

YAD VASHEM



יד ושם

The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority רשות הזיכרון לשואה ולגבורה

**The International Institute for Holocaust Research**

International Conference on

## **Hiding, Sheltering and Borrowing Identities As Avenues of Rescue During the Holocaust**



**Sunday – Tuesday, 19 – 21 December 2010**

With the generous support of

*The Gertner Center for International Holocaust Conferences  
and the Gutwirth Family Fund*

**Jewish Brigade Soldier, Mother Benedetta Vespignani with Emanuele and Raffaele, the two sons of Riccardo Pacifici the rabbi of Genova (Genoa). The boys were hidden in the Istituto di Santa Marta near Florence until liberation when Emanuele saw the star of David on the uniform and whispered to one of the Bridgade soldiers “Shema Israel.”**

## *Opening Session*



*Sunday, 19 December 2010*  
*10:00-10:45*

**Dan Michman** is Professor of Modern Jewish History and Chair of the Arnold and Leona Finkler Institute of Holocaust Research at Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan; and serves also as Chief Historian at the Yad Vashem International Institute of Holocaust Research. Among the books he authored: *The Jewish Refugees from Germany in The Netherlands 1933-1940* (dissertation, 1978); *Het Liberale Jodendom in Nederland, 1929-1943* (1988); (co-author) *Pinkas. Geschiedenis van de joodse gemeenschap in Nederland* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition: 1999); *Holocaust Historiography: A Jewish Perspective. Conceptualizations, Terminology, Approaches and Fundamental Issues* (2003); *The Jewish Ghettos in the Holocaust: Why and How Did They Emerge?* (2008).

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### Beyond the Righteous Among the Nations and Altursium

The aim of the opening lecture is to present the general goal of this conference. The issue of rescue during the Holocaust, this major topic within Holocaust historiography was dealt with in different ways from the very first days after the war. And yet, in research conferences among which include the conference that was convened in April 1974 on Rescue Attempts and Activities During the Holocaust (the anthology was published in 1976) the emphasis was place on the rescue activities by governments and organizations in the free world on one hand, and the Righteous Among the Nations on the on the other hand. Many aspects of rescue activities mainly the ones of the individual rescuer and the Jewish individuals who were hidden did not receive, in our opinion, the proper historical attention (although in memoir literature this matter has been widely attended to.)

The goal of this conference is to cover new aspects from around Europe. I shall address these aspects in the first part of my lecture. In the second part, I shall focus on a particular historiographical problem. In research literature on rescue, the main emphasis has been given to the Righteous Among the Nations. This is basically an outcome of Yad Vashem's remembrance activity that started officially in 1962 and in a more formal way in 1963. The basis of those who have been recognized as Righteous – psychology, sociology, history - gave altruism as the main explanation as the reason for rescue. This lecture will show that this generalized explanation is imbedded in a specific methodological problem of researchers. On one hand the Righteous Among the Nations project gives numerical data on the rescuers and this has been used in many ways to depict and present a misleading image on the behaviors of the national population on one hand and political arguments on the other. In my lecture, I shall try to express my doubts on these positions.

## *Session 1A*



*Sunday, 19 December 2010*  
*10:45-11:45*

**Haarlem, the Netherlands, 1943, Max Cohen in his hiding place. In August 1942, Johanna Oskam took Max Cohen, then 19 years old, to hid with Mattheus and Johanna Huyboom in Haarlem. According to Max's testimony, the Huyboom's treated him as a son. Max's brother, Eduard, was forced to leave his hiding place and came to hide with his brother. In 1944, the brothers had to leave the Huybooms when it became too dangerous. They were then hidden by the Herkes Family.**

**Bob Moore** is Professor of Twentieth Century History at the University of Sheffield. He specializes in the history of refugees, civilian resistance in the Second World War, prisoners of war and the Holocaust. His publications include *Victims and Survivors: The Nazi Persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands 1940-1945* (1997), *The British Empire and its Italian Prisoners of War* (with Kent Fedorowich, 2003) and *Refugees from Nazi Germany and the Liberal European States* (edited with Frank Caestecker, 2010). Moore's latest work, *Survivors: Rescue and Jewish Self-Help in Nazi Occupied Western Europe* was published by Oxford University Press in May 2010.

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### **The Structures of Rescue: Key Determinants in the Survival of Jews in Western Europe During the Holocaust**

The Jewish communities of Western Europe numbered around 500,000 on the eve of the German invasions of April and May 1940. At the end of hostilities, more than half of the Jewish population had managed to survive either through escape or by hiding. However, this generalized and simplified view masks huge national variations, which range from the deportation and extermination of more than 75% of the 140,000 Jews in the Netherlands to the almost total salvation of the 8,000 Jews in Denmark. Generalization of the situation also masks the predominance of the 300,000 Jews in France, where mortality rates were about 25% and heavily concentrated among the immigrant rather than the indigenous populations. These statistics are well known and have framed many of the national studies on the Holocaust in Western Europe and have also acted as a basis for comparative work that has looked to identify salient factors that explain these anomalies.

This paper seeks to summarize and analyze the findings contained in *Survivors: Jewish Self Help and Rescue in Western Europe*, a comparative treatment of self-help and rescue across France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark and Norway. It will focus on three specific issues. Firstly the origins and incidence of Jewish self-help through the existence of pre-war immigrant welfare organizations that transcended into being clandestine and offering resistance during the German occupation, highlighting the key role they played in specific environments. Secondly, it will look at the specific role of the Christian churches vis-à-vis rescue through a series of regional and national case studies, showing how marginally different nuanced responses by leading clerics could mobilize subordinates and congregations in one area but not in others. It also examines the informal links within church hierarchies that played a key role in explaining the differential distribution of rescue between areas that were otherwise socially, politically and economically very similar. Finally, this paper will juxtapose the case studies of escape from Norway with the much better known Danish example, suggesting that the former is in some respects more remarkable than the latter.

**Havi Dreifuss** PhD teaches in the Department of Jewish History, Tel Aviv University. She received her PhD from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 2005. The title of her PhD was Poland and Poles in the Eyes of the Polish Jews During the Second World War, 1939-1944. She worked at Yad Vashem from 1993-2005 in the International School for Holocaust Studies. Dreifuss had spoken in many conferences and symposia, and is a member of several academic boards. Her research interests are: Polish Jewry in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, Holocaust Studies, Modern Polish history, and Minorities in Central Europe.

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### **Living in Hiding, with a Borrowed Identity or in the Forests: Characteristics and Fundamental Problems**

From the end of 1942 – sometimes even earlier most of the remnants of Polish Jews lived in hiding, under false identities, in forests, or in the Nazi camps. In this lecture, I shall try to map out the similarities and differences of the experiences of Jews who tried to evade and escape the Nazis, based on their writings during the Holocaust period as well as from the postwar years. I shall try to present the similarities and differences of everyday life of those Jews and I shall try to analyze the question whether it is possible to find common characteristics of Polish Jews and the experiences of Jews hiding in other occupied European countries. Finally, I shall try to suggest that knowing the complex reality that specifies that each one experienced - life in hiding, false identity and hiding in forests – it has a cardinal influence on the developing discourse around the issue of the Righteous Among the Nations as a whole and it can facilitate in re-defining the topic of rescue of Jews during the Holocaust.

## *Session 1B*



*Sunday, 19 December 2010*  
*12:15-13:45*

**Lvov, Poland, A notice inquiring the whereabouts of Lina Gans, who lived on Aryan side. It is stated in the announcement that the police had gone to her residence looking for her but did not find her. It gives her approximate age and the last date 16 March 1943 that others had seen her. (Lina hid under the name of Urszula. She was sought by both the Gestapo and the Ukrainian Police for having killed a member of the Gestapo.)**

**Witold W. Mędykowski**, Ph.D., is an historian, political scientist, and a graduate of Tel Aviv University (Jewish and general history) and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Contemporary Jewry). He received his doctorate from the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences for the dissertation, “Pogroms of 1941 in the Former Soviet Occupation Zone: Historical, Social and Cultural Context: Theory of Pogroms”. Mędykowski is Senior Specialist at Yad Vashem Archives, Fellow of the Foundation 'Remembrance, Responsibility and Future' (*Erinnerung, Verantwortung und Zukunft*), and is currently working on a research project concerning forced labor of Jews in *Generelgouvernement*, 1939-1943. He is author of several publications while his research interest includes: Polish-Jewish relations, Holocaust, WWII, ethnic conflicts, economics, political sciences, and archival science.

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### **Hiding and Survival in Rural Areas of Poland: Ways of Survival, Techniques of Hiding and Relations with Local Population - The Polish Case**

In research literature concerning survival of Jews during the Holocaust is presented mainly cases of hiding in urban areas. Nevertheless, in small towns and rural areas of Poland lived a majority Jewish population. Therefore, this paper is going to deal with survival in rural areas of Poland. The conditions in the countryside were completely different from those in the cities. In the countryside lived a population having its own particular way of life. Rural life required from the Jews who were searching for places to hide a particular attitude that was proper to the demands of the circumstances. Specific farm buildings, vicinity of woods and fields demanded special techniques of building hiding places and their camouflage. Finally, strategies of survival had to be based on the relations with the local population.

The paper will analyze major factors dictating the attitude of the Jews searching for survival in villages. For them existed two basic ways of survival. One of them was to adopted false identity and the other was to create good relations with villagers who were willing to help. Both of these ways had to be adapted to the condition of life in small communities. In many cases acceptance of strangers depended on the utility of the person seeking help. Jews who were hiding on farms were, in general, performing a variety of work such as knitting, sewing, repairing different tools, etc. In some cases Jews were hidden in exchange of payment, or a promise of payment that might be in the form of valuable objects or even of real estate. The most heroic cases include hiding Jews, for no payment or services, sometimes by persons who hardly could afford to feed their own families and were furthermore putting at risk all inhabitants of the farm.

In all mentioned above cases, survival depended to a great extent on keeping secret by an individual or a group the hiding of Jews. Even only one person in the village could denounce hiding Jews. In cases of early warning, Jews who were in hiding could leave before being discovered and find another place of safety. Special attention will be dedicated to the survival and hiding of children, a special group with its own characteristics, specific ability of adaptation, potential of adopting different identities, capacity of learning fast and rendering services needed on farms.

The paper will present various cases of hiding and major factors that permitted hiding and survival in villages. Armed groups of Jews as well as partisans to them will not be discussed in this paper because this group constitutes yet another category of hiding Jews.

**Lenore J. Weitzman** received her Ph.D. in Sociology from Columbia University, followed by a post-doctoral fellowship at Yale Law School. She is the author of 5 books, including the award-winning *The Divorce Revolution*, which led to the passage of 14 new laws in California.

