

THE BULLETIN OF



CA I E I F E
& E A D I E
CE E F

HOLOCAUST STUDIES

Volume 12, Number 1

Fall, 2007

UVM Honors Professor Raul Hilberg

By Frank Nicosia

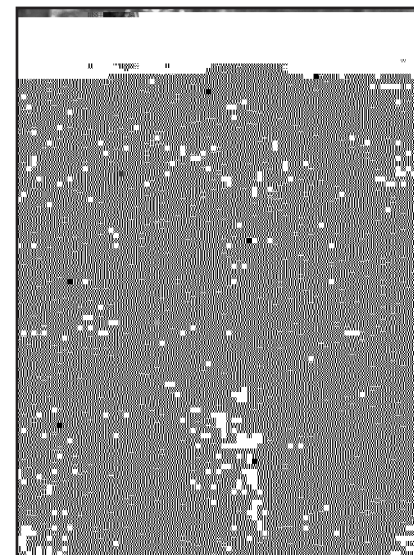
On 22 October, in a moving public tribute in the Ira Allen chapel, the University of Vermont honored the life and legacy of Professor Raul Hilberg. Attended by Raul's dear wife Gwen, as well as friends, colleagues, and admirers from the local area and from around the country, speakers honored Professor Hilberg's unparalleled achievements and contributions to the Vermont over the past half century.

Professors Christopher R. Browning of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, and Peter F. Hayes of Northwestern University described the unique impact of Raul Hilberg's scholarship, in particular the publication in 1961 of his seminal history of the Holocaust, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, on their own scholarly careers and Professor of History Robert V. Daniels, Emeritus

scholarly and teaching achievements at UVM and the important part they played over the years in the lives of countless UVM students. Finally, at a dinner that Washington, D.C., paid tribute to Raul Hilberg's critically important role in the establishment of the Center for Advanced Holocaust and Genocide Studies in the ongoing work of its Center for Advanced Holocaust and Genocide Studies

In conjunction with a planned 13 April 2008 "Retrospective" on Professor Hilberg's scholarship, the editors will reprint all of these moving tributes in

role that Hilberg's scholarship played in Germany's post-World War II confrontation with its recent history. UVM president Daniel Mark Fogel spoke about the invaluable combination of Raul Hilberg's



kpfxkfwnø"ugih/"fgŁpkvkqp."cpf"ycu"pqv"cnyc{u"vq"dg"
determined by an outsider's view. Another question

1933 in Berlin where, Lehmann said, Goering offered to make her a permanent member of the *Preussische Staatsoper*." Eqpfkvkqpu" ygtg" cvvcejgf." ejkgf{" vjcv" she was not to sing outside of Germany. Lehmann set a few conditions of her own: an appointment as *Preussische Kammersängerin*, an apartment in Berlin, and a position for her brother (a vocal coach). Lehmann's description of the encounter concluded with her gazing out the window with Goering and one of his pet lions.

However, Lehmann's account continued, when she received the contract, it made no mention of jgt" tgswwguvu" Ujg" y tqvg" c" ngvvtg" kp" rtqvguv" vjcv" y cu" shown to both Goering and Hitler. The upshot was, she refused to sing only in Germany; therefore she was forbidden to sing in Germany. "My eyes had been opened to their crimes and I never went back," Lehmann wrote.

" Cu" Mcvgt" fkueqxtgf." vjku" ceeqwpv" y cu" jki jn{" eqpvtkxgf" Kv" y cu." kh" cp{vjkipi." vjg" Lpcn" xgtukqp" qh" Lehmann's carefully crafted image of herself as "a tgukuvpeg" Lijvgt.ö" c" rgtgrvkqp" vjcv." kh" ceegrvgf" by the public, would help her establish a career in America. Moreover, her public relations efforts were not solo undertakings. Erika Mann and several other kp f wgpvkn" htkgpfu" eqttqdtcvgf" jgt" cevkqpu." etgfkvki" her with political acumen. In 1948, Friedelind Wagner, Richard Wagner's granddaughter, helped Lehmann by writing that Goering had given the diva a choice.

