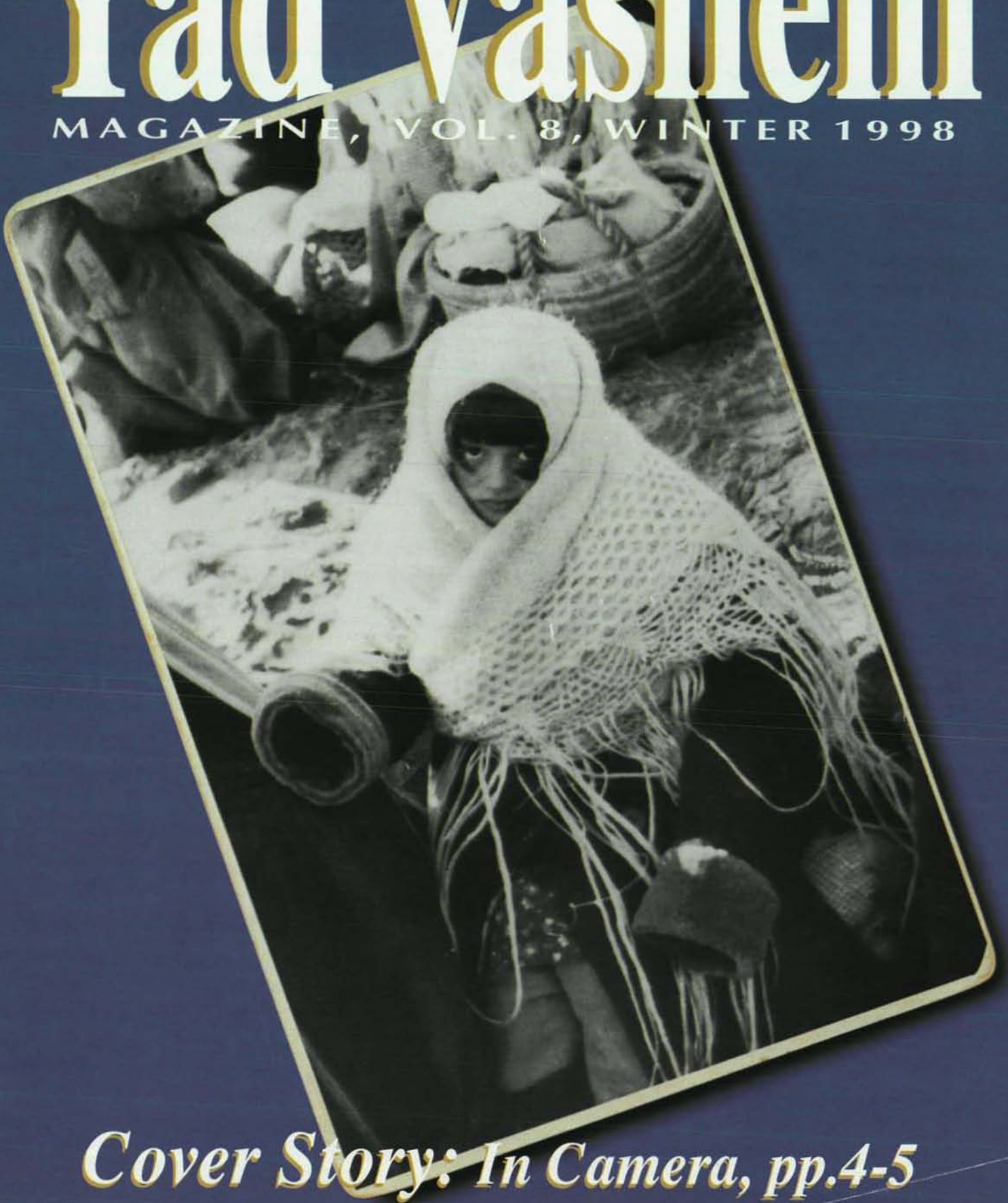


# JERUSALEM Yad Vashem

MAGAZINE, VOL. 8, WINTER 1998



*Cover Story: In Camera, pp.4-5*

# MEMORY AND PROGRESS

*The First Stage of Yad Vashem's "Masterrecord" has been Completed*

by Dr. Yaacov Lozowick

**T**he eyes of the child from Lubny, moments, perhaps hours before her imminent death, staring at you from the cover of this issue, are the eyes of testimony. They express the terror, the pain, and the uncertainty, not only of her own fate, but the fate of her family, her community and her people. Her eyes mirror the soul of a five thousand year old nation which has lived through and witnessed the extremities of the human experience: bondage and freedom, destruction and creation, death and life. She is the global child of history. And yet, for this Jewish child, belonging to this lustrous past was to be her death warrant, as Hitler denied her, her family, her community and her people the right to exist and was determined to silence her testimony and her people's legacy.

When we recently lit the Hanukka candles, in our own private homes, in the homes of American President Bill Clinton and British Prime Minister Tony Blair, and under the Arch of Titus where the Jews' expulsion and enslavement is portrayed, it was in continuation of the same tradition of lighting Hanukka candles carried out by this little Jewish girl and others like her.

Artifacts of testimony of the Holocaust, whether photographed, written or spoken, aren't static in time, but rather part of a continuum, and as such are part of our legacy, both as Jews and as responsible human beings, which must be studied and taught.

Yad Vashem  
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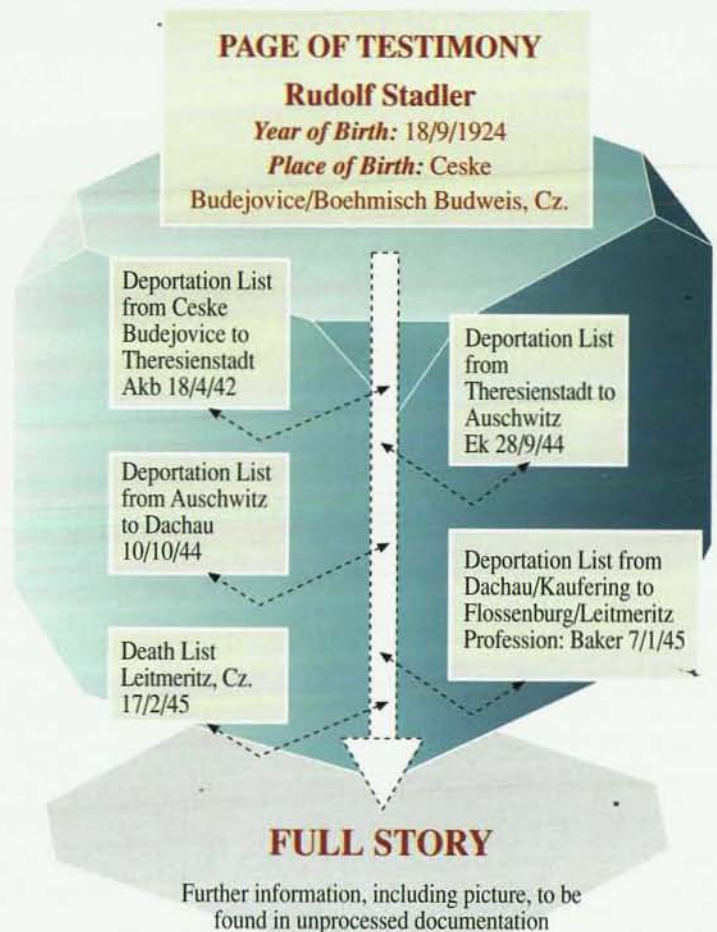
*Cover: Photograph from Yad Vashem Archives - Courtesy of Hessiches Hauptsaats archiv, Wiesbaden*

**R**udolf Stadler was born on September 18, 1924 in Bohemian Budweis, a town famous for its beer, but known to many locals by its Czech name, Ceske Budejovice. His mother was Alzbeta nee Luft, his father was Jiri. During the war he worked as a baker. According to one list he was deported to Auschwitz on September 28, 1944. Another list cited his arrival at Dachau on October 10, 1944. On January 4, his name was typed on a list of inmates of Kaufering, a sub-camp of Dachau, who were soon to be moved to Leitmeritz, a sub-camp of Flossenburg on the Elbe river. The transfer took place, we learn from a further list, on January 7. Rudolf Stadler died in Leitmeritz and was cremated on February 17, 1945. He was 21 years old.

Were one to attempt to cross-index the millions of names recorded in hundreds of thousands of files and lists in order to document the fates of all these persecuted Jews, it would be an endless task. Modern information technology seems to offer a solution, by comparing all of the evidence at the speed of light and tying together all fragments of evidence pertaining to each individual. And yet - computers being the mindless machines they are - this is far from simple. The information from the

different sources is rarely fully compatible, and not always obviously consistent. It would never occur to a computer that someone born in Budweis might also have been born in Budejovice, or that this person's mother might have been both Alzbeta and Elisabeth. All the likely variations of all European names in forty languages, and all versions of all geographic names throughout Europe and beyond must be entered before the computer can be used effectively.

Computers must also be instructed as to what each piece of information is: a surname, a vocation, a graduation date, an attempted point of illegal crossing of a border, a date



of death. It would not be effective if the computer failed to identify the same individual in two separate documents merely because it could not distinguish between the individual's name, and the name of his mother. For this purpose, a team of staff members led by Alexander Avraham, Director of the Hall of Names of Yad Vashem, has painstakingly created a "Master Format for Recording Names." This is a list of all the possible types of items of information which may be gleaned from all possible sources of documentation. The concept was hammered out at the "Recording the Names" international conference which took place at Yad Vashem in June 1997, in which representatives from ten countries convened to discuss cooperation on

computerizing information on the victims of the Holocaust. It was agreed that computerizing information in a uniform format would greatly facilitate combining the different databases. The list itself is worth reading. It encapsulates, in 50 pages and 257 categories of information, the full range of European Jewry. The Jews lived in multilingual communities, often with different names in different contexts. Some only knew their Hebrew date of birth. Many had held more than one citizenship, because they had moved. . . or the border had. In the turmoil of war, there was often no correlation between training, vocation, and place of employment. Sometimes, the place of employment still exists, and others fill these positions, whether on the directorates of

famous banks, or in the cloakroom of the Parisian Opera. European Jewry had served in all of the armies of WWI, and had held ranks from private to general. The medals of valor which were received are a distinguishing characteristic which will enable us, 80 years later, to identify Jewish soldiers.