Her more recent work focuses on the Holocaust. She co-edited, with Dalia Ofer, *Women in the Holocaust*, (Yale, 1999), a finalist for the Jewish Book Award, and is now writing a book on *The Kashariyot* (the women couriers) in the Jewish resistance. Her long-standing interest in Jews who passed on false documents began with a Fulbright fellowship at Yad Vashem where she collected data on passing in 20 countries. Weitzman is also a dedicated teacher and has been a professor at Stanford University, the University of California, George Mason University, and Harvard University, where she won Harvard's *Phi Beta Kappa* distinguished teaching award.

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### **Saving Lives on the Aryan Side in Poland: The Bund, D'ror, and Ha Shomer Ha Tza'ir**

Over the past 15 years I have been studying Jews who passed as non-Jews during the Holocaust, focusing primarily on Poland. ["Passing on the Aryan Side in Poland", 1998.]

I have also compared their experiences with Jews who passed in other countries (see, for example, the contrast with the "u-boats" in Germany ["Masks for Survival", 2001]) All of this work focused on individuals -- people who took the initiative in organizing their borrowed identities -- by obtaining false documents, lodging, work, and "helpers" who could support their "cover" and assist their attaining the necessities of daily life.

This paper, in contrast, focuses on the organizations that rescued Jews from the ghettos and made arrangements for them to pass and/or hide on the "Aryan" side in Poland. This complex effort was not limited to a single act of rescue. Instead, for those Jews who had to remain hidden, these organizations provided continuous and ongoing care. They not only provided for their basic physical needs by paying for their food and shelter, but also sustained them emotionally with visits and moral support. In addition, the organizations were always "on-call" to respond to the inevitable crises when one of their charges was suspected, or discovered, or threatened with blackmail, and all of their prior arrangements had to be re-done.

The "they" behind the organizations in the previous paragraph were typically young women, who became known as "kashariyot" (couriers), from the Hebrew "kesher" for the connection they provided for the Jews on the Aryan side.

This paper compares the ideologies and activities of three (underground) Jewish organizations in the ghettos -- the socialist Bund, and the Zionist D'ror and Ha Shomer Ha Tza'ir. To provide a comparative analysis of this rescue, I address the following:

#### **1. WHY: Ideology and Strategy:**

This section examines the ideological differences among the organizations including their resistance to the idea of rescue (i.e. because it was "elitist," because it was more

important to remain in the ghetto to “fight for Jewish honor,” because one could do more by joining the partisans, etc.); the timing of their decision to rescue; their priorities in whom to save (re by age, gender, wealth and yichus/status); and the special arrangements for the leaders of the Jewish resistance working on the Aryan side.

## **2. HOW: The Complicated and Multi-Faceted Activities involved in Rescue:**

Here I discuss organizing the escape from the ghetto; obtaining and preparing false documents; finding rooms, apartments (and “caretakers”) on the Aryan side; securing and distributing money for housing and food; maintaining contact, visits, and moral support for those in hiding; coping with blackmailers; responding to crises; and how their activities had to change over time.

## **3. Evaluation and a Controversial Conclusion:**

I conclude by evaluating the comparative success of these organizations in saving three groups: children, adults who could not pass, and adults who could pass. I argue that they were indispensable for the first two groups, but adults who could pass and “saved themselves” had a higher success rate. (\*controversial because it challenges Oberschall’s conclusion that organizations saved most of the Jews.)

## *Session 2A*



*Sunday, 19 December 2010*  
**15:00-16:00**

**Righteous Among the Nations Marie Rachel Bouffa.** Bouffa was born in Comblain-au-Pont, Belgium on 19 January 1882. During the war she was a member of the resistance and was honored for her activities in 2007; she also hid members of the Wolfson family in La Reid. The Nazis were searching for Bouffa and eventually found her. She was arrested on 17 February 1944. The Gestapo sent her to Ravensbrück where she perished in February 1945.

**Dr. Wolfgang Bialas** is currently involved with the *DFG*-Research project on *Nazi Ideology and Ethics* at the Hannah-Arendt-Institute, Dresden. Bialis earned his doctorate at the University of Leipzig and his German postdoctoral work (Habilitation) was done at the Academy of Sciences, Berlin. His areas of specialization include: Nazism and the Holocaust, Political Philosophy, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century European Intellectual History, and Intercultural and inter-religious dialogue. Bialis' last publication on Nazism and the Holocaust are: *The Eternal Voice of the Blood: Racial Science and Nazi Ethics* (Anton Weiss-Wendt and Rory Yeomans (eds), Racial Science in Hitler's 'New Europe'. This is a series of Conference proceedings at the Holocaust Center, Oslo; Die moralische Ordnung des Nationalsozialismus. Zum Zusammenhang von Philosophie, Ideologie und Moral (Moral Orders of Nazism) (Fritz Bauer Institut, Ed. Moralität des Bösen. Ethik und nationalsozialistische Verbrechen. Jahrbuch 2009), Frankfurt/New York 2009, pp. 30-60; and *Nazi Germany and the Humanities*, edited with Anson Rabinbach, OneWorld Press, 2007.

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### **The Rescuers Moral Mindset**

As is well known, about one-third (160,000) of all German Jews were living in Berlin when the Nazis came to power and around 60,000 remained there when deportations began in October 1941. Of the about 8,000 Berlin Jews who survived, a small number lived underground. For these, survival would not have been possible without the help of non-Jewish Berliners whose motives were not always humane and selfless. This is well documented in autobiographical and scholarly works, which show the usual mix of motives for sheltering and helping Jews to survive. What is still missing though, is a closer look at the role that moral motives played in the rescuers' mindsets. This is what this paper intends to accomplish by working through autobiographical material that is still waiting to be explored systematically.

I will address the following questions: Why did those who ignored, contradicted or countered Nazi racial ideology risk their lives and those of their family members to help Jews? How did they manage to maintain their common sense morality that allowed them to treat supposedly racially inferior Jewish friends, neighbors, former colleagues, and even perfect strangers humanely? What role did religion and Christian ethics, education, and political convictions play in the moral mindset of the rescuers?

**Robby Van Eetvelde** studied at Ghent University (Belgium), where he received an MA degree in history in 2004. Between 2005 and 2009 he worked for the Department of Contemporary History at the same university. In the summer of 2006, he attended the international summer course “Nationalsozialismus. Einführung, Kontroversen, Perspektiven” [National-socialism: Introduction, controversies, perspectives], organized by the Department of Contemporary History of the Johannes-Gutenberg Universität, Mainz (Germany). At the moment he is a PhD candidate at the Department of Politics, History and International Relations of Loughborough University (UK). His main interests are the German occupation of Belgium during the Second World War, the repression of the resistance movement and the persecution of the Jews. His doctoral topic concerns the Sicherheitspolizei und Sicherheitsdienst (SiPo-SD) in occupied Belgium. He published several articles on the policing tactics of and the Flemish collaborators with the German police force in Antwerp.

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## **The Motivation and Fate of Arrested Shelterers of Jews in German Occupied Antwerp During World War II**

The survival rate of Jews in Antwerp was much lower than the Belgian average. The passive anti-Semitism of bystanders and the gentile population was not the only cause. The emergence of an organised form of Jewish self-rescue (*Comité de Défense des Juifs* or Jewish Defence Committee) and local initiatives of low-level clergy regarding the saving of Jewish children contributed greatly to the survival of Jews in Belgium. In Antwerp, this help was not forthcoming. When it did develop during the autumn of 1942 it was too late. The majority of Jews had either already been deported or had fled to Brussels.

Using the post-war criminal case files of Flemish collaborators with the Gestapo, I identified a group of individual helpers in Antwerp. Since help in Belgium was dominantly a francophone and rural phenomenon, they form an exceptional group. Their help ranged from simply hiding Jewish property to sheltering entire families. However, in rare cases, so-called helpers worked as double agents for the Gestapo in return for financial rewards or personal freedom.

The group was dominantly made up of females, from a humble social background and living in or near the Antwerp Jewish quarter. They were seldom motivated by moral ideals or by altruism. Neither did their engagement find origin in anti-German patriotism with roots in the First World War. More important was a literal form of opportunism. Jewish acquaintances or distant relations asked them to help and they accepted. Double agents, on the other hand, were motivated by self-interest or self-preservation.

Adults usually found shelter in or close to the more dangerous Jewish quarter. Children were able to escape to the safer suburbs. Potential rescuers were afraid of the consequences if caught by the Gestapo hiding an adult Jew. This was seen as “real” defiance of the German occupation. An arrest by the German police was not to be taken lightly. Harsh punishments, however, were only issued when it was suspected that the detainee was part of a larger network or towards the end of the occupation.

## *Session 2B*



*Sunday, 19 December 2010*  
*16:30-17:45*

**This picture is taken from a photograph postcard printed by Viogtländer. Written on the reverse side, it states that the Jewish girl pictured (with an X over her head) was from Sieradz, Poland. She was hidden in a convent in Warsaw. She is pictured amongst Christian children staying in a convent kneeling near the chaplain. According to the postcard, after the war she was staying in a lager in the Tempelhof DP Camp, Berlin, Germany.**

**Ihediwa Nkemjika Chimee** is a graduate student and a lecturer in the Department of History & International Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka. He attended Mbaise Secondary School, Imo State, and later the University of Nigeria, Nsukka from where he graduated in 1996 with a B.A (Honors), second-class upper division in History. In addition, he holds an MA degree in Economic and Social History from the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, and is currently completing his doctoral program in Political History. He is interested in social and political issues and has written journal articles and book chapters.

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### **Nationalism, Sheer Humanitarianism and Capital as Factors that Necessitated and Nourished the Sheltering of Jews During the Holocaust**

The Holocaust, no doubt, is the most vicious and loathsome incident of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was perpetrated against a defined population-the Jews by Nazi Germany with the intention of extinguishing them out of existence. The stage leading to the holocaust was set on September 1, 1939 with the Nazi German invasion of Poland. The rage with which Poland was occupied reveals the deep-seated German hatred for the Poles whom they had seen as “sub-human.” The same level of hatred was also directed toward the Jews whom they placed below the “sub-human” category, a perspective that necessitated their elimination from all the German occupied Europe during the war. At the time of the outbreak of the War, Poland was the center of European Jewry, which had an estimated population of three million, of which 300,000 lived in Poland. The Nazi regime, upon the capture of Poland, planned three things for the Jews, which precipitated in the holocaust: concentration, isolation, and annihilation. The civilized world could do little at a time when it was encumbered by a monster too great to be approached easily and, as such, much of the cries of the Polish government-in-exile about the dangers faced by Jews in Poland under German occupation were not taken seriously. However, despite the limitations faced by the Polish government-in-exile, the Jews as well as the stymied Poles at home, many Jewish lives and limbs were saved from annihilation through various ways. Scholars have written extensively on the Jewish Holocaust and the various forms of intervention made to save the Jews from liquidation. My concern will be to examine nationalism, sheer humanitarianism and capital as factors that necessitated and nourished the sheltering of Jews during the Holocaust. Each of these factors will be examined in their broad ramifications to see to what extent their interplay mitigated the complete annihilation of Polish Jewry during the Second World War.