" Vjg" eqttgurqpfpeg" Mcvgt" hqwpf" kp" vjg" *Theatermuseum* provide evidence for a different story, although a post-war letter to Heinz Tietjen, the fktgevqt" qh" vjg" Rtwuukcp" Uvcvg" Qrgtc" yjq" y cu" cnuq" present during Lehmann's meeting with Goering, indicates that the lion, was likely not a fabrication. As for the rest, the conditions of the contract offered Lehmann were the real stumbling block. It made no mention of her conditions, including her appointment as *Preussische Kammersängerin*, a position that ecttkgf" Lpcpekn" dgpgLvu" cu" ygnn" cu" uvcvwu" Yjgp" Lehmann protested, Tietjen reported that Goering was furious that she would not consider this a service to the German people" and that the position was no longer available. Lehmann's telegraphed response included the protest that her international career was not business, but her vocation.

Additional letters and other documents reveal vjcv"Ngj o cpp" y cu" hct" htq o "cxgtug" vq" vjg" Pc|ku" Ujg"

recommended a German friend and member of the Nazi party for a job. One of the few reviews pasted into her scrapbook is from the Nazi newspaper the *Völkische Beobachter*. Additionally, at a time when Arturo Toscaninni was refusing to conduct in Bayreuth, Lehmann attended a party at the German ambassador's residence in New York, one to which Bruno Walter, her accompanist and a Jew, had not been invited. In addition, in 1934, even though she was advised not to perform in Germany, she gave two concerts in Munich. In 1938, writing from New York, she requested and received her pension from vjg"Xkgppc"Uvcvg"Qrgtc." rckf"kpqv"cp"guetqy"ceeqwpv" because she said her inability to return was out of her eqpvtqn"Ujg"tgegkxgf"vjcv"rgpukqp"wpvkn"3;630"

kp" vjg" gpf." Mcvgt" eqpenwfgf." Ngj o cpp" fgekfgf"vq"uvc{"kp"vjg"Wpkvgf"Uvcvgu"kp"3;5:"dgecwug" she knew she wasn't welcome in the Third Reich or in that part of the Reich that had been Austria. In Lwpg"3;67."ujg"dgec o g" c" W0U0"ekvk|gp0"Cnvjqwi j"ujg" jcf" c"nqpi"ectggt"kp"vjg"Wpkvgf"Uvcvgu."kv"fkf"pqv"tgcej" vjg"ngxgn"ujg"jcf"jqrgf"Vjcv" y cu."Mcvgt"uckf."öVjg" price of reaching for the stars by making a pact with vjg" fgxknö" Mcvgtø" fkueqxtg{" qh" vjg" fqew o gpvu" kp" Vienna does not affect Lehmann's artistic merit, but it does, as he said, "put into question her character as a member of the human race." The diva had a tin ear when it came to what was morally right.

Mcvgt"enqugf" jku"ngevwtg" d{" eqpvtcuvkpi" Ngj o cppø" opportunistic use of the image of the resistance Lijvgt"cpf" xkevko"qh"cp" gxkn" go rktg" ykvj" Jkndgtiø" own use of evidence, which those at the lecture had seen at work in the clip from *Shoah*"Cu"Mcvtg"uckf." "Hilberg showed us a new and constructive way of remembering."

Joseph Hahn on his 90th Birthday, 20 July 2007

By Thomas B. Schumann
(Translated by David Scrase)

