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THE FIRST TEN YEARS

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This year the Center for Holocaust Studies at the University of Vermont celebrates ten years of activity and growth. It hardly seems possible that a decade has passed since Howard Ball, then Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, energetically supported by his Associate Dean James Lubker, formed a committee to establish Holocaust Studies as a “center,” an academic entity that crosses college boundaries and includes faculty from various schools and colleges.

From the very beginning the faculty committee charged with establishing a structure and a mission felt strongly that the Center should direct its energies to the widest possible audience. Accordingly, the committee formed a board of outside advisors composed of members of the community, faculty members, and alumni to oversee our activities. The Center’s mission emphasizes both campus activities and events directed to the community at large. At first we attempted to derive an audience mainly from the greater Burlington area, but our audience has expanded over the years. Our publications have been sent throughout the U.S., Canada, and even as far as Europe and Australia.

None of this would have happened were it not for the presence on campus for over thirty years of, above all, Professor Emeritus Raul Hilberg in the Department of Political Science. In addition to his own Holocaust-related courses, Hilberg also team-taught a course on the Holocaust with Professor Sam Bogorad of the Department of English from 1977 until Bogorad’s retirement in 1985. When Professor Hilberg retired, a faculty position in the Department of History was established for a Holocaust historian. Professor Doris Bergen was the first to hold this position. Following her departure, Professor Jonathan Huener joined us in 1996. He teaches courses on the Holocaust, German history, and Polish history, and specializes in the history of the Auschwitz camp and memorial site.

HILBERG RECEIVES GESCHWISTER SCHOLL PRIZE

Raul Hilberg, Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the University of Vermont, received the Geschwister Scholl Prize in Munich, Germany on 2 December 2002. The prize, funded by the Association of Bavarian Publishers and the city of Munich, is named for Hans and Sophie Scholl, siblings and students who were executed by the Gestapo in 1943 because of their anti-Nazi activities. The Geschwister Scholl Prize is awarded to those whose books exhibit “spiritual independence and civic freedom” as well as “moral, intellectual, and aesthetic courage” (*Tages-Anzeiger*, Zurich).

Part of the Hilberg legacy, and one of the most important events on campus, is the annual Raul Hilberg Lecture, which takes place in the fall. Holocaust Studies initially made its mark and formed an identity beyond the classroom through this lecture—the first scholar to deliver it was Professor Christopher Browning, in March 1993, and other internationally known figures such as Saul Friedländer, Yaffa Eliach, and Ian Kershaw have followed.

Very rapidly other events developed. Robert Bernheim, a Holocaust historian and former teacher from the area, initiated a summer seminar on teaching the Holocaust, offered through the College of Education and Social Services. Robert has continued to organize this seminar over the years, and the tenth is being offered this summer. The seminar aims to provide school teachers with information about the Holocaust and how classes on this subject might be structured. Since, until very recently, only one percent of all teachers of the Holocaust had ever taken such a course, the seminar fulfills a vital pedagogical function. Undergraduate students have also been overwhelmingly positive in their response to the comprehensive introduction offered by this course

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and to the eyewitness accounts provided by survivors, rescuers, and liberators.

In the past, undergraduates have been able to complete a self-designed minor in Holocaust Studies. Now, with the support of Joan Smith, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, we have established a minor in Holocaust Studies; it was approved at the February 2003 meeting of the University Board of Trustees. We are currently engaged with the Dean's Office of the College of Arts and Sciences and the Office of Development and Alumni Relations in establishing an endowed chair in Holocaust Studies. This effort, part of the University Capital Campaign, will allow the University to continue in its ongoing quest to inform and educate the undergraduate student population about this important and significant historical topic in a structured and meaningful way appropriate to the legacy of Raul Hilberg.

Soon after the Center was established, Michael Schaal suggested a collaboration with members of the Jewish community. This resulted in a Gathering of Survivor Families, which addressed and discussed the problems and unique circumstances faced by many families where there is a survivor. Beginning in 1994, this Gathering was repeated for five years, and is but one example of the collaboration between the university and the local community.

The experience of the Gathering and the summer seminar, where the arts and the Holocaust were combined, encouraged us to organize exhibitions, concerts, theater performances, and poetry readings. We have collaborated in these endeavors with the Department of Music, the Fleming Museum, and the Theater Department. We are continuing this tradition with an evening of Holocaust-related songs in April (see elsewhere in this *Bulletin* for details), and we hope to co-sponsor an art exhibition in 2004.

Our interest in combining art and the Holocaust is evident in *Lifeline*, the piece of sculpture now in position in front of Wheeler House, where the History Department is housed. The artist and poet Joseph Hahn has kindly donated several pieces of his own work, which currently grace our office walls. Jeff Gusky, M.D. donated a photograph from his 2002 exhibition at the Fleming Museum, co-sponsored by the Center for Holocaust Studies.

In 2000 we reached across college boundaries to organize the first Miller Symposium, "Medicine and Medical Ethics under National Socialism" with the cooperation of the College of Medicine. A similar relationship with the School of Business resulted in the second Miller Symposium, "Business and Industry under the Nazi Regime," held in April 2002. Neither symposium would have been possible without our generous benefactors, Leonard ('51) and Carolyn Miller. A third Miller Symposium, on the Arts in the Third Reich, is planned for April 2004.

We have, over the past decade, been very fortunate to have found firm and helpful friends. They have provided major help to the program through their generosity. In addition to the Millers, mentioned above, Evan Scheuer ('80) has helped in numerous ways, but especially in underwriting our book *The Holocaust: Personal Accounts*; Paul Konigsberg ('58) has been a source of constant support from the very beginning, as have Jerry Jacobson ('62) and Traude Jacobson, who enable us to offer the Raul Hilberg Lecture each year and who partially underwrote the *Festschrift Reflections on the Holocaust* on the occasion of Professor Hilberg's 75th birthday. Richard Kinsler ('50), Steven and Robin

Altschuler, and Peter Laibson ('55) are all generous supporters. Many other donors, some of whom wish to remain anonymous, have contributed to the Hilberg *Festschrift*, to *Lifeline* and the bench placed nearby, and to miscellaneous other projects. Many of you are reading these very words. Please know that we are exceedingly grateful to you and that without you we could not continue to expand our activities.

In addition to those whose aid comes through their financial support, many help in other ways: the Board of Advisors, which is so ably led by Robert Rachlin Esq.; the Faculty Steering Committee that oversees academic matters; Arthur Kunin, who has twice stood in for me when I have been off campus; and, not least, our admirable Administrative Assistant, Kathy Johnson. My heartfelt thanks go to you all.

How do the next ten years look? We are becoming more firmly established financially. An endowed chair will consolidate our academic offerings. The *Bulletin* will continue to provide information and comment, and will keep you all apprised of events, trends, and developments. There will be occasional papers and, from time to time, a book publication. In fact, one is in progress as I write. My hope, above all, is that all our participants and supporters, students and community members alike, will continue to enroll in our courses and attend our events, for without them our existence would be pointless. We look forward to the next ten years.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

IT'S OFFICIAL!

We are proud to announce that the Board of Trustees of the University of Vermont approved a program and a minor in Holocaust Studies at their February meeting. We join the group of approximately twenty colleges and universities that recognize the importance of formal study of the Holocaust for undergraduates. Students will be able to declare a minor in Holocaust Studies beginning with the fall 2003 semester.

Students minoring in Holocaust Studies at the University of Vermont will take European History 1815-1945 (History 26) and two semesters of German as prerequisites. The eighteen hours of coursework must include Modern Germany (History 139) and the Holocaust (History 190), as well as twelve credits of offerings from the German Department, the History Department, and the Religion Department. Several courses in World Literature and, of course, the summer seminar on The Holocaust and Holocaust Education, also satisfy the requirements of the minor.

THE LATEST OCCASIONAL PAPER

"Investigating and Prosecuting Nazi War Criminals," the text of the Hilberg Lecture by Allan A. Ryan, Jr., delivered in 1997, has been published. This occasional paper is available by request from the Center for Holocaust Studies. Please call (802) 656-1492 or e-mail Holocaust.Studies@uvm.edu.

***Clockwise from top left:** University of Vermont President Thomas P. Salmon; Provost Robert Lowe; Robert Rachlin, Chair of the Holocaust Studies Advisory Board; and Professor Carroll Lewin of the Faculty Steering Committee at the dedication of our first office space in Living and Learning. Yaffa Eliach, 1994 Hilberg Lecturer. Robert Bernheim at the Summer Seminar. Doris Bergen introduces the 1996 Hilberg Lecturer. Saul Friedländer, 1995 Hilberg Lecturer, speaks as the 1997 Visiting Hilberg Scholar.*

Clockwise from top left: Professor Raul Hilberg and Arthur Kunin, M.D. before a summer lecture. Professor Jonathan Huener introducing Susan Zuccotti. Professors Huener and David Scrase, Director, with Ian Kershaw, 2001 Hilberg Lecturer. Professor Scrase with board member Professor Frank Nicosia (St. Michael's College) and Edwin I. Colodny, Interim President of the University. Christopher Browning, the inaugural Hilberg Lecturer, speaking in celebration of Raul Hilberg's 75th birthday.