**Yaakov Ariel** is a graduate of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the University of Chicago, where he completed a doctoral degree on Christian messianic groups and their thinking in relation to Jews and Zionism. His research focuses on Protestant Christianity and its attitudes towards the Jewish people; on Christian-Jewish relations in the modern era; and on the Jewish reaction to modernity. Ariel has published numerous articles and two books on these subjects. His latest book, *Evangelizing the Chosen People*, was awarded the Albert C. Outler prize by the American Society of Church History. Currently, he is completing a book on the history of Evangelical-Jewish relationship. Ariel is a professor of Religious Studies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

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### **Hiding, Sheltering, and Spiritual Influences: the Social, Emotional and Spiritual Dynamics of the Conversion of Jews hiding among Christians**

During the tumultuous years of the Holocaust, thousands of Jews found refuge in Christian homes and institutions. A few thousand Christians, of Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox persuasions, have sheltered Jews. Many of them were not religiously motivated, and some were not even religiously committed. Others were consciously Christians, but were not necessarily concerned with the spiritual life of the people they were sheltering. There were, however, those who propagated, directly and indirectly, the Christian faith, although very rarely was conversion to Christianity a precondition for offering a hiding place to Jews. Although there was very little religious coercion, it is a striking reality that hundreds of Jews, who found refuge among Christians, have decided to convert to Christianity, often during hiding or a short while after liberation.

Narratives of conversions need to be read with great caution. The accounts were written some time after the events took place and reflect, at least partially, the mood and loyalties of the writers when they set down to write or to be interviewed. Moreover, each conversion took place in a different political, cultural and emotional setting. Analyzing an extensive collection of testimonies of Jews who converted to Christianity during, or following, their hiding, reveals however some clear patterns. Conversions and the adoption of the rescuers faith were almost always done on an individual basis by persons hiding on their own, with no other Jews accompanying them at the time. Such conversions should be understood as an outcome of the spiritual, emotional and social crises that accompanied the destructions of former lives and the loneliness of hiding.

Choosing Christianity often meant a rejection of what seemed as helplessness and victimhood in favor of what the converts conceived to be a more constructive option with which they could face life after liberation. Conversions were also influenced by the relationships established between the rescued and the rescuers and the need the former felt to organize their new lives in accordance with the values and expectations of their hosts. Those who chose to convert did so when they had found hiding in particularly pious Christian homes, which they associated with the gestures of rescue. In this respect, conversions to Christianity should be viewed as an outcome of the disparity between those in hiding, whose former lives were shattered, and the much 'stronger' rescuers, who were ultimately happy to see their protégés convert.

## *Session 3*



*Monday, 20 December 2010*  
**09:00-11:00**

**Warsaw, Poland, Hans Frank with German soldiers standing near Jews who were found hiding in a bunker during the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.**

**Jan Grabowski** is Professor of History at the University of Ottawa, Canada. He earned his Ph.D. in History from the Université de Montréal in 1994 and his M.A. in History from the University of Warsaw in 1986. His main area of research interest includes Jewish-Polish relations during the 1939-1945. Selected recent publications include: *'Je le connais, c'est un Juif!' Varsovie 1939-1943. Le chantage contre les Juifs*", éditions Calmann-Lévy, Paris, 2008. 176 p. (translation of: *Szanta łowanie żydów w Warszawie, 1939-1945*); *Rescue for Money: 'Paid Helpers' in Poland, 1939-1945*, Search and Research Series, a brochure published by Yad Vashem, 2008; *Germans in Krakow: September 1939- January 1945. The Diary of Teodor Kubalski [Niemcy w Krakowie, dziennik Teodora Kubalskiego]*, Austeria, Krakow, 2010, Austeria publishing House, Austeria, Krakow, 2010, with Zbigniew R. Grabowski]. Articles include: *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* (2009, 2004); *Przegląd Historyczny*, 2009; *Yad Vashem Studies*, 2007, 2008, *Zagłada Żydów* (2005, 2006); *Contemporary European History*, (2004).

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### **Failed Attempts at Hiding The Case of Dabrowa Tarnowska County, 1942-1945**

The aim of my paper is to present the fate of the Jews who went into hiding in Dabrowa Tarnowska County, an area some 80 km east of Cracow, Poland. My ongoing research tries to identify the circumstances in which the hidden Jews were identified and intercepted. There were approximately 6,000 Jews living in Dabrowa Tarnowska County prior to the mass deportations to the Bełżec extermination camp in the Summer-Fall 1942. Several hundred of them resisted actively the German "evacuation" efforts and went into hiding. As of today, I have been able to shed light on the fate of 187 Jews detected in this area by various German and Polish authorities and individuals during 1942-1945. My presentation offers a detailed account of unsuccessful attempts at hiding in the aforementioned region. My work is centered on three interlocking groups of sources: first, the trials of Poles investigated after the war for collaboration with the Germans; second, the Jewish survivors' accounts (mostly from the Jewish Historical Institute and from Yad Vashem) and, finally, the German post-war investigations into the activities of police and gendarmerie in the chosen area.

**Jakub Petelewicz** earned an M.A. in history from the Historical Institute, Warsaw University in July, 1999. His dissertation topic is about the issue of *Jewish Self-Help Organization in the General Government, 1939-1944*. His main fields of interest and research are Polish-Jewish relations before, during and after the Shoah as well as the Jewish Welfare Services during WWII in Poland. Petelewicz is currently studying the Polish Blue Police and the Shoah in the countryside in Poland.

His publications include:

Wybór źródeł do nauczania o zagładzie Żydów na okupowanych ziemiach polskich, red. A. Skibińska, R. Szuchta, Warszawa 2010 [Selection of Sources for Teaching about the Holocaust on the occupied Polish land. Ed. by A. Skibińska, R. Szuchta, Warsaw 2010; Aktainstytucji opiekuńczych i pomocowych (w:) Alina Skibińska, Źródła do badań nad zagładą Żydów na okupowanych ziemiach polskich.

Przewodnik archiwalno bibliograficzny, Warszawa 2007 [Documentation of welfare and help institutions (in:) Alina Skibińska, Sources for Research on Holocaust on the occupied Polish land. Archival and Bibliographical guide, Warsaw 2007; The Participation of Poles in Crimes Against Jews in the Świętokrzyskie Region (in:) Yad Vashem Studies 2007 (2).

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### **Hiding and Denunciating – Franciszek Berkowicz and Josef Markusfeld in Łowicz – A Case Study**

This article is an attempt at a case study of a unique situation and a resultant crime that took place in Łowicz, a provincial town in the western part of the Warsaw District of the General Government. The trial files at the Special Criminal Court in Warsaw of 1945 and 1946 found in the archives of the Institute of National Remembrance reveal a situation that is extraordinary and at the same time tragic. Thus by April 1943, in Łowicz, totally undisturbed, there lived two Jewish converts: Franciszek Berkowicz and Józef Markusfeld with their families.

Although they were Catholics, according to Nazi law they were treated as Jews. According to Governor General Hans Frank's decree of 24 July 1940, their spouses and children were to be treated as Jews as well. Therefore, all of them were to live in the ghetto, and when leaving it, they were subject to certain sanctions, and since June 1941, subject to the death penalty. Both heroes of the story had typical Jewish surnames which were the same as those of other people who were Jewish and lived in the town. They were all moved to the ghetto, deported in the spring of 1941 to Warsaw and later to the gas chambers of Treblinka.

Until the tragic events of 1943 described below, both families lived in the town quite openly. This bliss was interrupted by the appearance of Jan Sierszak, a Gestapo informer, who denounced Markusfeld and Berkowicz who are consequently shot. Sierszak still pestered the Berkowicz family, and tried to capture their daughter. This is when neighborly help comes into play, and the young Berkowicz girl is warned to flee and hide in a village.

In 1945 Jan Sierszak was arrested and tried before the Special Criminal Court in Warsaw, with its seat in Łódź, which, on the basis of the so-called “August decree,”<sup>1</sup> found him guilty and he is sentenced to death. The documents of the trial reveal an unusually strong reaction by the local population to Sierszak’s crime. Reaction was generally condemnatory of his denouncement and supportive of any help that was later offered to Berkowicz’ wife and daughter by the local community. Court records clearly demonstrate that the fate of both victims, because of the denunciation, was not indifferent to their Polish neighbors. Furthermore, during the proceedings the citizens demanded that the trial be transferred to Łowicz, and they demanded a severe punishment for the perpetrator where the crime had been committed. It is also worth emphasizing that a unique phenomenon, in the context of an “August decree” trial, occurred when the witnesses made no attempts to protect “one of their own”, accused of crimes against Jews. The witnesses do not try any tricks and actively testify against the defendant. The described situation is an extremely interesting and unique case that combines the situation of hiding, not hiding, the life in local community and a crime that is unanimously condemned by the community.

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<sup>1</sup>*Decree on punishment of fascist-Nazi criminals guilty of murders and tormenting civil population and of traitors of the Polish Nation, Dziennik Ustaw, 1944, no. 4, item 27 of 12 September 1944.*

**Rita Horváth** is a literary scholar and a historian. She received her PhD. from Bar-Ilan University (Ramat Gan, Israel) in 2003. From 2009 until 2014, she is a research fellow at the International Institute for Holocaust Research in Yad Vashem. Her latest publication is: Rita Horváth, Anna Szalai, Gábor Balázs, *Previously Unexplored Sources on the Holocaust in Hungary*. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2007. At present she participates in the “Children’s Holocaust Testimony Project” together with Prof. Joel Walters (Bar-Ilan University) and Dr. Boaz Cohen at Bar-Ilan University. From 2004, Horváth is teaching in the Holocaust Studies Program at Eötvös Loránd University (Budapest, Hungary) and from 2005, she is teaching English literature at Bar-Ilan University. Hováth is currently a scholar-in-residence at the Hadassah Brandeis Institute, Brandeis University, Waltham, MA, USA.

**Dr. Kinga Frojimovics** is an historian and an archivist. From 2007, she has been the director of the Hungarian Section in Yad Vashem Archives, Jerusalem. She received her Ph.D. from Bar-Ilan University (Ramat Gan, Israel) in 2003. Her field of research is the history of the Jews in Hungary in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Her focus is the history of Jewish religious trends in Hungary and on the Holocaust. Frojimovics is co-editor of the *MAKOR, the Series of the Hungarian Jewish Archives*. At present, she is working with Dr. Rita Horvath on a research project concerning early post-war testimonies at the Hadassah Brandeis Institute, Brandeis University, Waltham, MA, USA.

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## **Who were the Rescuers and the Jews They Saved? Jews and Non-Jewish Rescuers in Hungary during World War II**

Although the Righteous among the Nations already have a very special place in the history of the Holocaust, a comprehensive historical monograph concerning them is yet to be written. Recently, mainly social-psychologists and sociologists have been researching motivations, upbringing, families, social status and ideologies of those extraordinary individuals who risked their own lives together with the lives of their loved ones to save persecuted Jews. Social-psychologist Eva Fogelman, herself a daughter of a Holocaust survivor saved by a Righteous among the Nations, classified the rescuers into five categories based on their motivations (see *Conscience & Courage: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, New York, Anchor Books, Doubleday, 1994, Ch. 8–12., 161–235). Even though the motivations of the rescuers are sometimes complex, causing categories to overlap, Fogelman’s model is a useful device to understand this unique phenomenon in the midst of the horrors of the Holocaust.

