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ROBERT SCHINDEL

Helga Schreckenberger
The University of Vermont

With his novel *Gebürtig (Born Where)*, published in 1992, Robert Schindel became one of the best-known authors of contemporary Austrian Jewish literature. He had, however, long been a strong presence on the Austrian literary scene. He started writing poetry in the late 1950s, but did not pursue a literary career seriously until 1969, when he co-founded the literary journal *Hundsblume*. At this time, Schindel supported himself by means

complex writings took a more personal direction. In his poetry, Schindel started to explore his own history in relation to the Holocaust and its legacy. It was, however, his novel *Gebürtig*, published in 1992, which established him as a major voice among the "second generation" Jewish writers in Austria. The novel was an instantaneous success in Austria and Germany and was translated into English and Hebrew. In 1998, it was made into a movie with Schindel as co-author of the film script.

Gebürtig is a compelling, multi-layered exploration of the

Twenty-three Years
(A Chronicle after R. Hilberg)

*Robert Schindel**
Trans. David Scrase

In the windswept squared-off grid Galicia
From the village Nevermore the gentlemen chased
The Jews out and on to the edge of the forest
The same Jews who had dug the pits
Into which they were now piled and shot

A soldier stood there as the Jews
Were forced to undress and walk past him obediently
And lie down next to Mama's corpse and Papa's corpse
So he could shoot them with the others

A woman with half-length blond hair
Passed the soldier looked at him and then
Began to point to herself with her slender arms

With a flourish she ran her arms down
Showing her naked body to the soldier

New Books

The Center for Holocaust Studies at the University of Vermont is pleased to announce the publication of the following titles:

Making a Difference: Rescue and Assistance During the Third Reich. Essays in Honor of Marion Pritchard. Ed. David Scrase, Wolfgang Mieder, and Katherine Quimby Johnson. Burlington, Vt.: The Center for Holocaust Studies, 2004. ISBN: 097-072375-X.

This collection of twelve essays honors Marion Pritchard, who has been recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations for her work in Holland during World War II. A member *emerita* of the Advisory Board of the Center for Holocaust Studies, Pritchard received an honorary degree from the University of Vermont in 2003.

Auschwitz, Poland, and the Politics of Commemoration, 1945-1979. Jonathan Huener. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003. ISBN: 082-141506-9 (cloth) or 082141507-7 (paper).

An assistant professor of history at the University of Vermont, Huener is the co-editor, with Professor Francis R. Nicosia, of *Medicine and Medical Ethics in Nazi Germany* (2002) and *Business and Industry in Nazi Germany* (2004) both published by Berghahn Books. Huener is also a member of the Center for Holocaust Studies Faculty Steering Committee.

Business and Industry in Nazi Germany. Ed. Francis R. Nicosia and Jonathan Huener. Oxford and New York: Berghahn, 2004. ISBN 1-57181-653-4 (cloth) or ISBN 1-57181-654-2 (paper).

With a historiographical overview by Nicosia and Huener, these six essays represent the proceedings of the second Miller Symposium organized by the Center. The contributors are Gerald Feldman, Harold James, Peter Hayes, Simon Reich, Michael Allen, and Volker Berghahn.

Die Restitutionsverhandlungen mit Österreich aus der Sicht jüdischer Organisationen und der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinde. Helga Embacher. Vienna and Munich: Oldenbourg, 2003. ISBN: 370-290507-3 (Vienna: pbk.) or 348-656802-7 (Munich: pbk.).

Embacher has written for the Bulletin of the Center for Holocaust Studies at the University of Vermont (vol. 4, No. 1) (vol. 4, No. 2). She is Ausserordentliche Professorin at the Institute for History, Salzburg University, in Austria and was a member of the Historikerkommission, a committee of historians charged with investigating and reporting on the whole complex of expropriations in Austria during the Nazi era and on restitution and/or compensation after 1945.

Die Doppelgebärde der Welt: Gedichte, Prosa, Zeichnungen. Joseph Hahn. Edited by Thomas B. Schumann. With an afterword by Wolfgang Mieder and David Scrase. Hürth bei Cologne and Vienna: Edition Memoria, 2004. Cloth. ISBN: 3-930353-19-9.