Once we have all of the information in a functioning information system, we will have come as close as is humanly possible to reconstituting the Jewish communities of Europe in the last generation before the destruction and the darkness itself.

*The author is the Director of the Yad Vashem Archives*

# ONE LAST CHANCE

## *Urgent Call for Victims' Names During Israel's Jubilee Year*

By Daniel Chalfen

**I**f history is the collective knowledge of past events, then it is limited by the information available and the projections of the retrospective scholar. In researching the Shoah, the memory of witnesses provides an exclusive historical source for both personal and general chronicles. Recently, 70 year-old Rita Munzer of Tel Aviv, a Theresienstadt survivor, approached Yad Vashem with a selection of letters which illuminate life in the camp, including how inmates viewed the outside world, and relations and strata among the Jews in the camp. Her materials also provide some breakthroughs in understanding the codes inmates used in internal letters in Theresienstadt. Munzer's memory may recall as yet unrecorded names of Shoah victims.

But, fifty-three years after the end of the Shoah, a race against the clock has begun in which the aging, infirmity and death of the survivors is challenging the acquisition of similar collections. An immediate amassing of these sources is the last chance to preserve a remembrance of life during the Shoah for the time when the survivors will no longer be with us. An intensified effort of gathering victims' names, recording memories, and retrieving artifacts-diaries, letters, and art - is the goal of Yad Vashem this coming jubilee year.

Whilst over half-a-century may have enabled many survivors to come to terms with and talk about the loss of loved ones, there is still insufficient information to draw complete pictures of people and communities lost. Sadly, in a time when third generation curiosity and a thirst for knowledge grows, firsthand reports are diminishing and the number of Pages of Testimony with details of known Shoah victims being completed is falling. Despite the fact that between 2000-3000 names are still being added to Yad Vashem's Hall of Names monthly, the number of unaccounted victims is still vast. For every missing name, a person's life is taken away for a second time.

There are believed to be 250,000 survivors currently living in Israel and tens of thousands more around the world, but there is little or no personal information recorded about most of them. Before the remaining witnesses die, the survivors need to recall the names of victims and communities of whom they alone may have personal knowledge. In this way there can be a reconstruction of the life of European Jewry and a safeguarding of their commemoration. The emphasis is on collecting names and compiling a comprehensive list - research can be done at a later stage.

There are essentially three ways of reaching survivors: 1) Survivor organizations with their own networks and newsletters; 2) PR media campaigns; 3) Organizations abroad. However, even now, there are survivors who have not given Yad Vashem information or artifacts because of its painful impact. This new operative recommends that even if people are unwilling to part with objects, a survey of what exists would be helpful.

Silvia Noll, a senior archivist at Yad Vashem, explains that when personal collections and documents arrive at Yad Vashem, she first researches where they came from, then builds personal and general historical pictures from the information found in letters and diaries. From these chronicles she establishes stories, feelings, ideologies and relationships between people during the Shoah. Codes included in the letters sent internally within the camps are uncovered, yet without the assistance of living survivors it is often impossible to comprehend the meanings of certain words or phrases. For example, the recurrence of the term "nudeln" (noodles), in letters sent within Theresienstadt was clearly a code, but it can only be explained and contextualized by a survivor. It was actually a message to prepare for imminent deportation to the "East." Munzer's recently donated material and story has been especially useful in deciphering this phenomena and will be expanded upon in the next issue.

We are now at the end of an era in which it was educationally commonplace to hear survivors speak and bear witness to the atrocities they faced in Europe between 1939 and 1945 and in which witnesses can assist historians by attempting to fill some of the gaps in both the personal and the general history of the period. Amidst suspicion that after they die, the survivors' stories will die the death their remembered communities died years ago, this operation endeavors to take this one last opportunity to gather all the information available. And as well as the artifacts, which are the most tangible evidence, compiling a comprehensive list of those who perished has been elevated to prime importance. To save but one name is to save the memory of a whole life.



*Pages of Testimony in 14 languages*

# IN CAMERA

*Yad Vashem's Film Archives Provide an Important Contribution to Documentation and Research*

by Judith Levin

Photographs and movies play an important role in shaping the memory of the Holocaust. Visual images taken during the period, as well as those filmed by the Allies upon the liberation of the camps, are accepted by the public as authentic representations of the period. Famous photographs, such as the one of the boy in the Warsaw Ghetto raising his hands in surrender, are symbols of the Holocaust in the minds of many.

Photographs have two central advantages as a medium for transmitting a message. They are considered reliable and convincing, since we are accustomed to believing what we see; and they are influential because they operate on the emotions, and are thus imprinted on the memory better and over a longer period of time than the written word or even the oral testimony.

These characteristics lead to the acceptance of photographs as images which reflect reality with precision and reliability. As such, they were admitted as court evidence during the War Crimes Trials which took place after the Second World War.

Photographs in museums and exhibitions are often used similarly. The photographs depict the message and are chosen in accordance with their potential to stimulate emotional responses, and their correspondence with the particular exhibition's concept.

The historian, like the public, relates to the photograph as an item which speaks for itself, as a medium which presents the facts "as they were", and which therefore requires no research into its own historical context, or any attempt to explain when and where

the photograph was taken. It is thus granted a super-status among the disparate historical sources. At the same time, however, it is also divested of the interest that might exist in a historical source which can be critiqued, explained and compared with other sources. It becomes difficult, furthermore, to make use of it in the broader context of historical research.

Repeated study of the Yad Vashem photograph and film collection, which has been growing steadily over the past few years, reveals the great potential to be found in these photographs for historians and for the interested public, beyond the traditional illustrative use.

And indeed, the pictures were taken by different people, for a wide variety of purposes. Some were taken by Jewish photographers – official photographers who documented people and events in the ghettos in response to requests and for specific purposes. Other photos were taken by amateur photographers who were able in one way or another, to hold on to their cameras. These photographers took pictures primarily of their friends and family, at home and outdoors, including scenes which they were forbidden to photograph, such as deportations.

The vast majority of the pictures in the collection were, of course, taken by Germans. They could go almost anywhere and take



*The notice ordering the Jews of Lubny to gather for the deportation of October 16, 1941*



*Uniformed men walk among a concentrated group of Jews and talk to them*

This varied and rich collection includes tens of thousands of photographs documenting thousands of people and hundreds of events and situations which took place during the Holocaust. Paging through the various albums and photographs, one realizes that these are fascinating historical documents which still await study and description in a language which will facilitate dialogue between them and other kinds of historical documents – those more accepted by historical researchers.

Anyone browsing through the collection cannot help but wonder about the manner in which it was formed. It seems that the questions of who took a particular picture, and to what end, are of key importance for anyone who wishes to use photographs and films as historical sources.

advantage of the most advanced photographic technology in order to capture various events on film, for documentation or propaganda purposes. Many unofficial German photographers – soldiers and civilians – also took numerous pictures of Jews in a variety of circumstances. They photographed the Jews' "daily" life in the ghettos, Jews in forced labor, as well as Jews who were tortured, humiliated or deported – either by the photographers themselves or by their friends. Nor did they shrink from photographing executions; it seems that we would not be far off if we were to speak of an "obsession" among official and unofficial German photographers to photograph the victims – Jews, prisoners of war, partisans and the occupied populations in general, whether

dead or alive.

The pictures presented on these pages belong to this last category.

Several months ago, the Yad Vashem Archive received a collection which includes fifty-five photographs taken by German photographers. The collection was received from the regional museum in Hessen (Germany), and had served previously as an exhibit in the War Crimes Trials held in Germany during the 1960s. Some of these pictures were displayed in the Wehrmacht Crimes exhibition, which has been on display in Germany over the past two years, and has created a great stir. The photographs were identified by the employees of the Ludwigsburg Center for Documentation.

According to this identification, one group of photographs documents the Jews being driven to Babi Yar, the killing site itself, and the articles which were in the victims' possession, left at the site following the killing. The second group of pictures also documents a killing site, this one not far from the city of Lubny, also in the Ukraine. These photographs document the rounding up of the Jews, and their concentration at the killing site. It is interesting to note that both groups of photos document events pertaining to the



*The German photographer focused on the facial expressions catching from close-up the grief, terror, and hopelessness of the Jewish victims*

Another group of photos documents groups of Jews who were concentrated in close proximity to a town. Uniformed men walk among the people and talk to them. In the background one sees piles of clothing.

There is no doubt that the collection's great force lies in the message imparted without words. It is shocking, expressive and moving, and allows us an intimate - almost

the camps? What stages of the "final solution" were photographed, which were not, and why? What can this activity teach us about the relationship between the photographers and the victims, or about the acts of murder? Were these pictures disseminated to soldiers and civilians during the war itself? And if so, can one conclude that the German population had more information about the mass murder of

Jews in the East than is often thought? In this particular case, the investigation file of war criminals who took part in the killing at Lubny contains two additional photographs. It is difficult to determine whether these were part of the film which documented the



*A group of Jews being led through the city's streets to an unknown place for an unknown purpose. The corpses of recently shot victims are strewn along their path.*

mass murder of Jews, without actually documenting the murder itself.