ETCHED IN MEMORY: HOLOCAUST SURVIVORS AND THE LANGUAGE OF GENOCIDE

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Language can range from civil human interaction and positive cultural expression to political manipulation and linguistic aggression. In Nazi Germany, the changing vernacular that Victor Klemperer called *LTI (Lingua Tertii Imperii)*, the language of the Third Reich, was shaped by the Nazi view of the world.¹ It mirrored the distinction between that which was considered Aryan German (*Arisch*) and that which was considered “alien” (*artfremd*). An escalating racial rhetoric occurred in utterances of denigration and hatred against those whom the National Socialists sought to exclude from the mystical community of Germans (*Volksgemeinschaft*). One of the most perfidious and often cited slogans directed against German Jewish citizens was “*Juden raus!*” (“Jews out”). It was meant to convince them to leave everything, including home as well as cultural and linguistic environment.

Such hate speech tends to be excluded from societal and historical records, including standard dictionaries.² Although some terminology has become part of the academic discourse of Holocaust scholars, a great part of the language of the Nazi period has receded into silence. It is also omitted from regular German Studies curricula, and Canada is no exception. In Montreal, where I teach German language and literature, I became aware of the fact that what is today defined as Nazi German still resides in the memories of Holocaust survivors. For them, a language no longer spoken and deemed forgotten has actually remained alive. They remember German verbal aggression, in addition to physical and mental deprivation. Although their recollections vary, none of them has been untouched by or is indifferent to the language of the German perpetrator. Such language is conflated with specific personal moments embedded in Holocaust history. Therefore, for these survivors, German has remained the language of persecution and genocide.

Especially for survivors originating from Eastern Europe, German occupation signified domination and terror during the war. After decades, these individuals recall specific German words and phrases and, most importantly, the tone of delivery. Many are linked to German orders and actions in reference to the Nazis’ genocidal procedures, called ambiguously *Umsiedlung* (resettlement), *Evakuierung* (evacuation), or *Transport*. Two frequently cited memory words are *Aktion* and *Umschlagplatz*. The general translation of the former is “operation” or “action” in the sense of a “measure” or “step.” But during the Second World War, it signified the brutal round-up of Jews, accompanied with verbal insults, physical injury, and often murder. Nachman Blumenthal, one of the earliest researchers of the Nazis’ language, traced the term *Aktion* in its various mutations and applications and defined it as “the most cruel word the Jewish people remember from the period of the Catastrophe.”³ In this murderous context, it has been preserved not only in survivors’ memories and written accounts, but also in post-Shoah Jewish literature. The other term, *Umschlagplatz*, denotes “transfer point” in its neutral applica-

tion. But to survivors it carries the meaning of the gathering place or point of assembly for Jews to be deported to death camps, or sometimes to be murdered on the spot.

These particular circumstances from the past would be lost in translation, since English or words from other languages do not have the same power of meaning for the individuals who experienced their life-shattering force first-hand. To them, the German terms exclusively trigger memories of the very specific catastrophe that befell the Jews of Europe. For so many, it is the genocidal vocabulary of the German language alone that describes the terror they endured. Thus do the words appear in their original form in many Holocaust accounts written in languages other than German, and the reader’s eye is drawn immediately to these words in italics.

The Germans’ speech in general is remembered as vicious and hate-filled, rooted in racial prejudice, anti-Semitism, and disregard for the life of non-Germans. For Jewish survivor Olga S., originally from Poland, her previously positive attitude towards Germans was crushed upon her initiation to their language. Her description of the Germans “barking” rather than speaking, as well as their manner of conveying their speech, namely as commands, substantiates the statements of others.⁴ It was a surprise to these Poles that the German “bearers of culture” (*Kulturträger*) and their language could be so crude and bestial. In this sense then, the language of the German enemy was different from the German they had learned earlier. The new tone and vocabulary heralded the inhuman acts of the German occupiers. Hence, remembered speech segments range from the basest insults to military-style commands by SS officials or German soldiers.

Many survivors have said that the excessive use of the imperative mode and the expletives form particularly strong memories, so that, to this day, hearing commands in German can resurrect these memories, together with fear and behavioral reactions that throw them instantly back into the Holocaust. Shouts like “*Los, los! Vorwärts!*” that signify nothing more threatening than “let’s go,” can trigger a panic attack in someone who is reminded of Nazi persecution.⁵ Olga S. confirms such an occurrence when she recounts that, a few years ago on a tour bus on a Caribbean island, she heard a German guide shouting, “*Alles raus!*” Despite her awareness of contemporary safety, she reacted spontaneously with fright and fled. She confirms that this and other language memories continue to be very strong today.

For some survivors, including Olga S., language memories also connect specific objects to events of the past. In her case such objects include her German *Kennkarte* (ID) and *Armbinde* (armband). These two mementos, which are still in her possession, remind her vividly of her precarious state and status as a Jew in German-occupied Poland. Germans use these words today in their innocuous and neutral meaning. For instance, *Kennkarte* is and was a personal German identification document. But for Olga S. and other Jews in the same situation, it was an invaluable German paper that represented life itself. Hers, as a Jewish life, meant nothing to the Germans waging war in Poland; for a time, she was exploitable labor to used to support the German military effort. Yet for her, the receipt of the *Kennkarte* gave her permission to work and thus stay alive. But she learned soon enough that the document, together with an attached special marking of the letter “R” on a piece of burlap, could be revoked at any time. Revocation would have spelled transport to and almost cer-

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tain death in a concentration camp. Thus her old German document and the piece of fabric—she does not know what “R” stood for—gave her relative safety from deportation, at least for a time.⁶

In 1942, Olga S. was twenty-two and still working in a German labor camp for Jews when she and her family were warned about imminent round-ups of Jews (*Aktionen*) for deportation. Since all Jews in occupied Poland had to wear the armband from 1939 on to identify themselves openly as Jewish, she and her father decided to take the risk of concealing their visible marking during a particular round up. Concealing her Jewish identity in a crucial moment was only possible because her most recent armband was homemade, constructed of paper and cellophane, with elastic straps to hold it in place and the Star drawn on with blue crayon. This violated the stipulations of exact measurements, white fabric, and a stitched blue Star of David. As they walked through that night fraught with Gestapo danger, her father chose the appropriate moment to tell her to turn the armband and bend her elbow so that even the elastic would be invisible. In an instant Olga S. became a non-Jew in the street, due to her ability to quickly conceal the makeshift armband. She and her father slipped into hiding that evening.

Olga S. still cherishes this life-saving memento and wishes to keep it for her grandchildren as a silent witness to the nightmare moment that decided her fate. To her, the German *Armbinde*, in Nazi German sometimes referred to as *Judenbinde* (Jew band), will always contain the memory of the German language and action associated with it, something, she says, is very difficult to convey.

Like many others, Holocaust survivor Judy C., originally from Hungary, remembers the insulting and degrading orders to hurry on: “*Los, los, schneller, verfluchte Juden!*” (“Move on, faster, you damned Jews”). On an infamous death march from a concentration camp, she recalls one German phrase and a different tone of voice that conveyed to her that times had suddenly changed. After a night’s rest in a barn, she and a “pitiful remnant of the 500 young women [who began the march],” heard the unforgettable words, “*Fräulein, Sie sind frei*” (“Ladies, you are free”).⁷ It was 5 May 1945. In this phrase, the use of the formal pronoun, *Sie*, suggested a sudden equality between the interlocutors and a return to polite language. Heretofore, the character of the semantic power of language had been made clear by the use of the familiar *du* and absence of *Sie* because Jews had not been considered worthy of decent, let alone formal address. In Judy C.’s case, the return to civilized discourse and the more “normal” world happened, literally, overnight.

As interviews and written accounts reveal, for many survivors, German speech and atrocious acts are correlated, so that they have remained frozen in time. These individuals have certain German terms with their potent associations in their consciousness. They refer to the connotative, genocidal meaning of them because these are the links to their German experience of the past. For many, it is the basis for their negative feelings toward contemporary German and Germans. Contrary to what one might think or hope, articulating these emotions has little cathartic effect for them. Instead, the process of recalling gives rise to renewed pain, anger, and even rage. These can be triggered by a single German word from the past. Therefore, the psychological dilemma of verbalization of the traumatic event is, strictly speaking, not just re-

membering, but reliving it in the mind. This is yet another aspect of the aftermath of the Shoah for some survivors.

