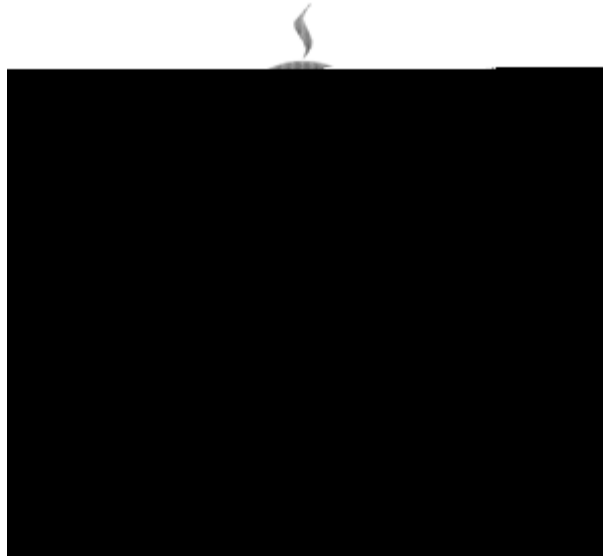


THE BULLETIN OF



Volume 11, Number 2

Spring 2007

On Monday 30 October 2006, Dr. Susan Rubin Suleiman, C. Douglas Dillon Professor of the Civilization of France and Professor of Comparative Literature at Harvard University, addressed a diverse crowd of undergraduates, graduate students and interested members of the community when she delivered the annual Raul Hilberg Lecture. In her talk, entitled “‘Oneself as Another’: Identification and Mourning in Writing about Victims of the Holocaust,” Suleiman explored several complex, theoretical aspects of subjectivity as they relate to Patrick Modiano’s 1997 work, *Dora Bruder* (Gallimard-Jeunesse: Paris, 1997; University of California Press: Berkeley, 1999).

Suleiman began her lecture by drawing attention to the fact that its title echoes a work by

for personal growth and change. It allows an individual to initiate something new and different within what would otherwise be a static environment (i.e. a homogenous culture); it allows the individual to interfere in the culture in which she finds herself enmeshed. However, alterity in identity does not end there; it also exists between individuals as intersubjectivity, which concept describes how an individual both emulates others and evaluates the self against others, necessitating a sense of the other in order to apprehend a sense of self. And finally, alterity in identity exists as the self relates to itself. This is the notion of conscience, and it has its basis in alterity in that an individual evaluates her actions against her idea of who she should be; for one to perform this evaluation, at least two alternate nodes of identity must exist within the same individual.

Suleiman further explained that each of these dimensions of the problem of alterity contains a passive component. In each of these, there is a self that is acted upon, and a self that performs an action. It is this idea of acting upon another that she uses to transition between the heavily theoretical introduction about identity and her discussion of writing about victims of the Holocaust. In his novel *Dora Bruder*, Patrick Modiano blurs the genres of biography, fiction, and autobiography as he reconstructs Dora Bruder's identity. In this project, Suleiman traced for us the complex dialectic between self and alterity, between sameness and difference, through which the author simultaneously identifies with his subject and distances himself from her. For example, Bruder exists as one instant in a series: she is a French Jew. In this respect, she is the same as Modiano. And yet because she was part of a group that was hunted, caught, and deported to Auschwitz, Bruder is very different from the author that sketches who she was. Suleiman showed us how Modiano moves through three phases of identification (appropriation, empathy, and ethical consciousness) as he reconstructs Dora Bruder.

Suleiman noted that identity formation always contains an aspect of appropriation, in which the focus is on the self. One says, "I am like others," but the emphasis is on the "I," and not on the other. This is a normal part of development: as an individual identifies with others through common characteristics, she appropriates certain characteristics of

another's identity. Suleiman remarked that this aspect of identification can be pathological when one cannot successfully negotiate where the self leaves off and the other begins, giving rise to delusions on an individual level and fascism on a societal one. She illustrated this type of identification in the opening chapters of Modiano's book. It begins with the author reporting that as he perused an old copy of *Paris-Soir*, he ran across an advertisement in which family members seek information about Dora

by the apprehension of sameness that occurs as appropriation, it also allows for individuality through a recognition of difference.