Born in southern Bohemia and educated at the universities of Brünn, Prague, and Oxford, poet and artist Hahn now lives in Middlebury, Vermont. The Center for Holocaust Studies published translations of his poetry with some of his art as the third in its series of occasional papers in 1998. An exhibition of his art will be held in conjunction with the Miller Symposium on the Arts in Nazi Germany (see below).

Events

Kahn Lecture

Thursday, 8 April 2004
4:00 p.m.
Memorial Lounge, Waterman Building
"The Necessity of Poetry After Auschwitz"
Jack Zipes
University of Minnesota

Concerts **(in conjunction with the Miller Symposium)**

Thursday, 22 April 2004
8:00 p.m.
"An Evening with Madame F"
Claudia Stevens
Recital Hall of the
McCarthy Arts Center
St. Michael's College, Winooski, Vt.

Saturday, 24 April 2004
8:00 p.m.
"Music of the Holocaust"
Paul Orgel
Southwick Music Complex Recital Hall

Third Miller Symposium
The Arts in Nazi Germany

Sunday, 25 April 2004
Campus Center Theater, Billings Student Center

Speakers:

- Jonathan Petropoulos
  Claremont McKenna College
- Pamela Potter
  University of Wisconsin, Madison
- Eric Rentschler
  Harvard University
- Alan Steinweis
  University of Nebraska, Lincoln
- Frank Trommler
  University of Pennsylvania
- Michael Kater, moderator
  York University, Toronto

Look for more information in the mail soon!

Victor Klemperer's Diaries

David Scrase
University of Vermont

We tend to view the Holocaust through the horrific figures of the *Endlösung*, the "Final Solution." Six million Jews murdered throughout Europe by various, but equally lethal, means leads to questions like: Where? How? Why? By whom? Rather quickly attention centers on the death camps (in Poland), on the gas chambers, and on perpetrators such as Mengele.

Despite the careful methodological approach of Raul Hilberg, the situation of Jews in Germany from 1933 to1945 tends to be relegated to a position of secondary importance, forgotten, or ignored. To be sure, Germany's Jewish population even in 1933 represented at most some ten percent of that ultimate tally of six million dead. But the breakdown of the figure of 566,000 human beings in Germany that the Germans designated "racial" Jews is revealing. Within five months of Hitler's coming to power on 30 January 1933 no fewer than 26,000 had already emigrated. By the end of 1933, a total of 63,000 had left. These figures are derived from the German census of June 1933 and from the assessment of the Reich Association of Jews in Germany in 1941.

The year 1938 saw a number of anti-Jewish measures (abolition of the legal status of Jewish communities; registration of all Jewish property; a ban on Jews practicing medicine; the imposition of the names "Sara" and "Israel" on all Jews, and the "J" stamped in their passports) culminating in *Kristallnacht*. As a direct result of all these events, Jewish emigration from Germany reached new heights: 49,000 departed in 1938 and 68,000 in 1939, before the outbreak of war in September. These figures are remarkable given the reluctance of the rest of the world to receive such emigrants—we may consider the Evian Conference and the voyage of the *St. Louis* as the most telling of examples of this reluctance. The *Kindertransporte*, it is true, provided refuge for about 10,000 children (most of them Jews) and remains one of the only positive actions at this time. (The cost in terms of the parents obliged to stay behind and, therefore, also on the children who later had to come to terms with the loss of their parents, should not go un-mentioned.) The rest, one might be tempted to say, is history: continued persecution through edicts and decrees; the "Madagascar Plan"; the wearing of the star; the deportations; the killings. But there is a multitude of questions, anomalies, and actions that need to be considered if one is to have a complete picture.

At the end of the war in May 1945 the figures run approximately as follows. Of the original 566,000 "racial" Jews, as many as 346,000 were able to emigrate. About 200,000 were murdered. This means that about 20,000 Jews in Germany were able to survive the Third Reich. Some 15,000 survived in the open. These were mostly "Mischlinge," but some were "Volljuden" in mixed marriages. One of these was Victor Klemperer (1881-1960), a "racial" Jew who had converted to Christianity long before the advent of the Third Reich. This conversion, of course, meant nothing to the Nazis, who defined Jews by race and not by religion.

