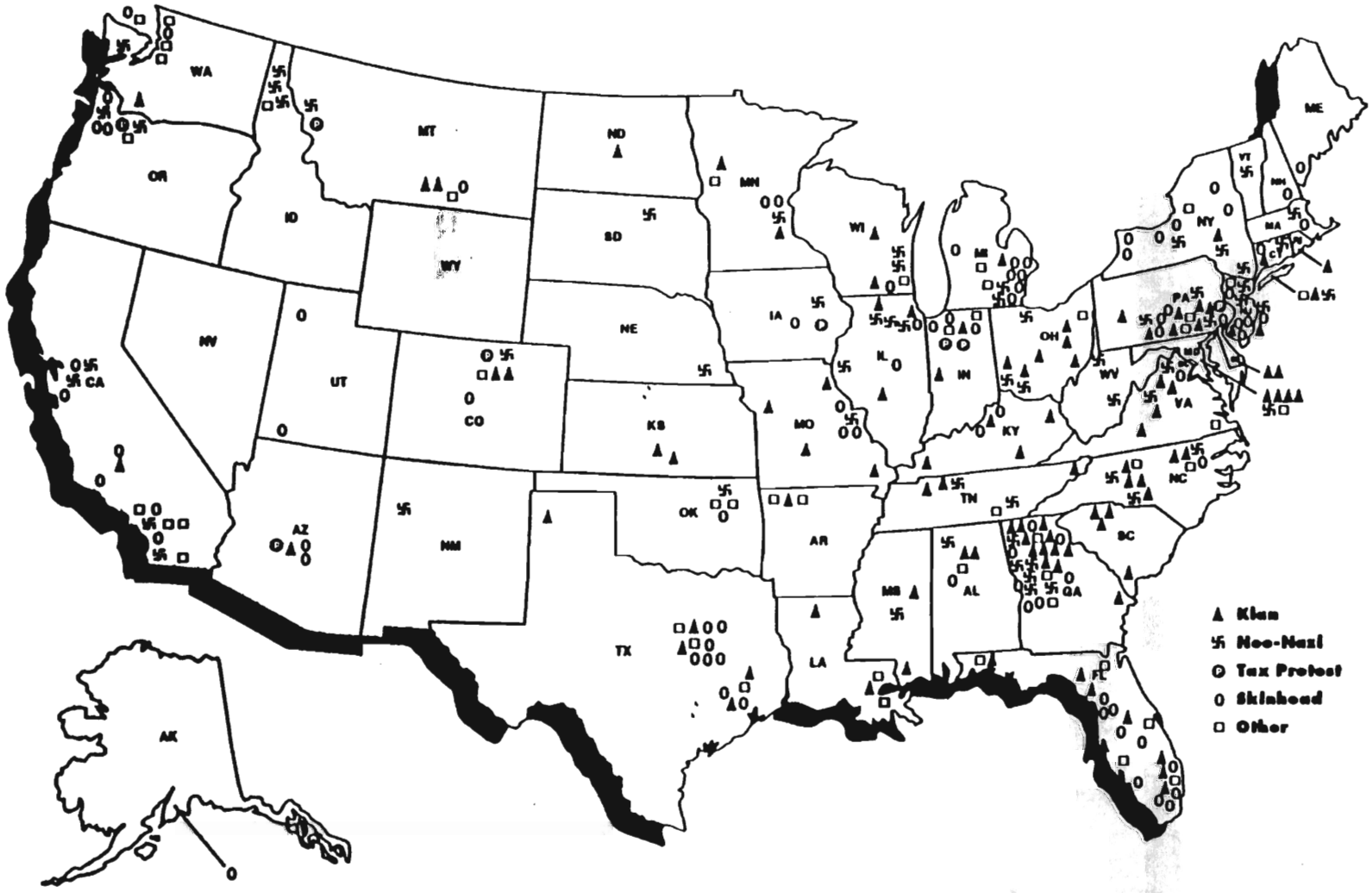
Aggravated Assault
Berlin, NJ
American Constitutional Militia
Phoenix, AZ
American Front
Portland, OR
Seattle, WA
Jensen Beach, FL
Phoenix, AZ
American White Separatists
Bakersfield, CA
American White Vikings
Saint Louis, MO
Army of Israel
St. George, UT
Aryan Freedom Fighters
Chatsworth, GA
Aryan Militant
Altamont, NY
Aryan National Front
Marietta, GA
Aryan National Skinheads
Portage, IN
Aryan Resistance League
Conyers, GA
Aryan Revolutionary Front
Castro Valley, CA
Aryan Sisters League
Smyrna, GA
Aryan Socialist Alliance
Austin, TX
Aryan Truth
Dallas, TX
Aryan Unity Coalition
Florida
Aryan Women Against Racial Extermination
Fort Pierce, FL
Aryan Women's League
Springfield, IL
Aryan Youth Corps
Fort Myers, FL
Bound for Glory
East St. Paul, MN
Buffalo Rochester Aryan Skinheads
Buffalo, NY
Chaotic Brothers
Louisville, KY
Chapel Hill Skinheads
Chapel Hill, NC
Confederate Front
Tulsa, OK
Confederate Hammer Skins
Marietta, GA
Fort Pierce, FL
Confederate Skinheads of America
Annadale, VA

HATE GROUP LISTINGS

Eastern Hammer Skins
Stewartstown, PA
Keansburg, NJ
Salem, MA
Family Assistance Project
Fultondale, AL
Final Solution
Midlothian, IL
Fourth Reich Skins
Los Angeles, CA
Rochester, NY
Fourth Reich Skinheads
Collingswood, NJ
Fyrdung
Roswell, GA
FSU Posse
Portland, ME
Hammerskins
Elkhart, IN
Hammond Skins
Whiting, IN
Hooligans
Detroit, MI
Kentwood Skinheads
Grand Rapids, MI
Lex-Town Skinheads
Lexington, KY
Macomb Area Skinheads
Detroit, MI
Maximum Resistance
Detroit, MI
National Christian Church
Ocala, FL
National Socialist Skinheads
Saint Paul, MN
Gainesville, FL
National Socialist White Workers Party
West Palm Beach, FL
National Socialist White Workers Union
Dallas, TX
Nationalist Front
Portland, OR
New Dawn Resistance
The Woodlands, TX
New Nation Skinheads
Shamokin, PA
No Alibi
Buffalo, NY
Northern Area Skinheads
Anchorage, AK
Northern Hammer Skins
Rochester, NY
Kenosha, WI
Saint Louis, MO
Northwest United Skinheads
Billings, MT
Old Time Gangster Skins
Colorado
Oregon Skins United
Portland, OR
Orlando Area Skinheads
Orlando, FL
Rival
Redford, MI
Saint Louis Area Skinheads
Saint Louis, MO
Seacoast White Aryan Race Movement
Portsmouth, NH
Skinhead Assault Crew
New Jersey
Skinhead Dogs
Oxnard, CA
Skinheads for White Independence
Salt Lake City, UT
South Side Pride
Detroit, MI
Stigmata
Troy, NY
Strike Force
Arlington, TX
The Voice
Philadelphia, PA
United White Skinheads
Ames, IA
Wayne, PA
Vigilante Lynch Mob
Arlington, TX
West Side Boot Boys
Detroit, MI
White Alliance
San Francisco, CA
White Aryan Nationalist
Murrieta, CA
White Aryan Resistance Unit
Florida
White Aryan Youth
Bainbridge Island, WA
White Pride White Power
Arlington, TX
White Reich Skinhead Crew
Connecticut
White Rights Union
New Jersey
White Women's Association
Smyrna, GA
White Workers Union
Garland, TX

TAX PROTEST

American Justice Federation
Indianapolis, IN
Christian Posse Comitatus
Pottstown, PA
Golden Mean Team
Missoula, MT
Iowa Society for Educated Citizens
Iowa City, IA
Jury Rights Association
Indianapolis, IN
Police Against the New World Order
Phoenix, AZ
Republic Vs. Democracy Redress
Oregon City, OR
We The People
Fort Collins, CO



White Supremacist Groups in the United States in 1993

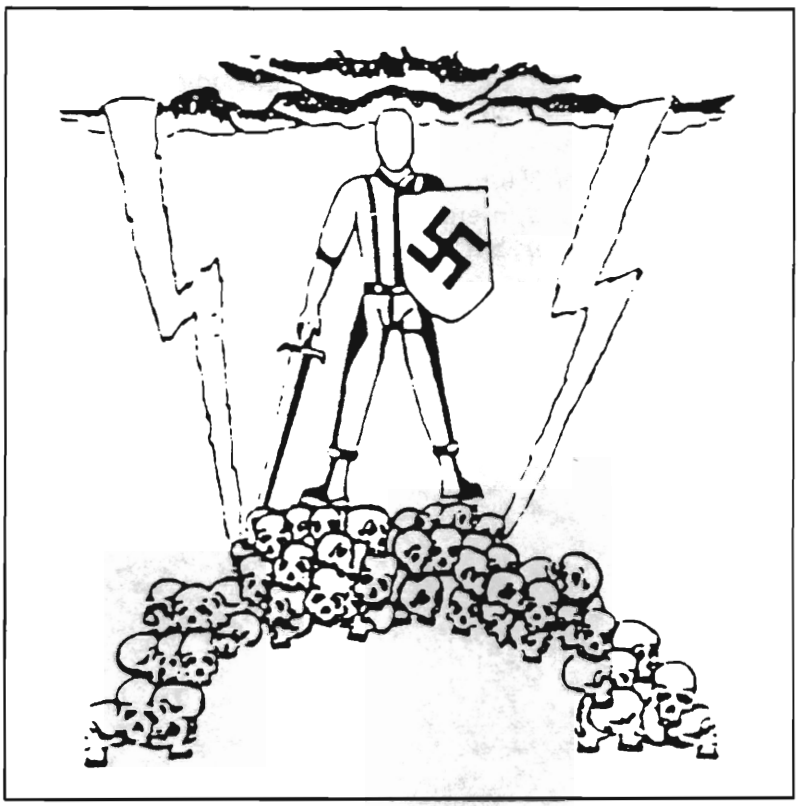
■ Although many of the organizations shown on the map have numerous chapters in various states, only one symbol is shown per state for each separate organization. A state may have more than one of the same symbol because more than one organization of a given type may be operating in the state. If a certain group has more than one chapter in a state, the group's state office is represented on the map or if that is not possible, a site is randomly selected. For example, a state may have two Klan symbols to show that the Invisible Empire and its chapters as well as the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and its chapters operate within the state. Note: The chapters of the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which disbanded in the summer of 1993, were counted as active in 1993. However, the Invisible Empire chapters that reappeared under the name Unified Ku Klux Klan were not counted as active. For the names and exact locations of the groups, see listing on the following pages. As in the past, Christian Identity groups were not counted since they are numerous and frequently change.

Reading #5

Unit 7

AN ADL SPECIAL REPORT

YOUNG NAZI KILLERS
THE RISING SKINHEAD DANGER



1913 - 1993

ADL Anti-Defamation League®

Anti-Defamation League
1993 16p

MEMBERSHIP

ADL's current survey[2] of the number of racist Skinheads in the United States shows a total of approximately 3300 to 3500, in 160 gangs, located in 40 states.[3] These figures represent further growth since ADL's last count in 1990. The seven states with the greatest number of Skinheads are: New Jersey (400), Texas (300 to 400), Oregon (300), Colorado (200), Florida (200), Michigan (200), and Virginia (200).

There follows, in chronological order, a summary of ADL's periodic Skinhead surveys:

Date	Members	States
February 1988	1000 to 1500	12
October 1988	2000	21
June 1989	3000	31
June 1990	3000	34
June 1993	3300 to 3500	40

In addition to an overall gain of 300 to 500 members, Skinheads are now active in eight states where they had not been seen before: Alaska, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Nebraska, New Hampshire, Utah and Virginia. This indicates the continuation of a trend toward expansion into every section of the country. Only 10 states are presently free of a neo-Nazi Skinhead presence: Arkansas, Hawaii, Mississippi, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Vermont, West Virginia and Wyoming.