Modiano takes great care to maintain this difference after the initial recognition of sameness. The similarities between Modiano and Bruder (e.g. French Jews, familiarity with a particular section of Paris) allow for a very strong connection, and may even provide the impetus for Modiano's meticulous research into and reconstruction of Bruder's life, and yet he always maintains the distance between them. Modiano's speculation about what happened creates a historical narrative that also has the effect of maintaining this distance. His quest to find information is always in the first person, creating a meta-historical, investigative narrative that allows the focus to remain on Bruder. And yet, Suleiman explained, the movement into novelistic discourse shows the instability of Modiano's narrative; that is, his consciousness is always seeking identification with Bruder, and it is always seemingly ready to conflate his story with hers.

By keeping his own identity in tension with Bruder's, Modiano is able to convey simultaneously the sameness and the difference between himself and his subject. Amid this tension, Modiano's use of the plural second person (vous, you) moves the reader toward the third aspect of identification that Suleiman introduced in the beginning of her lecture: ethical consciousness. The use of the plural, general pronoun signals a movement out of the narrative to include another, or more accurately the many possible others that comprise Modiano's readers. Ethical consciousness is precisely this realization of and concern for others and it is only possible as identification of sameness is tempered with difference and extended beyond a single instance of alterity. Modiano's narrative moves further toward this ethical consciousness in his proliferation of names. As the author lists many others who were

scholar and teacher. In conjunction with his visit, Professor Wolffsohn gave a lecture to the public entitled “Germany and the Jewish World: History as a Trap.”

Wolffsohn began his lecture by describing for the audience his qualifications as an analyst of German-Jewish relations. Besides being a history professor, he is also German and Jewish. It comes as no surprise that the complex political relationship between Germany and Israel derives from the Holocaust, and Wolffsohn’s relationship to these two countries begins in Israel in 1947, shortly after that seminal historical event. His parents, he informed us got out of Germany just in time. His grandparents were not so lucky, and were in Dachau during Kristallnacht. In 1954, his family moved to Germany from Israel, something that was not generally done. Growing up, Wolffsohn experienced two Germanys: an anti-Semitic, Nazi one, but also an ordinary, decent one full of ordinary, serious people. After his service in the Israeli Armed Forces, he faced the decision of either going back to the bifurcated Germany where he had grown up, or staying in the country where he was born. He felt, and not for the last time, the conflict between his two Germanys, the conflict one feels as a German Jew.

Wolffsohn asked us what this phrase means exactly. What does it mean to identify oneself as both a German and a Jew? It is both an ideological designation, as well as a specific demographic. In 1933, there were 250,000 German Jews; 3,000 of them survived the Holocaust; of these, more or less half left and roughly half stayed in West Germany. Among those survivors who remained in Germany, Wolffsohn is quick to point out a sense of guilt, not only from having survived, but for having stayed behind in a land of perpetrators. Although the majority of those who left wanted to go to the U.S., most were denied permission to resettle there.

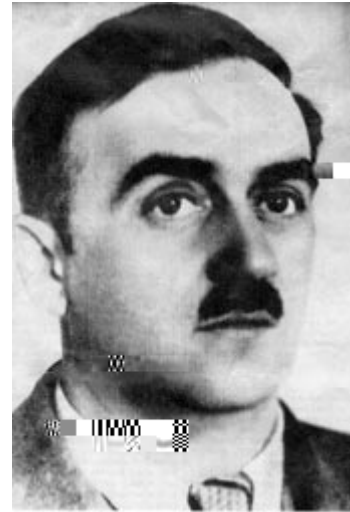
that German public support for the government's pro-Israeli policy, on the other hand, had been dropping since a 1981 Israeli attack on Iraq, after

neutral title of the Truppschule Fla-Truppen, or Military Academy for Flak Troops. It was formally opened on 7 July 1956, the same day the draft was introduced. For the local population it was simply called the “Fla-Schule,” the Flak School. For the first year of its existence it was run by the army. In April 1957, it came under air-force control, only to revert to army control in 1964, when it was renamed the “Heeresflugabwehrschule,” or Army Air Defense Training School. At this time, almost twenty years after the end of the war, it seemed safe to add the name of a pioneer in air defense, Generaloberst Günther Rüdell, to the barracks where the training school was lodged, giving them the appellation Generaloberst Günther Rüdell Kaserne.