Such powerful and lasting associations with the German language have heightened my awareness of the interconnectedness of history, language, and memory. They have also shown me the need to re-evaluate the way German language and culture are taught to North American students, at present generally from a humanistic perspective. While Germany has given rise to much that is valuable for humankind, there should be a place in the contemporary curriculum to discuss the darkest chapter in Germany’s history. In an era that officially subscribes to *Wiedergutmachung* (compensation), professors can inform their students—at the right moment of course—that today there are still voices that echo a different German, and that there are individuals who remember distinctly the speech of a Germany gone but still lingering. We have to convey to the next generation the importance of listening to them and asking more questions while we still can. We can point out that Nazi German is an example of how manipulated language can function as a weapon against a victimized people. This recognition may bring us closer to understanding the different aspects of how language can transform into linguistic aggression. As such, it may illuminate the lasting psychological effect on individuals and make us vigilant about the need for remembrance rather than the more easily followed path of forgetfulness.

Notes:

¹ Victor Klemperer, *LTI: Notizbuch eines Philologen* (1957; rpt. Leipzig: Reclam, 1996); Victor Klemperer, *I Will Bear Witness: A Diary of the Nazi Years 1933-1941*, trans. Martin Chalmers (New York: Random House, 1998).

² Karin Doerr and Kurt Jonassohn, “Germany’s Language of Genocide At the Turn of the Century,” in *The Century of Genocide: Selected Papers From The 30th Anniversary Conference of the Annual Scholars’ Conference on the Holocaust and the Churches*, eds. Daniel J. Curran, Jr., Richard Libowitz, and Marcia Sachs Littell (Merion Station, PA: Merion Westfield Press International, 2002) pp. 27-48.

³ See “Aktion,” in *Yad Vashem Studies* 4 (1960) 57-96.

⁴ Interviews and conversations with Olga S. (Montreal, 1996-2002).

⁵ Ben-Chanan, *Open Letter* (Germany: 1995).

⁶ Clearly, letters other than “J” were utilized by the Germans to designate groups of people. For example, in one part of *Erwachsenenspiele* by Günter Kunert, (see page 8), Kunert identifies the man who delivers coal, “as an Ostarbeiter (slave worker from the East) through the letter ‘O’ sewn on his jacket.” At the time this *Bulletin* goes to press, the editors have been unable to ascertain the significance of the “R” mentioned here.

⁷ Interviews and conversations with Judy C. from Toronto, Canada (1998-2002).

Karin Doerr teaches German and women’s studies at Concordia University in Montreal, Canada, and is the co-author, with Robert Michael, of *Nazi-Deutsch/Nazi-German: An English Lexicon of the Language of the Third Reich* (Greenwood Press, 2002).

Over the years Holocaust scholarship and research have concentrated ever more on basic categories: perpetrators, victims, bystanders, rescuers, and resisters. The distinctions are meaningful and helpful, but there are always figures within these general categories that resist this simple categorization and that demand closer scrutiny. The treatment a victim suffered, the situations that victim experienced, the particular actions of a perpetrator, for example, often deviated from what we have over the years been led to expect. In general they emphasize the inhumanity, the senselessness, the barbarity of a system we have come to know as one of the world's very worst. In a series beginning with this current issue of the Bulletin, we shall examine some of the lesser known figures who, for any number of different reasons, had experiences that set them apart from most of the other players in the tragedy of the Shoah, and give us unique insights into that age with all its horrors and excesses. The first account we offer is the story of Cordelia Edvardson, who survived Theresienstadt and Auschwitz, and who now lives in Israel.

CORDELIA EDVARDSON

David Scrase
University of Vermont

Cordelia Edvardson's mother, Elisabeth Langgässer (1899-1950), was a prominent German novelist and poet, and the illegitimate child of a Roman Catholic mother and a Jewish father. Edvardson (1929-) was also an illegitimate child, and her father was also Jewish. Because this Jewish father was married and neither divorced nor separated from his wife, and because her devout Catholic mother brought her up in the Catholic faith, Cordelia initially remained unaware of her Jewish heritage.

Her biography is contained in her book *Burned Child Seeks the Fire* (1984, English translation 1997), which is a deep and penetrating self-appraisal by the author of her character and psyche within their framework of the Holocaust and its aftermath. Although her Jewish heritage was long kept secret, Cordelia nevertheless always felt an outsider. It was simply part of her being. Her mother and her stepfather (Wilhelm Hoffmann) attempted to keep her Jewish background from her. This inevitably led to difficulties, since she was unable to present an "Ariernachweis" (proof of Aryan identity). One day Cordelia came home from school excited by the visit of a BDM (Federation of German Girls) leader and wanted to join this Nazi girls' organization—only to be told by her parents that this was not possible. On another occasion, the nine-year-old girl danced with an SS officer at a wedding—neither was aware of their transgression of the Nuremberg Laws.

Gradually her schoolmates began to make allusions to her Jewishness. Even though the law decreeing that no Jew was allowed to attend a "German" school took effect in 1938, Cordelia's exact status had not been definitively determined, due to the complicated circumstances of her birth. She was expelled from public school in 1939; her parents and the principal made a feeble attempt to alleviate the pain of this by trumping up a charge of bad behavior. By 1941 Cordelia was no longer allowed to sleep at home—her parents did not want their apartment to be marked as the residence of Jews. Cordelia would come "home" from her

Jewish school, and then return to her sleeping quarters in a "Jewish" house in the evening. Once she was obliged to wear the Jewish star in September 1941, she was forced to leave her home for good. She thus spared her parents from any anti-Jewish actions.

Moved from one Jewish house to the next, as the deportations in the early 1940s increased and led to a rapidly shrinking Jewish population, Cordelia survived numerous near catastrophes. And then her parents found a Spanish officer in the Blue Division (a fascist battalion fighting for the Germans) who was willing to go through a pro-forma marriage with the girl, thus providing her with a Spanish passport. But Cordelia was under-age, and the plan came to naught. Perhaps through the same contacts, Langgässer then managed to have her daughter adopted by an elderly Spanish couple. Cordelia accordingly became Cordelia Garcia-Scouvar, a Spanish citizen with a genuine Spanish passport.

This salvation proved illusory. She was summoned to the Gestapo Headquarters where, with her mother present, she was informed that she would not be allowed out of Germany and, unless she signed a form acknowledging her willing acceptance of the Nuremberg Laws, her mother would be brought to account for having arranged her Spanish adoption. Cordelia signed, was categorized as a "Volljüdin," subjected to forced labor, and then, in 1944, deportation. She survived Theresienstadt, Auschwitz, and further evacuations. After liberation she was taken to Sweden to recuperate from the starvation, sickness, and maltreatment of these years. Her experiences, and the difficult path to an acceptance of the Jewish identity that had been forced upon her, form the background to her work. Scorched by them—the title of her memoir, *Burned Child Seeks the Fire*, eloquently underscores the trauma—she proved willing to subject herself a second time to the metaphorical fires that aided her in this process.

Her transformation did not take place rapidly or smoothly. She was not a survivor who sought to forget her experiences, form a new life, and act as if all could be forgotten. On the contrary, she refused to accept the advice of well-meaning Swedish caregivers in the immediate post-war period that her ordeal was over and should be forgotten. Instead, as she settled down in Sweden, married and had children, she sought out those who encouraged her to talk about her suffering and who were willing to listen and try to understand. The role of Israel and the Six-Day War, which she covered as a Swedish journalist, was crucial in her self-definition. The sight of wounded and dead Israeli soldiers brought in from the front called up the image of her own son, who had died as a child, and made her acutely aware of her identity. Forced by Hitler to become a Jew, she now became fully and deeply Jewish. In 1974 she re-located to Israel.

Her work *Burned Child Seeks the Fire* traces her development and provides a penetrating examination not only of the events in her personal life that helped form her character and her psyche, but also of the political events of the time and their impact on her. The autobiographical tract, as is so often the case with survivors, came late, some forty years after the horror. However, this indicates the length of the process rather than any attempt to forget.

Burned Child Seeks the Fire appeared, in Swedish, in 1984 and won its author the Geschwister-Scholl Prize when it appeared in German two years later. It concentrates largely on her own personal development and ultimate transformation, and thus brings up the complicated relationship with her mother, her beloved and hated mother, as she herself called her. Left hanging, along with

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this complex topic, is her relationship with the Germany that, like her, sought to evolve and transform itself after the Third Reich—especially, of course, with regard to the Jews. Edvardson's relationship with this Germany is the subject of her 1988 book, *Viska det till vinden* (Whisper it to the Wind), not yet available in English.

Edvardson, a journalist by profession, is a gifted writer whose penetrating self-scrutiny and deep examination of the Third Reich as it pertained to her locates her in the very top rank of Holocaust writers. Her work is not simply a factual description of what she experienced in her formative years, but an impressive psychological self-study, which gives an accurate picture of the dark years in which the Jews of Europe were murdered.