In addition to the full-blown Skinheads there are the so-called "wanna-be's," youngsters who aspire to the status of regular Skinheads. Their numbers are widely thought to exceed those of the "official" ones, although it is not possible to reliably count them.

The wanna-be's mimic the dress and style of Skinheads, listen to their music, and share many of their prejudices. They are usually young people living in areas where there are no organized Skinhead gangs, or who are still living at home and are fearful of the consequences of "coming out."

[2] The survey was conducted by ADL's Fact Finding Department, operating through the League's 30 regional offices. The information was gathered through direct investigation and contributions from a great many helpful contacts in the criminal justice system, the media, and the academy. Another useful source has been detectors who, from time to time, seek out ADL's regional offices to provide information, which is, of course, carefully evaluated.

[3] This is the first ADL survey to include a count of the number of Skinhead gangs.



NEW JERSEY

New Jersey has as many as 30 Skinhead gangs. While totalling no more than 400 activists, they are to be found in Atlantic, Camden, Hudson, Mercer, Middlesex, Monmouth, Ocean, Passaic and Union Counties. Many of the groups operate under the banner of the Eastern Hammerskins. Others use names like White Rights Union, Aryan Glory Skins, Doc Marten Skins and Skinhead Assault Crew.

New Jersey's Eastern Hammerskins have links to many established hate groups (the KKK, the New Order, Christian Posse Comitatus, Church of the Creator, SS Action Group, Confederate Knights of America) as well as other Skinhead gangs in Pennsylvania, New York, Delaware and New England.

To avoid easy detection, many New Jersey Skinheads have allowed their hair to grow. Their favorite haunts are tattoo parlors, shopping malls, bowling alleys, and clubs, including the Zion Park in Berlin, N.J., Trenton City Gardens in Trenton, N.J., the Fast Lane Club in Asbury Park, N.J., G. Wilikers in Pennsauken and Guilleys in Ocean City, N.J. Weapons favored by New Jersey Skins are baseball bats, Mace, chains, knives and guns.

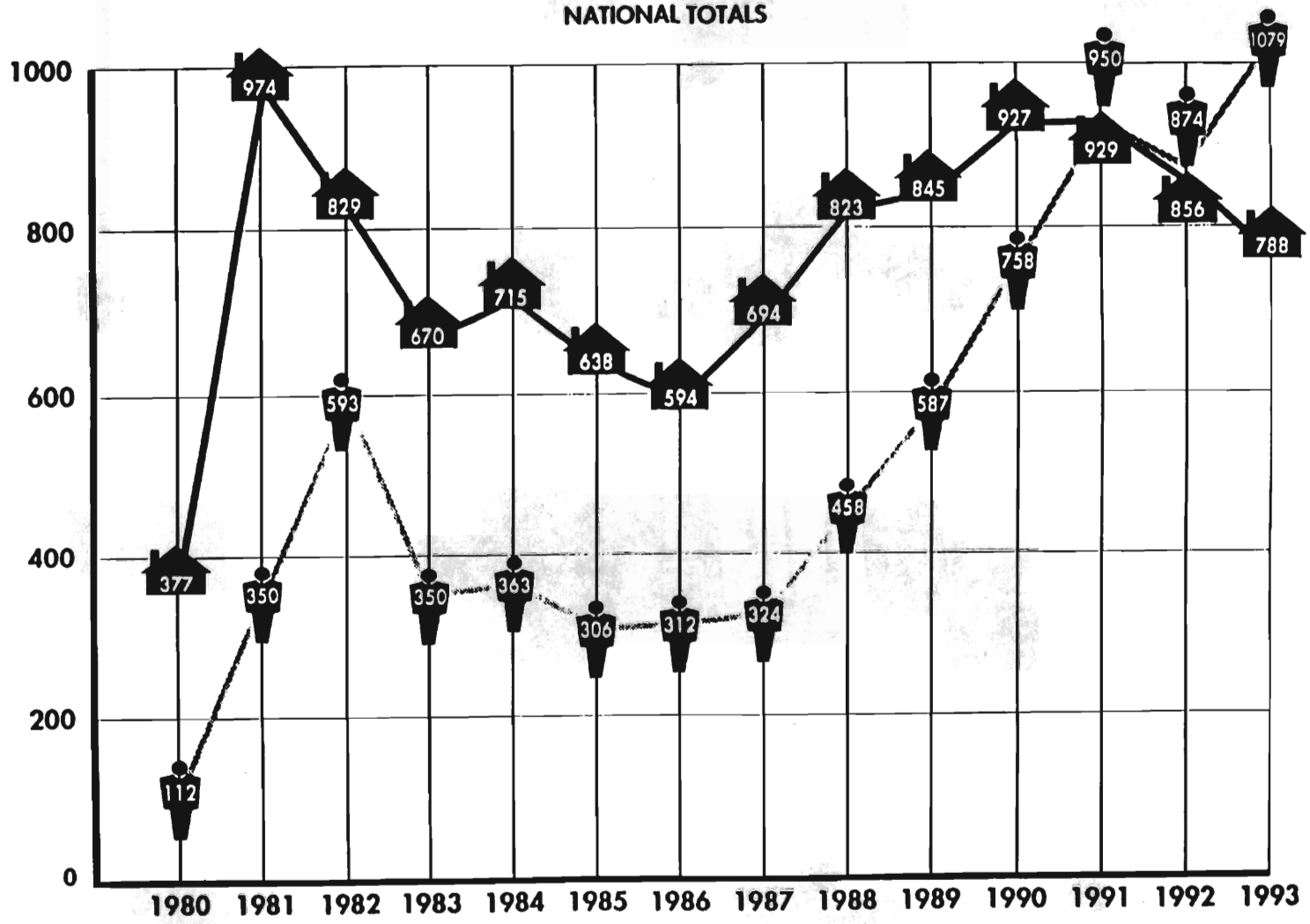
Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents



Reprinted Courtesy of Newsday/ David Pokress.

Anti-Defamation League
823 United Nations Plaza,
New York, NY 10017

AUDIT OF ANTI-SEMITIC EPISODES
VANDALISM
HARASSMENTS, THREATS AND ASSAULTS
YEAR-BY-YEAR
NATIONAL TOTALS

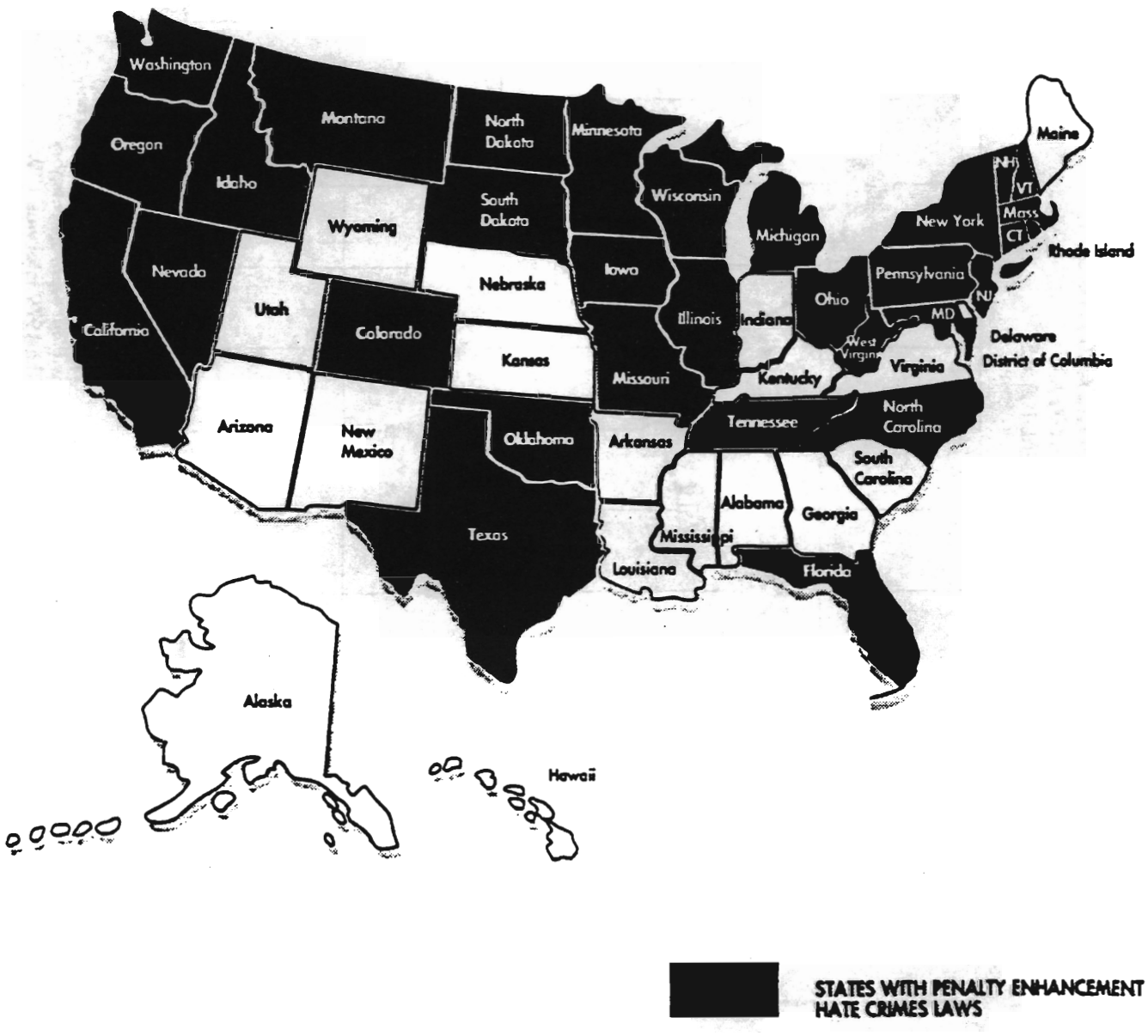


KEY: VANDALISMS

HARASSMENTS, THREATS AND ASSAULTS

NOTE: 1979 report recorded only "Anti-Semitic Incidents," without separate category of threats, harassments, etc. The 1979 total was 129.

Reading #5


Washington
Oregon
California
Idaho
Nevada
Montana
Wyoming
Utah
Arizona
Colorado
New Mexico
North Dakota
South Dakota
Nebraska
Kansas
Oklahoma
Texas
Minnesota
Iowa
Missouri
Arkansas
Louisiana
Wisconsin
Illinois
Michigan
Indiana
Ohio
Kentucky
Tennessee
Mississippi
Alabama
Georgia
Florida
South Carolina
North Carolina
Virginia
West Virginia
Pennsylvania
New York
Maine
VT
NH
Mass
CT
RI
NJ
MD
Delaware
District of Columbia
Alaska
Hawaii
STATES WITH PENALTY ENHANCEMENT HATE CRIMES LAWS

CHILDREN ON THE RUN

By Mordecai Paldiel

Of the many imponderables of the Holocaust, the premeditated murder of over one million Jewish children certainly stands out as especially gruesome. At Yad Vashem, in Jerusalem, a special children's memorial reminds visitors of this unforgivable crime which, together with the other inhuman behavior displayed by the Nazis and their collaborators, will remain an indelibly dark stain on the history of mankind.

Until recently, most testimony about surviving the Holocaust was provided by persons who experienced its horrors as adults. In the immediate post-Holocaust period, children survivors felt inclined to psychologically distance themselves from what they had endured; to draw a line, and repress the memory of their trauma-scarred years. Their memories, however, continued to haunt them as they became adults, created their own families and passed into old age. At the ADL-sponsored Hidden Child Conference in May 1991, many of these former child survivors met and began sharing their experiences.

