

MARTYRDOM & RESISTANCE



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The American & International Societies for Yad Vashem Annual Tribute Dinner

The 60th Anniversary of Yad Vashem Tribute Dinner held on November 16th was a very memorable evening. We were honored to present Mr. Sigmund Rolat with the Yad Vashem Remembrance Award. Mr. Rolat is a survivor who has dedicated his life to supporting Yad Vashem and to restoring the place of Polish Jewry in world history. He was instrumental in establishing the newly opened Museum of the History of Polish Jews in Warsaw.

We were gratified by the extensive turnout, which included many representatives of the second and third generations. With inspiring addresses from honoree Zigmund A. Rolat and Chairman of the Yad Vashem Council Rabbi Israel Meir Lau — the dinner marked the 60th Anniversary of Yad Vashem. The program was presided over by dinner chairman Mark Moskowitz, with the Chairman of the American Society for Yad Vashem Leonard A. Wilf giving opening remarks.

SIGMUND A. ROLAT:

“YAD VASHEM ENSHRINES THE MILLIONS THAT WERE LOST”

We are often called – and even sometimes accused of – being obsessed with memory. The Torah calls on us repeatedly and commandingly: *Zakhor* – Remember. Even the least religious among us observe this particular mitzvah – a true cornerstone of our identity: *Zakhor* – Remember – and logically *L'dor V'dor* – From generation to generation.

The American Society for Yad Vashem has chosen to honor me with the Yad Vashem Remembrance Award. I am deeply grateful and moved to receive this honor.

A great writer, Milos Kundera, had written that the struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting. Yad Vashem is fighting that struggle — against the power of hatred and death. It protects, it cherishes, and it bears the memories of the survivors. It condemns the perpetrators and embraces the victims. For many of them a record in Yad Vashem is the only trace of their existence, for not only they have been killed, but so have all those who could remember them. Yad Vashem enshrines the millions that were



Chairman of the American Society for Yad Vashem Leonard A. Wilf presents honoree Sigmund A. Rolat with the Yad Vashem Remembrance Award. They are joined by Barry Rubenstein, trustee and Mark Moskowitz, dinner chair.

lost — enshrines them not as numbers but as individuals.

Beyond my gratitude for being recognized here tonight, there is a deeper gratefulness to Yad Vashem for its tireless effort to resist forgetfulness and perpetuate memory. For that is exactly what my older brother Jerzyk told me in November 1943 when I was hiding in an attic after the big ghetto in Czestochowa was liquidated. Jerzyk was leaving with five other young friends to fight the Germans — he was the youngest, he was 18 years old. As he embraced me one last time, he told me to remember all I saw — *MUSISZ ZAPAMIETAC!* — *Zakhor*. Those

were the last words I heard him say.

I remembered those words and they guided me throughout my life, but especially in the last few years. And just last month in a moving and glittering ceremony in Warsaw, the president of Poland and the president of Israel helped us open the Museum of the History of Polish Jews, where our rich 1,000-year history is painstakingly and beautifully showcased and preserved for future generations. But nowhere are my brother's last words to me more evident than in my dedication to and support of Yad Vashem.

IN THIS ISSUE

The American Society for Yad Vashem Annual Tribute Dinner.....	1, 8-9, 16
Claims Conference weighs shutting down vs. Holocaust education.....	2
The Holocaust's foremost unsung hero.....	3
The Nazi doctor who got away with mass murder.....	4
The day a Holocaust survivor got revenge on his tormentor.....	5
In eye of Nazi storm, Dutch Jews found unlikely refuge.....	6
Lawyers make case for giving Iraqi Jews Holocaust benefits.....	7
Holocaust experts work to preserve WWII-era items.....	10
“Sobbing at their own funeral”.....	10
The cyclist who saved Jews in wartime Italy.....	11

CLAIMS CONFERENCE WEIGHS SHUTTING DOWN VS. HOLOCAUST EDUCATION

BY URIEL HEILMAN,
THE TIMES OF ISRAEL

A special panel tasked with examining the governance and strategic vision of the Claims Conference is recommending that the organization shift its long-term focus to Holocaust education and remembrance.

The panel was appointed last year following a scandal involving the Claims Conference's failure to detect a \$57 million fraud scheme there that persisted until 2009. It also recommended cutting in half the size of the board's executive committee and the number of special board committees.

The special panel did not, however, recommend any changes to the composition of the Claims Conference's board.

Consisting of board members and outside experts and guided by Accenture consultants, the special panel was charged with reviewing the administration, management and governance structure of the Claims Conference, which obtains Holocaust restitution and compensation from Germany and Austria. The central question the panel examined was what the Claims Conference should do after the last of the survivors dies.