In Hungary, three typical realms of rescue can be differentiated according to the logic of the events of the Holocaust of the Hungarian Jews:

- a) Rescue of forced laborers serving in the Hungarian Army (1939-1945),
- b) Rescue of Jews living outside of the capital of Hungary during the mass deportations in the spring and summer of 1944,
- c) Rescue of the Jews of Budapest from the middle of June 1944 (the establishment of yellow-star houses) until the end of the Arrow-cross era on February 13, 1945.

Despite the rabidly anti-Semitic public sentiment, which characterized wartime Hungary and the danger for more than 700 rescuers, there are Hungarian citizens as well as foreign clergymen and diplomats stationed in Hungary who received the Righteous among the Nations title from Yad Vashem for saving Jews in Hungary. Only 15% of these rescuers were active in saving Jews in the Hungarian provinces during the times of the mass deportations while 85% of them rescued Jews in Budapest and in the provinces during the Arrow-Cross era, or helped forced laborers at the Eastern Front.

During Yad Vashem's preparation of *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations* in Hungarian (published in 2009) Rita Horváth, author of the entries on the rescuers who were awarded the title between 2001-2005 and Kinga Frojimovics who was one of the coeditors of the volume, created a statistical and demographical database of rescuers and the people they have helped. Their preliminary analysis of the database makes it clear that the rescue activities in Hungary were complex. However, they are able to differentiate various individual and organized forms of rescue activities, which can be classified into two major categories:

“individual or personal rescue”:

- based on family links

- based on friendships

- based on workplace or business relationships

“organized rescue”

- the rescue operations of the various leftist movements

- the rescue of Jewish forced laborers within the Hungarian Army by professional soldiers

- rescue actions of clergymen and women (Catholic and Protestant)

- the rescue operations of diplomats of neutral countries

Horváth and Frojimovics propose to describe the characteristics of the above differentiated categories within the contexts of the Hungarian Holocaust and the Jewish history in the modern era in Hungary.

## *Session 4*



*Monday, 20 December 2010*  
*11:30-13:30*

**Photograph of Tatiana Nedostoyeva, Sofia Makhlin and her brother. Beginning in 1925, Tatiana Nedostoyeva worked as a nursemaid for Yaakov and Chaia Makhlin in Pochep (Briansk District). They had a son and two daughters, the smallest one was Sofia, b.1931. With the German invasion of the USSR, the son was conscripted into the Red Army. All the Jews of the town, among them the Makhlin family, were interned in a forced labor camp situated at the outskirts of Pochep. Once, when Chaia Makhlin and Sofia were dispatched to collect potatoes, Tatiana Nedostoyeva whisked the girl away. After hiding awhile in the villages, then returned to the town. Tatiana presented Sofia as her daughter and the girl was even able to attend school under Tatiana's name, Nedostoyeva. In March 1942, a mass execution of Jews took place there and Sofia's parents and sister were among those murdered. Following a denunciation, Sofia was arrested and brought to a Russian police station. When Tatiana became aware of this, she rushed to the station and pleaded with the policemen to release 'her daughter'. Tatiana claimed that she had lived with her daughter with the Makhlin family for years and that Sofia was Russian. She also said that if nevertheless the policemen would decide to shoot Sofia, she desired to be killed first in order not to see Sofia's execution. Tatiana succeeded in persuading the policemen and Sofia was released. She continued to take care of Sofia. Sofia's brother fell in battle and she stayed with Tatiana until her marriage in 1954. Afterward, Tatiana lived with Sofia's family until her death in 1968.**

**On June 5, 2000, Yad Vashem recognized Tatiana Nedostoyeva as Righteous Among the Nations.**

**Emunah Nachmany Gafny** received her PhD from Bar-Ilan University. Her thesis advisor was Prof. Dan Michman. Her thesis, which dealt with the removal of Jewish children from Gentile families in the immediate postwar years, was published by Yad Vashem under the title, *Dividing Hearts* (2009). Nachmany Gafny continues to research the issue of Jewish children both during the war and afterwards. She has published articles on the subject of children and most recently on Jewish cemeteries in Poland.

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### **Adopting the Identities of Polish-Christian by Jewish Children who Wandered Alone on the Aryan Side**

Jewish children were already present on the Aryan sides of towns and cities from the early stage of the war. These children had to adopt a false Polish Children identity by themselves in some cases with the help of adults in order to survive. These particular children had to learn and know their environment and adapt their stories to it. In many cases, the children had to change their false identities even while in hiding. They also had to be extremely alert to every change and possible danger around them, and to any suspicion about their true identities. At the end of 1942, the Polish population had to renew their official registrations. Some of these Jewish children had to locate official documents (baptismal certificates, school documents, etc.) by themselves. Other children who were unable to locate such documents had to invent stories, which explained the lack of these documents. Living on the Aryan side requested a full knowledge of the ways of life of the local population, the Polish language with its different dialects, as well as Christian religious terminology. In this lecture, I shall also refer to the way the children understood their realities and acted according to it. Particular cases will be presented in order to illustrate and depict these children's realities.

**Jennifer L. Marlow** is a doctoral candidate in History at Michigan State University where she studies under Dr. Keely Stauter-Halsted. Marlow's dissertation, "Polish Catholic Nannies: Female Networks and the Domestic Realm in Nazi-Occupied Poland" examines the role of Polish Catholic nannies and housemaids in assisting their former Jewish employers during the Holocaust. The research analyzes the actions of Polish and Jewish women within the context of the larger family dynamic, and suggests that pre-war patterns of interaction between the two communities influenced the way that rescue and resistance played out during the Holocaust. Marlow's broader research interests are twentieth century Poland, Polish Jewry, Polish-Jewish relations, rescue and assistance during the Holocaust, and Eastern European family history. She was recently awarded an American Council of Learned Societies Dissertation Fellowship in East European Studies and a Robert Savitt Fellowship at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Center for Advanced Holocaust Research.

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### **Female Networks and the Domestic Realm in Holocaust Rescue: The Role of Polish Nannies**

The story of the Christian nanny who rescues her former Jewish charge is iconic in Holocaust literature, yet the motives and implications of this rescue nexus have not been fully explored by scholars. This paper addresses why *some* former Polish Catholic employees endangered their own lives to assist their former charges and seeks to ask what the rescue dynamic between female Christian household employees and their former Jewish charges can tell us about pre-war patterns of socioeconomic and cultural interdependence. Using published and unpublished memoirs, survivor testimonies given both immediately after the Holocaust and much later, as well as other archival documents I treat the nanny/ employer/ charge nexus to draw tentative conclusions about rescue, survival, and Polish- Jewish relations in the domestic realm. I argue that a new understanding of the evolution of communities of shared responsibility among *some* Polish Catholics and their Polish Jewish acquaintances can change our perceptions of pre-war Polish-Jewish relations, thus altering our conceptions of some sources of rescue during the Holocaust. I conclude that space developed within the domestic realm for the formation of lasting and real reciprocal relationships, and even small networks, between and among some Polish Catholic domestic workers and their Polish Jewish employers. My exploration of these relationships reveals new insights into the domestic realm in interwar Poland as well as Holocaust rescue.

**Dr. Jeannine (Levana) Frenk** has been teaching Holocaust studies since 1982 at the Massuah Institute, the Ghetto Fighters' House Museum and Yad Vashem in Israel. She has been leading field trips to Poland for students and teachers, in French and English. Her Ph.D. thesis addressed the topic of "Holocaust Representations in French and Israeli Cinemas, 1945-1985" and her studies on the relationship between history and cinematography have been published in major articles. One of her main contributions was her analysis of the film *Shoah* by Claude Lanzmann published in *Zmanim*, no. 83 (Summer 2003), the historical review of the Tel Aviv University. As researcher and historical consultant, she was also involved in the production of a number of documentary films, including *Belzeby* Guillaume Moscovitz (VLR Productions, France, 2005) and also participated in the making of various exhibitions related to the Holocaust. In 2007, Frenk held a post-doctoral scholarship at Yad Vashem's International Institute for Holocaust Research for investigating on Righteous Among the Nations in France and Belgium. The results of this study were published as a monograph in Yad Vashem's periodical *Search and Research – Lectures and Papers*, no. 12, Jerusalem, 2008. She is now extending this field of research by focusing on the hiding and rescue of Jews in rural France, in the Creuse 'department' in particular.

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### **Hidden in Plain View: Hiding Jewish Children in La Creuse, France**

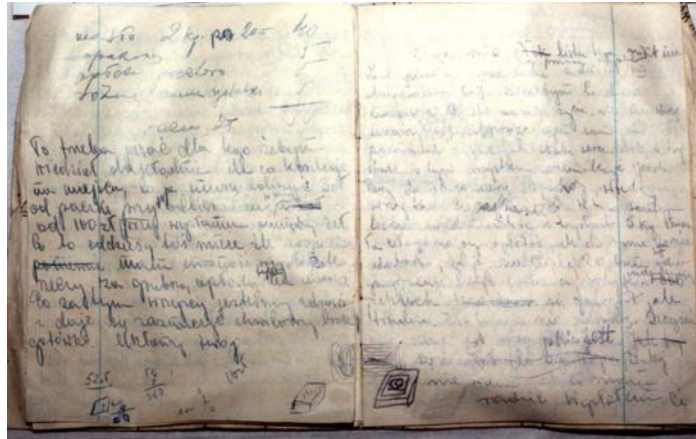
During Nazi occupation, four shelters for Jewish children were established in the French administrative department of La Creuse. One of these, directed by Louis Aron, existed until the Liberation. The three other shelters were operated by the *Oeuvre desecours aux enfants* (OSE) and dismantled before February 1944. This present paper addresses the survival of Jewish children in this area of rural France. It focuses on the rescue by the local, mostly farming, population of the Jewish children who dwelled openly amongst them.

The analysis is based on testimonies of survivors and two diaries. The first diary was written by Louis Aron and covers the whole war in Crocq and later in Chaumont; the second by Félix Chevrier, the non-Jewish director of the shelters in Chabannes and Le Masgellier. All sources establish that the majority of the children were of foreign origin and, in many cases, were saved from internment camps in southern France. All were separated from their parents and relocated to La Creuse for hiding. Interestingly, all sources also establish that the children were legally registered and under continuous scrutiny by the authorities including the quality of their education, all seemingly at odds with the concept of "hiding". The primary goal of the present paper will be to solve this paradox by introducing the concept of "hiding in plain view." To enable hiding openly, several conditions must exist. Thus, local farmers provided food to the shelters on a daily basis. They employed elder adolescents and offered shelter when danger arose. Shannon L. Fogg explains the behavior of the Creusois in utilitarian terms. She mainly mentions the economic boost shelters brought to the declining rural economy by employment of local artisans and increasing demand for local produce and also the empathy locals had for young children.