Victor Klemperer, a cousin of the famous conductor Otto Klemperer, was a scholar of Romance languages and literatures who achieved some degree of renown as a professor, but whose fame, ultimately, rests on his autobiographical writings, especially his diaries. UVM's Center for Holocaust Studies has already drawn attention to the significance of Victor Klemperer. His diary for the years 1933-1941 was reviewed by Jonathan Huener in these pages in 1999 (vol. 4, no.1, pp.10-11). In addition Wolfgang Mieder has written two essays for us on Victor Klemperer. One is on proverbial revelations in Klemperer's diaries and is to be found in the Center's 2001 *Festschrift* for Raul Hilberg. The other is in our most recent publication (2004), the *Festschrift* for Marion Pritchard, (See page 4, opposite).

Although widely praised for his diaries, which are indeed a "highly nuanced and exhaustively detailed account" (Huener, 10) of the experiences of a German Jew during the Third Reich, Klemperer has not achieved the same "fame" as the controversial Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, whose theory of "eliminationist anti-Semitism" has been uncritically received by enthusiastic seekers of simplistic explanations but roundly criticized by scholars, who are almost universally skeptical about Goldhagen's theory and methodology. Although Klemperer's diaries have attracted scholars, and although the two volumes covering the Third Reich were quickly translated by Martin Chalmers into English and published by Random House in 1998 and 1999, the general public's interest has dwindled considerably since the first burst of excitement in the late 1990s. This is a pity.

It is regrettable above all because the diaries, which ring true primarily because of their balanced tone of objectivity, provide us with a fascinating view of Jewish life from within the Third Reich. The complex picture presented by an intelligent victim includes all aspects of everyday life for Jews and their partners in mixed marriages and reveals the diverse interactions of Jews and gentiles. The detailed account succeeds in large part because it is set down without the dubious benefit of hindsight.

Klemperer several times makes it clear that he is not going to

Festschrift for Marion Pritchard lists much of what Germans said to Klemperer and his acquaintances as they tried to show sympathy in any way possible under the circumstances. Mieder shows how some of these words of compassion "helped him, as an individual Jew, to cope with living in those dark years." (Mieder 2004, 122).

It is, however, not only the verbal interaction that helped Klemperer cope. Many varied individuals performed kind deeds. While some clerks haughtily stated that he, Klemperer, was not entitled to something that he had been granted the previous week, other salespeople added a little or surreptitiously handed over something forbidden to Jews because of one decree or another. Actions speak louder than words, it is said, and to be given radishes when you are not allowed to have them is surely sweet, but to know that there are people who do not despise you because you are marked as a Jew, and who go out of their way to demonstrate their friendly disposition is gratifying, and at least as sweet. The unknown person who crossed the road to shake Klemperer's hand and shrugged off the latter's admonition that such an action was endangering their lives, was showing courage, humanity, and sympathy. The tram driver who talked openly to Klemperer as he stood on the front platform to which Jews were restricted is likewise making a difference, however small, in the hopeless situation of a man persecuted by the regime and its adherents and shunned by the indifferent.

Not least interesting in the picture of German society given us by the Jewish diarist is Klemperer's record of the policemen of the Third Reich. Juxtaposed with the Gestapo agents bent on the destruction of all Jews, including those, like Klemperer, married to non-Jews, are the ordinary policemen who would normally be working for the general good, but who are now obliged to enforce laws not designed to protect the citizen, but to degrade if not destroy those whose German citizenship had been taken from them.

Klemperer nicknames the two Gestapo agents who are assigned to him "Boxer" and "Spitter," names that refer to their preferred methods of intimidation. Against this bestial behavior Klemperer ranges the polite, if not considerate, behavior of the ordinary policeman, who addresses the former professor with the formal "Sie" rather than the "du" that, when used to address a stranger is a mark of disrespect and contempt. A Viennese woman observed that "in the government offices [in Dresden], tax, police etc., all except the Gestapo…were courteous to Jews in a way that was almost a mark of opposition" (20 April 1939).

The ordinary policemen of Dresden differ markedly from the Gestapo not only in speech, but also in behavior. One blusters as he is expected to (5 April 1936), but is respectful and sympathetic. On 27 November 1938 (not long after *Kristallnacht*) two policemen and a civilian come to search the Klemperer residence for weapons. "[T]he civilian was the worst," the "second, younger policeman…was good-natured and courteous." They found Klemperer's saber from World War I and both Klemperers were ordered to proceed to the police station. The policeman "kindly covered up the fact that I was being taken into custody."