### **What can be seen in the photographs?**

One group of photographs, which forms a coherent flow, documents a group of Jews being led through the city's streets to an unknown place for an unknown purpose. The streets and sidewalks are littered with the bodies of people who were apparently shot shortly before the photographs were taken. The same collection includes an additional group of equally disturbing pictures. In these, the photographer documented the reality "after the murder." The pictures show piles of personal articles left behind by the murdered victims.



*The victims' possessions left behind at the murder site*

too intimate - look at people awaiting their death. The photographs included in this collection bring the story of the murder to life, and tell a great deal, even if the act of murder itself is not documented. Is this once again an expression of the "obsession" to photograph the victims?

Looking at the pictures makes one want to know more. Who were the photographers who took such pictures, and to what end were they taken? Who kept these pictures during the war, and after it ended?

The answers to these questions may be relevant to broader historical questions. Who among the Germans participated in the mass murders? What was the German policy with regard to photography at killing sites and in

killing site and the victims. One documents the notice which ordered the Jews of Lubny to gather for the deportation to be held on October 16, 1941. The other is a picture of SD members, taken at a social event. What connection is there between these people, the murder and the notice?

Photographic testimonies say a great deal, yet remain mute. A deeper understanding will attempt to return the lost voices to these testimonies.

*The author is the Director of the Yad Vashem Film Archives.*

*Photos: Courtesy of Hauptstaats archiv, Weisbaden.*

"We can't imagine a future by pretending to forget the past."

Andre Brink, *Imaginations of Sand*



# The Parameters of Memory

By Michal Morris Kamil

In September 1997, sixteen representatives of the major institutions dealing with education about and commemoration of the Holocaust in Israel, toured Germany under the auspices of the Bundeszentrale fuer Politische Bildung and other organizations. The aim of our visit was to study the Israeli-German youth exchange programs, learn about the complexities and sensitivities from both the German and Israeli perspectives, and explore the pros and cons of sharing common ground, educationally and conceptually.

It was a disturbing, stimulating and unsettling fortnight. I was constantly challenged to analyze the results of my own education, both at home and at school, which made me increasingly aware of the intricacies and nuances of terms such as: "collective memory," "bystander," "archaeology," "time," "ideology," and "dialogue." The confrontation with those whose foci on commemoration, memory and education were different than mine, refined and increased my understanding of pluralism and strengthened my conviction as to the uniqueness of the Holocaust within the history of humanity. I wish to share with you several dilemmas I personally encountered:

## Commemoration as an Ideological Trend

We, the Israeli delegation, were lodged and fed for three nights, including the Sabbath, in the former SS headquarters in Buchenwald. We lit candles, recited the prayers, *Yizkor* and *El Maleh Rahamim*, and shared a moment of silence, uniting with the memory of the Jews who perished in this infamous concentration camp. Our hosts, a team of conscientious, committed and sensitive educators, guided us around the main campsite and through the main museum. Buchenwald,

where many of the 239,000 prisoners from thirty different countries were tortured, murdered and cremated, was designated as a memorial site by the former German Democratic Republic, symbolizing the universal struggle against the fascist tyranny of National Socialism. Throughout the site there are many individual memorials commemorating Socialist leaders and armed resistance fighters. In addition, there are mass graves in which the ashes of many thousands are buried and marked (following unification, a Star of David was added to the Jewish names.)

The unification of the two Germanys brought with it new ideological problems related to commemoration. In Buchenwald, this was manifest in a second museum which explained the existence of a second camp on the premises. This camp was established by the Soviets, immediately upon liberation, in order to jail the Nazi perpetrators. The exhibits include brief biographies of the key Nazi figures and of a few "victims" who were unjustly accused by the Communists of Nazi collaboration, detailed descriptions of the difficult camp conditions and of general "problems" affecting the prisoners, such as "fatigue", "boredom", and "hunger". Outside the museum, in a cordoned-off burial area, the perpetrators' families can "unite with the memories of their loved ones."

Our visit to the museum of the second camp was tense and uncomfortable as we confronted an inherent, inevitable parallelism between the two camps, which our hosts assured us was unintentional. The inclusion of the perpetrators' biographic details and the emphasis placed on the Communist regime's oppression, injustice and the maltreatment of the Nazis was jarring. And yet, perhaps within this new German reality following

unification, these educators feel that the promise for a better future must be nurtured by means of perpetuating an ideology that claims that they were "victims of two tyrannical systems" (which, they believe, differ only in severity and degree.) For me, this universal outlook is problematic both as an Israeli, and as a Jew, and cannot be applied to the uniqueness of the Jewish experience, the "Final Solution" and its execution: the Holocaust.

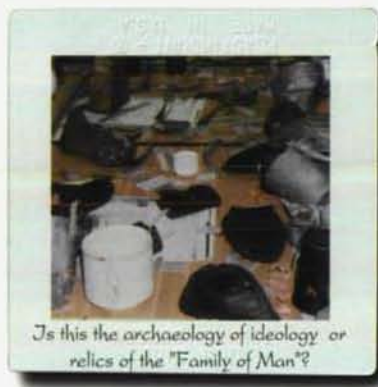
## Archaeology and the Temporality of Time

Archaeology, like Israeli orange juice, is part of the Israeli national image, and excavations are part of the landscape and tourist culture.

In Buchenwald, we were introduced to an original and unnerving perspective of this pleasurable activity. Very little of the major camp remains apart from the staff's living and administrative quarters, the crematorium, the "medical" (and extermination) chambers, the guard posts and the cynical inscription on the gate stating, "Jedem das Siene" - "Each to his own."

A central activity at the commemoration center is the retrieval and restoration of relics, many found underground, of the camp's buildings and the prisoners' personal belongings. These items, including eyeglasses, toothpaste containers, false teeth, bottles, brushes and cutlery are displayed in the site's museum, in several glass covered tables. The majority of these items were found during the excavations taking place at Buchenwald by foreign youth participating in the center's programs.

My immediate association, as an Israeli, upon seeing the two rows of display tables, was of relics from the first and second temple periods, thousands of years ago. But here,



Is this the archaeology of ideology or relics of the "Family of Man"?

the periods were defined as "first" and "second" stage camps.

These personal belongings, rusty and fragmented, which remain and symbolize the living "realities" of the prisoners, are less than sixty years old. In Buchenwald, archaeology is immune to the traditional measure of time and is categorized by the "ideological clock" of National Socialism and Communism.

## The Hadamar Euthanasia Sanatorium - Public Health and the Individual

In Germany's six euthanasia centers, an estimated 200,000 men, women and children were murdered; the majority were German non-Jews. This "racial cleansing" was the product of the Nazi ideology of "Herrenvolk" (Master-race) which the regime implemented systematically on its own people. As early as January 1940, the murder commenced in the gas chambers of the Hadamar Sanatorium. In the initial years, Hadamar received psychiatric referrals, but by 1945, the sanatorium's "dedicated" doctors had processed and sent to their deaths, tuberculosis, asthma and epilepsy patients, the physically disabled, broadly defined "social misfits", "worn-out" forced laborers, shell-shocked and handicapped soldiers, Gypsies, Jews, and *mischling* (children of mixed marriages.)

Despite the families' protests upon becoming aware of the murders, and the protests of a few clergy like Cardinal Clemens von Galen of Munster, very few Germans protested or resisted. 45% of German doctors are listed as members in the Nazi party; only a handful of doctors are listed as refusing postings in these killing centers. The doctor alone had

the omniscient authority to "turn on the gas."

"The Hadamar Place of Crime" memorial presents an extensive and comprehensive display on the Euthanasia program, its historical and conceptual foundations, political ramifications and implementations within the medical and legal system, predating Hitler, during the Weimar years. The exhibit includes an impressive array of propaganda election posters either condemning the "social 'disabled' parasite living off the tax payer" or, in contrast, encouraging the "vulnerable individual at the mercy of the racist Nazi menace" to resist. Inevitably, while absorbing the material, my thoughts meandered to the modern, western world of today, and to the fight between public health programs and privatization, the forced sterilization of mentally disabled in many countries, and more broadly, to the inherent contradiction within democracy itself with regards to the rights and good of the majority versus the rights and sanctity of the individual. Issues of health, such as those historically relevant to Hadamar, relate, in the extreme, to current discussions.

## Teachers as Emissaries of Memory

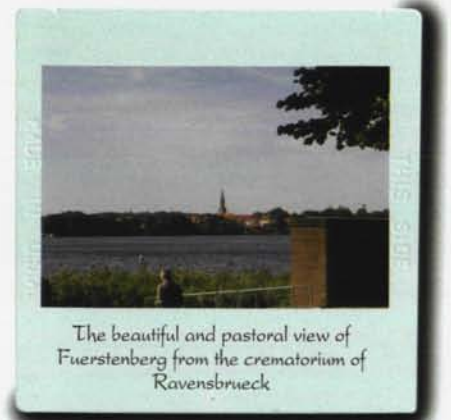
A highlight of our trip was our contact with teachers throughout Germany. All, without exception, had initiated original programs and projects to promote a deeper understanding and broader knowledge, beyond the regional school curricula, of the Holocaust and of past Jewish life. A representative example was high school teacher Monica Kingreen from Frankfurt.

It took her over 11 years to privately produce a book on the Jewish communities of Windecken, Ostheim and Heldenbergen.

She comments, "The fact that I am non-Jewish and was raised in Germany at the start of the Nazi period during the persecution of the Jews motivated my interest as to what happened to them. I realized that I mustn't start with Nazism, but rather before this period, and through intensive learning I went back to the thirteenth century."