Yad Vashem's Department for the Righteous Among the Nations, which honors non-Jews who risked their lives to save Jews during the Holocaust, has for many years elicited testimony from individuals who were child survivors of the Holocaust. The number of these testimonies has in recent years increased considerably, to the extent that over one-third of all of Yad Vashem's collection of testimonies originate from within that group. These testimonies provide dramatic information about the special circumstances of Jewish children in hiding during the Holocaust; this is the subject of this article.

The range of suffering experienced by these children may be summarized briefly: the trauma of abandonment by one's own parents; adapting to a strange and often hostile environment; a haunting awareness of constant danger; the fear of rejection by new adoptive families; identification with the new host family coupled with a rejection of one's previous identity. Then, after the war's end: the forced separation from one's host family, and a forced reunion with one's biological family, coupled with a rejection of the identity adopted during the period of hiding; the repression of the whole wartime experience from one's conscious mind. (The last, however, often eventually yielded to a desire to confront one's childhood years.)

All the aforementioned elements deserve lengthy study. In this article, I will only deal with some of them, specifically, the circumstances under which children of various ages (up to age 15) were admitted into the homes of adoptive families, especially the homes of those persons who were later awarded the title of Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem. In order to give some idea of the different kinds of problems that endangered Jewish children encountered, I shall discuss conditions in the Netherlands and Poland. We shall begin with the Netherlands.

In the Netherlands, many, if not most, child transfers to adoptive homes were arranged by third parties, especially by the Dutch underground. There were, in fact, several clandestine groups which dealt primarily with rescuing Jewish children, such as the NV group, which smuggled children out from the Creche in Amsterdam (where hundreds of them had been placed by the Germans), and dispersed them throughout the Dutch countryside, especially in the south of the country. One such rescued youngster was 5-year old Rita, who was fetched by an NV operative and taken to Limburg, to the home of a coal miner. When she arrived there, she was greeted with toys, and her first thought was: "I won't be homesick here." Three-year-old Sofia left home suddenly with her mother, after their Amsterdam apartment had been raided by the Gestapo while they were out. Overcome with fear, they wandered from place to place (including an

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The stories in this article are from the Department's Files.

overnight stay in a public park), and through a third party were able to arrange for Sofia to be sheltered in the attic of the home of a math teacher. In the case of one-and-a-half-year-old Betty, she was taken for a stroll, in 1943, by her father. Suddenly two women joined them. The father slowly slipped away. The two women continued with the child to their home, then escorted Betty to the rescuer's home in The Hague, where she remained for the duration of the war.

In some cases, the parents personally delivered their child to the host family, after arrangements had been made by a third party. In one particular instance, a child was born to a Jewish woman in Naarden. She confided her predicament to her tending nurse, who upon reflection decided to take the boy home to her parents for safekeeping. The child stayed with them throughout the war years.

It does not take much imagination to understand the agony these children suffered because of the sudden separation from their families. The anguish was especially acute for those who did not initially fare well. Thirteen-year-old Alex was thrown out of a house in Deventer after the rescuers learned that the boy's parents had been apprehended. Alex wandered for days, until, with the help of the underground, he was accepted in a new home. Arieh (born 1940), does not remember how many hands he passed through. Apparently, one family threw him out. He was found on the street by a certain woman, who specialized in finding hiding places for Jewish children. He moved from place to place; he estimates he was hidden in 12 different places. At the end of the war it was difficult to locate him. In another case, three-year-old Basia was taken from her Amsterdam home and placed in a mental institution, which was deemed a secure and temporary hiding place. She remained there for eight months, until she was transferred to the south of the country and adopted by a host family.

A particularly poignant story is that of Karel, who at the age of five could not understand why his own mother was so aloof toward him (probably to habituate him to the new life in store for him very soon). One day, during a stop between train rides, she sat down at the far end of a bench and told him to sit at the other end. Suddenly she got up and left. "I felt she purposely wanted to leave me behind." He got up and ran after her to alert her to the fact that she had left her suitcase behind. She smiled at him and took his hand. That evening, his parents brought him to the city of Elst, where they parted; through a third person, Karel was taken to his new adoptive home

In other instances, the pain of separation was mixed with puzzled surprise. Yehuda, upon arrival at an institution for troubled children, was told by Brother Bernardinus, the school's head, to act strange and unruly so as to fit into the surroundings.

There were many instances where the reception of the fleeing child was beyond the child's rosy expectations. Seven-year-old Sallo passed through seven hands during a six-month period because of his terrible wetting problem. When he arrived at his seventh destination, arranged by the underground, he told his prospective adoptive mother that perhaps she did not want him because of his problem. Mrs. Snel's warm response and first embrace reassured the hesitant boy. He stayed in her home till the war's end, and also overcame the wetting nuisance. Fifteen-year-old Elaine received a warm reception from the Wijnen family. In her words, "I arrived at the Wijnen family, an oppressed, persecuted Jewish girl, aware of the danger my presence in their midst created for them, and I felt deeply moved by their natural kindness and their intention to treat me with respect and equality.... The kindness of Piet Wijnen and of his wife, their care and affection for the stranger I was, made my life tolerable during this gruesome period."

When necessary, as it was on many occasions, the underground also arranged for transfers from one home to another, to as many as a dozen homes. In the Netherlands, constant movement was, for many of these children (as well as for adults) essential to insure their survival. Ed, for instance, stayed at eight different addresses in the Brunssum region, and at nine places in Overijssel. In another case, a six-year-old boy was hidden in 20 different places during a three-year period. His elder brother (12) also experienced the same sort of thing; when he arrived at the door of one home, he was told that the prospective adoptive family had changed its mind. When he arrived at the Linders' home, where he was to stay until the war's end, he at first refused to eat from fear that he would immediately be shown the door. Six-year-old Henriette was moved by the underground from one home in the Friesland region and taken to the Kruger home. There she was introduced as the illegitimate child of one of the elder daughters, not a light stigma to bear in a Calvinist village. In the case of 10-year-Erna, she was taken from Amsterdam by the underground in 1943 to a farm in the Drente region, where she helped with household and farm chores. When the place proved dangerous, she was taken on a bike from one new location to another. Her hair was bleached with peroxide. "The solution was too strong. But they thought that with blonde hair I would look less Jewish. It didn't do much good."

In Poland, where conditions were more rigorous and severe for Jews on the run, family-initiated arrangements were responsible for the majority of Jewish children in hiding. Conditions in that country obliged a child's own parents to make rescue arrangements. Four-year-old Ada was taken out of the Warsaw ghetto by her father in 1942, and handed over to a strange woman. She, in turn, handed her over to another woman; Ada eventually arrived at the home of Léon Czubczenko, who sheltered her in spite of his wife's strong objections. Nina Danzig turned over her newly born daughter to Halina, whom she had met in a factory in Tuczyn. Halina in turn turned the child over to her mother, Maria, who lived in another city, as initially agreed upon by all the parties.

In some cases, child-rescue arrangements were made through a trusted third party. The fourteen-year-old Wanda "remembers to this day the terrible suffering, constant fear, uncertainty and hunger" in the Warsaw ghetto. In early 1943, she managed to escape the ghetto, and was met by a certain Irena. She was eventually taken by a nun to a convent in Pludy, headed by Mother Matylda Getter, where she was assigned to knit socks and shawls.

There were also, inevitably, cases where a child had to see to his or her own protection. Rachelle's (born 1930) mother arranged for her to hide with a certain family. When the mother disappeared

into the night of the Holocaust, the family asked Rachelle to leave. She remained hidden in the family's fields and in its haystack, and in the evening was allowed to come in to get some food. When this no longer proved viable, Rachelle moved in with another family, where she performed various household and farm chores. Kalman (born 1929) escaped from the Warsaw ghetto in 1942 and befriended a Polish boy who learned Kalman's true identity. They decided to flee by the first train available; it turned out to be the train going to Piaszeczna. There they managed to find temporary lodgings with a woman, who decided to keep the younger Kalman so that he could tend her cows and pigs. Only later did she discover he was Jewish.

In contrast to the Netherlands, where the transfer of newly born Jewish babies was a carefully planned operation, with the Dutch underground, in many cases, being directly involved in the careful preparations, attempts in Poland to insure the safety of Jewish babies were much less organized.

Thus, when the Strzelczyks heard the weeping of a baby outside their Bialystok home and investigated, they found an infant girl in their garbage pail with a note attached indicating the child's age and a request to save it. The child's parents had evidently been at their wits' end and had abandoned the baby, on the spur of the moment.

Pelagia Vogelgesang stepped out to investigate a weeping noise, and found an abandoned child on her doorstep. The child's father, hiding in the forest, managed to make a few quick visits before disappearing for good.

In Poland, the country where the Nazis built the death camps, and where the native population was treated most brutally by the Germans, sudden death was a constant. It took more than determination, persistence and good luck to stay alive during the deadly Holocaust years in Nazi-occupied Poland; survival taxed one's strength to the limit, children's as well as adults'. In her attempts to survive by fleeing from one insecure place to another, 13-year-old Anna developed festering wounds. "I had many boils and my head was swarming with lice. I knew I would not last." Luckily for her, she ran into a friend of her mother's (who was hidden elsewhere), and this man's wife tended the girl's bodily afflictions. Rafael was turned over to a forester by his mother, who promised to pay the man. For a while, the forester fed him, but when suspicions mounted he told the forlorn Rafael he could no longer look after him. "So I [fled] to the forest and also changed my hiding place for fear that this farmer will betray me." When no one was watching, Rafael stole potatoes from nearby fields. He was befriended by a certain farmer, who allowed him to sleep in his potato field. One night, from his secret hole, he heard screams: "Dirty Jewess, get up!" It turned out that the locals had discovered a Jewish woman and her daughter in hiding. They shot her. Rafael fled the area. His wanderings took him to a church's mortuary, where he rested among bodies waiting for burial. He finally found refuge in the home of a friendly Pole, where he met other Jews in hiding.

The Jewish children who were left to fend for themselves in Nazi-occupied Poland realized that their survival depended on always being one step ahead of any approaching threat. And when necessary, one had to wander through unfriendly regions and brace oneself for the worst. With luck, one could make it. After Hanna's family was liquidated in Prisztek, the 13-year-old girl escaped with her older sister from the ghetto. They turned up at their former housemaid's home, where they were given lodging for five days. They soon became aware that this person was taking advantage of them, so they left with nothing but the clothes they were wearing. "Thus, we wandered through five villages and among people that our parents had known." To maximize their chances of survival, the two sisters parted ways. Hanna wandered into a village and eventually worked as a housemaid in various homes. In the fifth home she worked in, the family took a special liking to her and asked her to stay on. It was December 1943, and the ground was covered with snow. "I was dressed in summer clothes with sandals and no socks.... When the family's son noticed the frozen wounds on my legs, he heated water for me, gave me a bath and tended my wounds." Only later, when she felt she could truly trust them, did she disclose her Jewish ancestry.

In the case of one fourteen-year-old, she was shown the door by her erstwhile benefactor, wandered through several villages, and finally hitched a ride on a train making the Otwock-Warsaw run. On board she met two nuns, who took the girl to a convent in Karczew, from whence she was fetched by Krystyna Brzostek to be a nanny to her five-year-old son.

There are many stories recounting how children were rescued, literally, from the brink of death. Eight-year-old Penina hid under the bodies of her slain parents in the Wegrow ghetto, before fleeing to the home of the Piskorzynskas, where she remained until the area's liberation. Three-year-old Miriam was rescued by Henryk Gortat, after her parents had been slain in the cemetery of Czerwinsk. Henryk saved the girl moments before she, in turn, was going to be shot. Zofia Boczkowska, while out on an errand, noticed a young girl being lined up to be shot together with a group of adult Jews. She managed to convince the German commander in charge that the girl was of Christian origin, and that she had known the child's parents personally; she succeeded in saving nine-year-old Hanna from certain doom. Maria Maciarz prevented her daughter-in-law from turning over little Jack to the Gestapo; the daughter-in-law had promised the boy's mother, incarcerated in the Plaszow camp, that she would look after the child. Instead, Maria took the boy into her care until the war's end.

