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IRÈNE NÉMIROVSKY: RIGHT-WING, JEWISH, FRENCH

Meaghan Emery
University of Vermont

The posthumous publication of Irène Némirovsky's final manuscript, *Suite française* (awarded the prestigious Prix Renaudot, 2004), proved fortuitous for Némirovsky's biographer, Jonathan Weiss, NEH/Class of 1940 Distinguished Professor of Humanities at Colby College in Maine. He had unsuccessfully tried to find a French publisher for his book after its completion in 2001. Three years later, however, editors were vying to offer him a contract, and this year an English translation of his biography will be published by Stanford University Press. Weiss's historically rigorous and deftly woven account of the author's complexities is an equally timely contribution to the public's understanding of her life and writings. The biography illuminates most poignantly the drama of Némirovsky's final work, an intricate tableau of France at the moment of the German invasion and the ensuing military occupation of the capital and the provincial countryside. Reading these two recent publications in tandem, one is drawn to the unspeakable, and indeed unspoken, horror behind the interrupted narrative of *Suite française*, which, when combined with Weiss's narrative of the author's life, illuminates Némirovsky's particular situation and the extremity of her mental distress.

Weiss sifts through the various stages in Némirovsky's life and the numerous relationships she enjoyed, choices she made, and stories she wrote, with an eye to the important factors of her social class and of her problematic relationship with her Judaic heritage. The latter was, in part, due to what she personally experienced as a conflict between the materialism of her parents (of her mother, in particular) and the spiritual sustenance Némirovsky searched for in her writing. Clearly well-read in Holocaust scholarship, Weiss draws upon many different historical sources in or-

der to corroborate witness testimony and to assess the rapidly changing circumstances that were undoubtedly in the minds of Némirovsky and others around her as they confronted the virulent anti-Semitism of 1930s France, especially the anti-Jewish measures adopted by the French government. As a Jewish White Russian émigrée, she was among the first group of foreign Jews targeted for internment and, ultimately, extermination. Following her deportation, little is known beyond the number of her train convoy (6) and the range of numbers tattooed on the women prisoners who arrived in Auschwitz on July 19, 1942. She is known, however, to have died of typhus one month after her arrival in the camp.

What Irène Némirovsky left behind as perhaps the greatest testament of her life, therefore, are her writings. I concur with Weiss: these writings speak of the "imaginariness" of her identity—a term that implies her identification with cultural symbols, an historical experience, and signs of belonging, as opposed to deep belief or harmonious symbiosis. I would emphasize, however, the haunting quality of her narrative, including that of *Suite française*. The term "imaginary" with reference to identity is generally accredited to French philosopher Alain Finkielkraut, whose 1980 work *Le Juif imaginaire* (trans. *The Imaginary Jew* 1994) is a reference for scholars of contemporary French Jewry. Similarly, Némirovsky's autobiography emerges from the lines of her fiction, but any full sense of her as a person is fleeting. More common to her autobiographical narrative are the biting and largely unsympathetic portrayals of Jewish weakness and pain or filial strife, which contrast sharply with the romantic figures of her Ukrainian or French caretakers. Significantly, Weiss has shared that he was drawn to research Némirovsky's life after reading

David Golder (1929), a lightning rod for controversy over the author's identity and the anti-Semitic portraits found in her works.

As with the details of her final days, little is known about Némirovsky's childhood. Much of what is known is to be found in the few interviews she gave following *David Golder's* success, which propelled her onto the world literary scene. Her childhood memories show that the trauma of the pogroms under Czarist rule led to the phenomenon of the "imaginary" Jew in Russia long before Finkielkraut coined the term in reference to the French experience of the Holocaust.

France initially appeared to offer safe refuge to the Némirovsky family and to other Jewish and White Russian émigrés escaping the Bolshevik Revolution. After twenty years of residence in France and at the height of her career, Némirovsky, as Weiss describes his book, would come to identify with her country of adoption. Weiss closes his final chapter with an excerpt from what could conceivably have been the author's last published interview in March 1940. When asked whether she was a French writer or a Russian who wrote in French, she answered: "I want, I hope, I believe to be a writer who is more French than Russian. I spoke French before speaking Russian. I spent half of my childhood in this country and all of my youth and my adulthood up to now. . . . I think and I even dream in French. . . . it is impossible for me to distinguish where the one ends and where the other begins" (cited by Weiss 213; my translation).