Fogg's argument fails to explain why the massive rescue of Jewish children primarily occurred in La Creuse and not in other socio-economically comparable departments. I

will establish that, in La Creuse, a local tradition existed that enabled this rescue. This tradition was shaped, first, by poverty that led to seasonal migration of farmers to big cities where they worked in construction. Second, that migration made them feel like outcasts and therefore more receptive to other outcasts. Third, this in combination with a left voting pattern and deeply rooted republicanism predisposed them to give shelter to refugees from the Spanish Civil War and, subsequently, to Jews.

## Session 5



**Monday, 20 December 2010**  
**15:00-16:15**

**Photograph of pages from a ghetto diary written in Polish. The diary was found with other documents in an apartment located at 6 Twarda Street, Warsaw.**

**Beate Müller**, Ph.D. is a reader in Modern German Studies at Newcastle University, England. She teaches and researches on modern German literature. Her areas of expertise include parody, censorship, modernism, postmodernism, GDR literature (especially Jurek Becker and Holocaust Literature.). Her most recent publications include: *Zensurforschung: Paradigmen, Konzepte, Theorien*. in: Rautenberg, U, ed. *Buchwissenschaft in Deutschland: Ein Handbuch*. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2010, pp. 321-360; *Jurek Becker im Visier des MfS: Textsorten und Textwelten im OV 'Lügner'*. in: Barker, P; Ohse, M-D; Tate, D, ed. *Views from Abroad: Die DDR aus britischer Perspektive*. Bielefeld: Bertelsmann, 2007, pp. 199-210; *Stasi - Zensur - Machtdiskurse : Publikationsgeschichten und Materialien zu Jurek Beckers Werk*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2006; Müller B. 'Zeit der nichtübereinstimmung': censorship discourses about and in Jurek Becker's *schlaflose tage*. *German Life and Letters* 2005, 58(1), 55-74; Müller B, ed. *Censorship & Cultural Regulation in the Modern Age*. Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi, 2004; Müller B. *Censorship and Cultural Regulation: Mapping the Territory*. in: Müller, B, ed. *Censorship & Cultural Regulation in the Modern Age*. Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi, 2004, pp. 1-31.

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### **Giving a Voice to the Silenced and the Hidden: Adults Writing Children's Diaries**

In Holocaust research, ego-texts by the persecuted such as letters and especially diaries have received considerable attention. In recent years, scholars have widened the scope of their analysis to include such texts penned by children, too. What is perhaps not so well known is the fact that some adults decided not only to write diaries about their own lives, but also to compose diaries in such a way as to give a voice to children who could not speak for themselves.

This paper will compare and contrast two such diaries: firstly the diary by Tilo Plaut who wrote in the voice of his nephew, Leo Stern, a toddler who was deported to Westerbork with his parents; and secondly a diary written by a Dutch foster mother who had taken in a baby boy named Wim, a diary intended as a chronicle for the biological mother of the child, should she return (which she did).

These two texts pose interesting questions about communicative intentions, adaptation of voices, concepts of childhood, and the interface of the public and the private. Thus, the uncle's diary charts the increasing intensity of the persecution of the Jews as exemplified by the fate of the child and his family. When the boy dies, the uncle judges his project of giving his beloved nephew a voice from afar a failure, and aborts the role-play of speaking from an assumed child's perspective. The foster-mother's diary was written as a more private record, from the caregiver's point of view, and it lacks all the direct political content of the uncle's text. And yet this diary, too, is a document of defiance in which a woman witnesses the development of a child in constant recognition and silent criticism of the inhuman political realities that forbid the most natural of processes, namely the real mother to experience her child growing up. Both diaries not only concern themselves with the children, but also testify to the adults' determination to use the written word in an attempt to strike a balance between what has to remain silent for the time being, and to find a medium to communicate the hidden for future readers.

**Alan Rosen** is most recently the author of Sounds of Defiance: The Holocaust, Multilingualism and the Problem of English; the collaborator on a French edition of I Did Not Interview the Dead, by David Boder; and the editor of Approaches to Teaching Wiesel's Night. His latest book, "The Wonder of Their Voices: David Boder's 1946 Holocaust Interviews," is forthcoming from Oxford University Press. He was a research fellow of the Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah from 2006-2009. He has also held fellowships at the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum; the International Institute for Holocaust Research, Yad Vashem; and the Katz Center for Advanced Jewish Studies, University of Pennsylvania. He has taught at universities and colleges in Israel and the United States, and lectures regularly on Holocaust Literature at Yad Vashem's International School for Holocaust Studies. Born and raised in Los Angeles, educated in Boston under the direction of Elie Wiesel, he lives in Jerusalem with his wife and four children. His current research project is entitled, "A New Index of Time: Calendars and the Holocaust."

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### **Hidden Time: Calendar Consciousness on the Edge of Destruction**

Calendars, in E.G. Richards' evocative characterization, are a means to map time. They visually orchestrate a necessary social structure, marking and measuring time as a lever to control it. They enable a future to be precisely envisioned and a past to be clearly defined. Calendars provide an essential point of reference, notes Sacha Stern, for interpersonal relations and time-bound communal activity. This point of reference is crucial for traditional Jewish culture, which relies on a twelve-month lunarsolar calendar to articulate daily ritual observance. The very flow of family and social life depends on exact marking of the weekly Sabbath, the monthly new moon, and the seasonal holidays.

These vital coordinates were put under siege during the period of the Holocaust. From early on, the persecutors uprooted Jewish communities and deprived them of basic physical and cultural necessities. Bereft of virtually all personal items, the victims' "time-consciousness" suffered as well. It often became impossible simply to keep track of the day's date.

The challenge was arguably greater in hiding, where victims were often more cut off from sources of information than in ghettos or camps. My presentation will investigate how the experience of hiding—secreted outside of the Jewish community, compelled to follow the temporal rhythms of a different one—moved the victims to seek out ways to maintain Jewish time. In this light, I will explore two particular strategies: 1) the making of calendars; 2) the time keeping/date recording in diaries.

For Shlomo Yosef Scheiner in Poland and Yehoshua Neuwirth in Holland, the making of calendars while in hiding created a Jewish domain whereby tradition could live and flourish. The case with diaries was similar but likely more complex. David Patterson has argued that Holocaust diaries appear as "the measure of time is under assault" and as an effort to retrieve that measure of time in writing a diary. But diaries penned in hiding use the calendar to negotiate threatened identity. Moshe Flinker, for instance, the 16 year-old Dutch Jew hiding in Belgium, begins his diary citing both secular and Jewish calendar, but soon dramatically shifts to an exclusive citing of the Jewish one. He thereby makes a seamless artifact of Jewish time and Jewish language,

thereby creating a symbolic Jewish domain, even as he passes for a non-Jew in his wartime public life.

Finally, I will draw on these and other calendrical examples to help characterize the specific experience of wartime hiding.

## *Session 6*



*Monday, 20 December 2010*  
**16:45-18:00**

Jacob and Wijntje de Vries lived with their two young children in the village of Nieuwe Niedrop in northern Holland. Jacob was a carpenter; Wijntje was a homemaker and took care of the children at home. One day in the summer of 1942, after the onset of the deportations of the Jews from Holland to “the East”, a student, who was a courier for the ASG student underground group in Amsterdam, approached the de Vries family, asking them to hide a Jewish child. The de Vrieses, who had two children of their own, decided to accept the offer despite the risk that was involved in hiding Jews, and soon four year-old Louise Pinto was brought to their home. The little girl, whose nickname was Loesje, soon became an integral part of the expanded family; they treated her as if she were their own, and she became friends with the de Vries children. Attentive to the difficulty Luise's parents must have felt when they had to part from their child, Jacob and Wijntje de Vries, traveled to Amsterdam, soon after the girl's arrival, to meet her parents in person, and to assure them that their daughter had found a good home. The de Vries family tried to give Louise a normal life as much as possible. She was allowed to play outside and was taken on family visits. She also played with another Jewish girl, Louise Sachs (later Joseph), who was in hiding with the Lodders, a family of friends who lived close-by. In 1943, however, the family's quiet life was disturbed. They were betrayed, and Jacob was arrested. When Wijntje went to visit her arrested husband, she asked the grandparents to guard the three children. During her absence the Dutch police raided the de Vries home. The grandparents were beaten, and Louise was discovered and taken away. The little five-year-old girl was deported and murdered in Auschwitz. Jacob de Vries was taken to the Vught concentration camp, where he endured severe beatings. On April 20, 1944, he was among the few who were released on the occasion of Hitler's birthday. Both Jacob and Wijntje de Vries never recuperated from the loss of Louise, the little girl they had so much wanted to save. Although she had only been with them for a year, they never forgot the little girl that had been gassed in Auschwitz, and who like her parents and millions of other victims of the Holocaust, had no grave. Remembering little Louise until their last day, Jacob and Wijntje de Vries instructed that her name would be added to the tombstone of the family grave.

On May 26, 2002, Yad Vashem recognized Jacob de Vries and Wijntje de Vries-Frieling as Righteous among the Nations. The full story can be found on the Yad Vashem website:

<http://www1.yadvashem.org/yv/en/righteous/stories/vries.asp>.

**Iael Nidam-Orvieto** received her PhD from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Nidam-Orvieto is Editor-in-Chief of Yad Vashem Publications and teaches courses on the Holocaust at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. She was a research fellow at the International Institute for Holocaust Research at Yad Vashem, at the University of Pisa and the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington. She is currently researching the role of Pius XII and the Vatican during the Holocaust.

She has written several articles on Italian Jewry during the Holocaust. Her publications include "Letters to Mussolini: Italian Jews and the Racial Laws", in *Remembering for the Future: The Holocaust in an Age of Genocide*, John K. Roth and Elisabeth Maxwell, eds. (Palgrave, 2001); "Italian Jews Facing Racial Laws: Appeal to Mussolini as a Way of Coping", in *Yalkut Moreshet* (vol. 73, April 2002, among others. Nidam-Orvieto has been a recipient of a number of esteemed honors and awards, such as the Yad Vashem Prize for PhD candidates, the Ben Zvi Institute for the Study of Jewish Communities, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Shlomo Gels and Fanny Balaban-Gels Fund.

Her two forthcoming books are: *The Children of Villa Emma: The Rescue of a Children Group During the Holocaust* and *Between Discrimination and Persecution: The Reaction of Italian Jewry to an Ever-increasing Crisis*.

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### **Jews Rescuing Jews as Reflected in the Villa Emma Story**

My lecture will address a unique story of rescue, known as the "Villa Emma Children's Group". This is a story of a young Jewish man who, for over 4 years dedicated his life to the survival and rescue of this unique group of Jewish children from Germany, Austria and Yugoslavia, and also a story of courage and kindness of non-Jews, who were extremely instrumental in the rescue efforts of these children. The lecture will outline the internal relationship between the leader of the children's group, and the members of the group itself, as well as his personal contacts with the non-Jews who helped him along the way.