Conditions were so harsh in Poland that in some cases, without a rescuer's initiative, Jewish children on the run stood no chance of survival. Katarzyna Pokorska took a Jewish boy into her home when she found him wandering aimlessly after he had a jumped a train bound for the Majdanek camp. The boy had to be reassured that she meant him no harm before agreeing to be cared for by this stranger.

In certain instances, Poles who were in a Jewish ghetto for business purposes and happened upon a Nazi liquidation raid, decided on the spot to rescue a Jewish child. This was the case with Waldyslaw Szepelowski, who met 13-year-old Jaffa when he came to the Tarnopol ghetto to trade. When the Nazis launched a sudden raid, he managed to take Jaffa out with him, tucked in the back of his horse-drawn carriage. Natalia Pisula purposely entered the Radomsko ghetto to fetch 13-year-old Paula.

As a final illustration of the brutally harsh physical and mental anguish experienced by Jewish children on the run, we turn to the story of Shoshana. Born in 1930, she was in Strij during the war, where her family met Nusia Klimczak. Nusia pleaded with Shoshana's parents to allow her to save at least one member of the family, but to no avail, since the parents erroneously concluded that the family's chances for survival were better if the family members stuck together. Then, in September 1943, Nusia came to the ghetto fence and whispered to Shoshana's father: "I saw they're preparing ditches in the graveyard of Holobutow. Give me Nuna [Shoshana's sister]." But the parents again demurred. A few days later the Germans launched their murderous raid. Here is how Shoshana described what then transpired and what went through her mind:

> Our turn had come. Nusia was right... We dressed in the darkness of dawn. I put on two shirts, one on top of the other. Perhaps, in spite of everything, I'll survive and I'll want to change clothes... I wanted so much to live! But where can one hide? What will happen with daddy, my brother and sister? It's impossible we'll all die... We stepped out for roll call. There was no panic and no screams were heard. Those who had prepared poisoned pills swallowed them. I saw one of my friends lying lifeless on the ground, and one German staring at her and asking, "Why did she do it? She was so young and beautiful."

At the local prison, Shoshana was separated from her family. In a brief, last encounter with her father, he managed to slip her some money, and reminded her of her relatives in Israel: "I am convinced, my child, that you will get there and will be happy." The following day she bribed one of the Ukrainian guards to let her escape from the truck on which she and others were traveling to the cemetery. After she jumped, she hid in a grain silo. She could hear the shouts: "One escaped!" There were a few shots fired in the air, and the lorry continued on its way. Shoshana wandered from place to place, finding shelter in friendly homes, until she arrived in the village where Nusia was working in a rehabilitation center. Upon seeing Shoshana, Nusia ran over, hugged the disheveled girl, and said: "You will not move from here, even one step. I will take care of everything." Shoshana later recalled her thoughts at the time:

> Was this a dream or reality? I was so tired from the road and what I had gone through, and all I wanted was for someone to take care of me, to feed me, give me something to drink and put me to sleep. Only not to think, only not to think....

She was given a new name and personal history, and remained under Nusia's care until the end of the war. Shoshana had come to Nusia's village barefoot, covered with pus-filled wounds. Her hair was infested with lice. She lacked proper identification. But she was saved at the eleventh hour by a person whose fervent wish to rescue at least one member of Shoshana's family had come true. And that's why Shoshana lived to tell of her terrible ordeal.



Sharing experiences at the first Hidden Child Gathering held in New York.



Courtesy of Yad Vashem.

The Children's Memorial at Yad Vashem.

Memories repressed and confronted...



Shoshana Sivron Dawidman in 1943 ....



Courtesy of Yad Vashem.

... and as she appears today.

The Legacy of the Holocaust Survivors

SOURCE: "The Legacy," written by Elie Wiesel, an oath taken at the World Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors, Jerusalem, Israel, June 1981. Reprinted with permission by American Gathering/Federation of Jewish Holocaust Survivors.

We take this oath! We take it in the shadow of flames whose tongues scar the soul of our people. We vow in the name of dead parents and children; We vow, with our sadness hidden, our faith renewed; We vow, we shall never let the sacred memory of our perished six million be scorned or erased.

We saw them hungry, in fear, we saw them rush to battle, we saw them in the loneliness of night — true to their faith. At the threshold of death, we saw them. We received their silence in silence, merged their tears with ours.

Deportations, executions, mass graves, death camps; mute prayers, cries of revolt, desperation, torn scrolls; cities and towns, villages and hamlets; the young, the old, the rich, the poor, ghetto fighters and partisans, scholars and messianic dreamers, ravaged faces, fists raised. Like clouds of fire, all have vanished.

We take this oath! Vision becomes WORD . . . to be handed down from father to son, from mother to daughter, from generation to generation.

Remember what the German killers and their accomplices did to our people. Remember them with rage and contempt. Remember what an indifferent world did to us and to itself. Remember the victims with pride and with sorrow. Remember also the deeds of the righteous Gentiles.

We shall also remember the miracle of the Jewish rebirth in the land of our ancestors, in the independent State of Israel. Here pioneers and fighters restored to our people the dignity and majesty of nationhood. From ruin of their lives, orphans and widows built homes and old-new fortresses on our redeemed land. To the end of our days we shall remember all those who realized and raised their dream — our dream — of redemption to the loftiest heights

We take this oath here in Jerusalem, our eternal spiritual sanctuary. Let our legacy endure as a stone on the Temple Wall. For here prayers and memories burn. They burn and burn and will not be consumed.

The Pledge of Acceptance of the Second Generation

SOURCE: "The Acceptance," presented at the World Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors, Jerusalem, Israel, June 1981. Read by six survivors and accepted by six children of survivors in the Hebrew, English, Yiddish, French, Russian, and Ladino languages. Reprinted by permission of American Gathering/Federation of Jewish Holocaust Survivors.

June 18, 1981

We accept the obligation of this legacy

We are the first generation born after the darkness. Through our parents' memories, words and silence we are linked to that annihilated Jewish existence whose echoes permeate our consciousness.

We dedicate this pledge

to you, our parents, who suffered and survived;

to our grandparents who perished in the flames;

to our vanished brothers and sisters, more than one million Jewish children, so brutally murdered;

to all Six Million whose unyielding spiritual and physical resistance, even in the camps and ghettos, exemplifies to our people's commitment to life.

We pledge to remember!

We shall teach our children to preserve forever that uprooted Jewish spirit which could not be destroyed.

We shall tell the world of the depths to which humanity can sink and the heights which were attained, even in Hell itself.

We shall fight anti-semitism and all forms of racial hatred by our dedication to freedom throughout the world.

We affirm our commitment to the State of Israel and the furtherance of Jewish life in our homeland.

We pledge ourselves to the oneness of the Jewish people

We are your children!

We are here!

Lessons of the Holocaust

Between 1939 and 1945, the Nazi German regime, with help from millions of other Europeans, murdered almost every Jew in Europe.

The dehumanization (for example, most of the six million Jews were stripped naked before being killed), torture (as in the description below of a typical day in a Nazi death camp), and murder of Europe's Jews is known as the Holocaust. It was not but one more example of human evil. It was not even a holocaust. It was the Holocaust.

But for all its notoriety, for all the words devoted to narrating its inexpressibly horrible details, for all the references to it in modern moral and theological discourse, it seems that nothing has actually been learned from the Holocaust.

There are at least two reasons for this. One is that just about everyone who writes or speaks about the Holocaust describes it as "incomprehensible" (an "eruption of the irrational" by "a nation gone mad") — and it is not possible to derive any lessons from the incomprehensible.

The other reason is that the lessons of the Holocaust are too frightening, too disturbing to confront.

These reasons are related: an easy way to avoid confronting evil is to label it incomprehensible.

I shall tell the story of one day, an ordinary day, much like any other. That day I worked at cleaning a shed. . . . An umbrella had gotten stuck in a roof beam, and the SS man Paul Groth ordered a boy to get it down. The boy climbed up, fell from the roof and was injured. Groth punished him with 25 lashes. He was pleased with what had happened and called over another German and told him he had found "parachutists" among the Jews. We were ordered to climb up to the roof one after another. . . . The majority did not succeed; they fell down, broke legs, were whipped, bitten by Barry [the German shepherd], and shot.

This game was not enough for Groth.

There were many mice around, and each of us was ordered to catch two mice. He selected five prisoners, ordered them to pull down their trousers, and we dropped the mice inside. The people were ordered to remain at attention, but they could not without moving. They were whipped.

But this was not enough for Groth. He called over a Jew, forced him to drink alcohol until he fell dead. . . . We were ordered to lay the man on a board, pick him up and slowly march while singing a funeral march.

This is a description of one ordinary day. And many of them were even worse.

(Testimony of Dov Freiburg, cited in Yitzchak Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka: The Operation Reinhard Death Camps*, Indiana University Press, p. 200)

The Holocaust is comprehensible

Historians, theologians, and others who call the Holocaust incomprehensible do so for a variety of reasons. One is that most of those who write about the Holocaust are essentially secular and humanist in their approach to understanding human nature. Such individuals tend to have a relatively optimistic view of human nature (humanists believe in humans). They see good as normal and rational, and evil as mad or irrational. If this is their view regarding daily evil, it is infinitely more so regarding the systematic torture and murder of millions of innocent men, women and children.

Another reason is that these writers regard the motivation for the Holocaust — antisemitism — as irrational. Therefore, for most observers, something irrational (antisemitism) caused something incomprehensible (the Holocaust).

But what if these two suppositions are wrong? What if evil is neither irrational nor incomprehensible? And what if antisemitism is neither irrational nor incomprehensible? In such cases, the Holocaust may be quite comprehensible.

And so it is.

Since evil is part of human nature — evil may be as "normal" as good — eruptions of

Asked what the world has learned from the Holocaust, Elie Wiesel is reported to have said, "That you can get away with it."
Thus far, that is correct.

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evil are hardly incomprehensible. The questions historians and thinkers need to ask is not why men do evil, but under what circumstances is evil likely to express itself, how can we work to prevent it, and why do the evil so often focus first on Jews?

As for antisemitism, throughout their history, Jews have regarded it as a quite comprehensible reaction against a people that brought God and universal moral law into the world. The Talmud explained Jew-hatred nearly 2,000 years ago by noting how similar the Hebrew words for hatred (*seenah*) and Sinai (*seenai*) sound. The great hatred of the Jews emanates from Sinai, where the Jews received God-based ethical laws to which all mankind is held accountable.

The most obvious lesson to be derived from the Holocaust is that the human being is not basically good.

The Catholic historian of antisemitism, Father Edward Flannery also understood this. "It was Judaism," he wrote, "that brought the concept of a God-given universal moral law into the world. . . . The Jew carries the burden of God in history, [and] for this has never been forgiven." In *The Jewish Mystique*, Ernest van den Haag similarly summarized the root of antisemitism: "[The Jews'] invisible God not only insisted on being the one and only and all-powerful God. . . he also developed into a moral God. . . . The Jews have suffered from their own invention ever since."

If any group should be preoccupied — no, obsessed — with instilling good in people it ought to be the Jews, the targets of the Holocaust. Yet, Jews, more than any other group, support value-free education.

Even antisemites have acknowledged this. The father of German racial theory, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, wrote, "The Jew came into our gay world and spoiled everything with his ominous concept of sin, his law, and his cross." He was echoing Richard Wagner's words: "Emancipation from the yoke of Judaism appears to us the foremost necessity." And Hitler defined his mission as the destruction of the "tyrannical God of the Jews [and His] life-denying Ten Commandments."