Cordelia Edvardson. *Burned Child Seeks the Fire*. Trans. Joel Agee. Boston: Beacon Press, 1997.

Raul Hilberg. *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe, 1933-1945*. New York: HarperCollins, 1992. Pp. 157-158.

TRANSLATION

“HUNTED IN BERLIN”

Günter Kunert

Excerpted from *Erwachsenenspiele*; translated by David Scrase

Right now it is not simply a time of war, but hunting season.

If visitors drop in they leave you with the impression that they are being hunted, and the fact is, they are.

One evening the Lissners make themselves at home on the living-room floor; like planets round the central galaxy, a lively group orbits the *mater familias*, the aged Frau Lissner, who is as round as a ball. The Lissners did not accept the invitation to embark on their own disaster and are now encamped on our carpet and in my elephantine leather armchair, up to whose seat another chair has been shoved. Quite a problem to get Frau Lissner bedded down for the night. Eventually we heave her onto a wicker bench, wrapped in blankets. To keep her from falling off, we push chairs up against this shapeless lump. During all this activity there's a lot of joking, poking fun, and laughter. Everyone is acting in a commedia dell'arte against a backdrop of mortal danger. Because everyone knows what going underground means. No way of return. Or perhaps just one: namely to play a role in one's own execution. Two or three days later the Lissners are gone and our apartment seems unusually empty and quiet. There is no second performance; the actors are gone for ever.

For the same reason the Baruch family suddenly turns up, standing at the door. “Submerged,” like divers, is the special term used to explain their sudden appearance. But this time the visitors bring along bad news, and my mother nearly keels over in a faint when she learns what happened to the Baruchs on their way

to us. Without the obligatory yellow star on their clothing they fall into the clutches of a police patrol and, in order to avoid closer scrutiny, they'd identified themselves as the Kunerts, who had regrettably and foolishly left their identification cards at home. An unfortunate case of quick-wittedness. A pretty kettle of fish! What now?

My mother, who all too often responds to such strokes of fate with the resigned expression “you never know when something good may arise,” does not, on this occasion, seem capable of deriving any solace from their use of our name and address.

The Baruchs, bringing tsores (miseries) instead of flowers, stay for a few days. What kinds of discussion and advice meanwhile take place I can't begin to imagine. Presumably hiding-places, secure lodgings, probably leading to no practical suggestions.

The Baruch family bids farewell for a trip into the unknown—or into the all-too-well-known. Their transport, the “30th Transport East of 26 February 1943,” takes them to Auschwitz.

We stay here and remain conspicuously inconspicuous. Keeping our distance from our neighbors. We say “Hi,” or lend one another things as needed, salt or sugar. My mother, a Shulamith rather than a Margarete in appearance,* is often described to the curious as being of Italian or Hungarian descent. To be sure, she is not obliged to wear a star, but her identification card and her ration cards show clearly the “J” emblazoned on them, which no one takes as the abbreviation for Japanese.

Although “mixed marriages” are so far exempt from the transports, every morning uncertainty and fear are aroused in those affected, that this protective status might have been secretly repealed.

For this reason the Kunerts, with minimal baggage, leave the apartment and the building separately and secretly as soon as anyone tells us about impending “Jewish actions.” Our privileged position can just as easily dissipate and lose its validity overnight.

The actions recur in waves and are described thus in deportation documents: a wave. The wave rises to a climactic point and then ebbs. Following this there is a new phase of tense quiet. Then the telephone rings, the password is given, the bags are brought out, and a few blocks away we camp out on the floor at Fräulein Schmidt's. Fräulein Schmidt, as we know, was presented with an optician's business by Herr Platzmann, when he emigrated. She is a gutsy elderly lady with her gray-streaked hair falling in ringlets over her ears, a veritable Joan of Arc, providing us, however, not with weapons, but with quilts, blankets, and pillows when we turn up for our visit. After a short stay we slink back unnoticed into our apartment. Until the next telephone call about “Peigern” (our code for going away), which is intended to remain incomprehensible in case the telephone is bugged.

Who might the mysterious caller be?

One day we are enlightened—although there is no proof. It's possibly someone we know quite well, like me a son from a “mixed marriage,” though much older than I. Grown up, as it were. And apparently furnished with shady contacts.

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*A reference to the well-known poem by Paul Celan, “Todesfuge” (Fugue of Death), in which the poet uses the Old Testament name Shulamith and the name of the woman seduced by Faust in Goethe's play as the epitomes of Jewish and “Aryan” femininity.

THE JEWISH FOUNDATION FOR THE RIGHTEOUS SUMMER INSTITUTE FOR TEACHERS

*Kim Hamel
Mississquoi Valley Union High School*

During the week of 23-27 June 2002 I had the privilege of attending a Summer Institute for Teachers at Columbia University, hosted by The Jewish Foundation for the Righteous (JFR). Teachers from around the country, as well as two from Poland, and others who had associations with Holocaust centers were invited to attend. I was honored to be asked to represent the University of Vermont's Center for Holocaust Studies.

For those not familiar with the JFR, it is a foundation that identifies, honors, and supports Christian and Muslim rescuers who saved Jews during the Holocaust. According to information I received over the summer, the Foundation is providing ongoing financial assistance to more than 1,600 aged and needy rescuers in twenty-seven countries. In addition, they have reunited many survivors with their rescuers. Their second mission is that of education, using the stories of the rescuers to teach of the courage of these people.

The focus of the week, and the basis for almost all discussions, was the text *Voices & Views, a History of the Holocaust*, edited by Debórah Dwork and published by the JFR. The book, is an excellent resource; it is divided into ten chapters, each with an introduction by Professor Dwork, followed by three to eight essays and/or excerpts from other published works. It is quite similar in format to *The Holocaust: Introductory Essays*, edited by David Scrase and Wolfgang Mieder, although on a larger scale. Professor Dwork was a presenter for both the first and last sessions.

The seminar followed a consistent pattern throughout the week. Each session would begin with a speaker, generally a contributor to *Voices & Views*, who would present information relating to a given chapter he or she had written; their presentation would be followed by an opportunity for questions and answers. After this, the teachers would "break out" into a number of smaller groups to discuss the themes' pedagogical connections. We would discuss the relevance or importance of the topic to our individual curricula and how we would or do address that topic with our students. These "break-out sessions" provided excellent opportunities to learn about others' methodologies and creativity. The information gathered during these sessions was collected on paper and presented by each group. The JFR collected these papers, compiled the information, and mailed them to us later in the summer.

An obvious privilege of the seminar was the opportunity to meet and learn from such renowned speakers. A pleasant surprise at the first session was the presence of Marion Pritchard, who was our initial speaker. Among others, Nechama Tec, Marion Kaplan, survivor Roman Kent, Robert Jan van Pelt, and Henry L.

Feingold gave presentations during the week. As with UVM's "Holocaust and Holocaust Education" course, the speakers are the essence of the sessions, providing so much more than a book ever could.

I found that, having taken "Holocaust and Holocaust Education" at UVM, I was well prepared to attend this seminar. The participants were expected to have a background in this area and to have taught, or currently be teaching, the Holocaust as part of their curriculum. The JFR's goal was to further prepare teachers to present this difficult topic to their students. Although the focus varies somewhat from summer to summer, the seminar is held annually and is always, I assume, based on *Voices and Views*. I hope that many teachers will have an opportunity to expand their knowledge of content and resources through the Summer Institute for Teachers, an experience that will enhance their preparation for their classrooms.

"TWO POPES AND THE HOLOCAUST: ZUCCOTTI EXAMINES THE CONTROVERSY"

Courtney Magwire

On 15 October 2002, Susan Zuccotti delivered the 11th annual Hilberg Lecture at the University of Vermont's Billings Campus Center Theater to a large and eager audience. Entitled "Two Popes and the Holocaust: An Examination of the Controversy," Zuccotti's lecture drew in part from her new book *Under His Very Windows: The Vatican and the Holocaust* (Yale University Press, 2002), in which she examines the apparent ambivalence of Popes Pius XI and XII regarding the fate of European Jews during the Third Reich. In her book, Zuccotti explains objectively the situation of Jews in Italy during the time of Nazi and Fascist rule. She stated that her research aimed to "separate fact from fiction, reality from myth about what the two Popes, Pius XI and Pius XII and their principal officials at the Vatican Secretariat of State actually did behind the scenes between 1938 and 1945 to help Jews in Italy, the country where they enjoyed the greatest opportunity to be useful."