Three possible courses of action were given serious consideration: shutting down; funding education and remembrance projects; or shifting its focus to general Jewish educational programming, helping victims of other genocides obtain restitution or preserving Jewish cultural sites in the former Soviet Union.

Given the Claims Conference's successes at convincing Germany to increase its funding for survivors, the panel concluded that "to close down without attempting to leverage its position and significant experience in the service of Holocaust education and remembrance would be to miss a major opportunity."

In an interview with JTA, the Claims Conference's chief executive, Greg Schneider, emphasized that Holocaust education isn't new to the Claims Conference: The organization currently funds education and remembrance to the tune of \$18 million per year with money obtained from the sale of unclaimed Jewish properties in the former East Germany.

"The Claims Conference has always dealt with the consequences of the *Shoah*," Schneider said of the board's mandate for the organization.

"When that meant direct payments to survivors, we did that. When that meant rebuilding communities, we did that. When that meant home care [for elderly survivors], we did that. Educating people about the *Shoah* and confronting Holocaust denial all deal with consequences of the *Shoah*. To be faithful to our mandate,

we should continue to do that. And we are uniquely qualified to do so."

The new vision for the Claims Conference hinges on the organization's ability to get material support for it from the perpetrators of the Holocaust — namely Germany, but also Austria and companies complicit in the Nazi genocide. If that funding cannot be secured, the Claims

The debate about what to do about the Claims Conference once the last of the survivors dies is not new. Established in 1951 to secure compensation and restitution from Germany, the Claims Conference has negotiated successfully for an estimated \$70 billion for survivors and survivor needs over the course of its existence.



Claims Conference representatives meet with German officials during Holocaust restitution negotiations in Israel in 2013.

Conference should go out of business once there are no survivors left, Schneider said.

"If we're unable to get money from perpetrator governments, and the survivors have all died, we should close down," he said. "We should not try to reinvent ourselves into something else."

Stuart Eizenstat, a lead Claims Conference negotiator and special assistant to Secretary of State John Kerry on Holocaust issues, said he's optimistic about getting Germany to support the proposed new focus, noting that the country already does so through mandatory Holocaust education in German schools.

"There's every reason to think that they would be supportive of this," Eizenstat said. "After all the survivors are gone, this is the right thing to do."

Though survivors are dying, their overall need for aid actually is rising because of their growing infirmity and relative poverty. The Claims Conference estimates that survivor needs will peak in about two or three years, followed by a progressive decline.

Globally there are an estimated 500,000 living Nazi victims — a category that includes not just survivors of concentration camps, ghettos and slave labor camps, but also those forced to flee the Nazi onslaught or compelled to go into hiding, or who endured certain other forms of persecution. About half are expected to die in the next seven or eight years, according to a new demographic assessment that was part of the special panel's work, and survivors of some kind or another are expected to be around for another 20 to 25 years.

Most of that money has come directly from Germany in the form of pensions and compensation payments, with the Claims Conference acting only as the processor of payments and verifier of claims. As each survivor dies, these payments cease.

The Claims Conference also has a bucket of discretionary funding: billions generated from the sale of heirless Jewish property from the former East Germany. But that bucket, known as the Successor Organization, is expected to run dry by 2020 at its current allocation rate of about \$118 million to groups that aid survivors and \$18 million to Holocaust education and remembrance.

In 2004, the Claims Conference managed to get Germany to begin to fund a new area: home care for survivors, including food, transportation and medical care. Berlin has steadily increased the amount of money it provides the program, from \$42 million in 2009 to \$190 million in 2013. Last year Germany agreed to another \$800 million in funding through 2017.

If the Claims Conference board adopts the new plan, the question for Claims Conference negotiators is whether they'll be able to get Germany to move into another new area — one that, unlike aid to aging survivors, has no particular expiration date.

"I believe the goodwill is there," said Julius Berman, the Claims Conference's chairman. "Their issue is more in terms of budget rather than concept. If we do a correct job to explain the need, I think we'll have a receptive audience on the other side."

NAZI HUNTER IDENTIFIES FORMER GUARDS

The Simon Wiesenthal Center has identified dozens of former members of Nazi mobile death squads who might still be alive, and is pushing the German government for an investigation.

The Wiesenthal Center's top Nazi hunter, Efraim Zuroff, told the AP that in September he sent the German justice and interior ministries a list of 76 men and four women who served in the so-called *Einsatzgruppen*.

The *Einsatzgruppen*, made up of primarily SS and police personnel, followed Nazi Germany's troops as they battled their way eastward in the early years of the war, rounding up and shooting Jews in the opening salvo of the Holocaust before the death camp system was up and running.