Weiss, however, not only develops Némirovsky's imaginary, or hollow, relationship to Judaism (through her identification with the Jewish experience of persecution and suffering), but he also explores her alienation from her Russian identity. In the biography's conclusion Weiss rightly identifies Némirovsky as an "imaginary French woman," "une 'Française imaginaire,'" who had accepted the hateful stereotypes assigned to her national (i.e., Russian) origins and religious background (212). "By interiorizing the image of the French writer that critics reflected back to her in

solved the ambiguity of her own identity [*appartenance*]. . . . Beyond her literary corpus of works and her tragic end, Irène Némirovsky will have shown us, in the ambiguity of her relationship to France, the painful difficulty of living in an adopted culture and of choosing one's own destiny (213-14; my translation).

Compounding the hopelessness of her situation are signs of Némirovsky's clear understanding of this fact, revealed in the final sentence in the notebook containing the plot sketches for the remaining volumes: "Here the most important and most interesting thing is the following: the historical, revolutionary, etc., facts must be touched upon lightly, while what is to be developed in depth is the day-to-day and affective experience and above all the comedy that this presents" (*Suite française* 407; my translation). For Némirovsky, exile ultimately meant the impossibility of integration into any of the cultures of her composite identity due to undesirable or condemnable "types" that had infiltrated the medium of socio-cultural communication. Therefore, her literary production provided her the means to explore the various elements of her experience, both those thrust upon her and those that offered her a certain sense of belonging and reprieve. In other words, exile led to an erratic form of mimesis, allowing for greater complexity while destabilizing her identity and leaving Némirovsky vulnerable to life-threatening danger in the context of war. This may explain why she did not look to escape, but rather chose to stay and face the consequences of her faith in France.

For her, the relationship between her Jewish identity and her external circumstances grew so strained as to be no longer viable, a state signified by the complete absence of Jews in the contemporary France that was the setting for her last manuscript. Her final narrative portrays a Jew-less France, foreshadowing the post-war death of Judaism in France and the phenomenon of "imaginary" French Jews. Her initial fear of being seen as a Russian after the German-Soviet pact of 1938 was confirmed when her nationality did become a cause for suspicion; since she was sub-

E.H. GOMBRICH: “ONCE UPON A TIME”

By

*Melanie Gustafson
University of Vermont*

When E.H. Gombrich died in 2001 at age ninety-two his obituaries focused on his contributions to the field of art history. Michael Podro, writing for the British newspaper *Guardian Unlimited*, stated that Gombrich’s theoretical works *Art and Illusion* (1960) and *Meditations on a Hobby Horse* (1963) “have been pivotal for professional art historians,” and the London *Times* pointed out that his 1950 *The Story of Art*, published to great

Jewish tradition could be seen as a cultural force, Gombrich replied: "I don't believe that there is a separate Jewish cultural tradition. I think the German Jews were largely assimilated. Many didn't even know that they had Jewish roots....But when one is asked today, one naturally says, Yes, I'm Jewish. The right answer would be, I am what Hitler called a Jew. That's what I am."

Gombrich and his family arrived in England just at the moment his first book, *Eine kurze Weltgeschichte für junge Leser*, was published in Vienna. This book was written as much out of necessity as out of a desire to explain history to children. In 1935 no one was interested in hiring Ernst Gombrich, who had just received his doctorate in art history from the University of Vienna. Gombrich's thesis addressed one of the leading issues of the day, Mannerist architecture, and he had studied with Julius von Schlosser, one of the leading Austrian art historians of the day. But, with or without a degree, Gombrich faced an indifferent and even hostile academy. In a 1979 recollection, Gombrich stated: "These were tense and unhappy times in Austria and the chances for employment for a young scholar were exiguous in the best of cases, and non-existent for students of Jewish extraction." Hoping to widen his professional opportunities, Gombrich set out to learn Chinese. But then a chance meeting with a publishing friend, Walter Neurath, set Gombrich on a new path. Neurath had just been asked to provide a German translation of an English history book for children and he asked Gombrich if he was interested in the job. After reading the book, Gombrich said he could write a better one and presented Neurath with a sample chapter. Neurath agreed but informed Gombrich that he still needed the finished work in six weeks. Gombrich took up the challenge and six weeks later presented his completed manuscript to Neurath. Soon after, *Eine kurze Weltgeschichte für junge Leser* was published by the Viennese publishing company Steyermühl-Verlag. Soon it was banned by the Nazis for being "too pacifist." By then, however, Gombrich had moved with his parents, wife and son to England.

