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Freya von Moltke Passes Away in Norwich, Vermont, at Age 98

One of the Last Survivors of the German Resistance to Hitler

by
Peter Hoffmann

Freya von Moltke was born on 29 March 1911 as the daughter of Carl Theodor Deichmann, a Cologne banker whose bank failed in the Great Depression in 1931. She met Helmuth James Count von Moltke, a law student, in 1929, and soon began the study of law at the universities in Cologne and Bonn; she received a doctorate in law at Berlin University in 1935. From her marriage in 1931, she presided over the Moltke household and the family farm in Kreisau, which Helmuth's great-great-uncle, the Field Marshal, had acquired with money the King of Prussia had given him out of gratitude for the victory over Austria in 1866. During part of

the 1930s, the Moltkes lived in Berlin, when Helmuth was in law practice there. The Moltkes never lived in a grand way. Moltke father and son regarded themselves as democrats, Freya's husband with his socialistic tendencies was the most radical one. In 1932, when the old President Paul von Hindenburg – reluctantly – stood for re-election, both Helmuth and Freya thought he was too old and Hitler too dangerous; they voted for Ernst Thälmann, the leader of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD). In her recollections, Freya gives a vivid account of how the Moltkes, as first-hour anti-Nazis and with their ancestor's fame attaching to their

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Coming in Fall 2010

Lecture by **Henry Rousso**,
Centre national de la recherche
scientifique, France

Lecture by **Simone Schweber**,
University of Wisconsin-Madison

The Raul Hilberg Memorial
Lecture, to be delivered by
Jeffrey Herf, University of
Maryland at College Park

Lecture by **Aram Yengoyan**,
University of California, Davis

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name, could avoid political entanglement.¹ The village of Kreisau was astonished that they did not embrace Nazism. They were respected. Moltke, in restructuring the ruined finances of the Moltke farm, had taken into account the claims of farmers who had incurred losses from dealings with it. Moreover, the Moltke farm manager, Herr Zeumer, was an enthusiastic Nazi but an honest man who respected Helmuth; although he did not share Moltke's political views, he was totally loyal, and he never denounced the family, "in the years when Germans denounced each other by the thousands," as Freya recalled.

Beginning in January 1940, Moltke drew together friends and like-minded persons from the professions, the labor movement, the churches and the civil service who worked to lay the political, social, and philosophical foundations for the governance of post-Hitler Germany, producing a number of drafts of constitutional principles and some twenty other memoranda on issues of agrarian and economic concepts, relations between church and state, foreign policy with a view to a united Europe, rejecting all racial concepts as absurd, and declaring that the "right to work and property, regardless of race, nationality and religious affiliation is protected by public authority." A special paper established rules for the punishment of "defilers of the law."

Freya justly mentions not only her husband's principled opposition, but also her own Rhineland left-bank spirit of independence, her own strength. She knew all along what her husband and his friends were doing and planning, working to overthrow the Hitler regime, which at the time constituted treason and was punishable by death, and actively supported it. The letters are evidence, and sometimes oblique and obscure references in them demonstrate that Freya knew much more than Moltke wrote to her.² In an interview published in 1992, she said that about 1940 Moltke had asked her a question. "He put the question to me explicitly: Now comes the time when one can do something against it; I want to do it, but I can do it only if you support it, and I said, yes, that is worthwhile. That is how it started, a stand for justice, against that Nazi state without the rule of law. [...] Our situation was that of opponents, and one did not think about that fact any more. It was day-to-day life, the resistance was everyday life." Although she was first of all her husband's wife, she was much more active than has been recognized. Her husband demanded of her that she "pitch in," and "I backed and supported everything." They discussed all the fundamental issues that Moltke debated with his friends, a group called the Kreisau Circle after three plenary meetings at the Moltke's Kreisau farm in Silesia, in May and October 1942 and June 1943.

After Moltke's arrest in January 1944, Freya spent much time in Berlin and saw him as often as she was allowed. After her husband's execution on 23 January 1945 – the ashes of the resisters executed in the wake of

the 20 July 1944 failed uprising were scattered – Freya returned to Kreisau on 25 January. By the beginning of May the Red Army had arrived. In June, visits from Russians and Poles for purposes of looting, became frequent. After the Potsdam Conference, in August 1945, it became clear that Kreisau would be Polish, and Poles began taking over the farms. Just when the Western Allies had taken up their occupation sectors in Berlin in June 1945, the Moltkes' English friends succeeded in finding out where Freya and her children were. In September 1945, Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin asked Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery, the British Sector commander in Berlin (September-October 1945) to ask the Russians and the new Polish authorities whether English emissaries might bring Freya and her children from Kreisau to Berlin. Permission was granted, and in October a British major came with two soldiers, a large car and a small truck, and took them to Berlin, with the belongings they still had, including the papers, Kreisau Circle document drafts, and Moltke's letters. The documents survived, first, because Freya von Moltke had hid the letters and papers in her beehives after Moltke's arrest and now also thanks to British intervention with the Russian and Polish authorities in Silesia.

After living for several years in South Africa, the home of her husband's mother's family, Freya and her children left because she found the Apartheid policy there unacceptable. She came to Norwich, Vermont, where she had friends, and her youngest son wanted to go to Harvard. In the last fifty years of her life, in Norwich, her son Konrad, who did important environmental work, built a house next to hers. She was frequently host to a growing number of grandchildren, she was in contact with friends such as the Jochums, Eugen Rosenstock, Rudolf Serkin, and the Galbraiths, and she involved herself in community work and in preserving the legacy of her husband and the anti-Hitler Resistance through many publications and interviews.

Freya von Moltke has become a historic figure herself. Through her work in keeping the memory of her husband alive, through her tireless and successful efforts to create in Kreisau, through the Kreisau Foundation, a venue for German-Polish and international encounters especially for young people, through giving judicious access to her papers and allowing publications of them, her legacy and that of Helmuth James von Moltke have been sustained. Freya von Moltke passed away on January 1, 2010.

¹*Memories of Kreisau and the German Resistance (Erinnerungen an Kreisau)* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2003); Dorothee von Meding, *Courageous Hearts: Women and the Anti-Hitler Plot of 1944* (Providence, RI: Berghahn Books, 1997).

²Helmuth James von Moltke, *Letters to Freya 1939-1945* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990).

Peter Hoffmann is William Kingsford Professor of History at McGill University.

News from the Faculty

Antonello Borra (Romance Languages) organized the following lectures on the UVM campus: 1) Professor Lucienne Kroha, McGill University, "Of Gardens and Ghettos: The Italian-Jewish Experience in Giorgio Bassani's "Romance of Ferrara," on October 26, 2009; and Professor Sergio Parussa, Wellesley College, "Writing as Freedom, Writing as Testimony: Judaism and Writing in Twentieth Century Italy," on March 17, 2010.

Meaghan Emery (Romance Languages) published two articles: "Nicolas Sarkozy's Historical and Political Transgressions: au service de la République?" in *Contemporary French Civilization* 34.1 (Winter/Spring 2010): 1-18; and "Immigration, Europe, and the Sarkozian Concept of Fraternité" in *French Cultural Studies* 21.2 (2010): 1-15. A third article, "Giono's Popular Front: la joie au grand air, idéologie réactionnaire?," which specifically takes up the question of Giono's alleged collaborationism during the German occupation of France, is forthcoming in *French Historical Studies*. This article will appear in conjunction with a written response from the scholar Richard Golsan (Texas A&M University), followed by an on-line discussion on the H-France forum. This April, Professor Emery presented a paper, "The Abstraction of Self, Exile in France," at the Colloquium "Albert Camus: 50 ans après," organized by the Department of European Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, WI, April 22-24, 2010.

Jonathan Huener (History) presented a paper entitled "Nazi Kirchenpolitik, Polish Catholicism, and the Legacy of German Occupation" at the Annual Meeting of the German Studies Association in October 2009. He continues his research on the Polish Roman Catholic Church during the Nazi occupation, and returns this summer to archives in Poznan and Warsaw.

Lutz Kaelber (Sociology) has continued his research in two areas. One area is the commemoration of about 5,000 victims of the so-called "children's euthanasia" in Europe during National Socialism, which was carried out in about 30 locations in today's territories of Germany, Austria, Poland, and the Czech Republic. Another, related area is the study of exhibits on such and other "euthanasia" crimes, which also involved hospitalized adults, including Jewish patients, in the so-called "T4 program," sick, frail, and old people as part of a de-centralized "euthanasia" in hospitals, psychiatric patients in Germany's East Prussian provinces and occupied areas in western Poland, and inmates of concentration camps who were sick or otherwise unable to work. Many of these exhibits have sprung up in various European locations over the last 10 years.

Francis Nicosia (History) co-edited the book (with David Scrase), *Jewish Life in Nazi Germany: Dilemmas and Responses*, which will be published by Berghahn Books in July 2010. The book grows out of the 2006 Miller Symposium held at UVM. He wrote the introduction to the book, as well as Chapter 4, "German Zionism and Jewish Life in Nazi Berlin." He also began work as co-editor (with Beate Meyer and Susanne Heim) of the book, *Wer bleibt, opfert seine Jahre, vielleicht sein Leben. Deutsche Juden 1938-1941*, to be published in Germany by Wallstein Verlag in October 2010. For that volume, he also authored the chapter "Jüdisch-Zionistische Auswanderung in den Jahren 1938-1941." He served as Program Co-Chair this year (with Professor Susannah Heschel of Dartmouth College) for the 2010 "Lessons and Legacies Conference," a biennial international conference on the Holocaust, which will take place in Boca Raton, Florida, in November 2010. He gave a public lecture at the University of Frankfurt in Germany on 15 March 2010. The lecture, "Zionismus zwischen Ideologie und Pragmatismus in der NS-Judenpolitik, 1933-1941," was jointly sponsored by the Fritz Bauer Institute and the Jewish Museum in Frankfurt. He continues his research in Germany for his book project on the Middle East policy of Nazi Germany.