The facility and the name remained intact until the end of the 1990s when the name Rüdell suddenly became controversial. Günther Rüdell had hitherto seemed to be a non-controversial career military officer. Born in 1883, six years before the Führer’s birth in 1889, Rüdell joined the Bavarian Army in 1902. He served throughout World War I, but did not see action, working instead behind the lines on air defense, a new department at that time, of course. His expertise lay in anti-aircraft artillery; his rank was Oberstleutnant, equivalent to a Lieutenant Colonel in the US Air Force. In the Third Reich he developed into the expert in flak and air defense, rising to the rank of Generalmajor, or Brigadier General, in the Luftwaffe. When he retired at the end of 1942 he was promoted to Generaloberst, equivalent to a 4-star General in today’s US Air Force. None of this could count against him in the postwar years. He was not a member of the SS, he was not assigned to any of the camps, and he had not served in the east. He was clean.

But when a history sleuth discovered that Günther Rüdell had been made an honorary judge of the notorious “Volksgerichtshof,” or People’s Court, there was such a furor that his name was stripped from the barracks’ title. On 8 May, 2000, exactly fifty-five years after the end of World War II and fifty years after the death of Rüdell, the barracks were renamed the Feldwebel Schmid Kaserne, or the Sergeant Schmid Barracks. Almost immediately thereafter it was ascertained that Rüdell oversaw only one case as a People’s Court judge, and that he

dismissed all charges against the accused, who was freed immediately. In 2002 Rüdell’s name was accordingly rehabilitated: a conference room in the officers’ quarters of the Feldwebel Schmid Kaserne was named the Generaloberst Rüdell Versammlungssaal. An assembly hall in the Sergeant Schmid Barracks was given the name General Rüdell? Who said the Germans don’t have a sense of humor—even if it is ironic or unintended? But a less flippant, indeed rather serious question remains: who was Sergeant Schmid?



Feldwebel Anton Schmid

Well, he was an Austrian, born in 1900 in Vienna, far from Schleswig-Holstein. For Schmidt, unlike for many of his compatriots, being Austrian rather than German was important. It was for him a way to distance himself from the Nazis and their abhorrent actions. His father worked in a bakery. The family was poor. At age fourteen, Anton Schmid began work with the telephone company. In July 1918, he was drafted and saw action on the Italian front. After the armistice, he returned to his job at the telephone company, but left in 1919. After working in electrical installation and repair, he set up his own business in 1926 selling and repairing radios and cameras, as well as developing film. He continued to run this business until after the Anschluss in March 1938. By 1941, he had been drafted again, and soon after the attack on the Soviet Union, he was sent to Vilna in the summer of 1941. Here he was responsible for picking up stray German soldiers who had been separated from their units, and returning them to the same. At his disposal were a number of vehicles and buildings, both of which soon proved to be useful in a different line

of work that he pursued secretly.

Witness to the brutality of the round-ups, deportation, and murder of Jews from the Vilna ghetto and the surrounding area, Schmid dissociated himself from such actions and began to assist Jews who had been assigned to him as laborers. He hid Jews and provided them with papers exempting them from the round-ups. His actions did not go unnoticed: Andres Gdowski, a Catholic priest engaged in rescue work, referred a group of Jewish resistance fighters to him. By the end of 1941, Schmid was meeting clandestinely with them, using his trucks to transport Jews from the Vilna ghetto to Bialystok, where the deadly "Aktionen" had not yet started, and even releasing Jews incarcerated in the notorious Lokischki jail. At least two Jews, who had been provided with false papers, worked for Schmid as "Aryans." The 250-300 Jews removed to the short-lived safety of Bialystok during the three deadly actions of October, November and December 1941, were noticed and proved to be Anton Schmid's downfall. Under torture, an escapee revealed enough details of how he got from Vilna to Bialystok, and thence to the city of Lida, for the Gestapo to arrest Schmid.