In London, Gombrich worked for the Warburg Institute (*Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg*), a research center created out of the personal library of the Hamburg scholar Aby Warburg. In 1933 its then director Fritz Saxl had accepted an invitation from a group of English scholars to move the Institute to London. Over 500 boxes of books, photographs and slides, as well as furniture, were placed on two small steamers. Staff members soon followed, including a new research assistant, Ernst Gombrich, who had been hired to help Gertrud Bing prepare the papers of Aby Warburg for publication. When Bing, the Institute's third director, retired, Gombrich took over as Director, a position

REVIEWS

Music from the Holocaust. Paul Orgel, piano. Compact Disc PHCD161. Phoenix USA. Cliffside Park, NJ. \$15.99

Karel Berman, *Reminiscences. Suite for Piano*
Pavel Haas, *Suite for Piano, Op. 13*
Gideon Klein, *Sonata for Piano*
Viktor Ullman, *Piano Sonata No. 7*

In 1842, Felix Mendelssohn wrote to a former student, “The thoughts which are expressed to me by music that I love are not too indefinite to be put into words, but on the contrary, too definite.” One may ask: Are the thoughts evoked by experience of the Holocaust too definite to be put into *music*? If, as Theodor Adorno rather extravagantly wrote, poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric—Paul Celan is a strong witness for the defense—what can we say about music written in the bowels of the Holocaust itself? Should we judge music composed in the camps against different criteria than we judge all other music? Are such creations entitled to a more lenient critical assessment than music composed under happier circumstances?

We can defer these questions, because the music presented in *Music from the Holocaust* begs no indulgence. The music on this CD (underwritten in part by the Center for Holocaust Studies), masterfully performed by Paul Orgel on the Colodny Steinway in the University of Vermont Recital Hall, can stand proudly on its own merit. While he doesn’t neglect the standard repertoire, Orgel, who graces the UVM Department of Music, has specialized in music by Czech composers and music connected with the Holocaust. The four composers included on the disc, all inmates of the Theresienstadt (Terezin) camp, a Potemkin-like establishment touted by the Nazis as a “model,” present a range of tonal and atonal styles. Two (Karel Berman and ô

This stark allusion to tyranny serves, in my view, the same dramatic function as the cacophonous introduction to the *Ode to Joy* in Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. Beethoven bridges the gap with "O Freunde, nicht dieser Töne ..." ("O friends, not with these notes ..."); Ullman has no bridge, just a fermata. The Ullman fugue corresponds dramatically to the choral *Ode to Joy* in the Beethoven. Each is the composer's final answer to moral cacophony: brotherhood and joy for Beethoven; resistance and survival for Ullman. Quite apart from whatever numinous mysteries are embedded in this work, the Ullman Sonata is thrilling music for any listener not encumbered with what Charles Ives called "Rollo ears."

After repeated hearings of these compositions, we may revisit the corollary to Mendelssohn's challenge. Are the events of the Holocaust too definite for music? There's no answer, just as there's no answer to the "why" of the Holocaust itself. If we're content to judge the music purely as music, without the Holocaust as a referent, we may sense the souls of its creators, as in searching out a faint star, by not gazing at them head-on. The essence of what Mendelssohn wrote to his student is that the only true explanation of music is the music itself. Should we judge music written in the throes of the Holocaust against criteria different from music composed in "normal" circumstances? Speaking of the Ullman Sonata, Wiener wrote: "Man muß und sollte diese Musik meiner Meinung nach nicht durch eine Mitleidsbrille betrachten; sie ist von sich aus voller Eindringlichkeit, Erhabenheit und Stärke" ("In my view, this music should not, and must not, be viewed through sympathy-tinted glasses; on its own merit, it's full of urgency, loftiness, and power.")

Orgel has clearly taken great trouble to learn, perform, and record music by composers generally unknown even to knowledgeable music-lovers. Why did he do it? In his own words, quoted in the *Vermont Cynic*, "This feels much more meaningful than recording piano music from the standard repertoire that might have been recorded by many great pianists many times before...the idea of giving these pieces a truly first-rate recording carried some urgency for me."