In her lecture, Zuccotti outlined the debate that has taken shape over the past few years regarding the two Popes. The subject of Pius XI and Pius XII and the persecution of Jews has become somewhat of a "hot topic," with what Zuccotti referred to as "papal critics" on one side of the debate, and "papal defenders" on the other. She pointed out that critics and defenders do not disagree on all aspects of the issue; for example, both sides agree that the two Popes were not necessarily personally anti-Semitic. However, since the Popes' private papers and most of the Vatican's diplomatic documents are unavailable to the public, historians must assess the Popes' attitudes towards the Holocaust through their public speeches and from what was written in the Vatican daily newspaper *L'Osservatore Romano*.

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Pius XI condemned exaggerated nationalism, statism, and Nazi racism on several occasions during his papacy, which began in 1922 and ended with his death in 1939. In his encyclical of 14 March 1937, *Mit brennender Sorge*, Pius XI criticized German violations of the Concordat of 1933 and stated that “whoever exalts race, or the people, or the State...distorts and perverts an order of the world planned and created by God.” In the summer of 1938, on the eve of anti-Jewish laws being promulgated in Italy, Pius XI made speeches in which he again condemned racism and statism. However, he mentioned racism in only two of the speeches, and did not use the words “Jews” or “anti-Semitism” at all. During his papacy, Pius XI published articles condemning Nazi racism. Yet, he also published articles expressing hostility towards Jews on political, social, and economic grounds and approved of measures that physically separated Jews from Christians. When Mussolini finally introduced anti-Jewish laws in the summer of 1938, the Pope and his assistants objected only to those measures that affected Jewish converts to Catholicism and Jews in mixed marriages.

Pius XII became Pope in February of 1939, a few months before the war broke out. Zuccotti explained that papal critics and defenders tend to agree that, like his predecessor, Pius XII did not protest the Nazi treatment of Jews loudly and precisely. He made an appeal for tolerance in his encyclical *Summi pontificatus* of 20 October 1939. In his Christmas Message of 1942 and Name Day Addresses of 1943 and 1944, Pius XII referred to his compassion for those suffering because of their “nationality or descent.” In four articles published in *L’Osservatore Romano*, he also made indirect references of papal compassion. He never used the words “Jews” or “anti-Semitism” in public addresses and never denounced the murder of Jews by the Nazis and their collaborators.

The papal critics’ and papal defenders’ interpretations of the above-mentioned written documents vary greatly. Defenders argue that when Pius XI and Pius XII publicly denounced racism, they meant to include anti-Semitism. Critics, however, point out that spokesmen for the Roman Catholic Church have never equated the two terms. While the Church has almost always condemned biological racism, it did not refrain in the past from hostility towards Jews for religious, economic, or socio-political reasons.

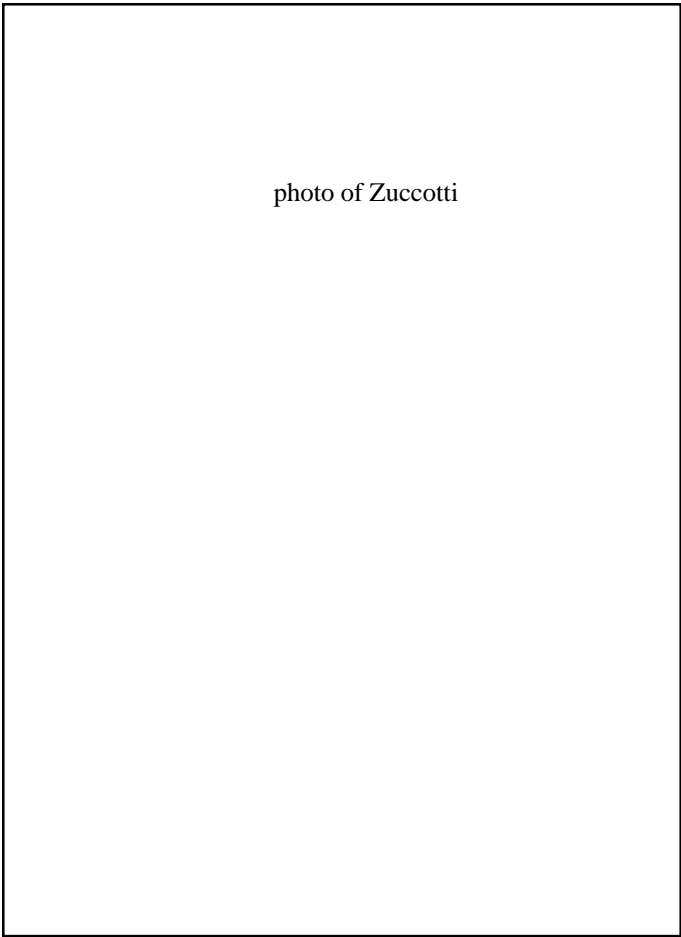
In addition to addressing the public responses of the two Popes, Zuccotti also examined the nature and extent of their behind-the-scenes involvement in efforts to rescue Jews. Zuccotti and several other scholars studied the Vatican’s public documents and concluded that the interventions were “few and far between, tentative and suggestive rather than forceful and confrontational, and rarely, if ever, decisive in the decision-making process regarding the fate of Jews.” Papal defenders have come to different conclusions based on what Zuccotti calls “loose readings out of context of the Vatican’s published documents.” Papal critics have found little evidence that Pius XII was personally involved in rescue efforts. Zuccotti also argued that there is no sound oral or written evidence of a papal directive to the clergy to rescue Jews. She pointed out that while hundreds of courageous men and women of the Church in Italy opened their institutions to thousands of Jews in hiding, there is no reason to believe that they did so because of the Pope.

Critics and defenders of the two popes tend to agree on the reasons for their “papal reticence.” Pius XI and Pius XII were

both strongly anti-communist and regarded the Third Reich as a bulwark against Soviet expansion. They were therefore reluctant to undermine its campaign against Soviet communism. Pius XII wanted to maintain neutrality in order to be able to help negotiate an eventual peace settlement. Both popes feared that a protest would achieve nothing and perhaps make matters worse by provoking the Nazis to invade the Vatican City. Most papal defenders see the reticence of the two popes as understandable and justifiable. In contrast, critics maintain that a papal denunciation of the Holocaust would have saved the lives of thousands of Jews. There was no reason for maintaining neutrality because no hope for a negotiated peace existed; the Allies were committed to an unconditional surrender.

In the course of the lecture, Zuccotti eloquently outlined the lively debate surrounding Popes Pius XI and XII and convincingly showed that while they may have been decent, conscientious men, they were certainly not heroes. Zuccotti urged general readers to do their own research, compare texts, and study conflicting sources in order to form their own well-based, rational opinions about what can be an emotional subject. Such readers should come to their own conclusions about the controversy until, eventually, all the documents are made accessible and, possibly, a greater degree of clarity can be attained.

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BOOK REVIEWS

German Jews: A Dual Identity. Paul Mendes-Flohr. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999. Cloth. \$18.50. ISBN 0-300-07623-1.

The cover jacket's promise of a "brilliant and impassioned study of German-Jewish intellectual and cultural history" is an apt description of this slim volume, which includes key quotations and annotations. The title might first lead one to expect yet another study of contemporary German-Jewish cultural relations in the wake of the Holocaust. Instead, it is a retrospective of 200 years of the discourse of German-Jewish philosophers on how to live the European ideal of cultural pluralism within German society while at the same time preserving a Jewish identity. Paul Mendes-Flohr starts with the Enlightenment and ends with Franz Rosenzweig's death in 1929.

Moses Mendelssohn, the German-Jewish Enlightenment philosopher, had left the ghetto in favor of *Bildung*, the "educational ideal of self-cultivation," in the first phase of eighteenth-century Jewish emancipation. He thought possible a "radical bifurcation of Judaism and cognitive [German] culture," in a word, a *Deutschjudentum*. During the ensuing emancipatory struggles and setbacks, the issue of dual identity posed a challenge to both Germans and Jewish Germans into the twentieth century. Hermann Cohen, philosopher and mentor of Franz Rosenzweig, envisioned a Jewish nation within Germany. This thought arose from the crucible of the First World War and the increase in anti-Semitism, in spite of the fact that tens of thousands of Jews had demonstrated their German patriotism by enlisting and fighting. Such involvement and rejection gave rise to Jewish pride and self-assertion, and one manifestation was Martin Buber's founding, in 1916, of the high-caliber literary and political journal, entitled provocatively, *Der Jude* (The Jew).

Rosenzweig articulated a dual standard: affirming or re-emphasizing Jewishness while being patriotically German and partaking in German culture with affection and informed commitment. He anticipated a "Jewish Renaissance and [then] ... a New Babylon arising on German soil," a *Zweistromland* for Jews. Ironically, this renewed and heightened cognizance of Jewishness came after emancipation, after acculturation, and even after assimilation. At the same time, Jews persisted in believing in the German classical-liberal tradition.