In Frankfurt, Hadamar and Berlin, we met teachers with similar stories. They were all involved in either Israeli-German youth exchanges, the making of documentary films, the publication of research or the development of educational programming. The meetings, at times, were intensely emotional as several teachers shared their most personal moments

of discovering their fathers' sometimes murderous past. Sharing these confidences with members of our delegation, many of whom were children of Holocaust survivors, was extremely difficult and moving. Tears weren't spared on either side.



The beautiful and pastoral view of Fuerstenberg from the crematorium of Ravensbrueck

## The "Bystander"

The most disturbing aspect of my trip was the geography. Buchenwald-Weimar, Hadamar-Limburg, Ravensbrueck-Fuerstenberg, and Sachsenhausen-Oranienburg. The horror and the beauty, symbiotically and harmoniously living side by side. During the Holocaust, these town residents saw, heard, smelled and even felt death. There were those who provided the bureaucratic services for the murderers, like the Weimar Post office workers who sent the packaged ashes, and the multitudes of notifications of deaths to the families, the civil registrars, and even the local laborers who built camps in the morning and drank beer in the local pub at the end of a hard working day.

Commemoration is inherently problematic when defining physical borders. In 1999, Weimar will be declared the European Cultural Capital, venerating its cultural giants, Schiller, Goethe, the Bauhaus and others. Commemoration will be "sectioned off" in nearby Buchenwald. But the Holocaust includes the stages leading up to the Final Solution and being witness, which the beautiful towns of Weimar, Limburg, and Fuerstenberg were. The Holocaust did not just happen "in the east."

Can commemoration be isolated regionally? If the answer is no, then the role of "bystander" becomes central rather than peripheral. And although each "bystander" can be geographically and historically characterized, there are universal attributes relevant to all of humanity. For me, the term "bystander" hit home and it is my personal, if uncomfortable, companion.



High school teacher and author Monica Kingreen who wrote about three Jewish communities in the state of Hessen



The propaganda of health: Nazi condemnation of the "disabled parasite who lives off the taxpayer"

# DID THEY PLAY CHESS THEN

By Galia Limor

Until recently, the Holocaust and teaching of the Holocaust were presented to adults only. The subject was considered too difficult and too cruel for a child's tender soul. A contemporary exhibition at the Yad Vashem Art Museum marks a new trend in relating to this difficult topic. The exhibition, "No Child's Play," is designed for a young - a very young - audience. Games, drawings, poems and diaries created by or for children during the Holocaust appear in the exhibit. The items bear a long and sad story of suffering and torture, hunger and poverty, loneliness, and often death. Some of the children grew up to become adults, but continued to carry with them the valuable games everywhere they went. Other children found their deaths during the war, and only the game, drawing or poem remain as a silent reminder of their lives.

Children who visit the exhibit find that children's lives during the Holocaust did not differ as much as they might have thought from those of children today. Then, as now, children played not only with dolls and teddy bears, but with cards and monopoly. Miriam, one of the twelve-year-old children who attended the exhibition from the Jabotinsky School in Beit Shemesh, was surprised to

they were in the ghetto the whole time and that they didn't play at all." The children who visit the exhibit are pleasantly surprised. It is not the type of exhibition they are accustomed to seeing. Within a few minutes they feel free, and meander through the exhibit on their own. The world presented to them seems friendly and familiar, and through it they are able to better understand the harsh historical context.

They ask "Is that real?" - as though they find it difficult to believe that the cute but tattered teddy bear or the monopoly game board actually once belonged to children who played with it. And when they hear who owned the teddy bear and what happened to that child, they once again ask, "Really?"

The story told by each of the items is a story with which every person - and certainly every child - can identify. The small pages of Hedva Grizim's notebook are still covered with the little notes she received from her friends in the ghetto. Among the puns and short poems one discovers the daily experiences of the war, along with words of encouragement and attempts to maintain optimism. Nor is the world's most famous mouse - Mickey Mouse - absent from the exhibit. Horst Rosenthal, a prisoner of the Gurs concentration camp in France, described life in the camp through a series of fifteen colorful comic strip pictures which are surprisingly reminiscent of the famous Disney character. His drawings were gathered in a special booklet. One drawing shows Mickey Mouse using a magnifying glass to try to increase the size of the bread portion he received in the camp. In another drawing, he attempts to

escape from a policeman who has stopped him and asked him to present his papers. The policeman concludes that he is a foreigner, and sends him to prison. In other drawings, Mickey Mouse tells of his experiences in the camp - the difficult conditions, the food, the censorship.

Most moving to the children, however, is the story of Yael Rosner, who cared for her doll Zosia as though she were her daughter. At a certain point, Yael was smuggled out of the ghetto in a coal bag carried by a young man. The way was difficult and dangerous, and in the middle, Yael discovered that she

had forgotten her doll. She asked the boy to return so that she could take her doll with her, but he refused. When she explained adamantly that "a mother cannot leave her daughter behind," he agreed to return to the ghetto in spite of the danger involved. They were able to get the doll and leave safely.

Parents who are accustomed to prodding their children to do their homework or to read a book will be surprised to see their children writing vigorously in the exhibition's guest book. A quick peek inside the book reveals beautiful sentences - some with errors, some written in the arched letters of a child who has just learned to write - which express profound emotional reactions, sadness and identification. One girl wrote, "I don't understand how Holocaust survivors withstood all of the difficulties," and added at the end of her thoughts "when I think about it, I have the chills." Another boy wrote "This place moves me very much, and I simply feel like crying." And there were those who could not detach what they saw in the exhibition from day-to-day life in Israel. One girl wrote "Although the Germans killed and murdered us, it doesn't mean we have to take revenge ... We have to continue to want peace..."



Claudine Schwartz-Rudel's doll which contained gold coins hidden by her parents



Children of today can identify with the beloved cartoon images of children before and during the Holocaust period

see the chess board and pieces carved in wood with a kitchen knife. "I didn't know they played chess then," she said. "I thought



## A Holocaust Survivor's Unique Contribution to the Establishment of Israel

# The Power of Will

by Michal Morris Kamil

“ In order to quickly raise major and significant funds for intensified economic development, it was decided to accept the offer for 'compensation and reparation' from Germany. This decision involved an agonizing process of deliberation. It was decided but a few years following the dark period of the Shoah, the deep wounds of genocide still open and raw. The dilemma was clear: the revenge of the past in face of a commitment to the future.”

These words were written by Moshe Zanbar, former Governor of the Bank of Israel and one of the pillars of the Israeli economy. Recording his life achievements until now would fill this entire magazine. The words above reflect a deep conviction, which Zanbar calls "will" - to recognize the existing reality, adapt to it and move on. Zanbar was a forced worker in the Hungarian labor service and a survivor of Dachau and its subsidiary camp, M u h l d o r f - Waldlager. It was his "will" which ensured his survival in the camps and once liberated in May 1945.

But the return to freedom nearly cost him his life. Within a few days, Zanbar contracted a lethal strain of typhus. Upon recovery, he completed his studies in Budapest. A key leader in the Zionist youth movement, HaOved Hatzioni, Zanbar clandestinely departed for Israel in March 1948 as one of sixty who were chosen by the Hagana as potential fighters in the armed struggle for the pending new Jewish state.

Upon arrival, he was immediately transported to an army base and within days, to the ensuing battles of Latrun in the Jerusalem corridor. Jerusalem was under siege, and the Jordanian legions and local hostile Arab villagers shot at every Jewish attempt to relay supplies to the city. Zanbar, as part of a human chain

carrying supplies, was seriously injured in the leg by a shell. A fellow soldier went to seek help and left Moshe for six hours, stranded and immobile, under heavy fire and alone. At dawn, help arrived, but not before Moshe was interrogated and cleared of being one of the Hungarian mercenaries used by the Jordanians. Zanbar was finally treated in the Hadassa hospital in Tel Aviv and released after an extensive and difficult period of recuperation.

Zanbar says wryly, "I began my life in Israel most unpleasantly; after ten days I was injured, pronounced dead, and left with my pajamas and one shoe." This strong-willed man's trials strengthened his determination to succeed. In 1952, with minimal financial support, he completed a four year Masters in Economics in two years since, "That's all I had money for, so I **had** to finish."

Married to Bracha, an immigrant from Argentina, Zanbar's career has soared since its inception in 1953. He has taught in Tel Aviv University and the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and held senior positions in the government. He was in charge of the state budget, advisor to the Minister of Finance and acting Minister of Trade and Industry. He was the key figure in the strategic planning and implementation of Israel's economic infrastructure. Zanbar was one of the founders of the Israel Cooperation, Israel



Newlyweds Bracha and Moshe



Recuperating from his serious injury at Latrun



Speaking at the commemoration of fifty years since the liberation at Seeshaupt

Chemicals, and Elbit, in addition to the key positions he held in many public and private companies. In 1971 he was appointed Governor of the Bank of Israel. He was appointed Chairman of the Board of Bank Leumi Le'Israel in 1988.

According to Zanbar, when he arrived in



Moshe Zanbar, 1998

Israel, deeply influenced by Zionist ideology, he was determined to let go of his past. He never discussed it with his daughters, and at the time he considered the locals' contempt as part of the difficult absorption facing him and all immigrants. However, he bitterly attacked offensive terms such as, "soaps", a derogatory term used for survivors and "enlisted overseas fighters". He comments, "No one 'enlisted' us - we volunteered knowing we could most certainly die. We did have a choice to come. We were all volunteers."

In 1987, the Center of Organizations of Holocaust Survivors, under the chairmanship of Zanbar, was established to represent the Holocaust survivors in their claim for pensions for members ineligible under the German compensatory laws. The Center joined the Claims Conference, and through negotiations successfully obtained from Germany a monthly pension of five-hundred Deutschmarks for twenty-thousand additional survivors. Zanbar is now the Claims Conference's treasurer as well.