**Irena Steinfeldt** is director of the Righteous Among the Nations Department at Yad Vashem. Born in Jerusalem, she graduated from Hebrew University in mathematics and economy. In 1974 she began working as assistant to filmmaker Claude Lanzmann in the production of his film Shoah. For eight years she did the preparatory research, interviewed survivors, and prepared the filming. In following years she worked at the Van Leer Institute in Jerusalem and other NGOs in various projects. In 1994 Steinfeldt joined Yad Vashem. She worked at the International School for Holocaust Studies in the development of educational materials, coordinated seminars for educators from abroad, was engaged in the planning of the School's program and projects, lectured on Holocaust education and participated in workshops in conferences and teacher training programs.

From 2001 – 2007 she was served as executive assistant to Yad Vashem's Chairman of the Directorate. As such she coordinated the work of the Israeli members in the International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania, which presented its report in 2004. At present she is the director of the Department of the Righteous Among the Nations. In addition to running the ongoing recognition work, the department is engaged in a wide-ranging program to computerize the information gathered in almost fifty years and to scan all the files. Her publications include:

*The Holocaust and the Christian World* (Kuperard 2000, Continuum 2002) co-editor with Stephen Smith and Carol Rittner.

Hungarian edition was published in 2009

*How Was It Humanly Possible—an educational unit exploring perpetrators and bystanders During the Holocaust* (Yad Vashem 2002)

Interactive multimedia program *Into That Dark Night* (Yad Vashem 2003) on Nazi Germany and the Jews 1933-1939.

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## **Rescuers-Rescued Relations – What Can and What Cannot be Found in the Files of the Righteous Among the Nations**

The files of the Righteous Among the Nations were created with the purpose of bestowing a honorific title by a commission that employs rules and criteria which are not necessarily identical to those employed by scholars. Thus this collection by no means constitutes a representative sample of rescuers and rescue forms. The members of the Commission for the Designation of the Righteous are challenged with drawing a clear line within the diverse and nuanced range of conduct and attitudes – a division that separates the acts of rescue that qualify for recognition from other manifestations of help and solidarity. With this line often being blurred, the Commission has to struggle with formidable questions and dilemmas: assessing the risk to the rescuers, evaluating their motives – did the rescuers set out to save Jewish lives or were there ulterior intentions, such as financial gain, religious conversion or the wish to adopt a child, and in some cases it's the rescuer's character that requires scrutiny. Though the Commission relies mostly on testimony from the side of the helped persons, the files also contain a wealth of statements by rescuers and others, photos, official and personal documents, newspaper clippings and other material with information not only about rescue efforts during the Holocaust, but also about the way they are remembered. Thus the stories told by the Righteous Department's 15,000 files tell us

about noble acts of rescuers, but often contain deeper layers of traumatic experiences that have left their mark to this day.

## *Session 7*



***Tuesday, 21 December 2010***  
**09:00-11:00**

**Annaberg, Austria, Salma Okarent while hiding as an Aryan can be seen in this group photograph.**

**Virginie Sansico** is a post-doctoral researcher attached to the *Centre national de la Recherchescientifique* (CNRS), working on law and justice issues during the Second World War (the topic of her PhD thesis), political and war violence perpetrated in Vichy, France (the topic of her first book published in 2003), and anti-Semitism before the French criminal courts in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (several articles). Her PhD (2008) was about political repression before the Vichy courts, including all the various cases of “ideological” enemies of the regime, from the Jews to the communists and the members of the French Resistance.

Dr.Sansico’s studies on both judicial issues and anti-Semitic persecutions led her to initiate and organize an international conference called “The ‘crime of Jewishness’. Criminal justice and anti-Jewish policies in Europe (1933-1945)”, which took place in the Memorial of Caen in October, 2010. It sought to provide the first survey of the international scholarship on the role of European states’ criminal justice systems in the implementation of anti-Jewish policies between 1933 and 1945.

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### **Breaking the French Law to Escape from the Nazis: Fake Identities and Their Legal Repression in Lyon (France)**

In France, World War II memory tends to much more associate the issue of identity falsification with the Resistance than with Jews. However, in the biggest city of the Zone sud – occupied by the Nazis from November 1942 –, Lyon, judiciary archives reveal that this is a wrong perception. Registers and files left by the correctional court of the city, as well as police records, show that the crimes of fake official documents making and using increased at the end of 1942 and, by a majority, were committed by Jews until the autumn of 1943. Then, Jews kept an important part of those “offenders” until 1944 and the end of the German occupation.

That’s one of the important consequences of the Collaboration policy led by the Vichy Regime: in order to escape from the Nazis and their policy of arrests, roundups, and deportations, Jews were forced to break the French law relating to personal identification and were punished by French courts, which were not ideological services but only “ordinary” institutions. So, the “ordinary” archives left by the correctional court of Lyon have two main interests: First, they demonstrate in detail a fundamental part of the anti-Jewish policy led by the “Etat français,” its implementation by the judicial system, and its consequences for Jews arrested and sentenced by judges. But they also became a very rich testimony of Jewish life and rescue attempts between 1942 and 1944, during the implementation of the “Final solution.”

Using criminal statistics and pieces of judicial proceedings (investigations, police reports, interrogations, etc.), my paper will try to shed light on both these two issues: Jewish rescue attempts by identity falsification, and policies of repression led in response by the Vichy regime and its services. Obviously, the consequences of these policies on the implementation of the “Final solution” by the Nazis will be amply underscored.

**Edyta Gawron**, Assistant Professor of History, Department of Jewish Studies, Jagiellonian University in Cracow, Head of the Center for the Study of the History and Culture of the Jews of Cracow. She was a Research fellow at Yad Vashem International Institute for Holocaust Research during 2006-2007. Gawron is a member of the Commission on Jewish History and Culture at the Polish Academy of Learning. Her publications include:

A monograph, *Spolecznosczydowska w KrakowiepoHolokauście (1945-1995) (Jews in Cracow after the Holocaust, 1945-1995, forthcoming)*, as well as several articles concerning the history of Polish Jews in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Currently, she is working on a book about migrations of Polish Jews after the Holocaust (1945-1948).

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### **Adaptation to New Identity – Jews with ‘Aryan papers’ in the Nazi-occupied Krakow**

Krakow was one of the first Polish towns occupied by the German Nazi Army in September, 1939 and, soon after, it became the capital of the General Government (*Generalgouvernement*, GG). In April, 1940 its governor Hans Frank ordered that the city should become *Judenrein* (clean of Jews). The first step in achieving this was mass deportations from the city, and then in March 1941 ‘Jüdische Wohnbezirk’ was established. All these steps were followed by the number of Jews deciding to get new non-Jewish, ‘Aryan’ identity in order to remain in the city and/or to avoid persecutions and save their lives. How did they manage to get the false documents? Whose identity did they adopt? How did they prepare themselves for living a ‘new life’? What elements were considered as crucial for accommodating the new identity? And last, but not least, what was the role of the non-Jewish Poles in all the stages of getting and accommodating the new name and very often completely new elements of life (customs, religion, language, work...). The role of individuals (friends, priests, members of the resistance movement, doctors...) and institutions (political organizations, convents, local branch of the Council for Aid the Jews “Żegota”) will be discussed in the context of their role in helping the Jews, who lived on the Aryan side in the city. The presentation will aim to point to the geography of ‘Aryan zone’ (the locations where Jews with false documents lived) within and outside of the occupied city, and the most typical social environment to which they adapted. Such elements will be discussed based on the testimonies and documents located mainly in the Polish archives (State Archive in Krakow, Jewish Historical Institute), memories and interviews. The presentation will be concluded by describing the postwar attitude to the war time identities and the moment such were abandoned (or accepted for the rest of life). The most recognizable individuals, who will be mentioned in the presentation - Julian Aleksandrowicz, Maria Mariańska, Bronisław Szatyn, Józefa Singer, Marcel Goldman, will be accompanied by people whose stories are not so widely known. Their history will be shown as the examples of some ‘patterns’ discussed and the representatives of the group which is estimated to be up to 2 thousand people in the occupied city and its region (Andrzej Chwalba, *Dzieje Krakowa. Kraków w latach 1939-1945*).

**Emil Kerenji**, PhD. is an Applied Research Scholar at the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC. He has an M.A. in Central European History from the Central European University in Budapest (1998), and a Ph.D. in History from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (2008). Prior to coming to the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, he taught European and Jewish History for a year at the University of South Carolina, Columbia. Kerenji's interests and areas of expertise are Modern Jewish and East European History. Specifically, he is interested in the historical aspects of the Holocaust in Yugoslavia, history of the Yugoslav Jews, aspects of mass political violence in the Balkans, history of Yugoslavia and its successor states. His most recent publications include "Yugoslav Worlds of Hanna Lévy-Hass," introduction to Hanna Lévy-Hass, *Diary of Bergen-Belsen: 1944-1945* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2009); and "Kosovo's Year Zero: Between a Balkan Past and a European Future" (with Edin Hajdarpašić), in *Origins*, Vol. 2, No. 6 (March 2009). He also translated into Serbian, and wrote an afterword, for Christopher Browning's seminal *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*, which was published in 2004 as *Kristofer Brauning, Običnj ljudi: 101. rezervnopolicijskibatallon i konačnorešenje u Poljskoj* (Beograd: Fabrikaknjiga, 2004).

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### **Jewish Experiences During the Holocaust in Yugoslavia Through the Prism of Hiding and Borrowing False Identities**

This paper explores the manifold questions relating to the practices of hiding and assuming false identities by some Jews during the Holocaust in Yugoslavia. Why did some Jews hide, whereas others decided to borrow non-Jewish identities, while others still refrained from either practice? What were the circumstances under which one could make one of these decisions? How do accounts of people who made these difficult choices help us better understand the Holocaust? Drawing on a number of primary sources in Serbo-Croatian—contemporaneous correspondence and documents, as well as memoirs and testimonies produced after the war—the paper situates these practices in a complex historical, geographical, social and political context. By illuminating this context through the prism of these sources, the paper probes the everyday choices Jews and non-Jews alike faced in different situations and at different historical moments in wartime Yugoslavia, in order to shed light on the aspects of hiding, sheltering, and borrowing identities during the Holocaust.

The backbone of this paper is comprised of a comparative analysis of different experiences of hiding and/or living under a false identity in different parts of Yugoslavia during the Holocaust. The rich documentary basis of the paper ranges from well-known sources—such as, for example, the memoirs of Ženi Lebl and Marko Anaf—to little known letters or other writings from the period, to memoirs and oral testimonies produced after the war. The analysis, which involves a careful examination of these sources, with sensitivity to the time and circumstances of their production, a range of possible authorial intents, and a history of their reception, seeks to chart possible ways of answering questions relating to hiding and assuming false identities during the Holocaust.