Whatever impelled him to undertake this important project, all who cherish good music owe him a debt.

*Robert Rachlin
Burlington, Vermont*

¹ Frankl, Viktor E. *Man's Search for Meaning (Rev. and Updated)*. 1984. New York: Washington Square Press, p. 101: "A man who becomes conscious of the responsibility he bears ... to an unfinished work, will never be able to throw away his life. He knows the 'why' for his existence, and will be able to bear almost any 'how.'"

Hitler Youth: Growing up in Hitler's Shadow. Susan Campbell Bartoletti. New York: Scholastic, 2005. 176 pages. Cloth. \$19.95. ISBN: 0-439-35379-3.

Named both a Newbery Honor Book and a Sibert Honor Book for 2006 by the American Library Association, *Hitler Youth: Growing up in Hitler's Shadow* certainly deserves these honors, as well as the overwhelmingly positive reviews it has received from various media in the world of children's literature. Comprehensive, well-organized information paired with archival photographs, some from personal collections, makes this a book every high school library should have in its collection.

Bartoletti, who won a Sibert Medal for *Black Potatoes: The Story of the Great Irish Famine, 1845-1850* (2001), focuses not only on members of the Hitler Youth, but on some of their peers who chose alternate paths. The latter include not only familiar figures like Hans and Sophie Scholl, but relative unknowns like Helmut Hübener, Karl-Heinz Schnibbe, and Rudi Wobbe, three teen-aged friends from Hamburg who listened to foreign news on the radio and circulated leaflets passing on that news. When they were eventually caught, Hübener accepted full responsibility and was executed; his friends, although they endured imprisonment and torture, were eventually released and emigrated to the United States in the early 1950s. Bartoletti also includes histories of Jews like Dagobert Lewyn, who was eighteen when he and his parents were rounded up in Berlin.

The structure of this book is exemplary. It opens with the murder of the young Nazi Herbert Norkus at the hands of a Communist youth group in 1932. Norkus came to symbolize the ultimate "achievement" of Nazi Germany's youth—to die for the cause. This opening scene leads to a succinct summary of Hitler's rise to power. As the text continues, it touches on most of the events and facets of the Third Reich, viewed through the perspective of adolescent experience. The ten chapters cover the organization of the Hitler Youth, Nazi education, Nazi persecution of the Jews, preparations for war, the German war machine, the Holocaust, Hitler Youth and resistance, the way boys were used at the end of the war, and the end of the war and its aftermath. The chapter on the boy soldiers contains two of the most wrenching photographs in the book: one, from the Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, shows a *Volkssturm* group heading for a defensive position in Berlin. These boys have the eager, open faces of thirteen- or fourteen-year-olds and from the grins on most of the faces it is obvious they have no idea what they are getting into. The non-commissioned officer, however, has the heavy eyes of experience and knowledge. That expression is repeated in the face of a thirteen-year-old prisoner of war, captured during the last days of the war, peering wearily from a photo from the National Archives in Washington.

This well-researched volume is, however, not as perfect as many librarian reviewers have claimed. In one particular case, the flaw works to the book's advantage: The forward opens with the statement: "This is not a book about Adolf Hitler," which is true. It continues: "This book is about the children and teenagers who followed Hitler and the National Socialist (Nazi) Party during the years 1933 to 1945," which is not accurate in that it fails to portray the full scope of Bartoletti's accomplishment. The book is about something far more important: the experience of children and teenagers who lived in Germany during the years 1933 to 1945. Because the Nazi youth movement, as part of the Nazi

party's push for totalitarianism, aimed to reach every German youth of "Aryan" descent, it is accordingly a large part of the story. However, Bartoletti also pays appropriate attention to those who were excluded from the Hitler Youth, including those who fell victim to the "euthanasia" effort, as well as resisters of various kinds and Jews, Communists, homosexuals, and most other groups who fell victim to Nazi persecution. The only group she fails to include is the Roma/Sinti (gypsies), a curious lacuna in an otherwise comprehensive work.