Nicole Phelps (History) received an honorable mention for the Unterberger Dissertation Prize, awarded by the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations (SHAHR), for her dissertation, "Sovereignty, Citizenship, and the New Liberal Order: US-Habsburg Relations and the Transformation of International Politics, 1880-1924." She is also serving on SHAHR's Teaching Committee and the Program Committee for the organization's 2011 annual conference. Her article "A Status Which Does Not Exist Anymore: Austrian and Hungarian Enemy Aliens in the United States, 1917-1921" will appear later this year in *Contemporary Austrian Studies*. She has reviewed four books and articles in various diplomatic history publications and presented papers at the annual meetings of the German Studies Association, the American Historical Association, and SHAHR, as well as at the Woodrow Wilson Presidential Library and the 2010 Policy History Conference.

Susanna Schrafstetter (History) published "A Nazi Diplomat Turned Apologist for Apartheid: Gustav Sonnenholz, Vergangenheitsbewältigung and West German Foreign Policy towards South Africa," *German History*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (2010). She delivered an invited lecture, "Karl Hettlage: Finanzchef unter Speer und Adenauer," at a conference organized to commemorate the 65th anniversary of the liberation of the Dora-Mittelbau concentration camp. The conference focused on the history of the camp after 1945, its memorialization and remembrance in post-1945 East and West German societies, the reintegration of the victims in their respective societies, and the fate of the perpetrators. It was sponsored by the KZ-Gedenkstätte Mittelbau-Dora in cooperation with the Association Française Buchenwald Dora et Kommandos, der Commission Dora-Ellrich und der Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Déportation.

Alan E. Steinweis (History) published the book *Kristallnacht 1938*, which appeared in November 2009 with Harvard University Press. The book is being translated into German, to appear with the venerable German publisher Reclam. He delivered papers on the subject of the book at the University of Augsburg (Germany), the Center for Research on Contemporary History (ZZF) in Potsdam (Germany), Harvard University, the University of Montreal, and American International College. He authored the chapter "Adolf Hitler and Heinrich Himmler" for the forthcoming *Oxford Handbook of the Holocaust*, edited by Peter Hayes and John Roth, Oxford University Press. With Robert Rachlin he is co-editing the volume *The Law in Nazi Germany*, which grows out of the 2009 Miller Symposium at UVM.

Judith E. Stone (Art) attended the Fourth International Conference on Design Principles and Practices in February 2010, in Chicago. The article resulting from her presentation, "Roads to Rome Are Many: Analysis of the Impact of Painting Principle and Practice on Two Art Nouveau Masters, Van de Velde and Mackintosh" will be published in the conference journal by the University of Illinois Press in Winter, 2010.

Steve Zdatny (History) will be attending the Lessons and Legacies Conference at Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton, in October, where he will chair a session entitled "Reappraising Holocaust Testimonies in France." In the Fall 2010 semester, he will teach a senior seminar on Vichy France, and he has invited the eminent French scholar of Vichy France and the Holocaust, Henry Rousso, to speak at UVM in September 2010, supported by the Miller Center. He continues to work on his current book project: a history of hygiene in modern France. In the meantime, this past year saw him publish an article on French Flappers in *Big Man Magazine*, and a chapter in a French volume, *Traité de l'Artisanat et de la Petite Entreprise* (Paris, 2009), and present his work to audiences in Paris, London, and Phoenix.

Student News

Michelle Magin, a second year graduate student in the History Department, will begin a potentially year long internship at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. in May 2010. As the Academic Publications intern, she will provide research assistance for scholars in the department, and aid with the editing of materials for publication. She has also been awarded a David Scrase Research Grant to carry out research at the Georg Eckert Institute for School Book Research in Braunschweig, Germany. Magin's MA thesis deals with how the Holocaust has been represented in German school textbooks.

Kirstin Tiffany, a senior History major, has received a David Scrase Research Grant to support research at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington. She is writing an honors thesis on relations between French and non-French Jews in Occupied France.

Sara Krumminga, a 2009 UVM graduate with major in history and minor in geography, and who wrote a senior honors thesis on "Collective Memory in a Divided Nation: Memorials to Victims of National Socialism in East and West Germany," has completed an internship at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in its digital collections department, which allowed her to apply both her history and geography training.

Commemorating "Child Euthanasia" in Germany

By Lutz Kaelber

The "Euthanasia" project involved the murder of over 300,000 physically or mentally disabled persons in National Socialist Germany and its occupied territories. Between 1940 and 1945 disabled and socially marginal children and youths were committed to about 30 special wards for children (called "Kinderfachabteilungen"), where some 5,000 were murdered. The special wards spearheaded what historian Hans-Walter Schmuhl has called the Nazi "bio-political developmental dictatorship" program of attempting to steer a nation's cultural and economic development on the basis of Social Darwinist public health policies. After the enactment of compulsory sterilization and abortion laws early on in Nazi Germany focused on the ostensible prevention of persons labeled "empty shells" and "life forms that burdened society" being born in the first place, in a second step Nazi policies focused on infants and children having being born with disabilities. The aspirations of the planners were, as an observer of the Nuremberg doctors' trial commented, to implement children's euthanasia in a "more goal-oriented, orderly, and 'scientific' manner" than other "euthanasia" actions, and such aspirations were reflected in the name of the body that oversaw the program: the "Reich Committee for the Scientific Registration of Serious Hereditary and Congenital Ailments."

In practice, "children's euthanasia" meant a systematic screening process of the entire German population for mental and physical disabilities among newborns and infants. Those infants who met certain criteria were reported and then admitted to "special children's wards," and the physicians who headed these wards received authorization for "treatment," which meant killing by the administration of drugs, withholding of treatment, exposure, or starvation. Recent research has also pointed to the frequent abuse of such victims, both before and after their death, in horrendous medical experiments and research-related examinations. The vast majority of victims remain nameless and unknown.

Only in the last decade has historical research firmly established where and how such "special children's wards" operated. Such research has facilitated the commemoration of victims

and the establishment of memorials and memorial sites in their honor and memory. Since 2008 a research web site has been set up that reports for each of these wards how it operated and what if any types of commemoration have taken place (see <http://www.uvm.edu/~lkaelber/children/>). A main finding is that considerable regional and national differences exist for these commemorations, and that many remain confined to establishing a memorial stone or a similar commemorative object to honor the victims, which all-too-often gets quickly forgotten or serve as occasions for what critics have called periodic rituals of contrition.

Some places, however, display what Germans called active "memory work." Typically, this involves pedagogical activities, often with students in secondary schools, whereby reproductions of historical documents and other artifacts are used to explore the historical events but also how society after 1945 chose (not) to address the past. For example, in Vienna at the "Spiegelgrund," where one of the main perpetrators stored brain specimens of his victims in large jars in the basement of the clinic's pathology section and used them for his publications and subsequent advancement to one of Austria's foremost forensic neuro-psychologists (including some he may originally have intentionally misdiagnosed as disabled so that he could have them killed), there is now an extensive exhibit on site. Guided tours of the exhibit are offered to visitors, and occasionally one of the survivors of the "Spiegelgrund" facility during the Nazi period, now well into his eighties, offers students an account of his experiences there. The exhibit also has an on-line component (see <http://www.uvm.edu/~lkaelber/children/amspiegelgrundwien/amspiegelgrundwien.html>). The online component of memorials has steadily gained in importance, not only to guide visitors to the facilities, but also to prepare them for the exhibit.

The research web site is still a work in process.

Lutz Kaelber is Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Vermont.

Research Note: The Catholic Church in Poland under German Occupation

By Jonathan Huener

Several years ago, when I was completing a book on the post-liberation history of Auschwitz, I began investigating the role of Pope John Paul II and the Roman Catholic Church in Poland's highly-developed culture of wartime commemoration. I was struck by the ways in which Poles and their church were eager to commemorate these years on religious terms and through the use of religious iconography, and I also became curious about the experiences of Polish Catholics during the German occupation. Out of this has grown my current research on Polish Catholicism and the Polish Roman Catholic Church in wartime Poland.

The basic contours of this story are clear to most specialists. With the invasion of Poland in September 1939 the Nazi regime set out to destroy the Polish nation and Polish national consciousness, and tried to accomplish this in a variety of ways: forced resettlement, forced labor, incarceration in camps, and mass murder. To many Poles it appeared only natural that the German occupiers would target the Polish Catholic Church with brutality, for the church dominated religious life, held tremendous wealth, was politically powerful, was a locus and symbol of Polish national identity, and was viewed by the Nazis as a source of anti-German sentiment and resistance. Persecution of the church and its clergy was brutal across occupied Poland—in the General Government, in East Upper Silesia, in the Gau of Danzig-Westpreussen in the north, and especially in the newly-established Reichsgau Wartheland, or Warthegau, the area in western prewar Poland that is the geographic focus of this study. Nazi measures in the Warthegau included, for example, the banning of church institutions, expropriation of church property, the closure of more than 95% of Catholic churches, and persecution of the clergy. Of the 2,400 priests active in 1939, only 60 remained in their offices in 1944. More than 700 priests in the Warthegau died during the occupation, while an additional 800 were sent to concentration camps, but survived.