Even when neighbors report Klemperer for violating the black-out law, the policeman who arrives to investigate is polite and sympathetic, although nonetheless obliged to report the incident (12 February 1941). Although the officials at police headquarters were likewise sympathetic, Klemperer is sentenced to a week in jail. In jail (July 1941) he is subjected to routinely inhumane (but "correct") treatment. His glasses, a notebook, and pencil were all taken from him, and he felt wretched. When the official in charge, who "had treated me brutally during these days," realized that Klemperer was a "non-Aryan" professor, and that he had contravened the black-out regulations, he questioned the desperate man. Learning that this was a first, and not deliberate, offence, the policeman became positively affable, "he took a little pencil out of his pocket and looked at it. 'I'll sharpen it and add a sheet of paper.' —He really did bring both immediately after." The lines that follow emphatically demonstrate what this simple act of kindness meant to Klemperer and indicate how the populace was able to alleviate matters for Jews, even from within the system.

The clearest example of the contrast between the SS and the police is the experience of Dr. Fried, who reported to Klemperer, who in turn duly recorded it on 16 March 1942. "An SS soldier said: 'You have to stand, Jew!' I [i.e. Dr. Fried] showed my identification as surgeon-major and war veteran. 'I don't care! You stand!' Later a policeman in uniform said to me: 'Take my seat, sir, sit down!'"

Klemperer continually voices his concern that such actions could not only jeopardize his own precarious position, possibly resulting in his death, but also that they constituted an equally real danger for the kind helper. On 19 July 1943 Klemperer records how an elderly man, seeing Klemperer's star, crossed the street "held out his hand and said with a certain solemnity: 'I saw your star and I greet you; I condemn this outlawing of a race, as do many others.' I: 'Very kind—but you must not talk to me, it can cost me my life and put you in prison.'" The man was disdainful of the risk to himself, wanting only to convey his feelings to Klemperer.

The Klemperer diaries achieve magnificently what they set out to do: they record the significant small events in the lives of Jews (and Christians). It is true that major events such as *Kristallnacht* are more or less ignored. But in this regard

BRUNDIBÁR

Katherine Quimby Johnson

Although today the children's opera *Brundibár* is most often associated with Theresienstadt (Terezin), it was created in 1938, three years before the Nazis converted the garrison town named after the Austrian empress into a "model camp" and ghetto. Composer Hans Krása, a native of Prague, collaborated with Czech playwright Adolf Hoffmeister on this project, which tells the story of a boy and a girl (Little Joe and Annette, as they are called in the English libretto) whose have lost their father and who seek milk for their sick mother. They have no money, but they decide to follow the example of the organ-grinder, Brundibár, and sing for coins. He mocks them and chases them away. A sparrow, a cat, and a dog inspire a multitude of children to join the brother and sister. Together they sing a charming song, collecting a pile of pennies. Brundibár tries to steal their money, but the children catch him and recover the coins. The opera closes on a triumphant note, celebrating the love of parents and country.

By the time it premiered in the winter of 1942 at a Jewish orphanage for boys in Prague, Krása had already been deported to Theresienstadt. The following summer the director and the cast, as well as the other children from the orphanage, were also shipped to Theresienstadt. Even at this "model" camp inmates performed forced labor during the day. But in the evenings a rich cultural life was permitted. Under these conditions *Brundibár* was restaged, this time with a mixed ensemble and an orchestra. It premiered in Theresienstadt on 23 September 1943 and ran for approximately fifty-five packed performances. The opera's appeal to the inhabitants of Theresienstadt is obvious; it is easily understood as a story of the powerless, in the form of children and animals, overthrowing their oppressor, in the form of the bully Brundibár. To underline this message, the poet Emil Saudek altered the last lines to emphasize fearlessness as well as a love of justice and a willingness to defend it. However, life did not imitate art. All but a handful of the children were deported from Theresienstadt to Auschwitz, where they perished, as did most of those associated with the opera, including Krása.

The opera, however, lived on. A search of the World Wide Web reveals performances in 1997/98 in Aubervilliers, France; in 1999 in Kansas City; in 2002 in Oswego, New York; and in 2003 in Australia and Jerusalem. In 1996, the two-year Vermont grass-roots effort, "The Terezin Project," resulted in eleven performances of *Brundibár* and a companion work, *The Emperor of Atlantis* by Viktor Ullmann. Recordings of both operas were released by Arabesque, featuring performances by the Essex Children's Choir, directed by Constance Price, and members of the Vermont Symphony Orchestra and Chorus, conducted by Robert de Cormier. *Brundibár* is also available in a number of recordings in the original Czech.