The Nazi attempt to murder all the Jews was precisely what the Nazis called it: "The Final Solution to the Jewish Problem." Hitler concluded that all previous solutions — assimilation, conversion, persecution, and expulsion — had failed to rid the world of the Jewish problem. Only the actual killing of every Jew would work. Consequently, as historian Lucy Dawidowicz showed in *The War Against the Jews*, the Nazis were more interested in killing Jews than in winning World War II.

Thus, evil, which permanently lurks within human nature, has a long record of detesting the people and religion that first declared war — divine war — against it. Understanding this, neither evil nor antisemitism is incomprehensible.

ON HUMAN NATURE

The most obvious, and perhaps the most important, lesson to be derived from the Holocaust is that the human being is not basically good.

To me, this is so obvious that I feel foolish noting it. Yet, few people — Jews included — have incorporated this basic principle into their views on life.

It is this lingering belief in human goodness that has led to the contemporary predilection for blaming anything except human nature — society, socioeconomic forces, class warfare, weapons, parents, television — for the evil that people do.

Jews who are estranged from Judaism and its view of the human being locked in a permanent battle between his good and evil inclinations are among the most delinquent in this area. That is why the question I most frequently hear from Jews about the Holocaust is, How can I believe in God after the Holocaust? That question is surely worthy of a response (see "God and the Holocaust", ULTIMATE ISSUES, Vol. 3, No.4), but it is a question that lets the real culprits — people — off the hook. God did not throw children onto pyres of fire; God did not build the gas chambers, or man the death camps, or conduct freezing experiments on fully conscious men and women. People did.

Whenever I meet someone who claims to find faith in God impossible, but who persists in believing in the essential goodness of humanity, I know that I have met a person for whom evidence is irrelevant. Yet, those who continue to believe in humanity — after the Holocaust, Communist genocides in the Ukraine, Cambodia and elsewhere, black slavery and so much more evil — are considered rational, while those of us who believe in God are dismissed as elevating faith over reason.

One wonders what human beings would have to do in order to shake people's faith in humanity. How many innocent people have to be murdered and tortured? How many women need to be raped?

We have developed elaborate alibis for people who inflict the most horrible cruelties on other people. The most common is that such people are "sick." But Hitler and his followers were not necessarilly all sick. They were all evil.

ON WHAT IS IMPORTANT

Given the Holocaust and all the genocide-like mass murders of this century — in Armenia, the Ukraine and many other parts of the Soviet Union, Uganda, Cambodia — only faith in man's innate goodness can explain why people are not obsessed with one issue — how to make good people. This is not simply some abstract moral question — it is an issue of pure self interest: if we do not make good people, we or our children will be hurt. On purely selfish grounds, this ought to be our greatest concern.

All our other social preoccupations — better education, conquering poverty, fighting drugs — are less important than raising the next generation to be good people. Yet, instilling goodness in young people is for most individuals and societies, including our own, a lower priority than instilling brightness, talent, patriotism, happiness, religious faith, or some other value independent of goodness.

As absurd as most people's reluctance to learn this lesson is, the Jews' inability to learn it is beyond belief. If any group should be preoccupied — no, obsessed — with instilling good in people it ought to be the Jews, the targets of the Holocaust, and the most consistent targets of evil in history. Yet in America today, Jews, more than any other group, support *value-free* education; Jews, more than any other group (polls consistently indicate that Jews are the most secular group in America), believe that people need not feel morally accountable to God and religion; Jews, in short, more than any other group, believe in humanity.

ON EDUCATION AND ART

Another unsettling conclusion from the Holocaust is that two of the most esteemed Western values — education and art — are morally irrelevant. The only education that can make people more moral is moral education (preferably on a religious foundation). There is no correlation between any other education and human decency. Two major studies of Nazis during the Holocaust confirm this observation.

Professor Peter Merkl of the University of California at Santa Barbara studied 581 Nazis and found that Germans with a high school education "or even university study" were *more likely to be antisemitic* than those with less education (*Political Violence Under the Swastika*, Princeton University Press, p. 503).

A study of the makeup of 24 leaders of Einsatzgruppen, the mobile killing units that killed nearly 2 million Jews prior to the use of the gas chambers, showed that the great majority were well educated: "One of the most striking things about the Einsatzgruppen leadership makeup is the prevalence of educated people, professionals, especially lawyers, Ph.D.'s. . . " (Irving Greenberg in *Auschwitz: Beginning of a New Era?* Ktav, p. 17).

These findings should not surprise us. Almost the only support for the other great butcher — Joseph Stalin — also came from the well educated.

For the many in our society who link Ph.D.'s and university education with human decency, these lessons are important indeed. And, again, if there is one group that needs to learn this lesson, it is the Jews. No group venerates education, degrees, titles and elite universities more than Jews — despite the fact, moreover, that some of the greatest hostility to Jews, today in the guise of anti-Zionism, is found at these universities.

The same holds true for art. It is very sobering that the most artistically cultivated society in Europe unleashed the Holocaust. The commandant of Auschwitz was an accomplished pianist who played Schubert *Lieder* on the piano each day after supervising the day's gassing of thousands of Jewish families and the indescribable medical experiments on Jews and Russian prisoners of war.

One of the greatest conductors of this century was the Berlin Philharmonic's Herbert Von Karajan. His interpretations are noted for their beauty. Yet, Von Karajan had joined the Nazi Party in 1932, even before the Nazi Party came into power, and rose to *kappelmeister* under Hitler.

To cite one of many other possible examples, Norway, which suffered terribly

While the Holocaust was not catastrophic for Christians, it was for Christianity. Nazism was, in its essence, anti-Christian, but tens of millions of European Christians — after 1,500 years of Christianity — did not see it that way.

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at the hands of the Nazis, had almost no Nazi supporters. One of the very few who did support Nazism, even while the Nazis ruled over Norway, was that country's most gifted writer, Knut Hamsun, winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature.

For those in our society who associate artistic greatness with human greatness, or who crave board membership on an art museum but would never sit on the board of a Jewish or other religious day school, the Holocaust teaches an extremely important lesson.

To be the chosen victims of the greatest eruption of evil in history is a vindication of the moral truth of Judaism.

ON RELIGIOUS EVIL AND SECULAR EVIL

The most common argument against religion is that it has been used to commit much evil, e.g., the Crusades, the Inquisition, Khomeini, and religious conflicts in Northern Ireland and Lebanon.

This is true, and religious people cannot explain it away by claiming that all these people were not really religious. People can be both religious and evil. Moreover, many religious people who are not evil do not regard fighting evil and promoting goodness as important as promoting right faith. And while all major religions seek the good, not all are equally concerned with good and evil. Salvation, faith, surrender to God, ego denial, attaining truth are some other, more important, concerns.

Jews who cite Pope Pius XII's silence, but do not cite the horrible record of their hero, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, are selective indeed in their condemnations.

On the other hand, another lesson of the Holocaust is that the amount of evil committed by secular ideologies dwarfs religion-inspired evil. In this century alone, more innocent people have been murdered, tortured, and enslaved by secular ideologies — Nazism and Communism — than by all religions in history.

Yes, Christianity laid the foundations of Western Jew-hatred — foundations that were used well by Hitler and the Nazis. But it was Nazism, a secular and anti-Christian ideology, not Christianity, that built the gas chambers. That many Christians were either evil enough to actively support Nazism or merely foolish enough not to appreciate how anti-Christian — not to mention evil — Nazism was tells us much about those Christians, but it does not negate the secular and anti-Christian nature of Nazism. (Even today, after all the revelations about Communist evils, including repeated attempts to destroy Christianity and other religions, there are Christians who refuse to see the evil and anti-Christian nature of Communism.)

Thus, centuries of Christian antisemitism on the one hand and the Nazi hostility to Jewish and Christian values on the other proved lethal to Jews. God without ethics and ethics without God are both dangerous to Jews — and to the world.

ON CHRISTIANITY

The Holocaust is far more a challenge to Christianity than to Judaism. The Holocaust was catastrophic for the Jews, but not for Judaism. To be the chosen victims of the greatest eruption of evil in history is a vindication of the moral truth of Judaism, and corroborates the Jewish role in history as bearing witness to God and His Commandments. As a Jew, I am proud to know that Hitler hated the Jews, just as I am proud to know that the Soviet Union hated the Jews, and that the Ayatollah Khomeini and the Muslims who follow his teachings hate the Jews before all others.

On the other hand, while the Holocaust was not catastrophic for Christians, it was for Christianity. Nazism was, in its essence, anti-Christian, but tens of millions of European Christians and their leaders — *after 1,500 years of Christianity* — did not see it that way.

The ability of millions of Protestant and Catholic Christians, with some blessed exceptions (whom Jews and Christians must study and forever recall), to view Nazism as a Christian ally; the rise of Nazism in the heart of Christendom; and the silence of the church during the Holocaust are serious problems for a serious Christian, and one reason why so few post-war West Europeans take Christianity seriously.

Moreover, the moral tragedy of Christianity during the Holocaust may signify more than apathy or hostility to Jews. The Christian world has generally been silent in the face of evil even when fellow *Christians* have suffered. While just a few million Jews made the world aware of the plight of Soviet Jews, nearly a billion Christians left the world ignorant of the plight of Soviet Christians. Worse, while Soviet Christians were denied the right to teach their children Christianity, and other Christians languished in the gulag, the National Council of Churches *defended* the

Soviets (see, for example, "U.S. Visitors Praise Church in Soviet," *New York Times*, June 21, 1984) and the Rev. Billy Graham's public reactions to Soviet oppression of fellow Baptists in the Soviet Union were worse than non-supportive; they were callous. Liberal Christians have supported the Sandinista repressors of *Christianity* in Nicaragua. And only in the last months has the Vatican finally come out vigorously in opposition to the decimation of the Maronite *Catholic* community in Lebanon. Recognizing evil and crying out against it do not seem to be as primary a Christian instinct as personal kindness or concern with salvation. (See "Judaism, Christianity and the Problem of Cruelty," UI Vol. 3, No. 3.)

All this notwithstanding, both the Jews and the world need a vibrant and morally concerned Christianity. When Christianity fails, we get Nazism, Communism, secular emptiness, hedonism, cults, and conversion to religions far less sympathetic to Judaism and its values. Indeed, Christians remain the primary communicators of *our* Bible to the world. Jews do not spread the Ten Commandments nearly as much as Christians do (the American Jewish Congress actually supported the U.S. Supreme Court decision banning the posting of the Ten Commandments in public schools).

Moreover, the secular, democratic, liberal democracies were not one iota better than European Christendom. Had they opened their borders or bombed Auschwitz's gas chambers (they did bomb Auschwitz's manufacturing plant!), innumerable Jews would have been saved. Hitler had every right to believe that the democracies didn't care about the Jews. Therefore Jews who cite Pope Pius XII's silence, but do not cite the horrible record of their hero, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, are selective indeed in their condemnations, and open themselves to charges of preferring to attack the Catholics' leader rather than the liberals' leader.

Finally, while remembering Christian sins during the Holocaust, Jews should also remember much else about Christians. First, among those who did rescue Jews, believing Christians were disproportionately represented. Second, while nine out of ten Jews were murdered in Catholic Poland, five out of six Jews were saved in Catholic Italy. Third, epochal changes have taken place both within the Catholic church and in much of Protestantism regarding Jews and Judaism. Christians, especially in the United States, are among the Jews' greatest allies today. And, finally, it was an ideology that opposed Jewish and Christian values, not Christianity, that made the death camps.

ON PACIFISM

I have never understood how a person could know the horrors of Auschwitz and yet embrace pacifism, the belief that all killing is wrong. The Allied soldiers who killed Nazis saved millions of innocent people from being murdered and from fates even worse than murder. Those soldiers engaged in the holiest, most moral behavior that men could have engaged in between 1939 and 1945. So long as there is evil that can only be stopped by killing, the Holocaust must forever banish pacifism from the vocabulary of moral people.