My purpose is to investigate a number of themes that emerge from this narrative, and one such theme is, as suggested above, the church's role in commemoration of the war years. In postwar Poland, the church's experience of occupation and persecution has largely been understood in the context of a broader narrative of redemptive national martyrdom. Despite the efforts of Poland's postwar communist government, it was Polish Catholicism more than any other tradition or institution that provided the foundation, rhetoric, and eschatological framework for a collective memory that mourned the war's devastation and human losses, even as it marginalized the memory of the Shoah. Moreover, as an institution that emerged from the war with, as far as most Poles were concerned, tremendous moral capital, the Polish church also cultivated a historiographical paradigm that recalled the church's experience in terms of its valor and sacrifice, suggesting that the church, brutally and rather uniformly persecuted across Poland, served as a source of national identity, as a motor of resistance, and as a sanctuary for Jews and others persecuted by the Nazis. Indeed, the church filled all these roles, but this paradigm nonetheless remains open to more critical and nuanced investigation in a number of areas.

We need, for example, to account more effectively for the substantial regional variations in Nazi policy toward the church, and church responses to it. Nazi policy was far less uniform than is commonly assumed, and we have yet to determine the extent to which such variations were a response to the relative demographic strength of Polish Catholicism in various regions, and the extent to which they were based in the activism, resistance, or accommodation

offered by Polish church leaders. Bishop Stanisław Gall of Warsaw interceded with the Nazis on behalf of some Jews in his diocese. Many Poles regarded Bishops Lorek and Kaczmarek of Sandomierz and Kielce, respectively, as unpatriotically cooperative with the Germans. The Kraków archbishop Adam Sapieha emerged as the *de facto* leader of the Polish episcopate, and was regarded as a great defender of the integrity of the church. His role during the occupation was, however, complex, for he had a pragmatic relationship with the Nazi Governor General, Hans Frank, who regarded him as a potential ally, not only in the early years of the occupation, but also as the German presence in Polish lands was nearing its end in 1944.

The actions of the Polish episcopate open the way to another path of inquiry, namely, the strained relationship between the Polish church and the Vatican. Pope Pius XII was in a difficult position vis-a-vis the situation in Poland. Responsible for maintaining the church's ministry to Poland's Catholics, Pius was also concerned about the retaliatory effects that overt papal protest might have on Catholics and the church in occupied Poland, Germany, or elsewhere. Many scholars have focused attention on Pius' lack of protest against the Nazi regime's persecution and destruction of Europe's Jews, and his responses to the persecution of Polish Catholics bear certain similarities: despite numerous appeals to condemn German policy in Poland, Pius preferred veiled criticism of the Nazis, expressions of sympathy for the Poles, and the avenues of diplomacy over overt condemnation or calls for resistance.

The problem of Vatican responses to Nazi policies toward Jews and Poles points to another important avenue of investigation: the responses of the institutional Polish church to the annihilation of Jews on Polish soil. Polish historiography on this issue has largely claimed that the church, fighting for its own survival, was nonetheless actively involved, and at great risk, in the rescue of Jews. Examples of solidarity and rescue are many; examples of outright clerical collaboration are few. Yet much remains at stake with respect to Catholic attitudes, action, and inaction in response to the genocide in the Polish lands. There is now general consensus that a substantial majority of Catholic clergy was sympathetic to the nationalist antisemitic right in Polish politics, and that most believed that Jewish influence on Polish society should somehow be curbed. My research thus far has revealed few documented examples of clergy willingly taking an active role in the persecution of Jews, but it also suggests a level of indifference toward the Jews' plight, or at least an unwillingness to act on Jews' behalf. The list of Polish priests and nuns who acted on behalf of persecuted Jews is long, but how long? Accounts of aid and rescue are crucial elements in the larger story, but it remains unclear how they are to be interpreted. Polish historian Franciszek Stopniak has, for example, claimed that some 800 Catholic clergy actively participated in rescue actions on behalf of Jews, but does such a number indicate Polish Catholic valor, or Polish Catholic indifference?

All this suggests that accurate generalizations about Polish Catholic responses to the Shoah will likely remain elusive or, at best, unsatisfying. My hope, however, is to apply the study of new sources to some old problems, thereby contributing to larger conversations among scholars about variations in Nazi *Kirchenpolitik* across occupied Europe, ecclesiastical reactions to Nazi policy, the value and costs of anti-Nazi resistance, and the role of antisemitism in shaping church responses to the Holocaust.

Jonathan Huener is Associate Professor of History at the University of Vermont.

Steven Aschheim visits UVM

By Elizabeth Barnes



Professor Steven Aschheim

On October 15th, 2009 the Carolyn and Leonard Miller Center for Holocaust Studies at UVM welcomed Professor Steven Aschheim of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, who presented a lecture titled “Locating Nazi Evil: German-Jewish Intellectuals Confront the Crimes of the Third Reich.” Aschheim focused on the intellectual confrontation with Nazism by three prominent Jewish

intellectuals: Gershom Scholem, Hannah Arendt, and Victor Klemperer. His lecture was based on his recent book, *Germans and Jews: Scholem, Arendt, Klemperer: Intimate Chronicles in Turbulent Times*.

All three were prominent Jewish thinkers who had witnessed the rise and fall of the Nazis, achieved fame in the post-war era, and wrote extensively on the subject, both privately and publicly. Aschheim’s lecture placed them in the context of their time, addressing how each conceptualized what it meant to be Jewish and German, both during the Nazi period as well as in the post-war era. It also described how each grappled with questions of evil in their intimate thoughts and reflections. Despite all their similarities Scholem, Arendt, and Klemperer viewed Nazism in much different ways.

Scholem emigrated from Germany to Palestine in 1923, and observed the horrors of the Third Reich from afar. Aschheim argued that for Scholem the geographical distance led to a degree of intellectual disconnectedness from Nazism. Scholem saw the evils of the Nazi regime as being on par with the greater notions of antisemitism. The Holocaust, he believed, was a continuation of the history of antisemitism and not something fundamentally new or different. The Holocaust also served to strengthen his personal connection with Judaism and Zionism.

Hannah Arendt was also a German Jew who left for France in 1933 and, after spending time in a detention camp, fled to the United States. Arendt focused her intellectual energy on understanding the nature of evil, and in particular the unprecedented nature of Nazi evil. Age-old antisemitism, she believed, could not account entirely for the genocide. She believed that the Nazi genocide of the Jews was something new, a departure from previous historical patterns of persecution.

Victor Klemperer, unlike the other two subjects of Aschheim’s study, saw himself as a German rather than as a Jew. Also unlike the other two figures, he remained in Germany throughout the war. Klemperer’s famous diary is a day-to-day account of events in Nazi Germany, and his accounts of deportations and stories from the camps cast a great deal of doubt on the argument that the average German was unaware of the Holocaust. Aschheim argues that Klemperer’s experiences under the Nazis demonstrated that he was always going to be Jewish, regardless of how he saw himself, because others saw him as Jewish. For him the experience of being Jewish was an external process, rather than an internal one.

Steven E. Aschheim holds the Vigevani Chair of European Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he is also Director of the Franz Rosenzweig Research Centre for German-Jewish Literature and Cultural History. He is the author of the following books: *Brothers and Strangers: The East European Jew in German and German-Jewish Consciousness, 1800-1923*; *The Nietzsche Legacy in Germany, 1890-1990*; *Culture and Catastrophe: German and Jewish Confrontations with National Socialism and Other Crises*; *In Times of Crisis: Essays on European Culture, Germans and Jews*; *Scholem, Arendt, Klemperer: Intimate Chronicles in Turbulent Times*; and *Beyond the Border: The German-Jewish Legacy Abroad*.

Elizabeth Barnes is a graduate student in the Department of History at the University of Vermont.

The 2009 Raul Hilberg Memorial Lecture: Mark Roseman

By Ethan Jennings



Professor Mark Roseman

In his lecture “Making Sense of the Murderers: Nazi Perpetrators in Victims’ Eyes,” delivered November 9, 2009 for the annual Raul Hilberg Memorial Lecture, historian Mark Roseman considered how Holocaust victims depicted their persecutors. Roseman is the Pat M. Glazer Chair in Holocaust Studies at Indiana University-Bloomington.

Roseman claimed that the topic of victim perceptions of the perpetrators is understudied in the field. Indeed, the victim and perpetrator historiographies are generally separate, with few works trying to integrate them. Victim perspectives are, he noted, fraught with questions: Were the victims even in a position to make sense of the perpetrators? Does their perspective offer a unique “extreme clarity,” or did the extremity of their circumstances render them effectively blind as observers? Do we learn more about the perpetrators or the victims from the victims’ words?

The distance the Nazis attempted to maintain from their victims limited the victims’ ability to observe their tormentors, and so proxies—kapos, the *Sonderkommando*, Ukrainian guards—often stood in for the Germans behind the monstrous acts. Frequently, the perpetrators are entirely absent from victim accounts. Roseman pointed out, however, that silence could be revealing, indicating perhaps an inability of the victims to make sense of their perpetrators, or the effect of the terror inflicted upon them. On the other hand, he pointed out that the perpetrators’ absence could also be a conscious choice by a writer who wanted to chronicle their survival, or the Jewish people, and not the acts of German perpetrators.

However, perpetrators do show up regularly in victim writings, and their depiction is revealing. Victim accounts underscore not only the commitment of perpetrators to the crimes they committed, but also their personal agency in their acts, as when Germans were heard to repeat antisemitic rhetoric. Victim accounts note “willful individual gestures” of particular brutality that indicate the enthusiasm with which many perpetrators went about their work.