According to the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, they had killed more than a million Soviet Jews and tens of thousands of others by spring 1943.

"In the death camps the actual act of murder was carried out by a very small number of people — the people who put the gas into the gas chambers — but the actual act of murder in the *Einsatzgruppen* was carried out individually," Zuroff said. "Almost every person in the *Einsatzgruppen* was a murderer, a hands-on murderer."

Zuroff narrowed down the list of possible suspects by choosing the youngest from a list of some 1,100 with dates of birth known to his organization, out of the estimated 3,000 members of the death squads.

All 80, born between 1920 and 1924, would be very old if still alive, Zuroff said.

"Time is running out," he said in a telephone interview from Jerusalem. "Something has to be done."

Because of Germany's strict privacy laws, the Wiesenthal Center has been unable to confirm where the suspects live, but Zuroff said that task, and determining if they're still alive, should be relatively easy for police or prosecutors.

Meantime, he said, his office is willing to assist in any way possible in coming up with evidence or other details.

"The hope is that as many as possible will be alive, but there's no guarantee, obviously," he said. "But every person alive today is a victory of sorts."

Germany's Interior Ministry had no immediate comment, but the Justice Ministry said it had passed the details of the letter to the special federal prosecutors' office that investigates Nazi-era crimes.

A handful of *Einsatzgruppen* members were tried and convicted after the war, but most have gone unpunished.

Kurt Schrimm, the head of the special federal prosecutors' office, said that they could now be prosecuted under new German legal theory that service in a Nazi unit whose sole purpose was murder is enough to convict someone of being an accessory to murder — even without evidence of participation in a specific crime, as had previously been required.

THE HOLOCAUST'S FOREMOST UNSUNG HERO

Moshe Kraus was behind one of the largest rescue operations of the Holocaust. Using his wits, initiative and unparalleled courage, Kraus saved between 40,000 and 100,000 of Budapest's Jews. So why has no one ever heard of him?

BY EMILY AMROUSI, ISRAEL HAYOM

In 1986, a 78-year-old man named Moshe Kraus died in Jerusalem. You probably don't recognize the name. He was never commemorated in any way. He is not mentioned in any Holocaust encyclopedias. But Moshe Kraus is responsible for the largest rescue operation during the Holocaust, on a huge scale. German industrialist Oskar Schindler, with his resourcefulness and courage, managed to save 1,200 Jews; Kraus saved tens of thousands.

Historians are divided on the exact number, but the most conservative estimate talks about at least 40,000 people, and some estimates are even as high as 100,000 Jews who escaped the Nazis in Hungary thanks to this daring man.

The year is 1944. The Nazis are stepping up the pace and sending more and more Jews to their deaths in efforts to quickly complete the extermination of Hungary's Jewry. A spacious glass factory located at 29 Vadasz Street in Budapest is granted extraterritorial status under the auspices of Switzerland. Some 3,000 Jews barricaded themselves inside this building, dubbed the Glass House, for three months.

More and more homes in Budapest are turned into Swiss "safe houses," barring entry to Germans and the local complicit Hungarian authorities, and housing thousands of Jews. The Swiss embassy grants 40,000 Jews certificates making them foreign Swiss nationals. Tens of thousands of additional documents are forged while the Swiss turn a blind eye. Young, brave Jews disguised as Nazi officers roam the streets handing out these documents to Jews, and all of this is orchestrated by Kraus.

Among the Glass House survivors are many prominent Jews, including Moshe Shkedi, the father of former commander of the Israeli Air Force Major General Eliezer Shkedi. "My father lived because of the Glass House," Shkedi says. "His parents and all his brothers were murdered. The important message is that not only Christians saved Jews during the Holocaust. Jews also managed to save thousands."

The story of the Glass House is one of the most fascinating historical events of that era. Much like the man behind the operation, Kraus, this event has somehow evaded public attention and never received the recognition it deserved.

A MATHEMATICAL TRICK

For Hungary's Jews, the Holocaust started long after

Europe's skies became saturated with smoke from crematoriums. Some 20,000 Jews who fled the Nazis in occupied countries sought refuge in Budapest, which was considered safe. But in March 1944, after the German invasion of Hungary, the Nazis began sending Jews from outlying Hungarian towns to extermination camps in Poland. Within the span of eight weeks, about half a million Jews from the Hungarian periphery were sent to their deaths, at a pace of about 12,000 per day. Entire communities were wiped out, one after another.