The frequency with which the work is performed speaks not only to an interest in the opera's relevance to the Holocaust, but to the quality of the work itself. The music is interesting, somewhat reminiscent of Kurt Weil and the cabaret music of the era, but light enough so that it does not overpower young voices. The English translation on the Arabesque recording follows an easy rhyme scheme that works effectively with the music and that makes the story easy to follow.

This children's opera has now been transformed into a picture book illustrated by Maurice Sendak, with text by Tony Kushner. Their collaboration has received accolades, including a starred review in *School Library Journal*, one of the chief arbiters of children's literature. *Brundibar* (the English version has lost the accent mark) continues two strands of Sendak's illustrious career. Sendak has long been an advocate for the downtrodden and powerless of the world, including children. The 1964 Caldecott Award-winning *Where the Wild Things Are* clearly takes the side of the child, showing an understanding for preschoolers' delight in anarchy and their desire to be in control rather than controlled. Similarly, *We Are All in the Dumps with Jack and Guy* (1993) uses nursery rhymes to raise the issue of homelessness and children.

dren reach the town square, "and everyone everyone everyone was there, buying buying, busy buying." (Sendak's illustration of a dog with a collar made of banknotes underlines the point.) Such a re-writing is in keeping with Steven Dedalus Burch's description of Kushner's approach to material, "Kushner is less concerned with remembering the events in history and more committed to a historical narrative that would connect to a contemporary American audience and force them to examine their own complicity in the general and wholesale overturning of the American progressive social agenda in place since the Depression" (Burch, 380). What irony that this indictment of capitalism is published by Hyperion, once owned by Disney, and now part of the Time Warner Book Group!

Kushner may well offer provocative insights into the ills at the heart of contemporary American society, but it is obvious that he does not understand the unique demands of the picture book audience. Picture books are meant to be shared by adults and children, with the adults reading aloud and the children listening and looking at the pictures (and, with any luck, asking questions about them). Kushner addresses only the adult half of the picture book audience. The children to whom the book is read, those who determine the true popularity of a picture book by repeated requests for re-readings, will not understand the abstract argument Kushner is making.

That *Brundibar* is not likely to become a favorite read-aloud is not only due to Kushner's distortion of the original text, but also to a certain infelicity of language. The absence of a father is announced in a dismissive aside: "Oh, our daddy died when we were babies" "and we don't remember him at all." The vendor's songs are in verse, but only the baker's adheres to rhyme and meter. The milkman's rhyme "Milk for kiddies, milk for mudders,/ milk for cats from Bessie's udders!" works best for those with New York connections.

That the text could have matched the caliber of the illustrations is apparent in occasional passages. For example, the children have given up their quest and are huddled under some newspapers when a four-legged friend appears: "'Right you are,' hissed a silky voice, a talking cat! 'Cats know how it feels to hear: No milk for you, now shoo, now scat!'" Here the language is particularly suited to the speaker. Moreover, the identification of their mutual lack of power gives rise to empathy and forges a connection between the children and the animal that is, well, powerful.

Kushner's ending is also interesting. To musical accompaniment, illustrated by a variety of children playing (labeled) instruments, the rest of the children sing, "The wicked never win! [...] Tyrants come along, but just you wait and see! They topple one-two-three!" Turn the page and there is a note from Brundibar reminding the children—and the reader—that when one bully leaves the stage another is waiting to take his place. It is precisely this message that children understand. Far too many of them, no matter what sort of neighborhood they live in, have experienced first-hand the abusive power of bullying . The original Brundibár is about bullying, both on an individual and societal scale. Had Kushner set aside his personal political agenda and concentrated on the material at hand, this could have been a great picture book, of a caliber with *Where the Wild Things Are*. By dividing the villainy between the character of Brundibar and the society around him, and by making explicit so much of what was implicit in the opera, Kushner and Sendak have diluted the power of the story. Although the message is delivered by children and not by adults (another prerequisite for a good picture book), the result is the very last thing one would have expected from the artist who created *In the Night Kitchen* and *Where the Wild Things Are*, a didactic picture book. While this is not a bad book, if more care had been taken to match the quality of the words to the quality of the illustrations, it could have been a great one, one that would stand the test of time as the opera itself has. By far the best way to experience this story for both adult and child would be to explore the illustrations while listening to a recording of the opera that inspired it.