Perhaps surprisingly, many victim accounts offer little judgment of the perpetrators, and were praised in the postwar era for their objectivity. Many were so surprised by perpetrators’ barbaric acts that they felt they needed to note just the facts. There were some calls for revenge in private documents, but not in those intended for public reading. Perpetrators were often characterized as “beasts” or “devils,” but Roseman noted that these terms referred usually to the system as a devouring machine, with interchangeable participants, and in the case of specific individuals was reserved for extreme sadists. Pathos for guards decreased depending on the brutality of prisoners’ treatment—political prisoners, for example, tended to exhibit more pathos than did Jews.

The narratives of victims are vital for portraying the regular interactions between Jews and their murderers, often with clarity and an unexpected degree of objectivity. Such accounts both overturn stereotypes and indicate trends, and provide a more nuanced account of victim-perpetrator relations than many texts in the field. As Roseman indicated, they deepen our understanding of both victim and perpetrator experiences of the Holocaust, and are an invaluable addition to the field.

Mark Roseman holds the Pat M. Glazer Chair in Holocaust Studies at Indiana University in Bloomington. His publications have covered a wide range of topics in German, European and Jewish history, including life-reform and protest in 1920s and 1930s Germany; Holocaust survival and memory; Nazi policy and perpetrators; the social impact of total war; post-1945 German and European reconstruction; generation conflict and youth rebellion; Jewish and other minorities in modern German history. Among his notable books are *The Villa, the Lake, the Meeting: The Wannsee Conference and the Final Solution*, and *A Past in Hiding: Memory and Survival in Nazi Germany*. His current research projects include a critical synthesis of recent work on Nazi perpetrators, and a study looking at a life-reform and resistance group in Germany 1920-2000.

Ethan Jennings is an MA student in the Department of History at the University of Vermont.

The Raul Hilberg Memorial Lecture is made possible through a generous gift from Jerold D. Jacobson, Esquire, of New York City, UVM Class of 1962.

EVENTS

November 18, 2009

Criminals with Doctorates: An SS Officer in the Killing Fields of Russia, as Reported by the Novelist Jonathan Littell*Henry Lea, University of Massachusetts, Amherst*

The lecture addressed Littell's novel, *The Kindly Ones* (Les Bienveillantes, 2006), which focuses on the "Einsatzgruppen," death squads sent by the Germans into the Soviet Union during World War II to kill Jews and other "undesirables." The narrator is an SS officer who becomes a murderer and lives to tell the tale.

Henry Lea, born in Berlin in 1920, received his doctorate at the University of Pennsylvania. He served as a simultaneous interpreter at the Nuremberg Trials and remains one of two still alive who served in the Einsatzgruppen case. He has published on literature and music, including books on Gustav Mahler and Wolfgang Hildesheimer, with a forthcoming article on "Dictionary-Making in the Third Reich: The Case of Trübners Deutsches Wörterbuch."

This event was sponsored by the Department of German and Russian and co-sponsored by the Miller Center for Holocaust Studies.

February 19, 2010

Geographies of the Holocaust*Anne K. Knowles, Middlebury College*

This presentation described a series of prototype projects that are assessing the potential for applying geographic methods to studying the Holocaust, particularly GIS (Geographic Information Systems) and geovisualization. Two projects were highlighted: exploratory mapping of the Nazi concentration camp system, focusing on the historical geography of the system's creation and the deployment of labor at subcamps; and the use of visual analysis to interrogate the spaces of Auschwitz. These methodological experiments are laying the groundwork for what the participating scholars and students hope will be a new research agenda in Holocaust Studies, Geography, and the history of World War II.



Professor Anne Knowles

Anne Kelly Knowles is Associate Professor of Geography at Middlebury College. Previous teaching positions include the University of Wales, Aberystwyth; Wellesley College; and George Washington University. She earned her M.S. and Ph.D. in Geography from the University of Wisconsin-Madison. As an historical geographer, Knowles has long advocated geographical approaches to historical research and teaching, including the use of geographic information systems (GIS) in historical scholarship. She has edited four volumes of essays on historical GIS, including theme issues of *Social Science History* and *Historical Geography* and two books, *Past Time, Past Place: GIS for History* (2002) and *Placing History: How Maps, Spatial Data, and GIS Are Changing Historical Scholarship* (2008), both with ESRI Press. In her own research she has applied GIS

methods to studying the development of the American iron industry in the early nineteenth century and the battle of Gettysburg. She is currently working with an international group of scholars using GIS and geovisualization to study the geographies of the Holocaust.

March 17, 2010

Writing as Freedom, Writing as Testimony: Judaism and Writing in Twentieth Century Italy*Sergio Parussa, Wellesley College*

This lecture addressed the relationship between Judaism and twentieth-century Italian literature. It examined how for writers such as Primo Levi, Giorgio Bassani, and Umberto Saba, the recovery of Judaism consisted not only of telling stories with Jewish subject matter, but also of the repeated act of remembering: a way of salvaging the past from oblivion by means of its re-actualization in the present.

Sergio Parussa is Associate Professor of Italian Studies at Wellesley College. He received his Bachelor of Arts from the University of Turin, Italy, and his Ph.D. in Italian Studies from Brown University with a specialization in twentieth-century Italian and French literature. He is the author of *Writing as Freedom, Writing as Testimony: Four Italian Writers and Judaism* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2008) and *Eros Onnipotente: erotismo, letteratura e impegno nell'opera di Pier Paolo Pasolini e Jean Genet* (Turin: Tirrenia, Stampatori, 2003). His work also includes the translations of *L'Orso Maggiore* by Ginevra Bompiani, as *The Great Bear* (New York: Italica Press, November 2000), and *Simonetta Perkins* by L.P. Hartley (Rome: Nottetempo, 2008).

Co-Sponsored by the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures and the Miller Center for Holocaust Studies.

EVENTS

BREEDING BETTER GERMANS AND VERMONTERS: NAZI AND AMERICAN EUGENICS IN HISTORY AND MEMORY

Symposium sponsored by the Miller Center on March 28, 2010

Giving a Face to a Faceless Crime: Profiles of Victims of the Nazi 'Euthanasia'

Patricia Heberer, United States Holocaust Museum

From October 1939 until the final days of World War II, the National Socialist "euthanasia" (T4) program and its corollary operations claimed the lives of an estimated 200,000 disabled patients residing in institutional settings in Nazi Germany. Relatively little research has attempted to reconstruct the lives and fates of "euthanasia" victims. This presentation created a victim composite for those patients murdered at Kaufbeuren, a notorious "euthanasia" facility near Augsburg in southern Germany from 1942 to 1945. Gleaned from clinical and administrative records, the study allowed us a glimpse of the individual lives of "euthanasia" victims and reconstructed their daily existence in the harrowing world of the killing center.



Left to Right: Nancy Gallagher, Patricia Heberer, and Lutz Kaelber at the March 28 Symposium

The Memory of Murdered Children: Commemoration at Sites of "Special Children's Wards" (*Kinderfachabteilungen*) in Germany, Austria, Poland, and the Czech Republic

Lutz Kaelber, University of Vermont

The "Euthanasia" project involved the killing of over 300,000 persons with disabilities in National Socialist Germany and occupied territories. A core part of the Nazi "bio-political developmental dictatorship" (Hans-Walter Schmuhl) was the establishment of about 30 "special children's wards" (*Kinderfachabteilungen*) where at least 5,000 disabled or socially marginalized infants, children, and youths were murdered. This paper addressed how these crimes have been represented, and their victims commemorated, at sites of the "special children's wards" in Germany, Austria, Poland, and the Czech Republic over the past 65 years.

The Role of Eugenics in Constructing the 20th Century Vermont Identity and Its Continuing Influence

*Nancy Gallagher, Author of *Breeding Better Vermonters: The Eugenics Project in the Green Mountain State**

Since the revelations of the horrors of the death camps in Nazi Germany after World War II and the efforts on the part of Americans since 1960 to confront their own role in the global eugenics movement, the historiography of American eugenics has undergone successive transformations, first enabling Americans to examine and disown our own history, and subsequently confronting it with renewed interest and regret. Through an examination of the role the Eugenics Survey of Vermont played in constructing a unique Vermont identity in the early twentieth century, this paper discussed the impact of eugenics on those Vermont families targeted for extinction and examined how Holocaust scholarship has served as both an obstacle and a catalyst in confronting our own eugenics past and recognizing its continuing influence in Vermont culture, society, and politics today.

Speaker Profiles:

Patricia Heberer has served as an historian with the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington since 1994. There she functions as the Museum's in-house specialist on medical crimes and eugenics policies in Nazi Germany. Dr. Heberer earned her BA and Ma from Southern Illinois University; she pursued doctoral studies at the Free University of Berlin and the University of Maryland, receiving her Ph.D. from the latter institution. A contributor and consultant historian for two United States Holocaust Memorial Museum publications, *1945: The Year of Liberation* and *In Pursuit of Justice: Examining Evidence of the Holocaust*, she is currently producing a source edition, *Children and the Holocaust* for the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies' series *Documenting Life and Destruction*. A further publication, *Atrocities on Trial: The Politics of Prosecuting War Crimes in Historical Perspective*, co-edited with Juergen Matthäus, appeared in 2008 with the University of Nebraska Press.