With hindsight, and in light of the Holocaust, this was perhaps naive. But instead of using *ex post facto* knowledge to judge these Jewish thinkers, Mendes-Flohr records their voices and concerns as they were expressed in their time. Yet he does not ignore the underlying problem: "Bearing an obsessive desire to be accepted by a nation that recurrently debated their eligibility for full-fledged citizenship, German Jews are said to have myopically overlooked the fact that most Germans, even liberals and progressives, continued to regard them as outsiders, as alien interlopers."

The author touches the Nazi period only briefly. By then, invidious myths and symbols underlined the sense of belonging determined by race and nationalism, which appealed to the masses more than did high culture. Whatever German-Jewish thinkers had earlier suggested and attempted—including reform of their own religious practices to adapt to German life style, integration,

even conversion—was not good enough. In the end, it was all a matter of blood. To sustain two covalent identities as Germans and Jews was no longer an option. For the Nazis, it became "*die Judenfrage*," and their diabolical answer was that Jews were not to live at all.

For most, this study will serve as a bitter reminder that Germany's noble ideals of *Bildung*—a "ceaseless quest with regard to the good, the true and the beautiful"—failed Germany's Jewish citizens abysmally. Despite the catastrophe of the genocide, Mendes-Flohr closes on a positive note for Jews and with a question mark. He provides an insightful survey of German *Bildung* from its inception in the Enlightenment until it was superseded by the notion of *Volksgemeinschaft* and furnishes an important parallel commentary by German-Jews on this evolution and on how to cope with it. At the same time, he demystifies the disproportionate cultural achievements of German Jewry and explains how and why the cosmopolitan ideal of *Bildung* became an integral part of German-Jewish identity and self-image. He also evokes interest in reading the individual works that he discusses.

This book may become a valuable companion to other highly regarded studies that deal with the anti-Semitism or anti-Judaism that permeated German society over centuries, a category that includes Klaus Fischer, *The History of an Obsession: German Judeophobia and the Holocaust* (1998), Steven Katz, *The Holocaust in Historical Context* (1994), and John Weiss, *Ideology of Death: Why the Holocaust Happened in Germany* (1996). Mendes-Flohr's unique focus on German culture will enlighten anyone interested in German language and letters, be they professors or students, since such German-Jewish issues are seldom included in *Germanistik* curricula in Germany and abroad. The author demonstrates how one can approach this most relevant subject with both academic discipline and compassion.

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Kabbalah and the Holocaust. Bezalel Naor. Spring Valley, NY: Orot, Inc., 2001. 135 pages. Cloth. \$24.95. ISBN 0-9684512-3-X.

To Elie Wiesel the very question was obscene. Attempts to explain *why* God allowed the Holocaust to happen, mercifully few, are a subset of the branch of logic-chopping known as theodicy – the defense of God's actions or inactions in the face of evil, or, in Milton's phrase, to "justify the ways of God to men." For believers in a providential God, the existence of evil is an unanswerable question, at least with the tools of conventional logic. This has not stopped the hopeful from trying, nor others for seeking answers outside the confines of rational method.

The problem of evil was neatly avoided by Mary Baker Eddy, who simply denied its reality. In *When Bad Things Happen to Good People*, Rabbi Harold Kushner, dressed up deism with a modernized version of God the Clockmaker, who created everything and knows everything, but is powerless or disinclined to interfere. The quest to explain why God allowed, not evil in general, but the Holocaust in particular, has generated some grotesque theories, ranging from the moronic (Nazis killed Jews because the Jews rejected Jesus) to the appalling (Nazis killed Jews because Jews didn't observe the Sabbath).

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To Wiesel, the Holocaust had no explanation, and was analogous to the torments of Job. For Viktor Frankl, the Holocaust was an occasion for salvaging some meaning in life. Theodor Adorno found in the Holocaust a new categorical imperative: to order one's thinking and behavior to the end that Auschwitz would never again happen. For Primo Levi and Paul Celan, the response was suicide.

Rabbi Naor offers no explanations. The title *Kabbalah and the Holocaust* promises a bit more than the book delivers. Here is no rigorous application of Cabalistic concepts and principles to the Holocaust. Instead, Naor presents four vignettes from the shtetlach of Eastern Europe, one from Greece, and one from Yemen, illustrating how rabbis and Hasidic rebbes confronted the Holocaust and, in one way or another, surmounted it. The chapters are entitled Brisk, Zutshka, Sofia, Radzyn, San'a, and Ynykcan—each the venue of a distinguished rabbinic dynasty or of a single eminent rabbinic leader. Naor reaches back centuries to show the spiritual threads leading up to the crucial moment during the Holocaust when each chain of piety and devout learning reached its apotheosis in its intersection with ultimate evil.

The stories range from the canny political exertions of Daniel Tzion, head of the Sofia religious court, resulting in the salvation of Bulgaria's Jews with the ambivalent support of King Boris III, to the calls for armed resistance by the Radzyner Rebbe, who, in the end, was killed by a German firing squad. They include the confrontation between the Chief Rabbi of Yemen with the pro-Hitler Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, to a jammed revolver that failed six times to fire a lethal bullet at the Zutshka Rebbe (but when pointed at the Germans' police dog fired flawlessly).

Many of the heroes are Hasidim. Hasidism draws heavily on the Cabalistic cosmogony. Although Cabalistic concepts are mentioned *en passant*, the conjunction in these tales of *Kabbalah* and the Holocaust appears accidental rather than essential. Rabbi Naor makes no effort to "explain" the Holocaust in Cabalistic terms. Naor provides instead a focus for contemplating the Holocaust and, by unexpressed extension, evil in general: the passage from Deuteronomy 31:18 where God says: "On that day I will surely hide my face." In Hebrew, the expression is ?????? (haster astir), an intensive doubling verb form, which Naor renders "the hiding I will hide." The subterranean flow beneath Naor's narrative is the concept that God is to be found "hiding" in the worst evil. This, in turn, suggests the redemptive potential of evil, a notion that will be puzzling to the reader unacquainted with Hasidic thought beyond what Naor provides in this slim book. For *chassidut* (Hasidic philosophy), for example, *Torah Or: Megillat Esther* by Rabbi Shneur Zalman of Liady, evil has the potential of transformation into virtue, and exemplars of the greatest evil, such as Pharaoh, have their spiritual origin in the highest levels. God is merely eclipsed by evil. Removal of the shadow is the task of the pious.

Such a theological position is not theodicy: it makes no attempt to "justify the ways of God to men." It is content to describe what it views as the reality of God-in-evil and leave the work of *tikkun `olam* (repair of the world) to man's good deeds. As such, *Kabbalah and the Holocaust* is contemplative, not pedagogical.

Robert Rachlin
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The Raoul Wallenberg Story: A Conspiracy of Indifference.

Alan Gersten. www.xlibris.com/bookstore. Philadelphia: Xlibris, 2001. ISBN: 0-7388-6602-4. On demand. Paper. \$22.99.

Several books have been written in the last ten years about the heroic accomplishments of Raoul Wallenberg, a Swedish diplomat in Budapest, who saved over 100,000 Jews from certain extermination by the Nazis in 1944. The latest and most detailed of these is by Alan Gersten: *The Raoul Wallenberg Story: A Conspiracy of Indifference*.

By 1944 the plight of the European Jews was well known in the United States. The Nazi policies of exterminating the Jews of Europe could no longer be ignored. Therefore, the leadership of the Jewish community in the United States brought pressure on the Roosevelt Administration to do something must be done to save the remaining Jews. By 1944 the last remaining community of European Jews still alive was in Hungary. Around 750,000 lived in Hungary, of whom 230,000 were in Budapest. In the spring of 1944 the Germans occupied Hungary and immediately began the deportation of Hungarian Jews to the concentration camps at the rate of over 10,000 per day. In order to save these people, an agency was formed by the U.S. government called the War Refugee Board (WRB) whose mission was to try to intervene on behalf of the Hungarian Jews. Iver C. Olsen from the office of Strategic Services (which later became the CIA) was sent to Stockholm on behalf of the WRB to organize a rescue mission. Olsen chose to find a representative in neutral Sweden who would go to Budapest and negotiate with the Hungarians to save Jews. Raoul Wallenberg was asked to undertake the mission. In the first seventy-four pages of his book Gersten introduces the reader to the history of the Wallenbergs, an important family in Sweden, and tells about the work of Raoul Wallenberg and how he managed to save so many people while at the same time risking his own life daily. The heart of the book is the tragic story of how Wallenberg was kidnapped by the Russians a few days after the fall of Budapest in 1945 and the fate he suffered in the Gulag.

Gersten's book is based on years of research and the study of more than 1,500 documents that were recently declassified by the U.S. government. There are many interviews with the immediate family members of Raoul Wallenberg, who have been searching desperately for him for the last fifty years. Gersten interviewed people who either saw Raoul Wallenberg or spent time with him in the Soviet concentration camps as late as 1980.