Zanbar emphasizes, "Our first priority is to provide aid to needy survivors. In addition, we must ensure the continuation of commemoration and strengthen the awareness of the Holocaust amongst the youth. Yad Vashem has a central role in Israel and throughout the world in promoting these aims. As Jews, we continue to mourn the murder of our six million bretheren. As Israelis, who have established and built a state to be proud of, which is currently celebrating its fiftieth year, we must serve as examples for tolerance and mutual respect."

# Album



28.5.97 - Group photo of the winners of the Yad Vashem Uveeler Prize, of the Mark and Leuba Uveeler fund, which promotes high school projects about the Holocaust



30.6.97 - Prime Minister of Punjab, Sardar Parkash Singh Badal



6.5.97 - President of the Republic of Columbia, Ernesto Samper Pizano



13.10.97 - Visit by Israeli Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Tourism Moshe Katzav



21.12.97 - Annual commemorative ceremony of the Bogdanovka massacre 56 years on. In the picture: survivor Esther Pasker Gelbelman (R) and her granddaughter



23.9.97 - President of the Czech Republic, Vaclav Havel



5.8.97 - 55th Annual commemoration of the deportation of Dr. Janusz Korczak and the orphan children to the Treblinka death camp



9.7.97 - Evening of Chazanim and songs from the Ghetto with Cantors from the Tel Aviv Cantorial Institute in the Valley of the Communities



25.11.97 - Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of France, Hubert Vedrine



7.10.97 - Georges Willemin, Director of the International Committee of the Red Cross Archive (ICRC) in Switzerland hands over 60,000 documents to Yad Vashem



# '97



23.6.97 - President of the Republic of Moldova, Petru Lucinschi



8.5.97 - The Crown Prince of Swaziland, Mibilini Dlamini



30.7.97 - Mayor of Shanghai, the People's Republic of China, Xu Kuang Di



21.10.97 - Holocaust survivor Fanya Gottesfeld Heller is reunited with Polish rescuer's daughter, Irena Sidorova Czownyk at Righteous Among the Nations Ceremony at Yad Vashem honoring posthumously Irena's father, Izydor Sokolowski



10.9.97 - US Secretary of State, Madeleine K. Albright



2.1.97 - Norwegian singer and actress Bente Kahan in her program, "Farewell Cracow" in an evening dedicated to the Yiddish songs of Mordechai Gebirtig



9.6.97 - British composer and singer Adrian Snell performs Jewish texts and children's songs from Theresienstadt in the Valley of the Communities



11.11.97 - Minister of Foreign Affairs of Canada, Lloyd Axworthy



27.10.97 - Minister of Foreign Affairs of Finland, Tarja Kaarina Halonen

# ZIONISM IN THE SHADOW OF THE HOLOCAUST



By David Silberklang

**O**n November 17-18, 1997, twenty-five scholars took part in a two-day intensive conference called "Zionism and Zionist Policies in the Shadow of the Holocaust." They reviewed the voluminous research and presented new findings. The broad scope of the conference covered many questions regarding the Zionist movement in Germany, Palestine, and worldwide in the 1930s and 1940s, as well as the policies of non-Zionist groups in Europe and North America, such as the Bund, the American Reform movement, and the ultra-Orthodox.

The Zionist movement and the Holocaust have been the source of much discussion and controversy over many decades. Issues such as Zionist "cooperation" with the Nazi regime in the 1930s, the anti-Nazi boycott, rescue attempts by the Zionist movement, the various Jewish streams' perceptions of the Nazis and the Holocaust, and interrelations with survivors, have concerned researchers and the general Jewish public since the Nazis' rise to power and were among this conference's topics as well.

A brief review of a conference this size can only do justice to a selected few of the many erudite papers. Among the most original and thought-provoking papers were those on occupied Europe and on the non-Zionists.

Jean Ancel presented a most interesting paper "The Zionist Movement and the Struggle to Prevent the Deportation of Romanian Jewry to the Death Camps in Poland in 1942." In recent years, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, hundreds of thousands of pages of previously unknown Romanian wartime documentation in Odessa and many other places have become available to researchers. Ancel argues persuasively that the new documentation completely changes the picture of events in Romania, to the point where this history needs to be rewritten. Murder of Romanian Jews was essentially a Romanian enterprise, and the rescue of the Jews of Bucharest and the Regat on the eve of their scheduled deportation to the Belzec death camp in September 1942 was largely due to the courageous behind-the-scenes activities of (the "assimilationist") Dr. Wilhelm Filderman, the prewar official leader of the Romanian

# Focus on New Research at Two-Day Yad Vashem Conference

Jewish community. He exploited his connections with Antonescu and several of his senior advisors, astutely arguing that it was in Romania's national interests to cancel the deportation plans. He argued that deporting the Jews to German territory would be an infringement of Romanian sovereignty, of a sort that had occurred only in the occupied countries. The new findings and the story's drama riveted the audience.

Yisrael Gutman departed from his written text to issue a passionate plea to examine and analyze the grassroots and not only the leaders. He argued that ordinary members of the Jewish community and the Zionists among them are often overlooked in the research and in papers at the conference as well. Gutman's analysis of Polish Jewry in the 1930s offered cogent evidence to support his case. For example, the Jewish trade boycott of Nazi Germany developed at the grassroots level. Jewish merchants refused to import or sell German goods, and in 1934 even achieved some measure of success in reducing German imports to Poland. Promoting the boycott involved considerable self-sacrifice--these Polish Jews endangered their livelihoods in a society already arrayed against them economically and politically. This remarkable phenomenon cannot be understood through an analysis of the elite alone.

Another important session focussed on the ultra-Orthodox and the Holocaust. This is one of the lesser-known subjects among historians, and Esther Farbstein and Gershon Bacon are among those with access to ultra-Orthodox sources. Farbstein examined the theological and philosophical basis of the positions of several leading ultra-Orthodox rabbis, while Bacon presented the politicians and ideologues of the Agudat Yisrael party in Poland in the 1930s. Eliezer Schweid concluded the session

with a thoughtful analysis of ultra-Orthodox perceptions of Nazism then and now, seeing in their perception a source of their inner strength. Farbstein argues that for ultra-Orthodox leaders the central problem of the first part of this century was their understanding of Jewish identity which was being challenged from many quarters: the Bolshevik revolution and the subsequent severance of Soviet Jewry from its Jewish roots, the assimilationists, the Bund, and the Zionists. They saw the Nazi attack on the Jews as both a physical attack, and an attack on Jewish identity. For them, the Nazis represented a revolt against God. Whereas many Zionists saw the rise of the Nazis as further proof of the need to radically change the Jews' existence in the Diaspora, many ultra-Orthodox rabbis viewed the Nazis' rise as a rude awakening from the attraction of western humanism, of which Germany stood at the fore. The ultra-Orthodox view of western secular humanism was also the focus of Schweid's analysis.

From the opening session on the German Zionists' perceptions and policies in the 1930s, through the closing comments by Yehuda Bauer, the conference venue was full. In the opening session, Hagit Lavsky, Yehoyakim Cochavi, Daniel Fraenkel, and Robert Wistrich analyzed German Zionist responses to the Nazis. Whereas German Zionists recognized the looming threat to German-Jewish communal existence, in 1933 some of them believed that they could reach a

modus vivendi with the new regime. This belief did not come from ideological agreement, but rather stemmed from an analysis of the modern liberal world's continuing anti-Semitism which seemed a built-in feature of modernity as long as the Jews had no homeland. They also sought ways to maintain communal existence in Germany because emigration of all German Jews was impossible. Daniel Fraenkel insists that it is counter-factual to think that the Zionist movement foresaw the Holocaust, or that the Zionists could have done so. The fact that some 55,000 German Jews settled in Palestine during the Nazi period was due in no small part to the energetic efforts of the German Zionists, and some measure of "cooperation" and contact with the regime was necessary to accomplish this impressive emigration.

These papers, and many subsequent papers presented by Dina Porat, Dan Laor, and Tuvia Frilling addressed the influence of "the negation of the exile" in Zionist ideology on Zionist policy and perceptions of events in Europe: most scholars agree that popular impressions and expectations of the Zionist movement in the 1930s and 1940s were out of all proportion with reality. The Yishuv in Palestine and the Jewish Agency represented a relatively small constituency of several hundred thousand people who were subjects of another state. They lacked sovereignty over a territory, armed forces, or any significant national economy. There was much concern and interest regarding the fate of the Jews of Europe. However, concern and periodic attempts to influence the Allied powers to "do something" were generally to no avail.

The same could be said for Zionists and non-Zionists in the United States and Great Britain, according to Ariel Hurwitz, Ron Zweig, and Ofer Schiff. Although the researchers did not agree in their assessments of the figures and groups examined, the Jewish inability to determine Jewish fate emerged as an underlying theme.

Openness to the general public and wide public participation are landmark features of Yad Vashem's scholarly conferences. From a strictly scholarly perspective, it could perhaps be argued that the survivors and participants in the events under discussion, lacking the tools for discourse in a scholarly conference, interfere with the flow of discourse and lower the academic standards. However, openness to the public, especially to those who experienced the events under discussion, is part of Yad Vashem's *raison d'être*. Moreover, in an institution that believes in the importance of oral testimony as a historical source, this public's participation is not only a voluntary fulfillment of an obligation, but also an expression of interest in the Jews as a subject of the history under discussion. Hopefully, the scholars will remain attentive to this public which continues to enrich Yad Vashem's conferences with its attendance and input.