Whether he was arrested in January 1942, or if he was arrested in February 1942 shortly after an attempt to hide from authorities whom he knew were suspicious of him, is still not clear. On 25 February 1942, Anton Schmid appeared before a military tribunal. His court appointed lawyer attempted to save him from the death penalty by saying that Schmid took the Jews from Vilna to Lida because he thought they would be more useful to the Third Reich there. But Schmid was not only a fervent Roman Catholic, but a principled one too. He freely admitted that he was trying to save Jewish lives. In December 1941, he had told a delegation of Jewish resisters, in response to their warnings of the great danger that he was in, that given the choice of "living as a murderer or dying as a rescuer" he would choose death. He had rescued, at least in the short term, some 300 Jews. He was sentenced to death and shot on 13 April 1942.

The farewell letter that Anton Schmid wrote to his wife Steffi and his daughter Gerta is eloquent in its often un-grammatical simplicity:

I am glad that you , my dears, are both in good health and everything is okay. Today I can tell you everything about the fate that has caught up with me... Unfortunately I have been sentenced to death by the military court in Vilna... There's nothing that can be done except a plea for mercy, but I believe that will be turned down because they've all been turned down up till now. But, my dear Steffi and Gerta, chin up. I have come to accep45ghtebru

Excerpt from DEAR OTTO

by Susan Learmonth

DEAR OTTO is the story of a Viennese Jewish physician, who by dint of foresight and good luck was able to leave Austria six months after its annexation to Germany. Within months of settling in Boston Massachusetts with his wife, two daughters and mother-in-law, letters began to arrive from relatives and friends asking Otto to help them to leave Europe and secure the necessary documents to allow them to come to the United States. The book contains letters in translation, dated from 1938 to 1941, that detail the correspondence between Otto and various family members in Europe.

Otto was a refugee who became a rescuer. The letters document his efforts. He was able to send affidavits of support to his sister and her family, as well as to his brother-in-law, his wife and their child. However, for the rest of the letter-writers, he had to find affidavit sponsors, advance money for ship tickets, send cables to rescue organizations, and much more besides. He did all of this while trying to make a living for his family in a new country where he had to learn the language and pass the Massachusetts Medical Board Examination so that he could practice. He had wanted to write about his efforts but he became too sick and too old to accomplish this. He had saved all the original letters, which made it possible for me, his daughter, to take up what he could not finish. The book also gave me the chance to recall the creative ways in which wonderful people helped the family to graduate from being a group of newcomers to become a group of citizens.

Following are two brief excerpts from Otto's correspondence with his wife Fini's first cousin, Lisl, who was in France after the Nazis invaded:

Otto to Lisl (in French)

Boston

16 August , 1940

Dear Lisl,

I have found a friend who is willing to sign an affidavit of support for you for immigration to the United States. I beg you to answer immediately whether this will change your situation. I need your exact address. Since this is urgent, I ask you to send a cable.

Otto

Lisl to Otto (in French)

3 October 1940

...There is a notice at the consulate that special visas will not be given out after the 30th of October...the chances diminish daily. Before leaving, I went to a camp to see some friends. The situation looks desolate, I beg you to do as much as you can for those in camps. I await news from you in Lisbon, actually, it is difficult to get to Lisbon. If I don't succeed, I will return to Montauban and await the moment of departure there. Thousands of Jews of all nationalities wait in the south of France for some resolution to their situation. The expulsion of the Jews from Europe has begun and there is no place to go, everything is closed. Spanish Jews wait to go to Mexico, some have waited in camps for three years, it is their third winter. One must send aid to those whose only crime is to be Jewish or anti-fascist. We wanted nothing except the victory of France. One does not leave France voluntarily, but it is the only chance left for us.

I embrace you all,

Lisl

A great deal has been written about the Holocaust, mostly by survivors of the camps and by those who had been "hidden" children. DEAR OTTO is a look from the vantage of a fortunate family who successfully escaped, and of a man who, with the help of his wife, attempted to rescue seventeen families. Not all of his efforts were successful, but perhaps his letters gave some hope that rescue might still be possible.

Learmonth is currently working with Katherine Quimby Johnson, longtime associate of the Leonard & Carolyn Miller Center for Holocaust Studies, to publish the manuscript excerpted here.

Other Publications to Look for:

Francis R. Nicosia. *Useful Enemies? Zionism and Anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany*. (Cambridge University Press, early 2008).

Robert Bernheim and David Scrase, eds. *Jewish Life in Nazi Germany*. (Berghahn Books).