For me, this book has special significance, since I would not be alive today had it not been for Raoul Wallenberg and what he did for me, my family, and more than 100,000 other Jews. Wallenberg arrived in Budapest in the summer of 1944 as a representative of the Swedish government. He immediately began negotiations with the Hungarian government to save Jewish lives. Wallenberg did not have a blueprint for how to do the job, but he knew that each day counted. In his first meeting with the Hungarian Foreign Minister, Wallenberg proposed that Jews with relatives in Sweden should not be deported. He wanted these people to be regarded as being Swedish citizens and be given a document called a "Schutzpass," or protective passport. Those with such documents would eventually go to Sweden after the war. In the meantime they would live in special buildings that were to be under the protection of the Swedish government. The

initial agreement was for 1,000 Schutzpässe; this was later increased to 4,500.

How did Wallenberg manage to get this agreement? In his initial and in all subsequent negotiations with the Hungarian and other Nazi officials, Wallenberg took the position that the Russians would enter Budapest in a matter of weeks, or months at the latest. The Russians would then search out every Nazi or collaborator responsible for the deportation of the Jews. These people would be quickly tried, convicted, and hanged as criminals of war. Wallenberg argued that he would be in a position to save the Nazis' necks by testifying to the Russians on behalf of anyone who cooperated with him in saving Jewish lives. To make the deal even sweeter, Wallenberg offered the Nazis bribes.

Getting these passports was only the beginning of Wallenberg's achievements. He also had to find those who could qualify for these documents, and he had to reach these people right away. Every day thousands of Jews were being taken away to be murdered. On any given day over 10,000 people were gathered at a defunct brick factory at the edge of Budapest. From there they walked a distance of 120 miles to the Austrian border, were loaded into cattle cars, and were taken to the gas chambers.

Wallenberg, along with Per Anger, Lars Berg, and other diplomats of the Swedish Embassy, went directly to the brick factory looking for Jews who had relatives in Sweden. There Wallenberg addressed the crowd and asked who had relatives in Sweden? Those who did should step forward. My cousin, Susan Tabor and her mother were among those that did so. They raised their hands and showed Raoul Wallenberg a few pieces of plain paper. He quickly looked at the papers and declared them to be valid documents. He told both to get on a waiting truck which would take them back to Budapest. Wallenberg repeated these trips daily and continued to save people by the thousands. When they arrived in the city these people were given shelter and food in the specially protected houses. My cousin Susan, her parents, my family and I managed to be saved in one these houses. Our living conditions were such that every apartment and hallway was filled to capacity. We slept head to toe on the floor with barely enough space to turn over. We were grateful just to be alive.

By January, Budapest was totally surrounded by the advancing Soviet troops. The Nazis and the Hungarian Arrow Cross were still obsessed with killing the remaining Jews of Budapest. There were over 70,000 still alive in the central ghetto. None of them qualified for any protection. The Arrow Cross had plans to invade the ghetto to murder all of them either by shooting or by dynamiting the buildings in which they were held. Wallenberg rushed to the ghetto and persuaded the German commandant, General Schmidhuber, to stop the plan. The commandant saw an opportunity to save his own life and escape trial after the war. Thanks to Wallenberg's intervention the ghetto was not blown up and an additional 70,000 people were saved. Our protected house was liberated by the Russians on 15 January 1945. For us the Holocaust was over.

Two days after our liberation Raoul Wallenberg and his driver were met by a Russian army officer, who ordered them to follow him. They were driven to Debrecen, near the Romanian border, where they met Marshal Malinovsky. According to Alan Gersten, following that meeting Wallenberg and his driver were put on a train under guard and taken to Moscow. We now know that from that time on Wallenberg was a prisoner of the Russians and spent the rest of his life in one concentration camp or another.

At that time, those of us who were saved by Raoul Wallenberg were totally unaware of his whereabouts. On the day of his disappearance the war was still going on in Budapest. Daily life was in total chaos. Any available news was based on rumor and hearsay. As life became more normal we heard that Raoul Wallenberg was killed in crossfire a few days after the fall of Budapest. We could not corroborate these stories.

In 1980 Elenore Lester published an article in the *New York Times* that told the story of Raoul Wallenberg and his mission to Budapest in 1944. In the article Lester also told the horrible story of how Raoul Wallenberg was kidnapped by the Russians in 1945 and stated that he might still be alive as a prisoner. Lester wrote that several former prisoners from the gulag had seen Wallenberg alive as late as the mid-1970s.

Gersten's extensively researched book describes in great detail Wallenberg's incarceration in the Soviet penal system. For fifty years, from the years of terror under Stalin to *glasnost*, the Soviet government lied about the fact that Wallenberg was in their custody. For nearly forty years the governments of Sweden and the U.S. made half-hearted efforts to find out what happened to Wallenberg following that fateful meeting with Malinovsky. Gersten documents in great detail how Wallenberg's life was sacrificed because of political factors. During the Cold War, European and U.S. governments had many opportunities to free Wallenberg, either through negotiations or in exchange for Soviet spies, but failed to do so. As late as 1980, people coming out of Soviet camps told stories of having shared cells with Wallenberg at various times.

Gersten writes that while governments failed to find Raoul Wallenberg, his immediate family continuously tried to locate him. His mother Maj von Dardel, half-brother Guy von Dardel, Per Anger, and others who worked with Wallenberg in the Swedish Embassy tried relentlessly to get information from the Russian, Swedish, and U.S. governments. By 1980 a Free Wallenberg Committee had been formed in the United States to once again pressure the U.S. government to try to rescue Raoul Wallenberg. Tom and Annette Lantos, along with my cousin Susan—all survivors in Budapest thanks to Raoul Wallenberg—were active members of that committee. Tom Lantos, Democratic Congressman from California, introduced legislation in Congress that would declare Raoul Wallenberg an honorary U.S. citizen, thereby making it possible for the U.S. government to negotiate directly with the Soviets on his behalf. After much effort and lobbying President Reagan signed the declaration and Raoul Wallenberg became the third honorary U.S. citizen since 1776. Nina Langeren said, "I thought the Americans would have done more. This implied action, but it did not come to pass."

I found Alan Gersten's book emotionally very painful to read. Raoul Wallenberg saved my life, and just days after my own liberation he was taken prisoner and confined to concentration camps where he suffered for years under the harshest conditions. In spite of all his extensive research for this book, Gersten has no definite answers for why the Russians kidnapped Raoul Wallenberg. One theory is that the Russians assumed that Wallenberg was a spy for the Americans because of his connection to Olsen. The secret police also accused Wallenberg of being a spy for the Germans as well. They claimed that the money Wallenberg had at his disposal was obtained through spying. The Russians could not believe that the sole reason Wallenberg went to Hungary was to bargain for

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Jewish lives. Nevertheless, even if we assume that Wallenberg was wrongly kidnapped, why is it that every Russian government from the Stalin era to the present still refuses to reveal the truth?

In the conclusion of his book Alan Gersten writes, "In any event, the people he saved and the descendants of the people he saved and those that later learned of his heroics at that focal point in history will always keep Raoul Wallenberg alive." Every summer for the last ten years The Center for Holocaust Studies at the University of Vermont has held a week-long seminar on the Holocaust for teachers in New England. I have had the privilege of being invited to speak about my experiences in Budapest and tell the story of how Raoul Wallenberg saved over 100,000 Jews.

Gersten's book has provided me with valuable information to make my lectures more meaningful. The power of this book is that it connects people to the painful irony that he who saved so many lives himself languished, suffered and died alone in a concentration camp.

Gabe Hartstein
Burlington, VT

Gabe Hartstein contributed to *The Holocaust: Personal Accounts*, published by the Center for Holocaust Studies in 2001.

The Spirit That Moves Us. Volume I: A Literature-based Resource Guide: Teaching about Diversity, Prejudice, Human Rights, and the Holocaust for Grades Kindergarten through Four. Laura R. Petovello; revised by Donna Taranko and Sharon Nichols. 192 pages. ISBN: 0-88448-204-9. **Volume II: A Literature-based Resource Guide, Teaching about the Holocaust and Human Rights for Grades Five through Eight.** Rachel Quenk. 170 pages. ISBN: 0-88448-187-5. **Volume III: Using Literature, Art, and Music to Teach about the Holocaust at the Secondary and College Level.** Lorry Stillman. 220 pages. ISBN: 0-88448-230-8. Gardiner, Maine: Tilbury House Publishers, 1998, 1997 and 2001. Paper, 19.95 per volume.