""""""Htcp|"Mchmc" y cu"pqv"vjg"qp{"tgrtgugpvckxg"qh" what is now known as "Prague-German literature," that is to say the literature written in German by residents of what became Czechoslovakia in 1919. Vjgtg" ctg" qvjgt" ukipkLecpv" cwvjqtu." nkmg" Htcp|" Ygthgn." Ocz" Dtqf." Giqp" Gtykp" " Mkuej." Ngqrqnf"

camp intended for such Jews. Put to work in the so-called "Burial Detail" and only sixteen years old, young Emil's prospects for survival were not good. With luck and through connections he was, however, able to move to a better environment, to lighter work, and the possibility of extra food with an assignment in the kitchen. Here it was, furthermore, warmer during the winter months. His father died in Theresienstadt early in 1943, and the rest of the family was deported to Auschwitz in 1944. Here, with considerable resourcefulness and strength of character, Emil Landau survived many selections and bombardments. Eventually he was, however, selected and sent to the death barracks. As they were undressing, he and some young friends noticed a

including a detailed biographical section on the Polish-born teenager, Herschel Grynszpan, whose

direct, nationwide, physical violence, combined with arson, the destruction of property, the theft of property, the impoverishment of a whole community, physical assault, deportation and mass murder (p. 269).

While clearly not as calculated and focused as Mtkuvcnmpcejv." vjg" Pc|ku" fkf" fguvvtq{ "u{pci qiwgu" kp" numerous communities across the Reich in the years prior to November 1938, including ones in Munich, Pwtg o dgti." Fqtv o wpf." cpf" Mckugtuncwvgtpl" Vjg{ "cnuq" engaged in deliberate harassment and discrimination on a national level, including organizing a boycott of Jewish businesses in 1933, and issuing restrictive decrees regarding how and when Jews could conduct business, attend school, and use public facilities, etc. Furthermore, the Nazis constructed what they believed ygtg" tcekn" fgLpkvkqpu" qh" yjq" ycu" Lgykuj." ykvj" whom Jews could have relationships, and ultimately reduced all Jews to mere subjects of the state through the Nuremberg Laws and their subsequent decrees beginning in 1935. To this reader, these are rather uk i pkLecpv" cpf" ecnewncvfg" fkuetk o kpcvqt{ "uvgru." yjkej" although not accompanied by mass arrests and some 100 murders in one day, certainly severely impacted Jewish life in Germany.

Furthermore, to elevate this one event as vjg" İcu j r qkp" kp" vjg" Pc|k" kpkvkcvkqp" qh" vjg" õHkpcn" Uqnwvkqp" vq" vjg" Lgykuj" S wguvkqpö" tgs wktgu" c" o qtg" thorough substantiation than Gilbert offers in these pages. Issues of continued Jewish emigration from the Reich through 1941, attempts to resettle Jews in Eastern Poland or on Madagascar in 1940, the impact of warfare in the Fall of 1939 through the Urtkpi" qh" 3; 67." vjg" kpİ w gpeg" qh" fg o q i tcr jkeu" ykvj" massive increases in the population of Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe, responses by the Allied forces to news of the Nazi Holocaust, and the role of the so-called Nazi Euthanasia program and other Nazi racial initiatives are among the pertinent topics Gilbert does not address.

Lastly, Gilbert concludes with a paragraph that appears not to be in keeping with the rest of the book:

As they were taking place, the events of Mtkuvcnmpcejv" ujqemgf" ugpuvkxg." jw o cpg" o gp" and women everywhere. First when emigration was still possible, and then when the Nazi regime turned from extrusion to extermination, there

were always those who made every effort to take in refugees, and to save those who could be ucxgf" Uwej" i gpgtqwu" uqwnu" ygtg" hgy" kp" pwo dgt." but large in spirit. Thanks to them, amid the collapse of morality, morality survived. Amid the ruins of civilisation, civilisation was reborn. But the losses are irreplaceable.

In Mtkuvcnmpcejv he does mention several individuals who assisted Jews in their attempts to leave Germany and Austria, or who helped mitigate the suffering during the November 1938 pogrom. The vast majority of his narrative, however, has dggp" cdqww" vjg" vgttqt" cpf" uwhhgkpi" kpİ kevgf" wrqp" the Jews. Although he concludes that: "the losses are irreplaceable," why even focus in the last sentences on the rebirth of morality and civilization when he has directed so much attention on loss?