Declassification of Documents
Related to Nazi and
Japanese War Crimes
Now Completed
By Robert Bernheim

In 1998, President Clinton signed into law the Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Act. In the years that have followed, the Nazi War Crimes and Japanese Imperial Government Records Interagency Working Group (IWG) located, declassified and made available to the general public over 8 million pages of documents relating to Nazi and Japanese war crimes. The IWG, comprised of scholars, representatives of seven Executive Branch agencies, and three presidentially appointed members of the

at the National Archives indicate that those in authority knew much, but did not initiate any further intelligence studies about the Holocaust and its perpetrators during the course of combat operations in Europe.

Newly declassified documents from the C.I.A. files, however, also offer a limited and often anecdotal view of the scope and depth of knowledge of the Nazi Holocaust in Europe from the perspective of military intelligence agencies on the ground. Allied military intelligence officers produced a Basic Handbook: KLS (Konzentrationslager)-Axis Concentration Camps and Detention Centres Reported as such in Europe for the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force (Evaluation and Dissemination Section G-2 Counter Intelligence), which was dated 7 May 1945, the day before the war ended in Europe. In contrast to the details available to the leadership of the OSS and MI-6 (British Secret Service), the Allied Intelligence services noted that the main Nazi concentration camps were as follows: Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Dachau, Flossenbürg, Gross Rosen, Herzogenbusch [sic – probably meant as Hertogenbosch in the Netherlands], Hinzert, Mauthausen, Natzweiler, Niederhagen, Neuengamme, Ravensbrück, Sachsenhausen, and Stutthof.³ Only later in the document are the camps of Treblinka, Sobibor, Belzec, Chelmno (Kulmhof), and Bergen-Belsen, for example, mentioned.

The Basic Handbook comprises almost 150 pages, but close to 130 pages constitute appendices. The word “Jew,” however, hardly appears in anything but the appendices. On page A3, it is noted that there are nine camps for Jews in all of the Reich. These camps are not identified until “Annex A – Part Two - Alphabetical List of Concentration Camps with Details.” Even then, the word “Jew” is not necessarily included. The entry in the Basic Handbook for the most notorious extermination camp for Jews, Auschwitz-Birkenau, omits the largest victim group:

Auschwitz (Oswiecim) [...] BIRKENAU camp is definitely connected, as AUSCHWITZ makes use of BIRKENAU's gas chambers, though it is said to have 10 crematoria and 4 lethal gas chambers itself.
Capacity: In 1940: 40,000. A recent report claims 62,000 Jews and foreign workers to be employed in the

We Will Remember

The Editors

While arguments about the “uniqueness” of the Shoah continue, most historians agree that there have been other genocides. Although WW I may have been the first global war, it was not the first brutally modern war, nor, despite its well known moniker “The War to End All Wars,” did it stop major warfare. Likewise, the Holocaust was neither the beginning nor the end of genocide. Hitler underscored human weakness and memory lapses when he asked rhetorically, apropos the “Final Solution,” whether anyone a mere two decades after the event remembered the Armenian slaughter. We remember here two events that preceded the Holocaust, namely the “Nanjing Massacre,” which the Japanese carried out as they invaded China just two years before war was declared on Germany and only four years before the Japanese were brought into the global conflict, and the prolonged campaign to wipe out the Armenians.

The Politics, History, and Memory of the Nanjing Massacre

By Erik Esselstrom

In December 1937, the city of Nanjing, then the Nationalist capital of China, fell to the advancing imperial army of Japan. The spate of indiscriminate murder, rape and carnage that ensued in the city during the next several weeks set the tone for a relentless campaign of Japanese destruction in China that would drag on for almost eight more years, and which would help to escalate an essentially European war to a world war. As the seventieth anniversary of this “Nanjing Massacre” approaches later this year, the political struggle over its historical definition and public memory is raging in East Asia as fiercely now as it ever has.