## *Session 8*



*Tuesday, 21 December 2010*  
**11:30-13:30**

**Serbian Police registering Jews and those of Jewish descent on 19 April 1941, Belgrade, Yugoslavia. On this day, Jews were ordered to wear the yellow star.**

**Nikolaos Tzafleris** is a Pearl Resnick Postdoctoral Fellow at the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC. For his Fellowship, Dr. Tzafleris is researching, “Expropriation of Greek Jewish Property in the Holocaust, 1941-1945.” He is also a postdoctoral researcher at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (Greece). He received his Ph.D. in modern history from the University of Thessaly, his M.A. in social anthropology from the University of the Aegean, and his B.A. in history and ethnology from the Democritus University of Thrace, which are all in Greece.

Dr. Tzafleris' 2008 Ph.D. dissertation concerned “Survival and Resistance in Volos [Greece] during Occupation, 1941-1944.” His research focuses on World War II, Axis Occupation in Europe, Resistance, the Holocaust and economic aspects of the war. His current project takes these issues further by delving into the persecution of Jews and confiscation of Jewish property in Greece by the Nazis and their collaborators during WWII.

Dr. Tzafleris is the recipient of a number of scholarly awards, including the State Scholarship Foundation for outstanding academic achievement. In addition to his position at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Dr. Tzafleris is Director of the Museum of Greek Resistance in Nea Ionia Magnesia, Greece. He is a native speaker of Greek and has additional language skills in English, Italian, German, and French. For further information please visit his weblog: <http://historblognitza.blogspot.com/>

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### **Persecution and Rescue of the Jews of Volos During the Holocaust in Greece (1943–1944)**

The Axis occupation of Greece divided the country into areas of Italian, German, and Bulgarian control. Those Jewish communities that ended up under German control, such as the renowned Sephardic community of Salonica, the so-called Jerusalem of the Balkans, fared the worst, suffering anti-Jewish measures from the outset through their final arrest and deportation to extermination camps during the spring and summer of 1943, when approximately 54,000 Salonican Jews perished (almost 96% of the city's prewar Jewish population).

The persecution of Jewish communities in the rest of Greece had been minimal under the Italian occupation, but intensified immediately after the Italian capitulation in September 1943. In Volos, the major port city of Central Greece, there were at that time around 872 Jews—mostly Greek-speaking Romaniots—under the spiritual leadership of chief rabbi Moses Pessah. The Volos Jewish community is a rare example of survival: although the persecution of Jews was carried out by the local German military and police authorities (mainly SiPO/SD) and their Greek collaborators (mainly EASAD and EEE armed anticommunist and anti-Jewish groups) with the same intensity as elsewhere in Greece, the major part of the community, almost 645 members, were rescued, making Volos the city with the highest rate (84%) of Jewish rescue in Greece.

Although Greek Holocaust historiography has rightly drawn attention to the exceptional Volos case, scholars have so far failed to provide a convincing explanation of how that unexpected rescue was possible. In focusing exclusively on the role of the local church authorities and the limited assistance provided by Bishop

Johacem of Demetrias and Almiros,<sup>2</sup> they minimize the crucial role played by the EAM/ELAS resistance group, both inside the city, where the resistance network infiltrated the local government and provided Jews with false identities and temporary shelter, and in the mountains, where EAM/ELAS authority protected Jews until the liberation of Greece in October 1944. This presentation, based on written and oral sources, including survivor testimonies describing EAM/ELAS rescue efforts and the everyday life of Jewish families sheltered among the villagers of Pelion mountain, will document the crucial role played by EAM/ELAS in rescuing Volos's Jews as well as Jewish participation in that resistance movement, as a step towards a more complete picture of the history of the Holocaust in Greece.

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<sup>2</sup> He figures first in the list of the Righteous Among the Nations for Greece under his civil name Alexopoulos Joachim see the Virtual Wall of Honor - Yad Vashem.  
[http://www1.yadvashem.org/yv/en/righteous/stories/pdf/virtial\\_wall/greece.pdf](http://www1.yadvashem.org/yv/en/righteous/stories/pdf/virtial_wall/greece.pdf)

**Krinka Vidakovic-Petrov** is a full professor and Senior Researcher at the Institute for Literature and Art, Serbia. She holds his Ph.D. from the University of Zagreb (Yugoslavia) and has taught in universities around the world. Her extensive list of publications include: *Срби у Америци и њихова периодика [Serbs in America and their Periodical Publications]*, Институт за књижевност и уметност, 2007 and *Србија и Шпанија. Књижевне везе [Serbia and Spain. Literary Links]*, Сигнатуре, Београд, 2007.

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### **The Holocaust in Yugoslavia: Questions of Identity**

In the last several years there have been several efforts to document the Holocaust in Yugoslavia by interviewing survivors. The results have been published in five volumes of the series *We have Survived. The Jews on the Holocaust* (published in Belgrade by the Jewish Historical Museum and the Federation of Jewish Communities of Serbia) and two books by Jaša Almulj, *The Living and the Dead. Conversations with Jews* and *Jewish Women Speak* (also published in Belgrade). These personal narratives document not only the various ways in which Jews survived the Holocaust in the Yugoslav arena, but include a wealth of details regarding human relationships, individual perspectives, subjective insights – all of which complement the facts and provide for their better understanding.

In this paper I propose to study this material with a focus on the borrowing of identities as survival strategy involving active and passive cooperation of “others”, in order to establish motivation, ways of operation, connection and comparison with other strategies, as well as circumstances in which they could be effective.

**Mag. Brigitte Ungar-Klein** (Magister) was born and educated in Vienna. Her latest studies were at Vienna University in German Literature, Grammar and History. She was a high school teacher in Vienna and since 1977 she has been a freelancer at the Documentation Center of Austrian Resistance. Since 1996, Ungar-Klein has headed the “Jewish Institute for Adult Education” in Vienna where her main research areas have been contemporary history, Austrian history, Jewish history and the Shoah. This institute also provides scientific advice to theatres and for film and television documentaries. Her publications include: Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes (Hg.), Jüdische Schicksale. Berichte von Verfolgten. Wien 1992, S 604 – 670 Projektleitung: „Kündigungsgrund Nichtarier – Aus- und Umsiedlungen jüdischer Mieter aus Wiener kommunalen Wohnbauten in den Jahren 1938/39“.

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### **“Don’t go – You will stay with me!” Hidden Jews in Vienna and Their Supporters**

What is a “U-Boot”? What is its meaning and what is the term’s background? In all countries that were overrun by the Nazis, there were people who were endangered because of their Jewish background, or threatened because of their political, religious, or sexual attitude. In order to survive the persecution by the Nazis, they disguised their own identity, tried to find a hideaway and therefore disappeared from society.

Until the “Anschluss” in 1938 approximately 180,000 Jews lived in Vienna who would or could not emigrate until the beginning of the war in September 1939, or they could only hope that, “it would not be that bad”. After the deportations began towards the East, more and more people tried to hide and began to disobey the orders to report to the so-called collecting places such as “Sammelstellen” or “Kleinen Sperlgasse”. But what next? Who supported the persecuted? Who were these people, who took the risk? How many people lived in underground and how many rescuers were there? Who were the supporters? Was there any aid by clerical institutions? How was everyday life? All these questions should be covered during the conference session.

In many cases it was a spontaneous decision, as, for example, the actress Dorothea Neff, who sheltered her friend Lilli Wolff by hiding her. When Lilli Wolff fell very ill, Dorothea Neff brought her under her proper name (Neff was her stage name) to the hospital, which was a perilous undertaking. Yad Vashem honored Dorothea Neff for her assistance. More than 80 Austrian people were honored by Yad Vashem with the distinction Righteous Among the Nations”.

According to different existing historical sources and personal interviews (I spoke with more than 50 supporters and hidden people) more than 1,500 people of different age-groups could be investigated, who were hidden between March 1938 and the end of war, due to their Jewish origin. However, one third didn’t survive because of unkindness, being denounced or other reasons. Presumably, a considerable amount of people tried to survive by hiding, but appropriate sources are missing and we may never know the exact numbers. Hidden Jews were arrested near the invasion of Vienna in 1945 by the Red Army. Some of them were deported to camps together with their supporters, e.g., to Mauthausen. Very dramatic situations arose when children had to be hidden or were born during that time. The stories of those victim

groups are characterized even decades later by the non-existent or abnormal childhood and youth they experienced.

Finally, I will discuss how Austria treated this victim group, and how many years must have passed, until “surviving in secrecy” was accepted as a separate compensation reason within victim aid programs.

## *Session 9*



*Tuesday, 21 December 2010*  
**14:45-16:00**

**A rare photograph of Olga Zilberstein (1943/1944). Zilberstein had to go into hiding in order to escape while she was hiding from the Nazis and their collaborators during the war. with her brother, Michel, and her father George (Boissy, France).**

**Jeffrey Burds** is Associate Professor of History at Northeastern University. He received his Ph.D. with Distinction in History from Yale University, and his M. Phil. and M.A. in history from the same institution. Professor Burds has published widely on Ukrainian nationalism, Soviet counter-insurgency, and the Soviet secret police. He is the author of *Peasant Dreams and Market Politics: Labor Migration and the Russian Village, 1861-1905* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998) in addition to two books in Russian: *Soviet Police Informants: Essays on the History of the USSR during the Postwar Years, 1944-1948* («Sovremennaia Istoriia», 2006); and *Espionage and Nationalism: The Early Years of the Cold War in Western Ukraine (1944-1948)* («Sovremennaia Istoriia», 2010). Burds has published more than fifteen articles on various aspects of Soviet counter-insurgency policy, Ukrainian nationalism, Holocaust issues, and Soviet archival practices. Among these are “Sexual Violence in Europe in World War II” (March, 2009 in *Politics & Society*); “The Soviet War against ‘Fifth Columnists:’ The Case of Chechnya, 1942-1944” (*Journal of Contemporary History*, 2007); and “Ethnicity, Memory, and Violence: Reflections on Special Problems in Soviet & East European Archives,” in *Archives, Documentation, and the Institutions of Social Memory* (University of Michigan Press, 2006). Professor Burds was principal investigator for the Soviet Archive Project, a joint collaborative effort with Russian scholars and archivists to produce and publish detailed inventories of central archival collections in Moscow. To date, that project has published fourteen volumes of guides to post-Soviet archives. Professor Burds is the recipient of numerous awards, including postdoctoral research grants from the Social Science Research Council, IREX, the Holocaust Educational Foundation, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, and the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation. Professor Burds has presented more than sixty scholarly papers on a variety of topics both in the U.S. and abroad, and he has conducted extensive research in Russian and Ukrainian archives.