Works Consulted:

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Maurice Sendak.

Brundibar. New York: Hyperion, 2003.

Cunning Little Vixen. Rudolf Tesnohlidek; translated by Tatiana Firkusny, Maritza Morgan, and Robert T. Jones. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1985.

Dear Mili. Translated by Ralph Manheim. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1988.

In the Night Kitchen. New York: Harper & Row, 1970.

Outside Over There. New York: HarperCollins, 1981.

The Nutcracker. New York: Crown/Random, 2001.

We Are All in the Dumps with Jack and Guy: Two Nursery Rhymes with Pictures. New York: HarperCollins, 1993.

Where the Wild Things Are. New York: Harper & Row, 1963.

Ullmann, Viktor. *Emperor of Atlantis*. Music from Terezin. New York: Arabesque Recordings, 1996. (CD). Tw145 Tw1˝(da5 Tw 8 Good Defeating Evil" *The Kansas City Star.* hTheop://

BOOK REVIEWS

A Century of Genocide: Utopias of Race and Nation. Eric D. Weitz. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003. 360 pages. Cloth. $29.95. ISBN 0-691-00913-9.

This is an important book for scholars and students of the Holocaust. Indeed, it is a book that anyone interested in the welfare of the human race should read. In this solidly documented yet highly readable study, historian Eric D. Weitz looks back at the twentieth century to make the argument that not only was it the "century of genocide," but also that two major components of modernist thinking, the ideas of "race" and "nation," have been fundamental to the perpetration of mass murder. To prove his points, Weitz begins with the Armenian genocide and then offers four extended case studies: the Soviet Union under Lenin and Stalin, Nazi Germany, Democratic Kampuchea, and the former Yugoslavia, specifically during the Bosnian War. Weitz is well aware that genocides have occurred for millennia and that his four main examples are, regrettably, not the only atrocities of genocidal proportion to have been perpetrated in the twentieth century. However, he wisely chooses those instances for which his own training has best prepared him to explain the contexts. Thus, Weitz, an expert on the history and development of Communism, includes the debacles in Democratic Kampuchea and Bosnia because of the former's attempt to "correct" and the latter's to "perpetuate" Communist regimes, and he excludes the tragedy in Rwanda because its antecedents had little to do with Nazi Germany or the Soviet Union. What Weitz gains by limiting his examples is the room to discuss each case in adequate detail. He thereby counters possible objections to comparative methodology by revealing certain common characteristics of modern genocides, while at the same time documenting what makes each genocide singular. Weitz addresses directly arguments about the uniqueness of the Holocaust, warning that if "we insist on the incomparability of the Holocaust, we place it outside of history." He fully acknowledges that it was "an atrocity of monumental proportions and the greatest tragedy in Jewish history," and that the "Nazis' industrial-style killing of Jews, rooted in Germany's highly developed bureaucratic and military culture, was and is unprecedented." On the other hand, we must not ignore the fact that "many states, not just Nazi Germany, have organized the systematic killing of populations defined along national or racial lines" (12).