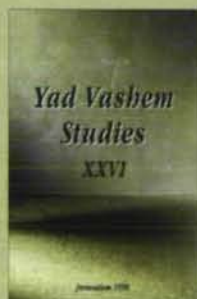
*The author is the editor of the Yad Vashem Studies.*



From: L. to R.: Dr. Dina Porat, Professor Dan Laor, Dr. Shimshon Shoshani, and Dr. Tuvia Frilling

# NEWS

## NEW YAD VASHEM STUDIES



Volume 26 of *Yad Vashem Studies* marks a milestone in many ways, while at the same time representing continuity. It is the fortieth anniversary since the first edition of *YVS* appeared as a pioneer in serial academic publications on the Holocaust.

This volume includes articles both by established senior researchers and by young scholars. The articles can be divided roughly into five sections: postwar, Jewish responses to the Holocaust, perpetrators, the Goldhagen debate, and book reviews.

Michael Marrus and David Engel address two aspects of the immediate postwar years and how the Holocaust was understood at that time. Marrus asks new questions of well-known material – the records of the International Military Tribunal. Consciousness of the Holocaust in postwar legal and political thinking seems at one and the same time to have been both prominent and subdued. On the postwar violence against the Jews in Poland much has been said and written, but little detailed research has been done. Engel's careful examination of these events, together with his statistical analysis, challenges certain prior assumptions while supporting others.

Esther Farbstein and Yfaat Weiss examine aspects of Jewish responses to the Holocaust. Farbstein's comparative analysis of two documents by the same author, a diary written during the war and a memoir written immediately after the war, reflects both on Jewish coping and on how survivors remember their experiences. The importance of Jewish documentation in understanding the Holocaust is underscored by her analysis. Weiss examines as yet unexplored questions regarding attitudes of Jews in Germany and Poland to the attempts to create an anti-Nazi economic boycott in the 1930s. Whereas it is known that Jews did

## NEW FINDINGS ABOUT THE "KIELCE POGROM"

Following a number of years of investigation into what was known as the "Kielce Pogrom", the Polish government-appointed "Commission to Investigate Crime against the Polish Nation" reported its findings to the Polish public. The Commission based its conclusions on the testimonies of over 130 witnesses (many from Israel), Communist-era security files, and documents from Russian, American and Israeli archives, including Yad Vashem. At the Commission's press conference, Polish Minister of Justice Leszek Kubicki stated that it was the town residents who instigated the attack, and not as was previously claimed, a result of Soviet provocation. Kubicki also specified the criteria for appointing members of the Commission and the methods of investigation.

The massacre took place in Kielce, on July 4, 1946. According to the report, nine-year-old Henryk Blaszczyk, in trouble with his drunken father, panicked and hid with relatives in a nearby town. Upon returning the following day, and in fear of reprimand, he invented the story that he was kidnapped by Jews who planned to use his blood for the baking of matza for the ritual Passover festival. The enraged father, together with his son and friend, marched down Planty Avenue to identify the building where the child was held against his will. The child identified number seven as the place, which happened to be the main offices of the Central Jewish Committee, the *Kvutza* (core group) of the Zionist Youth movement, and the dwelling of many Jewish tenants. The vicious mob which had gathered proceeded to murder

not all agree on how to respond to the threat posed by the Nazis, the Polish-German interaction on this question is a new avenue of research.

Amongst others, there are articles by Frank Bajohr, Andrej Angrick, Dieter Pohl, and Judith Levin and Daniel Uziel who address the problem of the perpetrators. Levin and Uziel's path-breaking article argues persuasively for the integration of visual documentation in historical research.

Daniel Jonah Goldhagen's book, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* and the debate it engendered are also discussed in articles and reviews by Avraham Barkai, Yisrael Gutman, Gotz Aly and Raul Hilberg. Beginning with this issue, review essays closely analyzing recent and important books will be a regular section in *Yad Vashem Studies*.

what was officially quoted as 42 people - but reliable estimates run higher - throwing them out of the building's windows, and ripping Jewish passerbys to shreds. Soldiers and their officers, according to witnesses, led the attack, while others stood by and watched.

For years it was claimed that the pogrom was instigated by the Russian Soviets and their Polish card-carrying agents in order to draw support for themselves by alleging that the perpetrators were anti-Communists who hadn't learned anything from the past. However, it is currently believed that local resentment towards the returning Jewish refugees, and refusal to relinquish Jewish property which was appropriated when the Jews were sent to their annihilation, were apparently the causes for the riot. Kubicki commented that the Commission results now pave the way to opening investigations and trials against those who partook in the massacre.

Professor Yisrael Gutman, Chief Historian of Yad Vashem, who was present at the press conference comments, "Apparently, there wasn't any provocation by Soviet agents. One must study the prevalent atmosphere and conditions in Poland conducive to such an act of violence and not look for excuses. Sadly, the conclusions provided, although objective, thorough and reliable, did not contain the term 'pogrom'. By not calling the attack a 'pogrom', it may appear that the Commission is again trying to blur the facts, and that is self-defeating. Kielce must not be isolated from the general wave of violence against the Jews taking place at the time throughout Poland." According to Gutman, this event is "a milestone in Poland's attempts to deal with its history of antisemitism."

## FOREST FOR THE RIGHTEOUS

A memorial for the Righteous Among the Nations in France was unveiled last November. President Chirac spoke about France's involvement in the deportations of Jews to the death camps. The Righteous Among the Nations attended the ceremony and planted trees in the new forest. Avner Shalev, Chairman of the Yad Vashem Directorate, said, "It is increasingly apparent that it was possible to behave differently, and that in France, as in other countries, there were those who jeopardized their lives and those of their families, to save Jews."

"Yad Vashem 2001" masterplan, will be implemented in all departments throughout 1998.

Construction of the Archives, the International School and the Visitors' Center is continuing. New computer networks will be installed as well.

In 1998 the archival acquisition program for both written and visual materials, as well as personal objects, will forge ahead, focusing mainly on Germany. Computerized data and the repositories will be converted to a more advanced software system. Yad Vashem will begin planning the infrastructure of the new building, the transferal arrangements for the archival repository and video testimonies from Spielberg's Visual History of the Shoah Foundation which are expected to arrive in the future. The Archives shall continue to develop the thematic and geographic thesauri of the Holocaust, and begin to scan the archives for suitable material for the new museum of Yad Vashem.

The Hall of Names will continue the computerization of names recording as well as the launching of an intensive campaign in Israel and abroad, to gather additional names.

The International Center of Holocaust Studies will continue to host both local and international scholars. The Baron Friedrich Carl von Oppenheim Chair for the Study of Racism, Antisemitism and the Holocaust will commence its research activities. The planning

of three international conferences, the first taking place in Jerusalem in January 1999, is also in full force. A lexicon of the Righteous Among the Nations is in its preparatory stage. The Center is planning to publish a lexicon in English about the Jewish Communities, eight new publications and the serial "Yad Vashem



*The laying of the foundations of the new Yad Vashem Archives*

Studies" in its new format.

The International School for Holocaust Studies will be holding seminars for eighty thousand pupils this year and eleven international seminars. In addition, five hundred teachers will be participating in enrichment programs, in addition to the teacher training programs being held abroad and an educational conference in the USA. Plans are also underway for the

transfer of the school to its new abode in 1999. Yad Vashem is planning to establish an international professional pedagogic committee.

The Historic Museum will continue its efforts to build its collection of artifacts. A new exhibition is well underway focusing on the survivors and their involvement and absorption in the establishment and first years of the new the State of Israel. In addition, research and plans are progressing in preparation for the new museum.

The Yad Vashem Foundation will continue working in close partnership with the International Societies for Yad Vashem worldwide this year. An annual conference with the chairmen and the executives of the

societies will be held at Yad Vashem. The central focii of the Foundation will continue to be raising the funds needed for "Yad Vashem 2001" masterplan and to assist the local societies worldwide in their efforts to expand and intensify their activities and in conjunction with Israel's jubilee year. Simultaneously, the Foundation will continue to establish new societies.

REMOVAL OF RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS AT AUSCHWITZ

In the beginning of December, a directive was given by the Polish Minister of Culture and Art, Joanna Wnuk-Nazarowa, to the Auschwitz State Museum's Director, Jerzy Wroblewski, to remove the crosses and Stars of David standing on the site since 1984 in order to maintain the authenticity of the site.

The white wood symbols were placed in the camp in 1984 and 1986 by a group of young Polish scouts doing maintenance work in Auschwitz- Birkenau, the site at which by 1945, approximately 1.5 million people, 90% of whom were Jewish, perished in the camp's gas chambers and through starvation, disease and cold.

The directive resulted from an international coalition led by Miles Lehrman, Chairman of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, and Professor Yisrael Gutman, Chief Historian and representative of Yad Vashem (also representing Holocaust survivors from Auschwitz living in Israel). Other members of the coalition include: the American Jewish Committee, the American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors, the Anti-Defamation League, the World Jewish Congress, the Ronald S. Lauder Foundation, and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

Chairman of the International Council of the State Museum of Auschwitz-Birkenau, Polish Senator Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, also a key member in this campaign, implored in his November letter to the Minister of Culture and Art, "Our concern focusses on the necessity to preserve the authenticity of the historic site of Auschwitz and Birkenau. Auschwitz-Birkenau is listed as part of UNESCO's sites for historical preservation as it is considered a part of universal heritage."