Lutz Kaelber is Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Vermont. He has research and teaching interests in social theory, religion, memory, and comparative historical sociology. He is the author of *Schools of Asceticism: Ideology and Organization in Medieval Religious Communities* (1998; recipient of the 1999 Best Book Award of the American Sociological Association's Sociology of Religion section); the translator of Max Weber's *History of Commercial Partnerships in the Middle Ages* (2003); the co-editor of *The Protestant Ethic Turns 100: Essays on the Centenary of the Weber Thesis* (2005; with William Swatos) and three compilations of teaching materials published by the American Sociological Association. His recent publications address trauma and memory in Berlin (*Canadian Journal of Sociology Online*, 2007) and virtual traumascapes at Auschwitz (*e-Review of Tourism Research*, 2007). His current research, funded by grants and awards from the College of Arts and Sciences, the Office of the Vice President for Research, and the Center for Teaching and Learning, is on American eugenics and commemorative practices at sites of "euthanasia" crimes in Nazi Germany. His website on the "Special Children's Wards" can be visited at <http://www.uvm.edu/~lkaelber/children/>

Nancy Gallagher holds a Bachelor's degree in Biochemistry from the University of Wisconsin, an M. Ed. from St. Michael's College, and an M.A. in History from the University of Vermont. As a veteran science teacher in Vermont schools, her interest in interdisciplinary studies and the role of science in public policy inspired her research on the Vermont eugenics movement for her M.A. thesis. Her resulting book, *Breeding Better Vermonters: The Eugenics Project in the Green Mountain State* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1999) traces the origins and development of the Vermont eugenics movement, explores how the idea of "human betterment through selective breeding" functioned within Vermont's own political and cultural landscape, and illuminates many of the ethnic, religious, and political origins of present controversies over the collection and uses of human genetics information. Since 1999, Nancy Gallagher has served as a resource for students and educators on eugenics history in Vermont, lecturing to student, professional, and community groups. For the past six years she has worked collaboratively with members of those families targeted for extinction by the Eugenics Survey in an effort to restore their true history and understand the intergenerational impact of investigations and interventions on their lives and their identity. She was a Graduate Teaching Fellow for the UVM Holocaust Course in 1994 and a member of the steering committee for the Center for Holocaust Studies Miller Symposium, "German Medicine and Ethics Under National Socialism" in 2000. As content specialist and architect for the web resource, "Vermont Eugenics: A Documentary History" (www.uvm.edu/~eugenics/), she seeks to foster a broader understanding of eugenics history and its legacies.

EVENTS

April 19, 2010

The Harry H. Kahn Memorial Lecture*Sponsored by the Department of German and Russian***Gender, Witness, and Remembrance in Ruth Klueger's *Still Alive* and Judy Chicago's *Holocaust Project*****Kathrin M. Bower, University of Richmond**

Image from Judy Chicago's
"Holocaust Project"

A focus on women's experiences during and after the Holocaust combined with a feminist critique of patriarchal forces in history link Ruth Klueger's memoir, *Still Alive*, and Judy Chicago's art exhibition, *The Holocaust Project*. While Klueger can appeal to the authenticity of her own experiences as a persecuted Jew in Vienna and a child survivor of a series of concentration camps, Judy Chicago's association with the Holocaust comes through research, reflection, and a Jewish self-understanding with affinities to the victims as well as the ethical mission of *Tikkun* ("mending the world"). Professor Bower explored the ways in which these two women seek to write female experience back into history and examines the complexity of the terms witness and remembrance in the context of Holocaust representation as the event recedes ever further into the past.

Kathrin Bower graduated with a B.A. in German from the University of Vermont. She received her Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin, Madison. Her research focuses on Holocaust Studies and German Cultural Studies.

Currently, she teaches at the University of Richmond where she chairs the German Department. In 2001, she was honored by her institution with Distinguished Educator Award. Among other publications, she is the author of *Ethics and Remembrance in the Poetry of Nelly Sachs and Rose Ausländer*.

April 27, 2010

Holding on to Humanity**The Terezín Performance of Verdi's *Requiem* and its Place in Postwar Memory****Anna Hájková, University of Toronto**

Between 1943 and 1944, several hundred inmates of the World War II Jewish ghetto at Terezín gathered regularly in the basement of one of the barracks to rehearse Giuseppe Verdi's *Requiem*. The oratorio had to be rehearsed again and again because frequent transports to Auschwitz carried away many of the singers. Only a handful of the musicians lived to see the liberation. The rendition was both controversial and celebrated in its time: inmates questioned the decision to perform an oratorio which was a Catholic mass for the dead in a Jewish ghetto. At the same time, however, the prisoners were aware that even among the rich Terezín cultural offerings, the *Requiem* was magnificent, musically and as a public statement. In performing the *Requiem*, inmates shipped to the ghetto from all over Europe refused to accept the Nazi-imposed status of racial inferiority and declared their connectedness to European culture and humanist values.



Anna Hájková

Anna Hájková is a PhD candidate in modern European history at the University of Toronto. She received her MA in history from Humboldt-University in Berlin in 2006. In her dissertation, she analyzes the social history of the Terezín ghetto. From 2006 to 2009, she was the editor of the Prague Terezín Initiative Institute's yearbook, *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente*. She is also a member of the board of trustees of the Ravensbrück Memorial summer school. She has published on various aspects of the Terezín ghetto, the Holocaust in the Netherlands, and the Czechoslovak 1960s liberalization process' impact on the association of concentration camp survivors.

This lecture was sponsored by the Center for Holocaust Studies at UVM in association with a performance of the Verdi *Requiem* by the Vermont Symphony Orchestra on Saturday, May 1, 2010. Both the concert and the lecture were parts of a larger program, *Terezín Remembered*, that took place at various venues in Burlington during the last week of April 2010.

REVIEWS

Carl Schmitt's Constitutional Textbook

Carl Schmitt. *Constitutional Theory*. Translated by Jeffrey Seitzer. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008. xix + 468 pp. \$99.95 (cloth), ISBN 978-0-8223-4011-9; \$29.95 (paper), ISBN 978-0-8223-4070-6.



Carl Schmitt in 1933

Reviewed by Robert D. Rachlin,
Vermont Law School and University
of Vermont

This first English translation of Carl Schmitt's *Verfassungslehre* (1928), prepared by Jeffrey Seitzer and published under the title *Constitutional Theory*, makes a welcome contribution to the growing corpus of Schmitt's writings available in English. His scholarly works span several eras of German history,

beginning in the Wilhelmine Empire of 1910, traversing the First World War years, the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich and World War II, and postwar Germany. The last work published in his lifetime appeared in 1970.[1] Schmitt (1888-1985), the so-called Crown Jurist of the Third Reich, published his *Verfassungslehre* during the only sustained period of calm that the Weimar Republic enjoyed. Schmitt's reputation suffered from his membership in the NSDAP and his many publications in support of the Third Reich from 1933 to 1936—whether sincere or opportunistic—has been a matter of vigorous debate. His copious political and legal writings continue to challenge liberal thought, engendering countless scholarly books and articles and a quasi-cottage industry of articles in the journal *Telos*.

The trajectory of his legal-political thought tended toward justification of strong executive government. His *Die Diktatur* (1922) distinguished between what he called “commissarial dictatorship” and “sovereign dictatorship.” The former, characteristic of the dictators appointed for limited terms during the Roman republic, functioned in times of emergency, not to abrogate, but to preserve the constitutional footing of the nation. A sovereign dictator, on the other hand, replaced the constitutional foundation of the state and became a tyrant with unlimited tenure. In *Die geistesgeschichtliche Lage des heutigen Parlamentarismus* (1923), translated as *The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy* (1988), Schmitt doubted the viability of parliamentary government, predicting that factionalism would doom it to stalemate. The prediction was accurate in the case of Weimar, with a Reichstag beset with multiple parties that were unable to form the coalitions necessary to agree for long on the composition of the cabinet. The fourteen years and two months of the Weimar Republic witnessed fifteen governments, thirteen different chancellors, and fifteen coalitions. What stability existed in Weimar Germany was provided by the president, as the framers of the constitution foresaw. In the Weimar Republic, there were only two: Friedrich Ebert and Paul von Hindenburg.

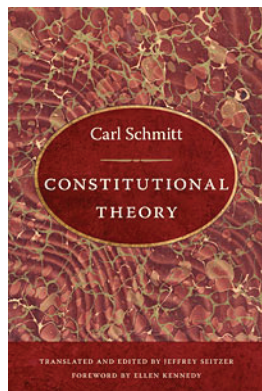
In *Constitutional Theory*, Schmitt defended the Weimar constitution, which had been adopted August 11, 1919. Its most controversial feature was Article 48, which empowered the president to preserve public security and order with “necessary measures,” including the use of armed force. Article 48 explicitly authorized the president to suspend the operation of six constitutional articles that protected basic civil rights: inviolability of living quarters, privacy of communications, freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom from arbitrary expropriation, and an analog of habeas corpus.

In the final three years of the Weimar Republic, parliamentary party factionalism brought conventional legislative and cabinet government to a halt. The German state became governed by presidential decree, in reliance on Article 48. During this period, Schmitt emerged from academic life and became an advisor to the government thanks to his friendship with General Kurt von Schleicher, who served as Weimar's last chancellor in the republic's final two months. Although Schmitt owed his political influence largely to Schleicher's patronage, he offered no protest when Schleicher and his wife were murdered during the Night of Long Knives on June 30, 1934. On the contrary: Schmitt celebrated the bloody events with an article bearing the jaw-dropping title “The Führer Protects the Law.”[2]

To many, the quasi-dictatorial powers allotted to the popularly elected president represented a welcome restoration of the Kaiser, functionally if not in name. Indeed, the president was seen by many as an *Ersatzkaiser*. Presidential prerogative was invoked repeatedly in the first five years of the republic. Toward its end, the commissarial dictatorship of which Schmitt had written in 1922 became a reality as the multiparty Reichstag finally proved unable to muster the majorities necessary to govern. The commissarial dictatorship of Hindenburg eventually metamorphosed into the sovereign dictatorship of Adolf Hitler. In August 1934, Hitler united the offices of chancellor and president in his own person. The stability of the republic can be roughly gauged by the frequency with which the president's emergency powers were invoked. From October 20, 1919 through December 29, 1924, Article 48 was invoked 135 times, but only 10 times from January 29, 1925 through July 15, 1930. From July 16, 1930, through September 27, 1932, Article 48 was invoked 88 times.[3]

In *Constitutional Theory*, Schmitt contextualized the Weimar constitution within the historical development of constitutional government in France, Switzerland, Belgium, the United States, England, and Germany itself—with particular consideration of the 1871 constitution of the Second Reich. The Weimar constitution, approved on August 11, 1919, attempted to balance representative parliamentary government with a cabinet headed by a chancellor and a popularly elected president. Clearly recognizing the challenge of factionalism to a functioning German republic, the framers of the constitution placed special trust in the president as an official above party and beholden only to the electorate as a whole. Schmitt's methodology is historical. He identifies threads running through constitutions from the French and American revolutions onward and rejects the “contract” theory of state formation. The state is formed, not by a fictional agreement among constituent individuals, but by a unity of purpose among the homogeneous many that finds expression ultimately in the decisive action of the one or the few. This process comes about by virtue of what Schmitt calls “the people's ever-present, active constitution-making power” (p. 139).