Uwej" c" eqpenwukqp" ku" pqv" wpr tgeg fgpvgf" vgttkvqt{ " for Gilbert. In his 1985 *The Holocaust: A History of the Jews of Europe During the Second World War*, he draws on oral testimonies and eyewitness narratives to tell the story of the Nazi Holocaust. He spends over 800 pages chronicling the death and destruction of individuals and communities, and then ends the book with the following:

[...] To die with dignity was a form of resistance. To resist the dehumanizing, brutalizing force of evil, to refuse to be abased to the levels of animals, to live through the torment, to outlive the tormentors, these too were resistance. Merely to give witness to one's own testimony was, in the gpf." vq" eqpvtkdwwg" vq" c" o qtcn" xkevqt{0" Uk o rn{ " vq" survive was a victory of the human spirit (p. 828).

Left implied in this conclusion is that those who died without dignity did not resist, and that those who died are examples of the defeat of the human spirit, conclusions that simply do not correspond to the rest of the book.

Rgtjcruc" o qtg" Lvvkpi" eqpenwukqp" vq" Mtkuvcnmpcejv would have been to detail what happened to the individuals he focused on, or even describe what happened to the damaged and destroyed synagogues. That every synagogue in Germany today is under 24-hour police protection, and that the newly tgqrpgpf" T{mguvtcuug" U{pci qiwg" kp" Gcu" Dgtnkp."

the largest synagogue in Germany, even has its own police station within the building, might raise another set of questions worth examining.

Robert Bernheim,
Executive Director, Holocaust and Human Rights Center of Maine at the University of Maine at Augusta

¹ For a more nuanced discussion of the impact of the Uvct"qh" Fexkf"qp"vjg"Lgykuj" rqrwncvkqp"qh" Igt ocp{"ugg"Octkqp"C0"Mcrcnp."Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 157-160.

Book Review

Between Home and Homeland: Youth Aliyah from Nazi Germany.

Brian Amkraut.

Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2006. Pp. zkk" - "4540"KUDP/35<;9:/2/:395/3735/;0

The relationship between the Zionist movement inside and outside of Germany and Hitler's regime rtkqt"vq"vjg"öLpcn"uqnwvkqpö"jcu"dggp"cu"ugpukvkg"kuuwg" in the historiography of the Third Reich and the Holocaust. Consequently, it has also been a topic that, with some exceptions, has generally been ignored – qt" rgtjcru" oqtg"vq"vjg" rkpq." cxqkfgf0"Uq o g" jcxg" cwtkdwvgf" cpvk/Ugokvke" oqvkgu" vq" cp{" cuugtvkqp" that Zionist ideology and practice were particularly attractive to and useful for the Nazi regime as a mechanism for forcing Jewish emigration, and even required some degree of cooperation. From the opposite side of the spectrum have come equally facile and self-serving notions that Nazi use of the Zionist oqxg o gpv"eqwrngf" ykvj" \kqpkuv"ghhqtvu"vq"Łpf"uq o g" sort of accommodation with the regime prove that the Zionists were Hitler's partners, that Hitler was not all bad, and that in the end he gave the Jews their own state in 1948. That this "reluctance" seems to be waning might explain recent and impending studies that in varying degrees deal with the general question of Zionism in Nazi Germany. Brian Amkraut's

Between Home and Homeland: Youth Aliyah from Nazi Germany is one such study.

Ucwn"Htkgfn@pfgt"jcu"eqwpugngf"vjcv"kv"ku"guugpvken" to connect the victims' experiences to the decision-making process and policy implementation of the perpetrators when writing about the Holocaust. In keeping with this approach, the author has written a superb study of Youth Aliyah from Germany before vjg"öLpcn"uqnwvkqpö"

In the complex fabric of the relationship between Igt ocp"Lgyu"cpf"vjg" Pc|k"uvcvg" rtkqt"vq"vjg" öLpcn" solution," the history of the Youth Aliyah movement after 30 January 1933 is but one of the many threads that together constitute the tragedy of German Jewry during the Nazi years. It naturally assumes a much larger role in the history of German Zionism during those years, in part because of its obvious focus on Jewish youth and the particular plight of young Jews in Germany. If Zionism was attractive to German Jews at all fwtkpi"vjg"kpvg/yct" rgtkqf."kv" ycu"Łtuv" and foremost to young people, large numbers of whom naturally rebelled against their parents' world view. More important, however, is the fact that the substance of Nazi Jewish policy beginning in 1933, with its anti-Jewish legislation, constant harassment and intimidation, and periodic violence, almost immediately deprived young people of any hope for a future in Germany. In particular, they were forced to confront the rapid disappearance of, among other things, virtually all future educational and professional opportunities in Germany.