Of course, it is tragic that nations spend precious funds on armaments, but armaments are not the moral problem. Nations that do evil are the moral problem. The tanks, grenades, and bombers that liberated Auschwitz were instruments of mercy as surely as bandages and medicines.

(Please see "The Immorality of Pacifist Thinking," UI, Vol. 1, No. 2.)

ON ISRAEL

Had there been an Israel in the 1930s, the Holocaust could not have taken place. One reason is that Hitler first wanted only to expel the Jews; only later did he decide on slaughtering them. From the beginning of the Holocaust, the world was divided into two types of countries — countries that expelled or murdered Jews and countries that rejected Jews who were expelled or escaped. Had there been an Israel, there would have one place that welcomed Jews.

A second reason is that unlike the Allies who could not find it in their power to spare a few airplanes to bomb the tracks to Auschwitz, Israel would have.

The century of Nazi death camps and Communist Gulags has horribly treated weak and exposed peoples. Thus, while military strength does not guarantee national survival, weakness in the face of a strong and evil enemy has guaranteed na-

The Allied soldiers who killed Nazis engaged in the holiest, most moral behavior that men could have engaged in between 1939 and 1945. So long as there is evil that can only be stopped by killing, the Holocaust must forever banish pacifism from the vocabulary of moral people.

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tional destruction. Ask the Tatars, the Kurds and the Tibetans.

Non-Jews therefore need to recognize the need for a strong Jewish state. And Jews must never forget what their situation was and could easily become again without a strong Israel.

Jews on the far left and Jews on the far right, however, have not learned this lesson. On the far left, Jews such as Noam Chomsky, William Kunstler, the ACLU's Henry Schwarzchild and others oppose a strong Israel, and many of them oppose any Israel, for political, and I suspect, mostly psychopathologic reasons.

The notion that Arab armies can be deflected by a Torah-studying population is rationally and Jewishly preposterous, especially after the Holocaust, which saw so many Torah-rich communities slaughtered.

Jews on the far right, such as the Neturei Karta, oppose Israel for religious reasons, claiming that only the Messiah can found a Jewish state.

But while it is only this extreme right within Judaism that opposes Israel's existence, there are also those religious Jews in Israel — and their supporters in the Diaspora — who support Israel but who believe that the study of Torah is more important than fighting in the Israeli army. Leaving aside questions of the effect of such attitudes on Israelis who do participate in the military defense of their country, the theology is religiously indefensible. One of the basic tenets of Judaism is *Al tismokh al haness*, Do not rely on a miracle. The notion that rampaging Arab armies can be deflected by a Torah-studying population is rationally and Jewishly preposterous, and after the Holocaust, which saw Torah-rich communities slaughtered, it is dangerous nonsense.

The Holocaust itself provides no rational reason for a Jew to identify as a Jew. But it does provide all the rational reasons an identifying Jew will ever need to ensure that the Jewish state is forever strong.

Dennis Prager writes and publishes the quarterly journal ULTIMATE ISSUES, from which this article was excerpted. A full-length reprint can be obtained by mailing four first-class stamps to ULTIMATE ISSUES, 10573 West Pico Boulevard, No. 167, Los Angeles, California 90064. For subscription information, please call 800-225-8584.

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AFTERWORD

THE WORLD MUST KNOW

Michael Berenbaum
United States Holocaust
Memorial Museum
Washington, D.C.
June 16, 1992

The central theme of the story of the Holocaust is not regeneration and rebirth, goodness or resistance, liberation or justice, but death and destruction, dehumanization and devastation, and, above all, loss.

Millions were murdered, worlds were shattered, cities were without Jews and soon even without the memory of Jews. The center of Jewish life had shifted from Europe to the United States and Israel. For those who speak a Jewish language, the language had changed from Yiddish to Hebrew. The main body of Jewish scholarship was written in English and no longer in German. And throughout Europe, the ashes of the dead were all that remained of the past. The losses were overwhelming in number — two out of three European Jews were dead; nine out of ten in Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Czechoslovakia.

Behind each loss was a person whose life was ended tragically and prematurely. And for those who survived, there were the burdens of memory, haunting memories, nonheroic memories of worlds shattered and destroyed, of defeat, and of life in its aftermath.

The killers were civilized men and women of an advanced culture. They were both ordinary and extraordinary, a cross section of the men and women of Germany, its allies, and their collaborators as well as the best and the brightest. Their deeds were a paradigmatic manifestation of human evil intensified by the power of the state, fueled by technological and scientific achievement, and unchecked by moral, social, religious, or political constraints. Whether restricted to the past or a harbinger of the future, the killers demonstrated that systematic mass destruction is possible. Under contemporary conditions, the execution of such a policy would only be easier.

But what of those of us who were not there? The Holocaust cannot be reduced to order, or even to a sense of overriding meaning. The event defies meaning and negates hope. How, then, are we to approach it?

Our first task is comprehension, understanding what at first seems incomprehensible. The philosopher Hannah Arendt, herself a refugee from Nazi Germany, called the Holocaust the burden of our century. Arendt wrote of the challenge of coming to an understanding of the Holocaust, the need to face the reality without closing ourselves off to the sorrow that comes with knowledge:

> *Comprehension does not mean denying the outrageous, deducing the unprecedented from precedence, or explaining phenomena by such analogies and generalities that the impact of reality and the shock of experience are no longer felt.*

Comprehension is an act of involvement:

> *It means, rather, examining and bearing consciously the burden which our century has placed on us — neither denying its existence nor submitting meekly to its weight.*

Our second task is to deal with the meaning of the Holocaust and the absence of meaning: to confront the fact that mass murder was a self-justifying goal of state policy. There is a natural tendency to seek simple answers and assign a singular meaning to these events in order to cushion the horror and shield us from its assault on the mind and the emotions. Some have sought solace in the creation of Israel and the return of the Jewish people to their ancient homeland. Others have sought to find a sense of meaning in the tenacity of the human spirit. The eminent literary critic Terrence Des Pres closed his moving study of life in the death camps with the words of a survivor: "It wasn't the ruthlessness that enabled an individual to survive. It was an intangible quality . . . an overriding thirst — perhaps, too, a talent for life, and a faith in life."

Some commentators, among them Rabbi Harold Schulweis and sociologist Samuel Oliner, find even in the evil of the Holocaust some redeeming goodness. They point to the altruistic person and the power of men and women to do good, to resist evil, to save and to rescue. Yet however great the nobility, no matter how significant the gestures of solidarity, the Holocaust is a bleak story, an unrelenting tale of evil and woe. It leads to anger, to rage, and to a feeling of impotence. So many died, so little was done, so few were saved.

We tend to back away from the real story, to shield ourselves from the darkness as a way to preserve our self-esteem as human beings, to fortify our confidence in humanity itself. Thus the Israelis speak of Holocaust and Resistance Day, as if the one somehow balanced the other. Germans and Austrians seek to recover instances of resistance, moments of decency amid the evil. Americans speak of survivors and not of victims; we want to know about the righteous, but not the collaborators, the cowards, or those who were indifferent. Yet truth is orphaned when we try to mitigate the awesome evil of the Holocaust.

According to Lawrence Langer, the apparent meaninglessness of the Holocaust defies our need to make sense of the past:

History assures us that man is superior to time when he can explain the unexpected, account in this instance for the extermination of a people, uncover a system for surviving and thus reduce the event to a partial intellectual order that somehow theoretically balances the price in human lives paid for that order.

But because "the disorder of meaningless death contradicts the ordering impulses of time," we cannot close the account. "Those who died for nothing during the Holocaust," Langer writes, "left the living with a perpetually present grief." He suggests that we are increasingly haunted by the Holocaust "as the event recedes into the past," because "there is no inner space or time to bury it in." In my own work, I have repeatedly used the image of a void — emptiness and absence — where presence had been. We must face that void.

Our third task is to live in the aftermath of the Holocaust: to live authentically, creatively, meaningfully. But how?

Historian Yehuda Bauer enunciated three commandments as the human imperative of the Holocaust. "Thou shalt not be a victim. Thou shalt not be a perpetrator. Above all, thou shalt not be a bystander."

Emil Fackenheim, a survivor of Sachsenhausen, was permitted in 1939 to emigrate to Canada, where he became one of the preeminent Jewish philosophers of our time. His understanding of the Holocaust underwent change over time, a change that reflected the growing interest in the event by scholars and the general public alike. Fackenheim first attempted to prove that history must not change the content of faith. He confessed to failure in 1967. Fackenheim then set out to find a moral imperative in the ashes of Auschwitz. The "commanding voice of Auschwitz" said that Hitler must not be granted "posthumous victories," Fackenheim wrote. But over time, even this magisterial response was not sufficient. For Fackenheim and his fellow post-Holocaust thinkers, the event has become a defining moment of twentieth-century humanity, a moment which all too starkly reveals what we can become.

In his recent writings, Fackenheim has concluded that the Holocaust was a rupture of philosophy, faith, history, and culture — a rent in the very fabric of society and civilization itself. The task of those who live in its aftermath is to mend, to patch together by creative deeds the fabric of our own humanity. Fackenheim

knows the dictum of Rabbi Nachman of Bratzlav: "Nothing is as whole as a heart that has been broken." He also understands that stitching by the seamstress makes the mended place the strongest part of the garment. Where there has been this kind of repair — such as the Vatican II proclamation on the Jews — we may find hope.

Elie Wiesel, the bard of the Holocaust, has also offered an image of how to live in its aftermath: "In a world of absurdity, we must invent reason, we must create beauty out of nothingness. And because there is murder in the world . . . and we know how helpless our battle may appear, we have to fight murder and absurdity and give meaning to the battle, if not to our hope." Irving Greenberg, a leader of modern Jewish orthodox thought, has embraced Wiesel's existential logic and given it a theological cast. In a world where the images of God and humanity have been shattered, he believes, we must recreate the divine image in the world and restore our sense that humanity is created in the divine image. God is shattered; so, too, creation.

Richard Rubenstein, whose pioneering work, *After Auschwitz*, first raised theological questions about the Holocaust and thus set the agenda for post-Holocaust thought, believes the ultimate question left by the Holocaust is how nations will treat those people who are superfluous, who have no rightful economic place in society. The mass murder of "superfluous" people is the perennial temptation of the modern state. In the United States, we have such people — the old, who no longer work; the young, who do not work; the unemployed, who cannot find work; the despairing poor, many of them minorities, who live from generation to generation without work. We have established a covenant of social justice where the working population educates the young, gives social security to the elderly, and provides minimum services for the needy. Will the strains of economic dislocation, now even more stressful than when Rubenstein first wrote *The Cunning of History*, break the covenant?

The Holocaust transforms our understanding. It shatters faith — religious faith in God and secular faith in human goodness and progress. The memory of the Holocaust has been seared into our consciousness. Its truth has been told not to provide answers, but to raise questions. To live authentically in its aftermath, one must be aware of the reality of radical evil and its startling triumphs, and fight against that evil and that triumph.

How then do we build on the ashes? Slowly, tenderly, humanely. With humility, perhaps with hope. We must teach ourselves and our children by example and by deed about suffering. Suffering itself is not the key to greatness or accomplishment. It confers no honors, yields no virtue. Suffering demands confrontation and, above all, alleviation. To ennoble suffering is to condone it in some measure. It must never be rationalized. In a world where life is precarious, lives must become ever more precious. The Holocaust cannot be allowed to numb us to evil, but it must sensitize us and alarm us. It must sharpen our insights into the importance of human rights and human dignity everywhere.

For Israelis, confrontation with the Holocaust has led to a renewed understanding of their own national goals: a homeland for Jews seeking a haven; a place to recreate life and live in freedom; an end to Jewish vulnerability;-and the quest for national security through self-reliance and self-defense. It has also led to deep insecurity about the world. The Israelis take threats seriously and promises ever so lightly.