Weitz's thesis is that all modern genocides share certain characteristics: a regime comes to power with a revolutionary agenda for creating a utopia with some kind of homogenous population (whether of class, race, ethnic or religious affiliation); to achieve this homogeneity, individuals must be categorized (made "legible" in James Scott's term) and purged; categorization and purging require state apparatuses and the mobilization of popular support and participation; the transition from propaganda and categorization to murder is facilitated by some crisis. Weitz uses this model to analyze the specific features of each of his case studies. In the Soviet Union enemies in theory may have been "legible," but in fact proved to be protean. While egalitarian ideology held out the promise for any individual to be re-educated, the brutal reality was that a "whole variety of experiences and activities—class background, political affiliation, 'asocial' tendencies, sheer bad luck—could land people in the vortex of purge operations" (97). Weitz emphasizes the specifically genocidal goals of Nazi Germany and Democratic Kampuchea. Although the Judeocide was certainly a state-directed process, Weitz points out that the implementation of Nazi policy involved thousands of people, deeply "implicating substantial segments of the population in the racial practices of the regime" to the point where the "social death and physical annihilation of Jews and others became a mass project" (133), and where individuals did not need decrees from Berlin to invent more humiliating and violent ways to inflict pain or to murder (134-35). The goal of homogeneity is the key to understanding the Khmer Rouge revolution. The first order was the destruction of all identity papers; what followed was a "classification and elimination madness" (Jean-Louis Margolin). Despite the country's leaders' boasting, the goals of Democratic Kampuchea were not completely new. What was unprecedented—and infinitely tragic—was the lightning speed of implementation due to the determination to succeed where previous Communist revolutions had failed (189). As for the Bosnian War, it may well be the case most vivid to readers of Weitz's study. His categories, by this point well-illustrated, add a clarity to events that seemed inscrutable at the time to many in the West. The utopia at the heart of this genocide is nationalist. Slobodan Miloševiæ"grasped immediately the power of nationalism," urging the Serbs in Kosovo in 1987, for example, to "'stay here. This is your land. These are your houses. Your meadows and gardens. Your memories'" (192). Weitz recognizes that Miloševiædid not invent Serb nationalism, but he argues convincingly that, "it was clearly the most extreme, most exclusive, virtually racialized version that Miloševiæadopted and to which so many Serbs responded with enthusiasm" (195). The most important corrective to common views Weitz offers here—and the comparative method reinforces it—is that the genocide of Bosnian Muslims was "a state-directed operation. It was not an eruption of age-old hatreds, a kind of natural disaster that every so often swirls up from the landscape, but a policy con-

The Holocaust and Other Genocides. History, Representation, Ethics. Helmut Walser Smith. Ed. Nashville Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press, 2002. 262 pages. Paper. $27.95. ISBN: 0-8265-1403-0. Cloth. $49.95. ISBN:0-8265-1402-2.

Over the past two or three decades there has been a rapid growth in the number of institutions where the Holocaust is taught. In some colleges, like UVM, this growth has gone from one course, usually emanating from the department of history or political science, to sufficient courses to enable students to fulfill the requirements for a minor. Programs in, or centers of, Holocaust studies have lately begun to change their focus slightly and include "other genocides," such as those in Armenia or Cambodia. (It is worth noting that from its inception in 1995 the program at the University of Nevada, Reno has been "The Center for Holocaust, Genocide,- and Peace Studies.") Teachers of such courses and such programs have only lately been offered suitable textbooks. For the want of an appropriate book, we at UVM, for example, were obliged to write and publish *The Holocaust: Introductory Essays* as recently as in 1996. There are now signs that there will soon be a choice of appropriate textbooks—at least at the college level.

Our textbook was a collaborative effort involving discussion with those in the area who taught the Holocaust and could themselves write a chapter or two. *The Holocaust and Other Genocides*, edited by Helmut Walser Smith, has a similar genesis and "is the result of the labors and support of many people" (p. xv) connected with the Tennessee Holocaust Commission, primarily teachers from universities and schools throughout the state. This collaborative effort is admirably successful.

The book has four major sections. The first, and longest section, is on the Holocaust and runs from religious prejudice, through racism, to the killing process, resistance, and rescue. The second section deals with the representation of the Holocaust in the arts. It contains chapters on literature, monuments and memorials, photographs, and film. The third major section contains chapters on other genocides, specifically those in Armenia, Bosnia and Kosovo, and Rwanda. The last section centers on ethics.

The book is intended for a curriculum at the college and high school level and is impressive as such. It provides the necessary historical background and enables teachers to offer details and facts instead of mere lip service to events similar to those of the Holocaust. The approach is avowedly "interactive." Documents and "timelines" for each genocide are especially valuable. We may compare through the "documents," for example, the images of genocidal war in poems by the children of Theresienstadt and in Bosnia. A fascinating document at the end of the chapter on the Armenian genocide is the letter written in July 1916 by the German ambassador in Turkey, Wolff-Metternich, to Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg.

It contains the sentence: "In the carrying out of its program, the solution of the Armenian question through the extermination of the Armenian race, the Turkish government has refused to be daunted, either by our interventions or by the interventions of the American embassy and papal delegates, or by threats of the Entente Powers, and least of all by considerations of public opinion in the western world" (p. 167). Even though the ambassador does not use the word "final" before the word "solution," the sense of finality is implicit. All the words used have a familiar ring for Holocaust scholars. Were one to replace the words "Armenian" and Turkish" by "Jewish" and "German," only one aspect of the statement would strike the careful reader as inconsistent: the speaking out of the "papal delegates." Pope Pius XII did not speak out and unequivocally condemn the killings of the Jews. On the other hand, the Armenian victims were Christians; in 1916 the papacy, accordingly, did not remain silent.