In fact, the event will be commemorated in three films released during 2007, all of which reflect the political agendas of their producers and distributors. Hong Kong filmmaker Yim Ho gives us “Nanking, Christmas 1937,” a depiction of stoic Chinese endurance in the face of outrageous Japanese violence. The film was inspired by the bestselling 1997 book *The Rape of Nanking* by Chinese-American writer Iris Chang. In response, director

Satoru Mizushima proffers the standard right-wing, ultra-nationalist denial of Japanese brutality in the city in a production entitled “The Truth about Nanjing.” Finally, an American documentary film, “Nanking,” directed by Bill Guttentag and Dan Sturman, takes the typically American approach of placing Westerners at the center of the narrative, focusing on the role played by Americans and Europeans in setting up a safety zone within the foreign quarters of the city where terrified Chinese residents were able to escape from the marauding Japanese military force.

Why is there now such keen interest in the topic after seventy years have passed? The interpretation of what happened in Nanjing in 1937 has profound relevance within the context of nationalist political imperatives in China and Japan today. Since the ruthless crackdown on domestic political dissent at Tiananmen in June 1989, the Chinese Communist Party has increasingly sought to cloak the bankruptcy of its socialist ideological foundation with the promotion of nationalist pride vis-à-vis a bond of victimization by Japanese war-time brutality. As evidence of this, one need only look at the spring of 2005 when the ruling Chinese Communist Party organized anti-Japanese demonstrations in cities across the country to protest the content of Japanese school history textbooks, while simultaneously sending police and army units to crush demonstrations of resistance by Chinese farmers driven off their land by state development programs. The anti-Japanese demonstrations sponsored by the ruling Party at once promote nationalism and distract attention from their own immoral actions by focusing Chinese unrest on Japan.

Since the collapse of the spectacular affluence of its 1980s economy, conservative segments of Japanese society, too, have turned to nationalism as a cure for post-Cold War social malaise by advancing what they see as a less “masochistic” view of Japan’s modern history, in which the aimless youth of society can take a renewed semblance of pride. Once only the agenda of fringe conservative historians, in late 2006 the Liberal Democratic Party of Prime Minister Abe Shinzô led the movement to pass revisions to the 1947 Fundamental Law on Education that will, for all intents and purposes, compel public schools in Japan to promote patriotic

sentiments in students through regular curricular instruction. Put simply, the ruling political elites of both China and Japan are locked in a battle to manipulate the popular memory of the wartime past to serve the interests of their current political agendas, and contemporary representations of the Nanjing Massacre cannot be understood outside of that light.

Politicians in both Japan and China will benefit from the cultivation of nationalist sentiment, and the different narratives about war-time events in Nanjing will affect the political climates within their countries of origin by directing public sentiment down specific avenues. As for the motivation behind the American documentary of the events in Nanjing, perhaps the directors merely retell it through Western eyes to appeal to a Western audience, but perhaps more is at stake in presenting Westerners as providing a safe haven to the oppressed. Whatever the case may be, the fact remains that a public, postwar retelling of a war-time event affects the cultural perception of that event. Furthermore, the popular media affects the current political climate by eliciting public support for a particular interpretation of an historical event as it circumscribes its cultural and political meaning within a narrative that claims to tell the “truth.” The fact that three films can tell very different tales, while each commemorates the Nanjing Massacre, shows how the political struggle to establish the meaning of historical events can be waged in a public forum. For a thoughtful analysis of the function of the Nanjing Massacre as a contested postwar political memory, see Joshua A. Fogel, ed., *The Nanjing Massacre in History and Historiography* (University of California Press, 2000) and Takashi Yoshida, *The Making of the Rape of Nanking: History and Memory in Japan, China, and the United States* (Oxford University Press, 2006).

however, they have been under foreign rule. The last independent Armenian state (before the present-day Armenian Republic) fell in 1375, and by the early sixteenth century most Armenians were subjects of the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman inter-communal relations were comparatively peaceful for most of the history of the empire. Differences among subjects always existed, but only occasionally did these lead to conflicts and violence. For the most part, Armenians enjoyed religious, cultural, and social autonomy under Ottoman rule.

600 to 800,000 Ottoman Armenians died during and after forced deportation from eastern Anatolia to Syria and Mesopotamia. As World War I erupted in 1914, the Ottoman government became increasingly concerned about the Armenian nationalist demands in eastern Anatolia, as well as strong Armenian collaboration with Russia, which re-

The Bulletin of the
Center for Holocaust Studies
at the University of Vermont
Volume 11, Number 2

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