This monograph provides the reader with the proper historical context as it seeks to convey the importance of the Youth Aliyah during those years. And it does this quite well by keeping Nazi Jewish policy as it evolved after 1933, as well as a more detailed account of the demise of German Jewish life as a result of that policy, as essential contexts in understanding the history of Youth Aliyah. The movement clearly had to tailor its message to the particular realities of a mostly assimilated, largely urban and bourgeois German Jewish community under direct assault from the Nazi state. Of particular value is the book's periodic use of individual cases of young Jews and their families who opted for the Youth Aliyah program, their particular circumstances, and the understandably mixed reactions of families

to the idea of their children joining Youth Aliyah and eventually setting out for Palestine at such an early age. In this regard in particular, the book offers valuable insights into an important aspect of the struggle of German Jewish families to cope with an ever deepening crisis.

Finally, the author also provides detailed analysis of the Palestine end of the process, especially the debates within the *yishuv* over the philosophical basis of Youth Aliyah, as well as the settlement process and programs that German Jewish youth encountered once they arrived in Palestine via the Youth Aliyah program. Of particular importance is the former, with its wrenching debates over “selectivity” versus “rescue” as the continuing rationale for Youth Aliyah under rapidly changing circumstances in Germany. Ujqwnf" c" jki jn{" ugngevkxg" rtqegu" vjcv" uqwi jv" qpn{" those youths best suited for resettlement and life in Palestine be maintained? Or should more emphasis be placed on the rescue of as many young Jews as possible, regardless of their “suitability” for life in Eretz Israel, in the face of an increasingly threatening situation in Germany?

Kv"ku" jctf"vq"Łpf"hcwnv" y kvj"vjku"gzegnngpv"uvwf {"qh" an important but little-known facet of German Jewish history during the Nazi years. Perhaps some more detailed context of German Zionist organizations and institutions, and Youth Aliyah’s relationship to them, would have been useful. It is still unclear, hqt" kpuvpeg." gzcavn{" j qy" [qwj" Cnk{cj" Łv" kp vq" or coexisted with the policies of the Zionistische Xgtgkpiwpi" hÄt" Fgwwuejncpf" cpf" gxgp" vjg" u o cnn" tgxkukppkuv" Uvccvu|kppkuvkuejg" Qt i cpkucvkqp." cpf" vjg" extensive programs that were in some way connected to these two organizations during those years. This is particularly important with regard to the necessary r qkpvu"qh"eqpvcev"vjcv"gzkuvf"dgvy ggp"qhŁekcn" \kqpkuv" institutions in Germany and the Nazi regime through 1938 and to some extent thereafter. And, while Youth Aliyah programs were meant for youths below the age of eighteen, what was the nature of their relationship to the many retraining programs for people eighteen and older that *Hechaluz* as well as German Jewish organizations operated inside and outside of Germany during those years?

Between Home and Homeland: Youth Aliyah from Nazi Germany is a welcome addition to the literature

on the history of German Jewry and German Zionism during the Nazi years. In particular, Brian Amkraut is to be commended for an extremely well-researched and well-written study that provides a valuable window into the trauma, tragedy, and hopes for the future of German Jewish youths and their families in the face of Nazi persecution.

Frank Nicosia, Professor
Uckpv"Okejcgno"Eqnng i g
Interim Director, Carolyn and Leonard Miller
Egpvgt"hqt" J qnqecwuv"Uvwfkgu."WXO"

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Publications to Look For:

The Bulletin of the Carolyn & Leonard Miller