Equally striking are certain formulations in the "Hutu Ten Commandments" from the year 1990. The first commandment proscribes the marriage and concubinage of Hutu and Tutsi. The Tutsi are, according to the fourth commandment, "dishonest in business," and are typically money lenders (p. 210).

The "timelines" provided are illuminating. We are, most of

Stephan's Journey: A Sojourn into Freedom. Lillian Belinfante Herzberg. Baltimore: PublishAmerica, 2003. $19.95. Paper. ISBN: 1-4137-0275-9.

In presenting Stephan Lewy's biography, Lillian Belinfante Herzberg not only recounts his survival of the Holocaust, but also illuminates his life's struggle to understand his father, the Germany he had to leave in order to save his life, and his own memories and nightmares. Herzberg alternates between the third person and the first person voices, exposing the reader to the visceral impact of events on the young Stephan.

His life story serves as a further testament to the inhumanity that swept across Europe in the 1930s and 1940s. Lewy's perspective is the more valuable because it stretches from his childhood memories to his efforts to cope with these memories as an adult. Throughout the volume he attributes his remarkable resilience and fortitude to his father's influence, offering them as the reason for his survival. While luck was clearly on his side more than once, his survival of the Holocaust is truly remarkable.

The opening chapters of the book are ambiguous, particularly in their portrayal of Lewy's father, Arthur, who was orphaned and grew up in the care of the Auerbach Orphanage near Berlin. He served in World War I and met his future wife after the war. Their courtship is described in tender and, at times, somewhat saccharine, terms. Here, especially, Arthur is depicted as a soft, gentle man with "his quiet way."

This contrasts sharply with the introductory first-person narration, which describes his father's heavy use of corporal punishment, treatment repeatedly defended as preparation for Stephan's struggle for survival.

On the other hand, the relationship between Stephan and his mother, described in the first-person, is depicted as unequivocally gentle and loving. Her death in 1931, when Stephan was barely six years old, marked a time of great change for him. The National Socialists were gaining power, even as the elder Lewy lost most of his savings and property and decided to send Stephan to the institution that raised him, namely the Auerbach Orphanage.

In the orphanage Stephan learned to be "unfeeling, unmerciful, unrelenting." The move to the orphanage clearly caused a loss of identity and awoke a sense of abandonment as he became one orphan among many. While the third-person narrator implies that his training in swallowing his pride along with his tears and in facing obstacles with an iron will was a source of strength, the first-person narrator consistently contradicts this stark view. Despite the imperturbable façade presented by both narrators, it is clear that Lewy suffered from deprivation and rejection. He also experienced anti-Semitic taunting on his daily way to school.

In 1933-34 Arthur Lewy was interned in Oranienburg. When restrictions on Jews eased during the 1936 Olympics, Arthur met and fell in love with Johanna, the aunt of one of Stephan's fellow orphans. They married in 1938 and Johanna became Stephan's second "Mutti," and a powerful influence on his life. The mellowing of Arthur's treatment of his son is attributed to Johanna's positive influence.

In 1939 Arthur and Johanna decided to send Stephan on one of the *Kindertransporte* (children's transports) into presumed safety in France, even as they worked to emigrate to America, planning for Stephan to join them after they had settled.

Stephan lost contact with his father as soon as he entered France. On the run, hiding from the Gestapo, he had more than one close encounter but he always, somehow, managed to escape. He found only temporary refuge in homes set up by benevolent organizations. Most often hungry, cold, and surrounded by disease, he brought to bear all those qualities that he had supposedly acquired from his father's and the orphanage's rough treatment. A more likely explanation, however, is that being thrown into an incomprehensible situation aroused his survival instinct. In the midst of his struggles, he never gave up hope of being reunited with his parents, who, in the mean time, had managed to reach Boston.

When he did re-establish contact, Johanna immediately initiated the emigration process for him. After all too typical delays, Stephan arrived in New York in June 1942. The following chapters describe his discovery of the new comforts available to him in America, even as he struggled to find work and to learn En-

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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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