For some Germans and Austrians, the past is best forgotten, buried, or "normalized." Thus, Kurt Waldheim and many of his countrymen developed amnesia about "those" years; Helmut Kohl as Chancellor of Germany sought to get on with the business of state-building, to look toward the future and not to the past. They were not alone. On November 9, 1989, when the Berlin Wall fell, the jubilant mayor of Berlin proclaimed that that date will live in German history, as if the ninth of November had not already entered German history fifty-one years earlier when the synagogues of Germany were set ablaze during *Kristallnacht*. For other Germans, such as Günther Grass and Richard von Weizäcker, an authentic wrestling with the past is essential to any German future, to the rebuilding of German culture, values, literature, and philosophy. Von Weizäcker wrote of the German people that "their forefathers have bequeathed them a heavy legacy."

It is not a matter of overcoming the past. One can do no such thing. The past does not allow itself to be retrospectively altered or undone. But whoever closes his eyes to the past becomes blind to the present. Whoever does not wish to remember inhumanity becomes susceptible to the dangers of new infection.

The most profound change in Christian teaching toward the Jews was initiated by Vatican II, the convocation of bishops convened by Pope John XXIII on October 11, 1962. At the final session of the council three years later, a new teaching, the Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions, *Nostra Atatae*, was promulgated on October 28, the seventh anniversary of Pope John XXIII's election. In this document, proclaimed by Pope Paul VI, the Roman Catholic Church revamped its teaching on the Jews. With the Holocaust as backdrop, it ended many centuries of teaching that the Jews were responsible for the crucifixion of Jesus:

What happened in His passion cannot be blamed upon all the Jews then living without distinction nor upon the Jews of today.

Vatican II denounced the teaching of contempt and called for a change in preaching and teaching regarding the Jews.

The Jews should not be presented as repudiated or cursed by God. . . . All should take pains, then, lest in catechetical instruction and in the preaching of God's word they teach anything out of harmony with the truth of the gospel and the spirit of Christ.

Antisemitism was condemned:

The Church repudiates all persecutions against any man. Moreover, mindful of her common patrimony with the Jews and motivated by no political considerations, she deplores the hatred, persecutions and displays of anti-Semitism at any time and from any source.

Though the teaching stopped short of affirming the ongoing life of the Jewish people and their integrity as a continuing religion, it did recognize the roots of Christianity in Judaism and "the spiritual bond linking the people of the New Covenant with Abraham's stock." The synod sought to foster and recommend that mutual understanding and respect which are the fruits of all biblical and theological studies, and of brotherly dialogues. Thus, centuries of Christian teaching were transformed and one of the major sources of antisemitism was removed at least from formal Church teaching.

For Americans, confronting this European event brings us a new recognition of the tenets of American constitutional democracy: a belief in equality and equal justice under law; a commitment to pluralism and toleration, particularly at a time when our society is becoming more diverse than ever before in our history; a determination to restrain government by checks and balances and by the constitutional protections of unalienable rights; and a struggle for human rights as a core national value and a foundation for foreign policy. The Holocaust must shatter the myth of innocence. It has implications for the exercise of power. Those who wrestle with the darkness know it can happen again — even in the most advanced, most cultured, most civilized of societies — but if we are faithful to the best of American values, the most sterling of our national traditions, then we can have confidence that it won't happen here.

The call from the victims — from the world of the dead — was to remember. From the survivors, initial silence has given way to testimony. The burden of memory has been transmitted, and thus shared. From scholars, philosophers, poets, and artists — those who were there and those who were not — we hear the urgency of memory, its agony and anguish, its meaning and the absence of meaning. To live in our age, one must face the void.

Israel Ba'al Shem Tov, the founder of Hasidism, once said: "In forgetfulness is the root of exile. In remembrance the seed of redemption." Whether we can share his hope is uncertain. His fears, we understand all too well.

Let us return to Sachsenhausen once again and listen to the words of one who was there:

I have told you this story not to weaken you
But to strengthen you.
Now it is up to you.

3 STATEMENT ON THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBERATION OF AUSCHWITZ

Archbishop Oscar H. Lipscomb

Archbishop of Mobile

Chairman, Bishops Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs

National Conference of Catholic Bishops

January 27, 1995

The year 1995 marks the 50th Anniversary of the end of the Second World War. Both the Atlantic and the Pacific communities of nations will be commemorating the decisive events of the closing of the most violent and murderous war in human history. On May 8, 1945, Nazi Germany finally admitted its defeat. On September 2, 1945, Japan also surrendered unconditionally. But the remembrances of the victories of the Allies at such tremendous cost in human lives must not mask the evils perpetrated during the war itself, and the moral lessons still to be learned by the human community from those terrible events.

So it is most fitting that the first major anniversary of the year to be commemorated is the liberation on January 27, 1945 by Soviet troops of the infamous death camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau, the name of which has come to symbolize in our collective memory the worst evils of which humanity has shown itself capable. Pope John Paul II, who lived through that period in his native Poland, has called this "the Century of the Shoah (Holocaust)."

Although the full nature of the horrors of the Nazi death camps was not revealed until the liberation of the camps throughout occupied Europe by the Allied forces, those who fought the War did have a real

sense of what was at stake in the struggle against Nazism and did raise their voices in strong moral protest. On November 14, 1942, while the systematic genocide of the Jewish people was at its most intense, the National Catholic Welfare Conference "in the Name of the Bishops of the United States," declared:

"Our country has been forced into the most devastating war of all ime. This war...involves unquestionably the most important moral issue of today. Some nations are united in waging war to bring about a slave world--a world that would deprive man of his divinely conferred dignity, reject human freedom, and permit no religious liberty... Since the murderous assault on Poland, utterly devoid of any semblance of humanity, there has been a premeditated and systematic extermination of the people of this nation. The same satanic technique is being applied to many other peoples. We feel a deep sense of revulsion against the cruel indignities heaped upon the Jews in conquered countries and upon defenseless peoples not of our faith. We join with our brother bishops in subjugated France in a statement attributed to them: 'Deeply moved by the mass arrests and maltreatment of Jews, we cannot stifle the cry of our conscience. In the name of humanity and Christian principles our voice is raised in favor of imprescriptible rights of human nature.' We raise our voice in protest against despotic tyrants who have lost all sense of humanity by condemning thousands of innocent persons to death in subjugated countries as acts of reprisal (and) by placing thousands of innocent victims in concentration camps."

The context of this statement was the line of papal condemnations of antisemitism and Nazism beginning with Pope Pius XI's famous dictum

that all Christians, as children of Abraham, are themselves "spiritual Semites." In 1937, Pius XI issued a German language encyclical which had to be smuggled into the Third Reich to be read in all pulpits. This stern encyclical, Mit Brennender Sorge, condemned the "racialism" of Nazi ideology as wholly opposed to essential Catholic doctrine, and condemned Nazism as a form of pagan idolatry. Pope Pius XII maintained this teaching of his predecessor throughout his pontificate. In his Christmas message of 1942, he pleaded for "the hundreds of thousands who, through no fault of their own, only because of their nationality or descent, are condemned to death." Observers at the time, including the editorial of The New York Times for December 25, 1942, understood this as a reference to the plight of the Jews. The American, French and other bishops of the world who joined the condemnations of Nazi genocide believed themselves to be following the lead of the Holy Father.

As we join this year with our fellow Americans, especially our Jewish sisters and brothers in prayerful commemorations of the millions of victims of the Holocaust, American Catholics will recall with profound gratitude the tremendous sacrifices made by the generation which defeated Hitler. But, as Americans and as Catholics, we also recall with humility and a sense of regret the opportunities that were lost to save lives. We recall the rejection by our government of the pleas from Jewish leaders to bomb the railroad lines leading to Auschwitz--a rejection that came at the very time that U. S. bombers were flying over the camp on their way to other targets!

We remember, too, the bitter enforcement of the draconian

immigration laws of the period, restrictions which kept this country from becoming the asylum for Jews, Catholics and others that it should have been, and should now be. This is symbolized for us in the refusal of American authorities to allow the ship, the St. Louis, to disembark several hundred Jewish refugees as it sat in New York harbor within sight of the Statue of Liberty. Returned to Europe, most of these helpless men, women and children, were soon lost in the death camps. Today we see again bitter debates over immigration policy, including efforts to exclude persons who are undocumented--including children--from access to critical services such as health care and education. May our reflections on the tragedy of the passengers of the St. Louis help to bring about a generous response to immigrants seeking to contribute to this society.

Having fought the war against Hitler, Americans do not feel personal guilt for what the Nazis did. But American Christians do acknowledge a real sense of responsibility for what fellow members in the community of the baptized did not do to save lives. We take to heart the call to us of Pope John Paul II that all Catholics, as the turn of the millennium draws near, undertake an examination of conscience. "The church...cannot cross the threshold of the new millennium without encouraging her children to purify themselves, through repentance, of past errors and instances of infidelity, inconsistency and slowness to act."

In our examination also, we honor the memory of our fellow Catholics of the time, those who were themselves victims of Nazism and those who did speak out and act to save Jewish lives: women

such as the Sisters of Sion who at great risk to their own lives hid hundreds of Jews in their convents throughout occupied Europe, and men such as Jan Karski who as a representative of the Polish Government in exile smuggled himself into the Warsaw Ghetto and a concentration camp in order to bring to the Allied governments first hand awareness of what was going on, and Archbishops Angelo Roncalli (later Pope John XXIII) and Angelo Rotta who as nuncios appointed by Pope Pius XII in Turkey and Hungary respectively, were responsible for saving thousands of Jewish lives. We remember such figures with profound humility, since we know that such "angels of mercy" were far too few, and since we do not know with certainty what we might do in similar dire circumstances But it is they who should be educational models in the formation of our Catholic children today.

Our spirit in remembering the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz must be one of repentance and resolve to build a world where never again will such evil be possible. As Pope John Paul said on the occasion of a concert last April commemorating the Shoah: "We are gathered this evening to commemorate the Holocaust of millions of Jews...We have a commitment, the only one perhaps that can give meaning to every tear...to ensure that evil does not prevail over good as it did for millions of children of the Jewish nation." (April 7, 1994).

This past year we rightly celebrated together the exchange of ambassadors between the Holy See and the State of Israel. But that celebration of light out of the darkness of the Holocaust, we know, was also on a deeper level a moral challenge. In the "Fundamental Agreement" of December 30, 1993, the Catholic Church and the Jewish

People re-committed themselves to "cooperation in combating all forms of antisemitism and all kinds of racism and of religious intolerance, and in promoting mutual understanding among nations, tolerance among communities and respect for human life and dignity."

The half century that has passed since the end of World War II should have taught us the dangers of turning away from violence, such as in the Balkans and Rwanda, and widespread suffering within the human family. Global leadership on the part of the United States requires a consistent defense of human life, respect for human dignity, and generous assistance to those in desperate need.

The end of World War II brought dilemmas and opportunities for re-ordering global society. Today, fifty years later, the Cold War has ended and new possibilities for a better future beckon. In a statement anticipating the end of World War II our predecessors as bishops of the United States offered a vision and a challenge that are as pertinent today as they were then:

"If the responsibility faced by the victors is great, the opportunity is historical. Now there comes the chance not in hatred or vengeance but in justice and charity to base a social reconstruction on truth and right... The peoples of the world, the simple peoples, the fathers of families, the toilers and laborers, the people who have the same interests and the same ambitions which we cherish are looking to us, to this great land of freedom. We must not disappoint them. It is our historic opportunity to do our full duty in the family of nations. The causes of war must be removed, the honest needs of people must be met, their rights recognized. This must be a good

peace which our victory will achieve. But let us first make ourselves in very truth peacemakers. Let us recognize the problems in our own social life and courageously seek the solution of them. A first principle must be the recognition of the sovereignty of God and of the moral law in our national life and in the right ordering of a new world born of the sacrifices and hardships of war." (Administrative Board, National CAtholic Welfare Conference, in the name of the bishops of the United States, November 11, 1943.)