**The International School for Holocaust Studies is constantly expanding and improving its teaching facilities and educational programs. Below is a select few of the new and innovative teaching materials from Yad Vashem.**

by Alisa Lehrer

### New publications

Two new Hebrew publications address the issues of the Holocaust through the literary and artistic medium within the Israeli matriculation curriculum. The first publication, *The Liberation*, presents a collection of works of Holocaust survivors and their reactions, emotions and physical hardships during and after the liberation. This program marking Israel's jubilee year, focuses on the main theme of Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Day – the Holocaust survivors' involvement and contribution to the establishment of the State of Israel. The second publication, *Mother, where is far away?* portrays aspects of survival, and the human and Jewish dilemmas facing the children in the ghettos. These experiences are expressed in poetry written in Polish by non-Jews and Jews, many of whom witnessed the horrors firsthand. These authentic poems voice the fear, despair, and frustration in a straightforward style.

### French speaking seminar

This winter, over 40 people from all walks of life, participated in a ten day seminar about the Holocaust, antisemitism and, in particular, the role of France during the Second World War. This is the largest French seminar ever held at Yad Vashem and is part of a plan to bring over 300 educators, journalists, artists and key figures within the French speaking community to Yad Vashem and to teach them about the history of the Holocaust and the evils of antisemitism. The Executive Committee of the French Society, along with the incoming chairman, Dr. Richard Prasquier, were among the participants.

### New program for junior high schoolers

In response to Israeli junior high school

teachers' interest in a special program introducing pupils to the Holocaust, the International School for Holocaust Studies has decided to provide educational activities for the youngsters at Yad Vashem. Special workshops to introduce pupils to the site will acquaint them with the destroyed Jewish world and the Jews' unique fight for life under Nazi rule. Each class will be allocated a community and based on survivors' memories, they will learn about life, education and the Jewish experience in that community. The class will follow the community from its lively, thriving existence to its destruction. The pupils will also participate in discussions about the moral, human and Jewish dilemmas and difficulties during the Holocaust, such as hiding places, family and interpersonal



From L. to R.: Frère Marcel Dubois, H.E. French Ambassador to Israel Jean-Noel de Bouillane de Lacoste, Dr. Richard Prasquier and Mrs. Deborah Praszkier

relations. They will discuss these dilemmas with appropriate guidance and information sheets. They will also meet with survivors, writers and educators. The educational outlook of introducing the Holocaust to younger pupils is also one of the reasons behind the current "No Child's Play" exhibition designed for this age group. Recreating the children's world with Mickey Mouse cartoons and the Monopoly board accentuates the fact that the Holocaust took place only fifty-five years ago.

### Beshvil Hazikaron

*Beshvil Hazikaron* (the Hebrew "Legacy"), in its new format, is the educational publication distributed to schools and teachers throughout Israel five times in the academic year. There are three main sections: academic discussions, a complementary didactic section and a "What's new?" corner. To accommodate the educator's needs, the publication has expanded its didactic section and has included many more ideas, sources and subjects for discussion which will assist educators in teaching about the Holocaust. Efrat Belberg, editor of the didactic section, coordinates the history curriculum at the *Leyada* high school (next to the Hebrew University) and has much experience to her credit.

### Yesteryear and then Tomorrows - A Reader

The Pedagogic Center within the school has prepared a collection of literary excerpts, in Hebrew, written about and from the Holocaust period, due to be published in April. These poems, stories, testimonies and journals are extremely powerful in relaying the feelings of desperation as well as the hope, miraculous stories, atrocities and last testaments of many of the Holocaust victims and survivors. The reader is designed to provide literary materials for commemorative ceremonies or educational programs for all ages.

### Prizes

Support and encouragement for the educational system, pupils and educators dedicated to researching the Holocaust and to teaching its significance to the Israeli public, will be given by Yad Vashem in the form of annual prizes. Five awards will be bestowed for five different categories: a) outstanding student papers; b) an educational project about the Holocaust; c) an educational program; d) an educator who makes a unique contribution to Holocaust education; e) an author of an educational children's book. These awards have been kindly donated by John and Hertha Najmann in the name of his parents, Chun and Blima Najmann, and in association with the Mark and Leuba Uveeler and Bruno Brandt Fund.



# ABADI'S CARD FILE

## *Over 500 Jewish Children Rescued during the Shoah*

By Dr. Mordecai Paldiel

**Y**ad Vashem is to receive a valuable card index, listing the names of several hundred Jewish children, part of a larger group of over 500 children, who were rescued in France during the Holocaust in an operation headed by two Jews. In the files of French rescuers who were awarded the title Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem, the names of Moussa and Odette Abadi kept reappearing as individuals who dispatched distraught Jewish children into safe and secure homes. Who were these two unknown Jewish rescuers?

Moussa Abadi was born in Damascus, Syria, in 1910. He moved to Paris, where he met Odette Rosenstock, a pediatrician and former medical school inspector. There he pursued his studies at Sorbonne University, where he took a liking to the theater and appeared in several university plays. The French defeat in 1940 disrupted his acting career. Fleeing to Nice, in the Vichy zone, he was introduced to Monsignor Paul Rémond the Catholic bishop of Nice, at a cultural soiré. Rémond, upon learning of Abadi's language skills, hired him to teach grammar and diction to seminarians who needed to improve their French. According to one account, Abadi at first had opted for clandestine work. However, when an Italian army chaplain told him that he had witnessed the massacre of children by the SS in eastern Europe, Abadi decided to forswear underground action in favor of saving Jewish lives, of children, in particular.

With the Italian capitulation in September 1943, the Nazis took direct control in Nice

and Cannes, and began hunting Jews. Moussa and Odette, who had joined him in Nice, went into action, picking up abandoned Jewish children whose parents had suddenly been arrested, or were themselves in hiding, and finding them secure hiding places. Monsignor Rémond supported Abadi's rescue operation by opening the doors of many Catholic institutions in his diocese for refugee children. He even allocated a secret room to manufacture false documents, such as new identity cards

and separate card indexes, with vital information on each of the hidden children: one index was for safe storage with the Red Cross in Geneva, the second index was for day-to-day work, and the third index was a reserve file, in case of the loss or unavailability of the second file. Children were first taken to a secret place, where they were drilled to replace their previous names and personal biographies with new ones.

In the meantime, the chase after Jews intensified. Four of the children hidden by the Abadis were discovered and deported. Odette was herself arrested in April 1944, and deported to Auschwitz, then to Bergen-Belsen, which she luckily survived. Back in Nice, Moussa Abadi continued the rescue operation almost alone. Immediately after the war, he gave the children's list to Jewish organizations, so they could be fetched and reunited with their families or loved ones. After marrying Odette, Moussa returned to his old interest, the theater, this time as a dramatic art critic on French radio where he hosted a special program for 22 years.

Abadi's spectacular rescue operation was all but forgotten until his name reappeared in stories of non-Jewish French rescuers awarded Yad Vashem's Righteous Among the Nations title. Before his death, several months ago, Moussa Abadi agreed to give Yad Vashem a copy of the card index in his possession for safekeeping and possible future exhibit, and Odette Abadi has recently reconfirmed her husband's commitment. It is hoped that with greater publicity from Yad Vashem, more children will come forward and identify themselves as former wards of this extraordinary couple. These were Jewish heroes in the best sense of the term, who decided to combat the Nazis by saving the lives of over 500 Jewish children, almost single-handedly.

*The author is the Director of the Department for the Righteous Among the Nations.*



*Odette and the late Moussa Abadi*

and baptismal certificates.

To cover their tracks, Moussa Abadi and Odette Rosenstock assumed new identities, and now appeared as Monsieur Marcel and Sylvie Delatre. Abadi also enlisted the assistance of Protestant pastors, while simultaneously cooperating with other clandestine Jewish networks operating in the area. Odette helped by making house calls at homes of host families, paying for the children's upkeep, and taking note of the children's health and care. Financial aid came through the Joint, OSE (Jewish children's organization) and the Quakers. During the rescue period, the "Marcel" network secured safe places for over 500 Jewish children in various public and private homes in the Cannes/Nice region.

To keep track of the numerous children under their care, the Abadis established three

 **U.S.A.**

The American Yad Vashem Society led by **Eli Zborowski** are at the height of activity in their efforts to raise a substantial amount of the third of the funds needed in the campaign, "Yad Vashem 2001" masterplan, led by **Joseph Wilf**. This follows the extremely successful annual dinner held in November, which had the largest attendance ever, with over 1000 guests. The honorees of this prestigious event, who received Remembrance Awards were President of the World Jewish Congress, **Edgar Bronfman**, and members of the Board of the American Society, **Jane and Mark Wilf**.

Chairman of the the American Society, **Eli Zborowski** explained, "The honoring of **Edgar Bronfman** and **Jane and Mark Wilf** personifies the commitment to Holocaust remembrance in different generations and on different levels of experience. **Edgar Bronfman** is a global ambassador for the Jewish community. With dignity and pride he represents Jewish interests and needs everywhere. In particular, he has clearly articulated the cause of remembrance by protecting the rights of survivors and their families. With **Jane and Mark Wilf** as honorees, we have concrete realization that the legacy of remembrance has tireless and excellent devotees. **Mark** is the son of survivors **Elizabeth and Joseph Wilf**, themselves outstanding in their commitment to remembrance. At the dinner, world renowned architect **Moshe Safdie** presented the model of the new museum complex and the Visitors' Center - *Mevoah* whose foundations were laid last October at Yad Vashem in the presence of **Fela and David Shappel**, close friends of Yad Vashem and major supporters of the new Center. A prestigious dinner in the couple's honor was held in Jerusalem that same week by the Chairman **Eli Zborowski** and a delegation of the **American Society**.

At the dinner, Minister of Finance **Yaakov Neeman** promised, "The Government of Israel has agreed to put up significant funds for

"Yad Vashem 2001" masterplan, although we're going through cuts in the budget. This project is one of the very few which was not touched." The Mayor of Jerusalem **Ehud Olmert** commented, "Yad Vashem is one of the most important sites, not only in Jerusalem, but in the universe, because it is a constant reminder for all of us of our history, of our pain in the past, of the terrible things the Jewish people had to go through. It is also a source of great promise for the future because there is no other way that we can lay the foundations of our future if not by remembering this darkest and most painful period."