The Spirit that Moves Us is a three-volume set of paperback books published in association with the Holocaust Human Rights Center of Maine. The first volume was published in 1998 as "a literature-based resource guide" for grades kindergarten through four. In this volume emphasis is placed on teaching about diversity (as opposed to race). The five chapters are: "Celebrating Diversity," "Learning from Many Cultures," "Creating Community," "Confronting Prejudice," and "Beginning Holocaust Studies." Each of these chapters is introduced in a similar fashion with historical background for teachers, sample lesson plans for selected books, discussion questions, and numerous suggestions for learning activities in fields ranging from art and drama to language arts and even math and science. The books chosen are of high quality and wide-ranging. Some are fairly recent, such as *Uncle Willie and the Soup Kitchen* (1991) or *Child of the Warsaw Ghetto* (1995), while others are standard "classics" such as *Blueberries for Sal* (1948). For each of the twenty-three books chosen for this volume there is a story summary, a concepts summary, a list of objectives, additional book suggestions, and a list of well-thought-out discussion questions, in addition to the suggested learning activities mentioned above. The volume also includes two excel-

lent appendices. The first consists of "articles for teachers" and contains Herbert Buschbaum's "Why do People Hate?" as well as "History of the Holocaust," "Children's History in the Holocaust," and "Guidelines for Teaching the Holocaust" from the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum—all extremely informative, especially for the elementary-level teacher with a minimal background in teaching about the Holocaust. The second appendix is called "Resources for Teachers" and contains an extensive annotated bibliography aligned with the five chapters of the book, with each section further broken down into background reading, resources for the classroom, and supplemental children's books. Also included are bibliographies on prejudice and discrimination, human rights, and the Holocaust, as well as ecology and teaching strategies. This bibliographical section concludes with an extensive videography with a long annotated list of videos for students and another for teachers. Finally the book concludes with a list of addresses of Holocaust and human rights organizations and a three-page list of recommended children's books.

The second volume of this series is for grades five through eight. Like the first volume, it is divided into chapters aimed to teach students "not only about the Holocaust, but also about their own culture, society, and civic responsibilities." These chapters are entitled: "Cultural Identity: The Positive Power of Belonging," "Forging an American Identity: Immigration and Assimilation," "Differences as Dividers: Prejudice and Discrimination," "Doing the Right Thing: Making Moral and Ethical Decisions," "Shattered Lives: The Holocaust Begins," "Lasting Effects: Survivors' Stories," "Heroes and Heroines: Those Who Made a Difference," and "Personal Best: Making a Difference in Today's World." As in the previous volume, each of these chapters begins with an introduction before presenting lesson plans for individual books that include story and concepts summaries, objectives, suggested topics for discussion, and ideas for supplemental activities. The selected books are once again excellent and range from classics such as *Anne Frank: The Diary of a Young Girl* to recent titles such as *Sky: A True Story of Resistance During World War II* (1996). A list of picture books is also included, which teachers for this age group might choose to use to augment the topics discussed. This volume, like the first, concludes with useful appendices. The first called "A Common Language: Finding Ways to Speak About the Unspeakable" is a helpful guide for teachers on how to approach the topics covered in the book. The second appendix includes the same articles for teachers which appear in volume one. The third appendix is the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. There is also an extensive bibliography and videography, as well as a list of sources for obtaining audiovisual materials.

The third volume of this series is sub-titled "Using Literature, Art, and Music to Teach about the Holocaust at the Secondary and College Level" and follows a somewhat different format than the first two volumes. There is an excellent introduction, which includes a list of valuable Internet sources, a succinct three-page chronology of important events of the Holocaust, and a glossary of terms used in Holocaust study. In addition, to help implement some of the teaching ideas suggested by the author, there are sample forms for how to keep a reading response journal, how to keep recorder's notes for small group work, and an evaluation form for research presentations. Included in this volume are chapters on short stories, on books, on poetry of the Holocaust, on art before, during and after World War II, and on music of the

Holocaust. For the chapters on written works the author includes a relevant glossary and a general introduction, a character list, a plot summary, teaching objectives, and an analysis of the work. Each entry concludes with presentation and writing ideas as well as a list of suggested readings. For the section on art there is an informative introduction to the various types of art (for example, “degenerate art,” propaganda, art of the Holocaust), descriptions and analyses of the plates included as well as introductions to the artists themselves, a glossary of terms, and a useful section entitled “How to view a piece of art.” This section concludes with suggestions for projects and research topics as well as a list of suggested readings and videos. The final section of the volume addresses music, and it likewise has a good general introduction that discusses three types of music (ghetto resistance music, “degenerate music,” and music of Terezin) and introduces three major composers. This section also includes a list of available recordings and, like the previous section, has a list of writing and presentation ideas as well as suggested readings. The volume concludes with a list of eighteen additional ideas for supplemental activities based on the Holocaust as well as a select bibliography, videography and CD Rom suggestions.

All three volumes of this series are excellent resources for teaching about diversity, tolerance, and the Holocaust. They neither assume too much nor too little prior knowledge on the part of the teacher and are extremely “user-friendly” in their format. All three volumes contain numerous teaching ideas so that any educator could “pick and choose” and adapt the material to fit most curricula. In Vermont the teaching suggestions mesh nicely with *Vermont’s Framework of Standards and Learning Opportunities*. These volumes belong in the professional library of every elementary and secondary school, and they would be invaluable additions to the personal libraries of teachers of all disciplines as well.

Barbara Mieder
Milton High School

“HUNTED IN BERLIN”

(Continued from page 8)

Where does this savior get his information?

There is only one possible explanation.

Namely, the girl friend whom that acquaintance brought with him once when he came to visit. A “blonde angel,” a radiant beauty, whose appearance left me speechless. There are five of us sitting round the table, drinking our coffee. Not a word of the conversation reaches me. The phrase “I was all ears” applies to me only if we substitute a different organ: “I was all eyes.” Directly across from me an apparition who left all film stars in the shade lifts her cup to her lips and drinks. For a few seconds her raised arm obscures the rather generous décolleté that reveals more than just a hint of her breasts. Between them a golden crucifix swings to and fro, which confuses me, because the woman is, as I’ve heard, Jewish. Face to face with so much beauty and grace I feel ungainly and awkward. And out of the corner of my eye I am amazed to see how ugly my parents have become in the past quarter of an hour.

The person and the given name coincide one hundred percent: Stella. But this star is, as I learn after the war, a snitch for the Gestapo, who sniffs out hidden Jews and delivers them up for deportation. Tortured and enticed by the unkept promise that her parents would be spared, she provides Auschwitz with several hundred victims. Sometimes she’s called Kübler, sometimes Goldschlag; she’s arrested in 1945 by the Russians and sentenced to detention in the gulag. Subsequently released, the angel of death moves under a false name to a provincial town in West Germany where she continues to deny her activities in the face of all overwhelming factual evidence.*

Is our good acquaintance at the coffee table the warning voice on the telephone?

Whether my parents were aware of the circumstances is one of those secrets that normally go to the grave with those who know them. That Stella perhaps attempted to protect some people fits into the psychogram of evildoers. In dysfunctional consciences one good deed is supposed to make up for countless evil deeds. And by exercising the art of repression almost anyone can succeed.

* Stella is the most notorious of the “catchers,” Jews who identified, located, and informed on other Jews. See Peter Wyden, *Stella* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1992).

Günter Kunert (1929-) is a significant contemporary writer. He was a prominent East German dissident until his expulsion in 1979. His book *Erwachsenenspiele* (1997; Grown-up Games) contains lively descriptions of his childhood as a half-Jew during the Third Reich in Berlin as well as his years striving for reform through his writings under the repressive East German regime.

The *Bulletin of the Center for Holocaust Studies* is published semiannually by the Center for Holocaust Studies at the University of Vermont. All correspondence, including address changes, should be sent to: The Center for Holocaust Studies, Old Mill A301, The University of Vermont, 94 University Place, Burlington, VT 05405-4055, or to Holocaust.Studies@uvm.edu.

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The Center for Holocaust Studies at the University of Vermont was established in 1993 to honor the scholarly and pedagogical legacy of Raul Hilberg, Professor *emeritus* of Political Science at The University of Vermont. His monumental work, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, changed the way historians and students around the world view the Holocaust. Since Dr. Hilberg began his research at the University of Vermont in the late 1950s, what was a reluctance to confront the facts of the Holocaust has given way to a hunger for the truth.

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Spring Events

Free and Open to the Public

31 March 2003

Fourteenth Harry H. Kahn Lecture

**"The Thread of Language Through History:
From the Third Reich to the Present"**

Karin Doerr, Concordia University

4 pm

Memorial Lounge, Waterman Building
Tel. (802) 656-3430

10 April 2003

Concert

**Undying Flame:
Ballads and Songs of the Holocaust**

Jerry Silverman

7 pm

Recital Hall, Music Building
Tel (802) 656-1492

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