Another flaw, one this volume shares with a number of other volumes on the Hitler Youth and *Bund deutscher Mädel*, is the failure to consider the overall culture out of which these youth movements sprang. Other political parties had organized youth groups—Herbert Norkus was killed by a band of Communist youth—as did organized religions. As Frank Schaal's account of his childhood, in *The Holocaust: Personal Accounts*, shows, various Jewish youth groups went on organized outings and cross-country hikes. The problem with Nazi youth culture, as opposed to some of these other groups, was the purpose for which it was created, namely the creation of a totalitarian culture that not only excluded certain other groups, but eradicated them.

My final criticism is that the controversial figure of Daniel Goldhagen is one of the few secondary sources named in the text, and in an especially sensitive context. Following a description of *Kristallnacht*, Bartoletti writes, "That day could have been the day for the German people to rise up in solidarity to support the Jews," says historian Daniel Jonah Goldhagen. "But they didn't." One could argue that that was one of a number of opportunities for Germans to show solidarity—beginning with the boycott of Jewish businesses. That point aside, given the masterful command with which Bartoletti presents her material, to cite Goldhagen in the text is to grant him an implicit authority that a young audience will be all too apt to accept without question.

Despite these criticisms, Bartoletti has performed admirably, compressing what could be an overwhelming amount of information into a comprehensible form. By using specific examples, often conveyed in the form of first-person testimony, to tell the larger story of the events of World War II and the Holocaust, Bartoletti has increased the meaning of that history for young people. Nazism becomes not some abstract political party that only adults were involved in, but a way of life so many young people welcomed as an outlet for their energies and enthusiasms. At the same time, the text shows how, with its insistence on total control, Nazism eventually alienated other young people, some of whom became Swing Youth who simply wanted to be allowed to be individuals, while others became active resisters of the regime. Bartoletti's writing makes it easy to draw parallels between young people then and now and will, it can only be hoped, make it easy for a discussion of history to become a discussion of humanity. This book is a fine argument for why it is, indeed, important to remember the past, for those too young, perhaps, to have heard of Santayana.

Katherine Quimby Johnson

A Woman in Berlin. Eight Weeks in the Conquered City. A Diary. Anon. Translated by Philip Boehm. New York: Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt and Company, 2005. Cloth. \$23.00. ISBN 13: 978-0-8050-7540-3.

A Woman in Berlin. Eight Weeks in the Conquered City does not seem to have any relevance for the Holocaust. As the title suggests, it is about a woman living in the city of Berlin during the occupation by the Red Army. And yet, even though the references to the Jewish fate are few, the book will prove of interest to anyone seeking clarity regarding the Shoah. Any understanding of the Holocaust presupposes a knowledge and understanding of Germany and the Germans. One appeal of Victor Klemperer's diaries lies in the revelations of life as an assimilated German Jew throughout the twelve years of the Third Reich. Two recent films that were enormously popular in Europe and aroused serious discussion in the US also underscore the thirst for knowledge about life in Nazi Germany. Both concentrate on the closing weeks of the Reich. Both feature Hitler primarily. *Blind Spot* is an interview with one of Hitler's secretaries, Trude Jung, who recorded the Führer's last will and testament in the bunker in April 1945. The other film (which uses some footage from *Blind Spot*) is *Downfall (Untergang)*. It portrays life (and death) in that same bunker and its environs during those last dramatic days. Both films give a German view and concentrate on the leadership. While Jews, the deportations and mass murders play no role, neither do "ordinary Germans," to take Goldhagen's term, feature in any significant way. *A Woman in Berlin* is the diary of a German woman recorded from 20 April 1945 (coincidentally Hitler's 56th birthday) until 16 June 1945. It accordingly covers only eight weeks—but what a time that was, especially if you were a woman living in Berlin.

At this time almost every Berliner, indeed every German, knew that defeat was inevitable and imminent. There were the massive air-raids and the carpet-bombing; the Red Army was just outside the city and the bombardment had begun; city amenities and government were in disarray and crumbling fast; and life for the Berliners (largely women with their dependent children and elderly relatives), with the impending arrival of the "Asiatic hordes," was fraught with danger and horrific threats.

The diarist was a young German woman of intelligence, education, and sharp powers of observation. At the time of writing she was thirty-four years old, had worked as a journalist and in publishing, and had visited and lived in some twelve countries. In addition to the good command of French and English expected of educated Germans, the diarist had some limited Russian acquired during a stay in the Soviet Union. This knowledge of Russian proved significant in the early days of the Soviet occupation.