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The Declaration of the Polish Episcopate Commission's for Dialogue with Judaism

On the 50th Anniversary of the Liberation of Auschwitz-Birkenau Death Camp at Oswiecim, on January 27th, 1995

Half a century has passed since the liberation of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Concentration Camp on January 27th, 1945. Once again our attention is drawn to the painful reality and symbolism of this camp, where more than a million Jews, Poles (70-75,000), Gypsies (21,000), Russians (15,000) and other nationalities (10-15,000), found an atrocious death.

Only a few months into the War, in the spring of 1940, the Nazi Germans created the Auschwitz Concentration Camp on occupied Polish territory annexed to the Third Reich. At the beginning of its existence, the prisoners and victims were thousands of Poles, mainly intelligentsia, members of the resistance movement, as well as clergy and people representing almost all walks of life. There probably isn't a Polish family that hasn't lost someone close at Auschwitz or at another camp. With great respect we bow our heads before the infinite suffering which was often accepted in a deep Christian Spirit. An eloquent example is the heroic figure of Father Maximilian Kolbe who sacrificed his life for a fellow prisoner, in August 1941. He was beatified by Pope Paul VI and canonized by Pope John Paul II. His victory, motivated by the Gospel of Jesus Christ, bears witness to the power of love and goodness in a world of outrage and violence.

Almost from the beginning, Polish Jews were sent to this camp, as part of Polish society, to be destroyed. Since 1942, the KL Auschwitz-Birkenau complex, as well as other camps in occupied Poland, as a result of the Wannsee Conference, became extermination camps to realize the criminal ideology of the "Final Solution," in other words, the plan to murder all European Jews. The Nazis transported, to the death camps, Jews from all European countries occupied by Hitler. Not only Auschwitz, but also Majdanek, Treblinka, Belzec, Chelmno and others were located in occupied Poland by the Germans as places to exterminate Jews, because this was where the majority of European Jews lived and, therefore, such a Nazi crime could be better hidden from world public opinion in a country totally occupied and even partly annexed to the Third Reich. It is estimated today, that more than a million Jews died only at Auschwitz-Birkenau. Consequently, even though members of other nations also perished at this camp, nevertheless, Jews consider this camp a symbol of the total extermination of their nation. "The very people, who received from God the Commandment Thou shalt not kill, itself experienced in a particular way what is meant by killing" (The words of Pope John Paul II in His homily during the Papal Mass at the KL Auschwitz-Birkenau Death Camp on June 7th, 1979).

Extermination, called Shoah, has weighed painfully not only in relations between Germans and Jews, but also to a great extent in

relations between Jews and Poles, who together, though not to the same degree were the victims of Nazi ideology. Because they lived in close proximity, they became involuntary witnesses to the extermination of Jews. Regretfully, it has to be stated that for many years Auschwitz-Birkenau was treated, by the Communist regime, almost entirely in terms of ~~an anti-Fascist~~ struggle, that did not foster to convey the extent of the extermination of Jews. It must be underlined that Poles and Jews have lived in this country for centuries and although now and again conflicts did arise, they considered it their homeland. Driven out of Western Europe, Jews found refuge in Poland. Consequently, Poland often had the reputation of being "paradisus Judaerorum" ("a Jewish paradise"), because here they could live according to their customs, religion and culture. Contrary to many European countries, until the time of World War II, Jews were never driven out of Poland. About eighty percent of Jews living in the world today can trace their descent through their parents and/or grandparents to roots in Poland. The loss of Polish independence and lasting, for more than a hundred and twenty years, partition Poland -- among Russia, Austria and Prussia -- brought, in the midst of other dramatic consequences, a deterioration in Polish-Jewish relations. In the period of time, between the World War I and World War II, when Poland, after regaining her independence in 1918, sought to find forms of her own identity, new conflicts arose. Their underlying factors were of psychological, economic, political and of religious nature but never racist. Despite the ant-Semitism of some circles, shortly before the outbreak of World War II, when Hitler's repressions intensified, it was Poland that accepted thousands of Jews from Germany.

Seeing the Nazi extermination of Jews, many Poles reacted with heroic courage and sacrifice, risking their lives and that of their families. The virtues of the Gospel and solidarity with the suffering and the persecuted, motivated almost every convent in the General Government to give Jewish children refuge. Many Poles lost their lives, in defiance to threats of the death penalty with regard to themselves and their family members, because they dared to shelter Jews. It should be mentioned that, as a consequence of giving refuge to Jews, the rule of common responsibility was applied to Poles. Often whole families, from children to grandparents, were killed for harbouring Jews. In acknowledgement of this, thousands were awarded with medals "Righteous Among the Nations of the World." Nameless others also brought help. Unfortunately, there were also those who were capable of actions unworthy of being called Christian. There were those who not only blackmailed, but also gave away Jews in hiding into Germany hands. Nothing can justify such an attitude, though the inhumane time of war and the cruelty of the Nazis, caused at times that Jews, themselves tormented by the occupant, were forced to hand over their brothers into the hands of the Germans. Once again, we recall the words of The Polish Bishops' Pastoral Letter that was read at all Catholic churches and chapels on January 20th, 1991, which stated: "In spite of numerous heroic examples of Polish Christians, there were those, who remained indifferent to that inconceivable tragedy. In particular, we mourn the fact that there were also those among Catholics, who in some way had contributed to the death of Jews. They will forever remain a remorse in the social dimension."

The creators of Auschwitz, were the Nazi Germans, not Poles. Everything that symbolizes this Death Camp, is a result of a National Socialist ideology that was not born in Poland. Another totalitarian system, similar to the Nazi, which was Communism, gathered many millions in a harvest of death. Nazism also meant trampling on the dignity of the human being as an image of God. There existed a dramatic community of fate between Poles and Jews in constraint and ruthless extermination. However, it was the Jews who became the victims of the Nazi plan of systematic and total liquidation. "A mad ideology, in the name of contemporary racism, undertook this plan and carried it out with absolute consequence" (the words of Pope John Paul II during this pilgrimage to Germany - Cologne, May 1st, 1987).

The world, in which the cruelties of Auschwitz were carried out, was also a world redeemed and at the same time a world of challenge, even after the Shoah, from where arises the message to all Christians that they should reveal God in their actions and not contribute to the questioning of His Presence. God was and continues to be everywhere. What is satanic and represents hatred never originates from God but from Man, who submits himself to the influence if the Evil One and doesn't respect the dignity of the human being as well as God's Commandments. A half century, that has passed since the liberation of KL Auschwitz-Birkenau, obliges us to express a clear objection to all signs of disregard to human dignity, such as, racism, anti-Semitism, xenophobia and anti-Polish attitudes. Living in a country, marked with the burden of a horrible event called Shoah, with Edith Stein, who died at Auschwitz because she was a Jew, with faith and total confidence in God, the Father of all humanity, we emphatically repeat Hatred will never have the last word in this world. (John Paul II's Message to the German Nation previous to the Papal Pilgrimage to the Federal Republic of Germany, Vatican - April 25th, 1987). The only guarantee of this is to educate future generations in the spirit of mutual respect, tolerance and love according to the recommendations contained guidelines to the proper representation of Jews and Judaism in the Proclamation of the Word of God and the Catechetical Instruction of the Catholic Church (June 27th, 1985)

On behalf of the Commission,

/s/ Bishop Stanislaw Gadecki
Chairman

Statement of the German Bishops
On the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the
Liberation of the Extermination Camp of Auschwitz
on January 17, 1995

I.

On January 27, 1945 the concentration camps of Auschwitz and Auschwitz-Birkenau were liberated. Numerous people were murdered there in a terrible manner: Poles, Russians, Rom and Sinti people as well as members of other nations. The overwhelming majority of prisoners and victims in this camp consisted of Jews. Therefore Auschwitz has become the symbol of the extermination of European Jewry, which is called "Holocaust" or -- using the Hebrew term -- "Shoah."

The crime against the Jews was planned and put into action by the National Socialist rulers in Germany. The "unprecedented crime" which was the Shoah (Pope John Paul II on June 9, 1991) still raises many questions which we must not evade. The commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz gives German Catholics the opportunity to re-examine their relationship with the Jews. At the same time this day recalls the fact that Auschwitz is also part of the Polish history of suffering and burdens the relationship between Poles and Germans.

II.

Already during earlier centuries, Jews were exposed to persecution, oppression, expulsion and even to mortal danger. Many looked for and found refuge in Poland. However, there were also places and regions in Germany where Jews could live relatively untroubled. Since the 18th century, there was a new chance of a peaceful co-existence in Germany. Jews decisively contributed towards the development of German science and culture. Nevertheless an anti-Jewish attitude remained, also within the Church. This was one of the reasons why, during the years of the Third Reich, Christians did not offer due resistance to racial anti-Semitism.

Many times there was failure and guilt among Catholics. Not few of them got involved in the ideology of National Socialism and remained unmoved in the face of the crimes committed against Jewish-owned property and the life of the Jews. Others paved the way for crimes or even became criminals themselves. It is unknown how many people were horrified at the disappearance of their Jewish neighbors and yet were not strong enough to raise their voices in protest. Those who rendered aid to others, thereby risking their own lives, frequently did not receive support. Today the fact is weighing heavily on our minds that there were but individual initiatives to help persecuted Jews and that even the pogroms of November 1938 were not followed by public and express protest; i.e., when hundreds of synagogues were set on fire and vandalized, cemeteries were desecrated, thousands of Jewish-owned shops were demolished, innumerable dwellings of Jewish families were damaged and looted, people were ridiculed, ill-treated and even killed. The retrospect on the events of November 1938 and on the terror regime of the National Socialists during 12 years visualizes the heavy burden of history. It recalls "that the Church, which we proclaim as holy, and which we honor as a mystery, is also a sinful Church and in need of conversion" (Statement by the German and Austrian Bishops' Conferences on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the pogroms of November 1938).

Failure and guilt of that time have also a church dimension. We are reminded of that fact when quoting the witness given by the Joint Synod of Dioceses in the Federal Republic of Germany: "We are that country whose recent political history was darkened by the attempt to systematically exterminate the Jewish people. And in this period of National Socialism--despite the exemplary behavior of some individuals and groups--we were nevertheless as a whole a church community who kept on living their life in turning their back too often on the fate of this persecuted Jewish people, who looked too fixedly at the threat to their

own institutions and who remained silent about the crimes committed against the Jews and Judaism... The practical sincerity of our will of renewal is also linked to the confession of this guilt and the willingness to painfully learn from this history of guilt of our country and of our Church as well" (Resolution "Our Hope," November 22, 1975). We request the Jewish people to hear t his word of conversion and will of renewal.

III.

Auschwitz faces us Christians with the question of what relationship we have with the Jews and whether this relationship corresponds to the spirit of Jesus Christ. Anti-semitism is "a sin against God and humanity," as Pope John Paul II has said many times. In the Church there must not be any room for, and consent to hostility towards Jews. Christians must not harbor aversion, dislike and even less feelings of hatred for Jews and Judaism. Wherever such an attitude comes to light, they have the duty to offer public and express resistance.

The Church respects the autonomy of Judaism. Simultaneously she has to learn anew that she is descended from israel and remains liked to its patrimony concerning faith, ethos and liturgy. Wherever it is possible, Christian and Jewish communities should cultivate mutual contacts. We have to do everything in our power to enable Jews and Christians in our country to live together as good neighbors. In this way they will make their own distinctive contribution to a Europe whose past was darkened by the Shoah and which, in future, is to become a continent of solidarity.

Wurzburg, January 23, 1995