The book is divided into four broad parts, treating respectively the concept of the constitution, its *Rechtsstaat* component, its political component, and the constitutional theory of the federation. For Schmitt, “constitution” is a concept separate from the document customarily given that name. The constitution in the ideal sense is not a law or series of laws, but an act of political will, whereby a people united by a common purpose creates a state. Schmitt subdivides the concept into three categories. “Constitution in the absolute sense” is “the concrete manner of existence that is a given with every political unity” (p. 59). A second sense is constitution as “a special type of supremacy and subordination” (p. 60). In this



sense, “the state *is* a constitution. It is a monarchy, aristocracy, democracy, council republic, and does not *have* merely a monarchical or other type of constitution” (p. 60). The third sense of constitution is dynamic: “the principle of the *dynamic emergence* of political unity, or the process of constantly renewed *formation* and *emergence* of this *unity* from a fundamental or ultimately effective *power* and *energy*” (p. 61). (The copious italicization is present in the German original, as well as in the translation under review.)

What we customarily call a “constitution” (for example, when we refer to the United States Constitution) to Schmitt is “constitutional law” or the “relative concept of the constitution” (p. 67). Both the United States and Weimar Germany would be categorized as *Rechtsstaaten*. As Schmitt points out, the majority of contemporary constitutions are of the “modern, bourgeois *Rechtsstaat*” type (p. 169). The German *Rechtsstaat* cannot be translated into English with a single word. A *Rechtsstaat* is a state governed by law, as distinguished from (say) a tyranny. Seitzer wisely renders *Rechtsstaat* in the original German. He thereby avoids repeated, awkward resort to multiverbal English locutions. The terms “constitutional state” (*Verfassungsstaat*) and “bourgeois *Rechtsstaat*” (*bürgerlicher Rechtsstaat*) are often used interchangeably in common usage (p. 169). The *Rechtsstaat* is based on bourgeois freedom, which, in turn, leads to a pair of principles: the principle of distribution and the organizational principle. The principle of distribution presupposes complete freedom for the citizen and limited authority for the government. By virtue of the organizational principle, government is divided into a system of defined competencies—“Gewaltenteilung,” which Seitzer translates as the familiar “separation of powers” (p. 170).

Schmitt’s *Verfassungslehre* was written at the same time as his seminal *Der Begriff des Politischen* (1932), translated by George Schwab as *The Concept of the Political* (2007). Schmitt’s idea of the constitution can best be grasped via an understanding of his idea of the political. For Schmitt, the political impulse arises from the recognition of the friend-enemy distinction, a notion elaborated at length in *The Concept of the Political*. The threat posed by the “other” (however defined) generates the political impulse. The political impulse, in turn, generates the state. As Schmitt writes at the very beginning of *The Concept of the Political*, the definition of a state inherently requires the previous definition of the political. But if the political impulse is founded on the friend-enemy distinction, what is the characteristic of a people that permits it to identify itself as “us” and the enemy as “them”? For Schmitt, the defining quality of a *Volk* is homogeneity, in Schmitt’s hands a protean term. It signifies a sameness that can describe culture, religion, ethnicity, custom, all or some of these, or, more generally, the “self-identity of the people” (p. 260—a quality or cluster of qualities shared by a group of people with sufficient intensity to set that people apart from some other group of people having contrasting qualities. Schmitt also incorporates the sense that the “other” people, the enemy, constitute a threat to the “us” people.

Read by itself, *Constitutional Theory* offers a rigorous, in-depth study of the ideas informing the modern *Rechtsstaat* constitution. Read together with *The Concept of the Political*, *Constitutional Theory* presages an ominous grouping of mutually hostile nation-states, each formed on the basis of a homogeneous people that has willed its separateness and is enclosed by impermeable boundaries. Just as the post-Westphalian nation-state concept is undergoing serious rethinking,[4] the relevance of Schmitt’s constitutional schema on a shrinking planet with massive population movement and interchange may be reasonably called into question. Schmitt himself hints as much when he questions whether public opinion as such can exist in a society defined by classes. Translated to contemporary terms: can homogeneity, necessary according to Schmitt to generation of the political presupposition of the state, exist in the face of “identity politics”?

Seitzer’s translation is readable and faithful to the original. No reviewer of a translation can leave the translator’s labors unmolested, and there are a (very)few ambiguities or inelegancies. An example is on p. 313, where Seitzer offers “political party conflicts ... would lead to appeals for help by foreign governments.” Reference to the original suggests that “appeals for the help of foreign governments” would have been clearer. But such cavils serve little purpose other than to convince the reader that the reviewer has actually read the book. The translation helpfully inserts the pagination of the original German text within the English text. This inclusion facilitates reference to the original, whose pagination is essentially unaltered in the most recent paperback edition.[5] In any future edition of the translation, it would be helpful if the bracketed pagination were printed in boldface, as it is often difficult to find the page reference to the original within the text, because the page reference is printed in the same type as the main text.

The editors of the original German text followed the ingratiating practice of including Schmitt’s extensive notes sequentially within the text, but in smaller type. The translation under review follows the same practice. The translator has a small number of notes of his own, located at the end of the text. *Constitutional Theory* contains a useful introduction by Seitzer and Christopher Thornhill and, in an appendix, the text of the Weimar constitution, translated into English. This inclusion is particularly useful, as Schmitt’s text makes frequent reference to that document.

Notes

[1] Carl Schmitt, *Politische Theologie*, vol. 2 (Munich: Duncker & Humblot, 1970).

[2] Carl Schmitt, “Der Führer schützt das Recht,” *Deutsche Juristen-Zeitung* (1934): 945.

[3] Linsay Rogers, Sanford Schwarz, and Nicholas S. Kaltchas, “German Political Institutions, II. Article 48,” *Political Science Quarterly* 47 (1932): 583-594.

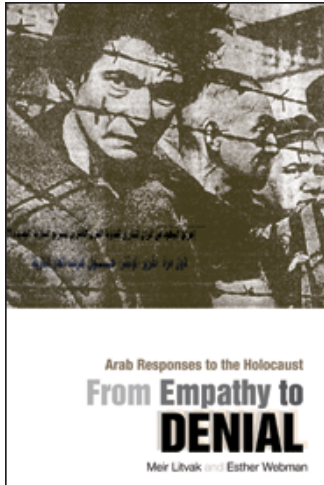
[4] See, for example, Philip Bobbitt, *The Shield of Achilles: War, Peace, and the Course of History* (New York: Knopf, 2002), 213-242, and Bobbitt’s concept of the Market State.

[5] Carl Schmitt, *Verfassungslehre* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2003).

Citation: Robert D. Rachlin. Review of Schmitt, Carl, *Constitutional Theory*. H-German, H-Net Reviews. October, 2009.

Complexity and Context for a Sensitive Topic

Meir Litvak, Esther Webman. *From Empathy to Denial: Arab Responses to the Holocaust*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009. viii + 435 pp. \$30.00 (cloth), ISBN 978-0-231-70074-0.



Reviewed by Francis R. Nicosia, University of Vermont

In recent years, scholars and others have devoted increasing attention to the relationship between Arab nationalism and Islamism and Nazi Germany's mass murder of the Jews of Europe during World War II. Developments in the Middle East and Central Asia over the past decade or so, including the terrorist attacks of 9/11, Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's denial of the Holocaust, and calls for the destruction of Israel have

generated interest in and considerable anxiety about an allegedly comparable, contemporary "Arab and/or Islamic fascism" and antisemitism. This sentiment, in turn, has prompted a reexamination of the relationship between the Third Reich and the Arabic-speaking world from 1933 to 1945. While some of that interest has been directed at Hitler's policies toward the Arab world between 1933 and 1945, much of the attention has centered on the nature of Arab and/or Islamic responses to German National Socialism and its persecution and mass murder of the Jews. The results of this renewed interest have often been problematic, however, not so much with regard to accounts and assessments of Nazi interests and policy in North Africa and the Middle East, as in their conclusions about the Arab reception of National Socialism and the Holocaust. They have tended to assume a single, uniform "Arab and Muslim World," as if such a monolith actually existed, and have generally ignored the enormous mix of ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious groups and traditions in that "world," which defies simple or clear categorization. Contemporary studies often fail to distinguish between urban and desert Arabs, western-educated and uneducated, religious and secular, communist and monarchist, Muslim and Christian, Sunni, Shi'a, and Alawite. Prior to the 1950s, were they Arabs from British-, French-, or Italian-controlled parts of the Arabic-speaking world? Moreover, their examples of Arab responses prior to 1945 are usually drawn from the words and deeds of Amin al-Husayni, the Mufti of Jerusalem, and the handful of Arab exiles in Berlin during World War II. On this basis, one might conclude erroneously that the mufti spoke and acted for all Arabs while he was in Berlin, and that he reflected a unified Arab public opinion on the issues of the day, in particular on the fates of the European Jews or those of their approximately one-and-a-half million brethren in North Africa and the Middle East.