Klemperer's diaries of the Third Reich (1933-1941; 1941-1945) give us the experiences in Dresden of an assimilated Jew married to a gentile. The eight weeks of anonymous diary entries are those of a non-Jewish woman in Berlin. While her own experiences are central, she also records those of her neighbors, primarily women. Their apprehension as the Red Army approached encompassed, to be sure, the fear of death or injury, the anxiety and uncertainty concerning food and drink, fuel, and amenities—all matters shared by men. The fear of rape, however, was unique to women. Reports of widespread rape in the eastern part of Germany as the Red Army swept through on their way to Berlin had reached the city, and the women of Berlin awaited the same fate

in great fear and helplessness. It is estimated that between 95,000 and 130,000 women in Berlin and as many as two million German women all told were raped. All women from pubescent girls to grandmothers were potential victims. Few escaped. Many suffered multiple rapes. The diarist describes matter-of-factly but fully her own horrific experiences and the fates of most of her neighbors and associates. Since this was mass rape, in other words, a shared experience, the women discussed their fears and their eventual fate as well as their feelings openly, often more with anger than with shame.

Although not directly threatened by the rapes, the male partners reacted in differing and fascinating ways. When the diarist's fiancé, Gerd, returned and learned of her experiences, their physical relationship cooled and ended: "But in the night I found myself cold as ice in Gerd's arms and was glad when he left off. For him I've been spoiled once and for all." On a later occasion, Gerd,

from Nazi Germany depicted a Jewish person beside similar pictures of blacks, Asians, etc. This was one of many actions taken by the Nazis to segregate the Jewish people.

Another effort of Nazi scholarship that Koonz recounted was the effort to produce a Jewish history from a non-Jewish perspective. The Nazis believed that social progress came to an abrupt halt in the 1500s when German nobles began to borrow money from Jewish bankers. From then until 1933, German society regressed. 1933 was viewed as the beginning of renewal for German society.

From 1933 on right up until the end of the war racial scholarship flourished in Nazi Germany. Nazi scholars also sought to rewrite history in order to provide a historical background for their "Jewish Problem." The works of Jews whose goal was to show how great the Jewish contribution to German society was, in order to prove themselves to be good Germans, were cited out of context by Nazis as proof of the extent to which Jews had gained influence over German society.

EVENTS

Rabbi Wall Lecture

Wednesday, 22 March
4:00 p.m.

Presentation Room
Saint Michael's College

“Henry’s Harmonica:
History and Memory in a Genocidal World”

Dr. Douglas Greenberg
USC Shoah Foundation Institute
For Visual History and Education

Call (802) 654-2578
or email emahoney@smcvt.edu
for more information

17th Harry Kahn Memorial Lecture

“From Weimar to Auschwitz:
Carl Schmitt and the Jurisprudence
of Exclusion”

Robert D. Rachlin

Monday, 3 April 2006
4:00 pm
301 Williams Hall
University of Vermont

For more information call (802) 656-3430

Holocaust Remembrance Week Activities

Sponsored by UVM Hillel
21-27 April, 2006

Field of Flags – UVM Green
All week

Litany of Martyrs, 23-24 April
In front of UVM Bookstore

Yom HaShoah
25 April
Manya Friedman, Holocaust Survivor
7:00 pm
Campus Center Theatre

Candlelight Remembrance Ceremony
at the Field of Flags on the Green
9:00 pm

Showing of “Passing the Torch”
by Jessica Abos, WCAX reporter
Date, time, location TBA

The Miller Symposium

Jewish Life in Nazi Germany

Sunday, 23 April 2006

**Campus Center Theater
Billings Student Center
The University of Vermont**

sponsored by
Leonard and Carolyn Miller

Speakers

Avraham Barkai

“Jewish Self-Help:
The Dilemmas of Cooperation,
1933-1938”

Michael Brenner

“Jewish Culture in Nazi
Germany: A Reassessment”

Marion Kaplan

“Changing Roles in Jewish
Families under Attack”

Jürgen Matthäus

“Evading Persecution: German-Jewish Behavior
Patterns after 1933”

Beate Meyer

“Between Self-Assertion and
Forced Collaboration: The Reich
Association of Jews in Germany,
1939-1945”

Konrad Kwiet

Special Scholar

More information at

<http://www.uvm.edu/~uvmchs/?Page=Events.html>

**THE BULLETIN OF THE CENTER FOR
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