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### **Shmal'tsovniki: Bounty Hunters in German-Occupied Galicia, 1941-1944**

In his Final Report on the “Resolution of the Jewish Problem in Galicia,” District of Galicia Police Chief SS Gruppenführer and Lieutenant-General of Police Fritz Katzmann emphasized the enormous challenges the German police and their Ukrainian auxiliaries had faced in rooting out the “wily Jews:”

The operations were accompanied by other extreme difficulties, as the Jews did everything they could to avoid deportation. They not only attempted to flee, but hid in the most incredible places: sewage pipes, chimneys, and even in manure pits, etc. They barricaded themselves in catacomb passages; in cellars that were rebuilt as bunkers; in holes in the ground, and in crafty hiding places in attics and sheds, inside furniture, etc.

We discovered underground bunkers whose entrances had been camouflaged in a masterly fashion, some of them inside homes and others in the open air. Most of the entrances were only big enough to enable one person at a time to squeeze through. The access to the bunkers was so well concealed that only an intimate knowledge of the terrain made it possible to find it.

Among the most notorious forms of collaboration with the German occupation of Poland and Ukraine were the so-called *shmal'tsovniki* (*szmalcownicy*), bounty hunters who betrayed Jews to the German police in return for cash rewards, apartments, and a host of other incentives. Jewish survivor from Lemberg, Kurt Lewin confirmed: "All the arriving travelers were scrutinized by the Ukrainian police. Germans were not able to distinguish a Jew from a Ukrainian or a Pole and therefore relied on local collaborators to point out escaping Jews disguised as Aryans." Leonid Rein added: "Denunciations of Jews became widespread during the first months of the occupation; the Germans set up rows of "information posts" (*Anzeigestellen*) where non-Jews could submit information about the whereabouts of Jews and communists ('reveal the concealment of their former oppressors,' in Nazi parlance)."

In this close study of archives from District Galicia, I will trace the nefarious roles played by these local collaborators in the Holocaust. I will outline the political economy of genocide in western Ukraine, tracing the extraordinary story of the transformation of relations between neighbors into a predatory hunt for Jewish men, women and children who had been driven into hiding.

Materials in Ukrainian archives reveal that bounty hunters preyed not just on Jews, but also on Righteous Gentiles, well-meaning Poles and Ukrainians whose acts of kindness were turned against them in the upside-down world of the German occupation. In this way, the German occupation authorities were able to generate a mass culture of hate and suspicion that facilitated the rounding up of Jews.

This project is based on almost two decades of research in post-Soviet archives. I have drawn heavily from materials of the Extraordinary State Commission and the Soviet Procurator's Office in the State Archive of the Russian Federation, as well as materials from Soviet and German-occupation archives in Kiev, L'vov, Drobych, Ternopil, and Rovno, the U.S. Holocaust Museum, the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, the Weiner Library, the USC Shoah Foundation Institute for Visual History and Education, and interviews and correspondence with survivors.

**Tal Bruttman** has been working for more than ten years in Holocaust Research especially, but not only, in France. He is currently finishing his PhD at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales. His doctoral topic is the Milice, a French SS-like organization, which played a major role in Vichy, France from the end of 1943 to the liberation). Since 2001, Bruttman has been a researcher for the City of Grenoble, on a project about the “economic aryanization” in the area during the war. This project is complete and next May, he is organizing in Grenoble an International conference about Aryanization in Nazi Europe. His various studies are all linked to the Holocaust, the various perpetrators involved (from the French administrations to the German police and Army) and the war violence.

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### **The IVb4 Manhunt in Southern France (1943-1944)**

On March 1943, 50,000 Jews had been deported from France since the beginning of the enforcement of the “final solution” in Western Europe. Even if half of the country were occupied, all these arrests, ordered by the Germans, were made by the French police with the support of the others French administrations. The census of the Jews, made by the French, played here a major role.

But, by this time, Vichy decided to step back regarding the collaboration on the “final solution”— this was due to multiple reasons but mainly because of the negative reaction of the French population regarding the deportations and the change of the course of the war after Stalingrad.

If, in the northern zone, due to the formal Franco-German collaboration agreements, the French administration carried on working directly with the Germans authorities and made most of the arrests until the end of the war, then the situation was totally different in the ex-free zone. There, the French government was still enforcing his own anti-Semitic policy, while the Germans were enforcing the manhunt. Without the French administration support (and control tools like the census) and the French police manpower, the German police had to find another way to find and to arrest the Jews. Thus, thousands of French were recruited. A large part of them were dedicated to the enforcement of the “final solution”, becoming members of the IVb4 services of the various Sipo-SD posts in France.

Aloïs Brunner, while leading his SS kommando in a massive manhunt operation in the ex-Italian zone (September 1943-march 1944) used the French recruits who were mainly grassroots militants of the “ultra” parties such as Jacques Doriot's *Parti populaire français*, Marcel Déats' *Rassemblement national populaire*, the special services of Darnands' *Milice* or even smaller groups such as the *Jeunes de l'Europe nouvelle* all of which gave to the Germans their knowledge of the terrain and intelligence networks. This expertise eventually overcame Vichy defection, helping the Germans to find and arrest the Jews.

From 1943 until the liberation of the French territory, a period that can be seen as the “second step” of the enforcement of the *Endlösung* in France, the grassroots militants played a major role in the manhunt, while on the other hand and at the same time, more and more French were helping the Jews by various means ranging from

sheltering, which was never forbidden by French or German law in France, to evasion networks.

## *Session 10*



*Tuesday, 21 December 2010*  
**16:30-17:45**

**Sophie and Hans Scholl with Christoph Probst, members of the White Rose. They were arrested, found guilty of treason and condemned to death. The three were beheaded on 22 February 1943.**

**Beate Kosmala** was born in 1949 in Heidelberg, Germany. From 1968-1974 she studied history and German studies at the University of Heidelberg. Since 1993 Kosmala has been living and working in Berlin where she is married and has one daughter. In 1997, she presented her doctoral dissertation at the Center for Research on Antisemitism, which is titled, 'The Jewish and German Minority in Tomaszów Mazowiecki, Poland, 1914-1939: Status, Self-image and Relationships'. During 2000-2001, Kosmala was a fellow at the International Institute for Holocaust Research at Yad Vashem, Jerusalem. Since 2005, she has been working for The German Resistance Memorial Center, Berlin, assisting in creating the new Silent Heroes Memorial Center (Resistance to the Persecution of the Jews, 1933-1945), Berlin, which opened in October 2008.

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### **Resistance to the Persecution of the Jews: Non-Jewish and Jewish Germans in the mills of the Gestapo and Justice, 1942-1945**

While intensively researching the extent of the assistance given to Jews in Germany who were facing the threat of deportations, we also examined numerous unsuccessful rescue attempts. It became clear that the Nazis had not intended to pass death sentences on 'Aryan' Germans who had helped Jews. Generally, the Nazis had tried to make as little fuss as possible about the assistance of Jews in order not to disturb the picture of a united "Volksgemeinschaft" (national community). This uncertainty about the risks faced by potential helpers was immense. A more systematic research on what actions were taken against people who had helped Jews to escape deportation does not yet exist.

Recently a Gestapo register was discovered in the Federal Archives in Berlin, which refers to people from Berlin during the period between 1942 until the beginning of 1945, who had been arrested. The reasons given for their arrest had been recorded as 'Judenbegünstigung' (aiding of Jews) and 'judenfreundliches Verhalten' (friendly behavior towards Jews), accommodating Jewish fugitives, aiding in their escape, help in obtaining passports, providing Jews with food, 'racial defilement,' etc. Those men and women were until now unknown. Most of them were non-Jewish, however, some were Jews who were living in 'mixed marriages' or who were 'Mischlinge.'

After the war, several sources containing information about the circumstances of the contacts to the persecuted Jews and the outcome of the failed rescue attempts came to light due to the fact that almost all of the arrested non-Jewish people had survived. This allowed for the reconstruction of many individual fates, which form the basis of this article. This is even more revealing as hardly anyone from this group of people later became either publicly known, received any honors or was ever interviewed.

The biographical approach allows for a more detailed analysis of which strata of society these people had come from, what had powered their actions, why or due to whom, respectively, had their rescue attempts failed and in which way had they been punished. And lastly, due to this approach it is possible to compare in which way the group of discovered helpers had differentiated from the group of successful helpers. This presentation will also show the situation of these people who had been punished for aiding Jews in post-war society.

**László Karsai** is Professor of History in the Department of Modern History at the University of Szeged. His doctoral dissertation, *The Gypsy Problem in Hungary 1919-1945: Toward the Gypsy Holocaust in Hungary*, earned him a Ph.D. in history at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1992. Since 1998 Karsai is also Director of the Holocaust Center of the Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives, Budapest and since 1994, he is Head of the Yad Vashem Archives Research Group, Hungary. Recent publications include: *A cigánykérdés Magyarországon 1919-1945. Út a cigány Holocausthoz [The Gypsy Question in Hungary 1919-1945. Toward the Gypsy Holocaust]* /Budapest.Cserépfalvi K., 1992. pp. 197., *Holokauszt [Holocaust]*/ Budapest, Pannonica K., 2001. pp. 426 and **The Last Chapter of the Holocaust**, in: *Yad Vashem Studies*, 2006, Vol. 34. pp. 293-329.

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### **Hungarian Righteous Among the Nations in Front of the Tribunals and People's Courts**

In my talk I am trying to find answers to the following questions: Who were the people who tried to help Jews in Hungary during the Holocaust? How, and, most importantly, why did they do it? For the answers, I have examined the papers of the Budapest Criminal Court from 1944, and those of the people's court trials after World War II. Since 1994, members of the Hungarian Research Group of Yad Vashem Archives have combed through the papers of 21,854 people's court trials between 1945 and 1949, picking out and microfilming the 3,704 trials in which the words "Jew(ish)" and/or "Gypsy" were mentioned. For the defendants before the people's court it was of utmost importance to prove their innocence, so whatever they brought up in their defense has to be treated with severe source criticism. Sixty-four trials were found, in which 65 of the defendants can be proved to have been worthy of the title of *Righteous Among the Nations*, because they had selflessly saved Jewish lives during World War II, risking their own lives. By the end of 2008, Yad Vashem had granted this award to 22,765 people, which included 725 Hungarians. The 65 so far who are mostly unknown "Righteous" should not, therefore, be regarded as few.

The trial papers indicate a wide range of motivations for the life savers. These include: a non-Jew having a Jewish wife or girlfriend, a friend, a comrade-in-arms from World War I, a fiancée, some colleagues and business partners. Papers from 1944 mention two individuals who were tried for saving Jews. One of them said that he had undertaken rescue for money only to, among others, help Jewish children escape from one of the ghettos. The other mentioned his old connections to friends and colleagues as well as "lack of information" trying to find excuses for what he had done. With the passage of time it is becoming increasingly difficult to find Holocaust survivors who can prove how and by whom they, their parents and relatives had been saved during the Holocaust. Extending our research to new sources can help us uncover a number of heroic actions, a series of less known events of the history of the Holocaust. The persons on my list would all deserve to be recognized by Yad Vashem. Until that happens, I offer the present talk as a respectful homage to their memory.