Given the political, economic, social, cultural, and historical diversity in the Arabic-speaking world, any effort to understand and assess adequately the nature of Arab responses to National Socialism and the Holocaust must fulfill two requirements: familiarity with the historical and cultural context of the modern Middle East and research in appropriate Arabic-language sources. Meir Litvak and Esther Webman bring these components to bear on the tasks addressed in their excellent new book. Although not specifically a study of Arab attitudes and opinions toward Nazism and the Jews during the interwar and wartime periods, the book directs a useful lens at Arab responses to the Holocaust since World

War II, answering questions for which previous studies have proven inadequate. Litvak and Webman examine post-Holocaust Arab responses to the Nazi mass murder of the Jews of Europe, but do so within the context of the recent history of the Arabic-speaking regions of North Africa and the Middle East, specifically the conflict between Jews and Arabs over the land of Israel/Palestine since the post-World War I mandate period. Moreover, they do not draw their conclusions solely on the basis of the mufti and a few other exiles or imply the existence of an "Arab world" that made a singular, uniform response to these events. Instead, they mine effectively a huge array of Arabic-language newspapers, periodicals, and other publications to assess the varied, complex, and often contradictory opinions of Arab journalists, politicians, academicians, and other intellectuals since 1945.

Litvak and Webman provide a penetrating, thorough analysis of the responses in the Arabic-speaking world, principally in Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and among the Palestinians, to the Holocaust as its horrific realities became evident to the entire world beginning in 1945. They seek to explain those responses, not to justify them. They are clear and unequivocal in their descriptions of the repugnant aspects of some Arab opinion in the postwar period on these topics. However, they place post-1945 Arab discourse on the Holocaust within the larger context of the Middle East conflict, specifically the Arabs' gradual loss of Palestine since World War I. This context has been a natural—if not always justifiable or helpful—one for Arabs, particularly in the years immediately following World War II. Some Arab writers and politicians never tired of pointing out that since Germans (and Christian Europeans generally) and not Arabs were responsible not only for the Holocaust, but for the centuries of anti-Jewish persecution that led up to it, Arabs should not have to atone for the crimes of others by giving up Palestine. The authors demonstrate the ways in which Arab responses have used the Holocaust to call attention to Arab issues rather than to the details of the Holocaust itself. In the Arabic-speaking world, the discourse on the Holocaust after World War II was usually conditioned by secular nationalist and Islamic rejection of Zionism and the existence of Israel, within the additional context of resentment of and resistance to western imperialism in the region since the nineteenth century. Thus, a significant part of Arab Holocaust denial has sought to minimize the Jewish Holocaust by comparing it to the Arabs' own perceived struggles with and victimization by Zionism and the state of Israel.

The book is organized into two parts, with the first providing four detailed "case studies" that the authors view as driving the evolution of the Holocaust discourse among Arabs during the two decades following World War II. The first covers the three years from the end of the war to the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, during which Arab opinion for the most part acknowledged the horrors of Nazi persecution and mass murder of the Jews in Europe, but argued that the Arabs should not have to pay the price for these events through the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine.

The second case study is the furor over the German-Israeli reparations agreement of 1952 in Arab Holocaust discourse. The agreement was for the most part dismissed as Jewish exploitation of the Holocaust—the occurrence of which most Arabs still recognized—for the economic and political benefit of the Jewish state. Some Arab writers and politicians argued that individual Jews might indeed have deserved German reparations, but the state of Israel did not, and that the Palestinian people were equally deserving of reparations for having been expelled from their homeland in 1948-49.

The third case study treats the impact of the Adolf Eichmann trial in the early 1960s, in which much Arab opinion viewed with alarm the accompanying resurrection of images of Jewish suffering, which opinion-makers feared would only reinforce sympathy and support

around the world for the state of Israel. The authors point out that while little underlying sympathy for Eichmann's actual wartime deeds was apparent in Arab discourses about the trial, a degree of sympathy for him as a person in his particular situation did develop, perhaps as an antidote to the sympathy for Israel that they feared the trial would generate.

Finally, the changing position of the Catholic Church toward the Jews after centuries of Christian persecution, culminating in the Second Vatican Council (1962-65), is offered as the fourth key factor in the evolution of the Arab discourse on the Holocaust after 1945. Here, too, Arab writers no doubt feared more positive benefits for Israel and negative ramifications for their own case against Israel in the court of world opinion. In each of these cases, of course, for Arab opinion in general the particular situation of the Arabs, especially in the conflict with Israel over Palestine, and not so much the horrific realities of Jewish suffering during the Holocaust, drove the Holocaust discourse. Still, charges in some of the Arab media of a "Zionist conspiracy" behind these four issues did resurrect the ugly myths of "Jewish conspiracy" so prevalent in the centuries-long litany of European antisemitism.

The chapters in the second part of this study present a thematic analysis of Arab Holocaust discourse, which taken together amply demonstrates its complexity and variations since 1945. In particular, the authors analyze Arab Holocaust denial as consisting of much more than the clear and outright rejection by some that the mass murder of the Jews in Europe during World War II ever occurred. Because of the importance of Arab authors' own perceived victimhood in this discourse, Holocaust "denial" among Arab writers also included expressions justifying the Holocaust; statements equating Zionism with Nazism and racism; assertions that Palestinians were victims of Zionist dispossession, and that the

Palestinian "Nakhba" was the equivalent of the Jewish Holocaust in Europe; allegations of Zionist-Nazi collusion in the murder of European Jews; and accusations that World War II was a conflict between two equally evil imperialist camps intent on conquering Arab lands. Some of these contentions were based quite obviously on the premise that some sort of Jewish catastrophe did indeed occur in Europe during World War II.

Litvak and Webman have produced an outstanding and timely piece of scholarship on this very sensitive and vitally important topic. Their understanding of the historical context of Arab responses to the Jewish Holocaust in Europe during World War II, their recognition that the variations in that response reflect the historical and cultural complexities of the Arabic-speaking world, and their ability to consult a vast store of Arabic-language sources enable this book to fill a void that has existed for too long. The organization of the book, with its two main sections, does create a certain amount of unnecessary overlap and repetition, and thus a text that is probably a little longer than it needs to be. But their exhaustive scholarly research, methodology, and analysis offer the reader a detailed and compelling explanation—not a justification—of Arab responses to the Holocaust since 1945.

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The Nation Profiles Raul Hilberg

In April 2010 *The Nation* magazine published a major article on Raul Hilberg, written by Nathaniel Popper. Raul Hilberg, one of the great founding figures of Holocaust scholarship, was a member of the Department of Political Science at the University of Vermont from 1956 through his retirement in 1991.

The article can be found at the following link:
<http://www.thenation.com/article/conscious-pariah>



Raul Hilberg, pictured on the dust jacket of the original 1961 edition of his classic work, *The Destruction of the European Jews*

The Biggest Murder Trial in History

Hillary Earl. *The Nuremberg SS-Einsatzgruppen Trial, 1945-1958: Atrocity, Law, and History*—New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009. xv + 336 pp. \$85.00 (cloth), ISBN 978-0-521-45608-1.



Otto Ohlendorf in American custody after World War Two.

Reviewed by Alan E. Steinweis,
University of Vermont

The title of Hillary Earl's impressive book does not do justice to the scholarly achievement of its author. While the study is organized around the prosecution of two dozen *Einsatzgruppen* officers before an American tribunal in Nuremberg in 1947/48, it actually addresses a much broader range of issues relevant to our understanding of the "Final Solution," including its origins, the

motivations of its perpetrators, and its post-1945 adjudication. The *Einsatzgruppen* constituted the core of the paramilitary units that followed the *Wehrmacht* into the Soviet Union starting on June 22, 1941. Supported by battalions of the Order Police, the Reserve Order Police, and the *Waffen SS*, they murdered hundreds of thousands of Jews from the Baltic in the north to the Crimea in the south. They killed their victims in open-air, mass shootings, often relying on the collaboration of local antisemitic militia groups. Between September 1947 and April 1948, two dozen of the *Einsatzgruppen* commanders were tried in case 9 of the so-called subsequent Nuremberg proceedings. Four of the defendants were sentenced to death and executed. The remainder either had death sentences commuted or were sentenced to terms behind bars. By the end of 1958, all had been released from prison.

Earl's book is a significant addition to the growing (albeit still quite limited) body of scholarship about the *Einsatzgruppen*.¹ The originality of its contribution lies not in its reconstruction of the murderous actions of these units, but rather in its comparative biographical examination of the men who commanded them. Earl has done an admirable job of explaining who these men were, how they became mass murderers, and why, in the end, they were not punished more severely. The book is also the first full-scale study of the Nuremberg *Einsatzgruppen* trial, an important historical event in its own right, and one that has been rightly described as "the biggest murder trial in history."

Earl's analysis of the social backgrounds of the *Einsatzgruppen* commanders relies heavily on Michael Wildt's influential study, *Generation der Unbedingten*.² Most of them were born during the first decade of the 20th century. While too young to have served in World War One, they were old enough to have been traumatized by Germany's defeat and to have internalized the soldierly virtues of the slightly older "front generation." They were an exceedingly well educated group of men, but, like many of their generational cohort, they saw their professional opportunities restricted by the economic conditions of the post-war period. As a consequence, they drifted into the orbit of the Nazi movement, taking up positions in the *Sicherheitsdienst*, or SD, which recruited well educated young men to engage in political intelligence operations. Earl points out that they did not join the SD with the intention of becoming mass murderers. But the Nazi leadership turned to them when it required a cadre of men who possessed the toughness, discipline, and ideological dependability to carry out the "Final Solution."