*Presentation of Young Leadership Remembrance Award by Avner Shalev to Jane and Mark Wilf*



*At the stone-laying ceremony of the Visitors' Center. From L. to R.: Eli Zborowski, Fela and David Shappel and their Family, Avner Shalev and Yosef Burg*

 **Canada**

At the **Canadian Society's** annual dinner, the guest speaker, the Honorable **Michael Harris**, Premier of Ontario, spoke of his visit to Yad Vashem with his family and how deeply it affected him. At the dinner, tribute was paid to the Righteous Among the Nations, and a medal was presented by **Avner Shalev**, Chairman of the Yad Vashem Directorate, to members of the **Hamstra** family, who came from all over Canada, the United States and the Netherlands. Premier **Harris** praised the courage of the parents in saving the young **Flora Lirtzman** from certain death. At the dinner, emotions ran high as **Ms. Lirtzman** was reunited with members of the **Hamstra** family.

**Dorothy Kwantes**, the eldest daughter of the **Hamstras**, described how her mother saved **Flora's** life when the Nazis hunted down Jews. She placed **Flora** in bed with her own two-year-old son **Hank**, and pinned a notice on the door, "Diphtheria" which kept the Nazis away. **Flora**, who spoke at the dinner, opened with the prayer *Shehecheyanu*, thanking the Lord for keeping her alive and thus being able to provide testimony, and that were it not for the **Hamstras**, she would not be here, mother and grandmother to three children and eight grandchildren.

Candles were lit by the **Hamstra** and **Lirtzman families** for the Righteous Among the Nations, for the armed forces by Attorney General of Ontario, **Charles Harnick** and for world peace by Premier **Harris** and his family.

On the occasion of **Leslie Dan's** marriage to **Anna**, **Avner Shalev** presented them with a mezuzah on behalf of the Yad Vashem Directorate in Jerusalem.



*At the Canadian Society's annual dinner. From L. to R.: Anna and Leslie Dan and Premier of Ontario Michael Harris*

## Great Britain

**John and Hertha Najmann**, prominent members of the executive committee of **National Yad Vashem Charitable Trust in England**, led by **Ben Helfgott**, have generously supported Yad Vashem's Annual Educational Awards. These awards will be in memory of **John's** parents.

In addition, the Trust held a joint two-day seminar in association with the Imperial War Museum in January. The Trust will also be holding a series of lectures, amongst others, **Professor Cezeranni** on the Wansee Conference fifty-five years later, and **Professor Peter Pultzer** -- sixty years after Anschluss.

## Holland

One of the project of "Yad Vashem 2001" is to establish a new, comprehensive computer network for the Yad Vashem database. Brothers **Paul and Jan Baan** from the Netherlands, world leaders in business software applications and computer consultations for companies in the hybrid manufacturing, automotive, electronics, process and heavy equipment project service industries, have guaranteed to help Yad Vashem in achieving this aim. They have pledged major support in the finance and technical application of the computer project. **The Dutch Society**, led by **G.A. Rodrigues Pereira** is currently in the process of reorganization and renewing its activities.



Brothers Paul and Jan Baan with Simcha Salach in the Valley of the Communities

## Israel

**Avraham Bachri** from the Israeli firm **Rav Bariah** recently supported Yad Vashem's efforts to rescue the art of the Holocaust.

## Norway

The **Norwegian Society**, led by **Herman Kahan** has been very active and is currently involved in the preparation of a complete list of Norwegian Jewry murdered in the Holocaust, and lists of Righteous Among the Nations to be presented to Yad Vashem on completion. The society is continuing its support of educational projects within the framework of "Yad Vashem 2001" masterplan. In addition, they are advancing the project of establishing in Norway a memorial for Norwegian Jewry who perished in the Holocaust.

## Germany

The **German Society**, led by **Dr. Ansgar Koschel** is continuing to build itself up since its establishment in April '97, and currently numbers sixty members. Recently the Society was honored by the joining of the Prime Minister of Nordenwestfalia, **Johannes Rau**, who will serve as the Society's Honorary President. One of its first projects is the production and translation of Yad Vashem's prizewinning CD-ROM: "The Return to Life" into German. The Society will also be planning joint commemorative activities and projects with the Berlin Jewish community.

Published by:



Yad Vashem יָד וָשֵׁם

The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority

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**Chairman of the Directorate:** Avner Shalev  
**Vice Chairman of the Directorate:** Johanan Bein  
**Secretary General:** Ishai Amrami  
**Head of the International Institute:** Professor Yehuda Bauer  
**Chief Historian:** Professor Yisrael Gutman  
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# Yad Vashem *new*

## PUBLICATIONS AND EVENTS

### GOLDHAGEN AT YAD VASHEM

Daniel Goldhagen's book, *Hitler's Willing Executioners* has ignited a storm of controversy throughout the world since its publication. Its recent translation into Hebrew has provoked a lively discussion in Israel. Yad Vashem's fortnightly academic forum, consisting of approximately thirty researchers, hosted the American professor last November. This session was closed to the press in order to allow a free and uninhibited exchange of ideas, criticisms and comments from all the participants. Praise for the book was heard from most of the participants for its catalytic effect in generating discussions about major issues, such as the issue of antisemitism



during the Holocaust. Criticism, however, was voiced about certain viewpoints, claims and methodological approaches in the researcher's work. Goldhagen complimented the forum on the civilized manner in which he and the book were received.

### BUCHMAN PRIZE

The annual Jacob Buchman Memorial Prize, in memory of his wife Esther, and his daughter Hannale, was bestowed on two historians. Professor Saul Friedlander was awarded the prize for his invaluable contribution to the field of Holocaust studies and for his book, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*. Israel Prize recipient, Professor Saul Friedlander has published thirty works on the Holocaust. His book, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, the first of a series, was praised by the judges for its essential contribution to the understanding of the pre-war years from Hitler's rise to power to the outbreak of the Second World War. Dr. Sara Bender received the prize for her book, *Mul Mavet Orev (Facing Death) 1939-1943: The Jews in Bialystok* (which is soon to be translated into English). Dr. Bender's work presents the local history of Bialystok, one of the larger communities in Poland. This insight into a local community sheds light on wider questions facing historians of the Shoah and of this pre-war Polish Jewish community.

### NEW PUBLICATIONS

by Alisa Lehrer



Kater, Michael H., *The Twisted Muse, Musicians and their Music in the Third Reich*, Oxford University Press, New York: 1997, 327 pp.

*The Twisted Muse* is a vivid and detailed portrayal of German musicians who had to earn a living as artists under Nazi rule. The book questions the musicians' innocence, examines the social and political nature of the music and the propagandistic manipulation of their music in the Third Reich. Kater implies that the music served the needs of Nazi Fascist ideology and that musicians emerged severely tainted in May 1945.



Weisberg, Richard H., *Vichy Law and the Holocaust in France*, published for the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism (SICSA), The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, New York

University Press, New York: 1996, 447 pp.

Weisberg, in his empirical, in-depth study of the Vichy legal system, exposes the twisted legal logic of the Vichy regime. He explains the pervasive willingness of the French legal profession to promulgate, authorize and implement persecutory laws against the Jews. He believes that, in addition to virulent antisemitism, the belief that the Jew was unalterably different from the Frenchman because of his allegiance to the Talmud and not to French law, contributed towards legalizing the persecution of the Jews.

### EVENTS OCTOBER-DECEMBER

**October 9** - A ceremony and fifty-sixth annual memorial was held for the massacre at Babi Yar. The ceremony was held in the presence of Chief Rabbi Israel Meir Lau; Ukrainian Ambassador to Israel, Olexandr Maidannyk; Chairman of the Yad Vashem Directorate Avner Shalev; Chairman of the Association of Ukrainians in Israel and the ceremony's coordinator Moshe Lainer, and representatives of the Ministry of Absorption and the Jewish Agency. The ceremony was attended by hundreds of survivors from the Ukraine.

**October 19** - An English production of the play "Across the Bridge" appeared in the Yad Vashem auditorium. Dalia Friedland of Israel and Anna Cropper of England performed. The play, based on a true story, depicts the reunion of two Holocaust survivors fifty years later. One of the survivors, Trude Levi, arrived from England especially for the play.

**November 12** - The play "Shadow Children", by Ben-Zion Tomer, directed by Gadi Zedaka, was performed in the Yad Vashem auditorium before an audience composed of high school students, teachers and Holocaust survivors. The play confronts Sigmund, a former member of a *Judenrat*, with Yoram, a young Holocaust refugee, in the reality of 1950s Israel.

**December 21** - A memorial ceremony marking the fifty-sixth anniversary of the massacre of Bogdanovka was held in the presence of Israeli soldiers and survivors from Romania and the Ukraine. Avner Shalev spoke at the ceremony, along with Esther Pasker Gelbelman, who provided her testimony. A skit written by Nathan Muchnik was presented, and a chorus of new immigrants living in Yeruham, performed. Sections of the film "A Hell Called Transnistria" were shown, along with photographs of the Bogdanovka killing site as it is today. Testimonies of local residents were included.

### HOLOCAUST REMEMBRANCE DAY

Within the framework of the State of Israel's fiftieth anniversary, the central topic of Holocaust Remembrance Day 1998 will be "The Integration of Holocaust Survivors and their Contribution to the Creation of the State of Israel". The next issue, due out in April, just before Holocaust Remembrance Day, will address various aspects of this theme.

For further information, please call:  
972-2-6751614.