Earl paints compelling portraits of several of these killers, most notably Otto Ohlendorf, the commander of *Einsatzgruppe D*, which murdered tens of thousands of Jews in the region of the Crimea. Ohlendorf admitted his crimes to his British and American captors in 1945, and then testified as a star witness for the prosecution at

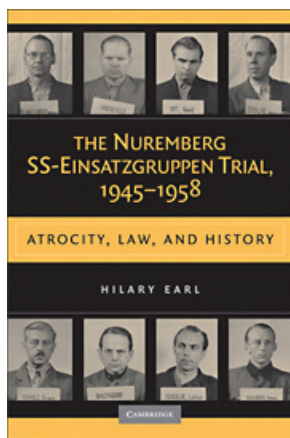
the International Military Tribunal (IMT). Ohlendorf hoped to save his skin by making himself valuable to the Allies. Described by Earl as supremely self-confident and intellectually arrogant, Ohlendorf also deluded himself into believing that his expertise in economics would pave the way for a post-war career. When, contrary to his expectations, he was placed on trial for his crimes, Ohlendorf invoked not only the superior orders defense, but also the argument that the mass killing of Jews in the Soviet Union had been a legitimate act of German self-defense against the threat emanating from Bolshevism. Earl never does make quite clear whether this was the disingenuous legal strategy of a man on trial for his life or actually a sincere expression of Ohlendorf's paranoid fear of "Judeo-Bolshevism." The latter possibility was most certainly plausible, given the fact that Ohlendorf had spent his entire adult life in the Nazi party, having joined in 1925 at the age of 18.

Earl's careful dissection of Ohlendorf's testimony to Allied investigators, at the IMT, and at his own trial has some bearing on the debate over the decision-making process that led to the "Final Solution." Ohlendorf claimed that, prior to the German invasion of the Soviet Union, he and the other *Einsatzgruppen* commanders had received verbal notification of an order from Hitler—a so-called *Führerbefehl*—according to which the Jews of the Soviet Union, including women and children, were to be killed. Several early historians of the Holocaust took Ohlendorf at his word. But Alfred Streim, a leading West German war crimes prosecutor, cast doubt on Ohlendorf's claim, suggesting that it had been a fabrication intended to undergird a legal defense based on superior orders. The consensus today among specialists is that Streim was correct. This position is buttressed by other evidence that the *Einsatzgruppen* were at first tasked with killing only Jews who were Communist officials or were otherwise seen as threatening, and that only several weeks into the campaign were these political liquidations expanded into genocide of Soviet Jewry.³

For her part, Earl suggests two alternative explanations for Ohlendorf's assertion about the existence of a *Führerbefehl* to kill all Soviet Jews dating from June 1941. The first is that the claim was not a fabrication but rather an error of memory on Ohlendorf's part. The second is that Ohlendorf's testimony regarding the *Führerbefehl* may have actually been true, a possibility supported by a comment made by Hitler to Rumanian leader Antonescu in June 1941, in which the Führer described his desire to kill the Jews of the Soviet Union in connection with the upcoming invasion. If the latter of these explanations is indeed correct, then one would have to explain why the *Einsatzgruppen* generally avoided killing Jewish women and children during the initial weeks of their activity. Earl does not address this problem, and neither does she spell out one possibility that is implied by her evidence, namely that a decision to exterminate Soviet Jewry had indeed been made prior to the invasion, but was only fully implemented after a delay of some weeks.

Aside from Ohlendorf, several further figures emerge as compelling personalities. One of these is Paul Blobel, whose barbarism seemed to provide a contrast to the more methodical, business-like methods of Ohlendorf. Blobel was the German official in charge in September 1941 at Babi Yar, where over 30,000 Jews were murdered over two days. His efficiency as a killer notwithstanding, Earl characterizes Blobel as one of the small number of "conflicted murderers" among the defendants. Lacking Ohlendorf's ideological certainty, Blobel suffered from emotional turmoil as he carried out his mission. Earl explains his monstrous behavior as a form of psychological compensation for the absence of genuine ideological conviction. Both here and in several further instances, Earl draws on insights provided by James Waller into the psychology of Holocaust perpetrators.⁴

If the book features a large cast of complicated villains, it is not without its complex heroes. Chief among them is the presiding judge at the trial, Michael Musmanno, to whom Earl devotes a



substantial subchapter. A larger-than-life figure, Musmanno had made his legal reputation by trying to overturn the death sentences of Sacco and Vanzetti in 1927. At the *Einsatzgruppen* trial, he exerted a commanding presence in the courtroom. He was determined to give the defendants a fair trial, but he also did not hesitate to intervene in their cross-examination when he thought they were being evasive or misleading. Musmanno personally opposed capital punishment on principle, but now faced the prospect of having to dole out multiple death sentences. Earl concludes that

Musmanno's way around this moral dilemma was to sentence to death only those defendants who had openly admitted to their crimes in court, while sparing the lives of those who had not. Earl herself refrains from leveling a criticism of Musmanno that will strike some readers as obvious: by injecting his personal morality into his decisions on sentencing, the judge in effect rewarded several defendants for lying about their actions.

Musmanno sentenced 14 of the defendants to death. Only four of the men, including Ohlendorf and Blobel, were ultimately executed, however, and barely ten years after the conclusion of the trial, all of the remaining *Einsatzgruppen* commanders had been released from prison. Earl asks: "What went so horribly wrong to allow some of the most active and notorious perpetrators of the Third Reich to be released back into German society so soon after they were punished?" (265) The answer to this question will come as no surprise to any reader familiar with the history of West Germany in the 1950's. The prosecution of Germans by foreign powers had never been popular, and public pressure in favor of sentence revision intensified as Germans strove for recognition of their new role as valuable allies in the Cold War. Calls for clemency came not only from German nationalists, but also from high-ranking clergymen of both the Catholic and Protestant churches. The American High Commissioners, first John McCloy and then James Conant, acquiesced in demands for commutations, pardons, and amnesties.

Adolf Ott was the last of the *Einsatzgruppen* commanders to leave prison. Ott had joined the Nazi party in 1922, receiving membership number 2,433. He became a member of the SS in 1931, and went to work for the SD in 1934. Between February 1942 and January 1943 he took charge of *Einsatzkommando 7b*, which, according to the Nuremberg judgment, murdered "great numbers of people" while under Ott's command. Accordingly, the tribunal sentenced him to death. Ott admitted at the trial that he remained a National Socialist at heart even after the collapse of the Third Reich. John McCloy commuted the sentence to life in prison. A Mixed Parole and Clemency Board convened under the authority of James Conant finally granted him parole in May 1958. Earl carefully documents the circumstances in which, in cases like Ott's, Germans and Americans chose to subordinate justice to political expediency. At the same time, Earl's anger over justice denied is never far below the surface of her text – very much to her credit.

Indeed, the power of this book derives as much from the style of its prose as from the morally compelling nature of its subject. Earl's writing is very straightforward, and does not shirk from characterizations such as "brutal," "barbaric," "malicious," and "cowardly." Her idiom enables her to evoke the monstrosity of Nazi crimes, but she never succumbs to the Goldhagen syndrome of sacrificing nuance and analytical sophistication.

The book is based on an enormous body of documentation in American and German archives. In addition to making extensive use of the voluminous record of the Nuremberg *Einsatzgruppen* trial, which have long been available on microfilm, Earl consulted interrogation reports, the papers of several of the prosecutors, the papers of Justice Musmanno, the papers of Ohlendorf's defense attorney, Rudolf Aschenauer, and the papers of Bishop Theophil Wurm, one of the leading German clergymen who lobbied for the early release of the convicted commanders.

My main quibbles with the text derive from its tendency toward repetition, an over-utilization of chatty footnotes, and the presence of numerous spelling errors in German titles listed in the bibliography. More care should have been taken in the editing process, although these problems do not detract significantly from the overall readability of the book. All told, Hilary Earl has produced an important and compelling study that deserves a wide readership among scholars and students interested in German history, the Holocaust, comparative genocide, and transitional justice.

Notes

[1] The foundational study of the *Einsatzgruppen* was Helmut Krausnick and Hans-Heinrich Wilhelm, *Die Truppe des Weltanschauungskrieges: Die Einsatzgruppen der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD* (Stuttgart: DVA, 1981). Important recent work includes Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941-1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003); Klaus-Michael Mallman and Gerhard Paul, eds., *Einsatzgruppen in Polen: Darstellung und Dokumentation* (Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchges., 2008); and Klaus-Michael Mallmann, Jochen Böhrer and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Karrieren der Gewalt: Nationalsozialistische Täterbiographien* (Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchges., 2004).

[2] Michael Wildt, *Generation der Unbedingten. Das Führungskorps des Reichssicherheitshauptamtes* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003).

[3] Christopher Browning, *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939-March 1942* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004).

[4] James Waller, *Becoming Evil: How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing*, 2nd edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

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**CAROLYN & LEONARD MILLER
CENTER FOR HOLOCAUST STUDIES**
Old Mill, Room A301
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Contact Information

*Carolyn & Leonard Miller
Center for Holocaust Studies
Old Mill, Room A301
94 University Place
Burlington, Vermont
05405-0114*

Website:
www.uvm.edu/~uvmchs

Telephone:
802-656-1492

Fax:
802-656-1497

Email:
Holocaust.Studies@uvm.edu

Director:
Prof. Alan E. Steinweis

Staff Assistant:
Thomas Helmstutler