In April 1944, two Slovakian Jewish prisoners managed to escape from Auschwitz. Rudolf Vrba and Alfred Wetzler met with the head of the Slovak Jewish Council, Oscar Krasniansky, and gave him a detailed account of what was happening at the death camp. Krasniansky translated their account and compiled a 32-page report (the "Auschwitz Protocols") providing, for the first time, accurate and detailed information on the methods and dimensions of the Nazi extermination efforts. Vrba and Wetzler said that at that point 1.75 million people had been killed at Auschwitz, and that the camp was preparing for the arrival of 800,000 Hungarian Jews, slated to be killed.

By the end of May that year, Moshe (Miklush) Kraus had gotten his hands on Vrba and Wetzler's report. Kraus was one of the heads of the Zionist movement in Hungary and he directed the Palestine Office in Budapest. He added his own report to the Auschwitz Protocols detailing the transport and extermination of the Jews in the outlying Hungarian towns. The report named every individual from every city and district. He then did everything in his power to disseminate the two reports.

These documents made their way to the regent of the Kingdom of Hungary, Miklos Horthy, and to all the important political figures in Hungary. An international news agency picked up the story and distributed it, and the reports created quite a stir in Switzerland. Swiss public opinion applied enormous pressure on Horthy. The pope, U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Swedish King Gustaf V all sent letters of protest to Budapest. Roosevelt's letter to Horthy included a military threat. As a result, Horthy put a stop to the deportation of Jews.

Between July and October of that year, before Horthy was deposed and the Arrow Cross Party rose to power, Kraus gave his all to try to include as many Jews as possible in the mathe-

matical trick he had devised with the help of the Swiss. How did so many thousands of Jews manage to evade the Nazis' awareness? At the core, it was a feat of bureaucratic sleight of hand on a massive scale.

At the time, a British-issued immigration certificate, simply referred to as a "certificate," granting entry to Palestine, was viewed as a protective shield. Anyone in possession of such a certificate was considered a British citizen protected by the Swiss legation in Hungary, because Switzerland represented Britain's diplomatic interests in Hungary at the time. At the end



Moshe Kraus.

of 1943, the Hungarian government recognized the rights of 1,500 holders of such certificates.

Kraus, together with other Palestine Office workers, approached Swiss diplomat Carl Lutz, who was stationed in Budapest as vice-consul and headed the office that represented British interests. Lutz was sympathetic to the Jews, having served in the Swiss consulate in Jaffa. He and Kraus had the idea to turn the 1,500 individual certificates into family certificates, including the families of 1,500 Jews in these protective documents — 7,800 people in all.

A month and a half after the Nazi occupation, when ghettos were at their peak in the outlying towns, Kraus and Lutz, with the help of anti-Nazi Hungarian foreign office workers, thought up yet another manipulation: They turned the 7,800 certificates back into individual documents, applying them to families as well, allowing them to save about 40,000 people, all of whom now possessed immigration documents issued by Switzerland. The International Red Cross, Britain and Switzerland recognized the 40,000 documents. The Nazis officially recognized only 7,800, but Kraus continued his efforts to get Nazi recognition for the full 40,000.

"The wait (for a reply) was long, and we didn't know the reason," Kraus wrote in an article, "until we found out something very strange: Someone had informed the German legation that the 7,800 documents applied to individuals, not families. That someone was one of us — Dr. Kastner."

Lutz gave the certificate holders protective passports or "Schutz-Passes" — which identified the bear-

ers as Swedish subjects awaiting repatriation and thus prevented their deportation. The documents issued by the Swiss consulate in Budapest stated that the Swiss embassy's department of foreign interests confirms that so and so appears in a collective Swiss passport, and should be treated as having a valid passport. The collective passport included tens of thousands of names. In order to disguise the fraud, Lutz numbered the individuals in question between 1 and 7,800 — the number that had already been approved by the local authorities.

Five hundred Glass House employees who handled these documents were made into Swiss embassy employees, enjoying all the consular benefits: they were exempt from wearing the yellow star, and some of them were allowed to use the embassy vehicles and the consular telephone as part of their "consular" work. Kraus himself traveled in a car bearing the Swiss flag, driven by a Swiss driver.

The Swiss consulate in Budapest was too small to take on such an enormous operation. Arthur Weiss, the Jewish owner of the Glass House, gave Kraus the keys to his enormous factory, and Lutz issued Swiss diplomatic immunity to the building. A Swiss flag was hung at the entrance. "I chose the Glass House because I feared that there would be a lot more trouble and I knew that this building could hold a lot of Jews in a time of need," Kraus wrote years later.

STEPPING UP THE RESCUE EFFORTS

In October 1944, Horthy is deposed and the Pro-Nazi Arrow Cross Party takes power. A ghetto is established in Budapest, and all the city's Jews between the ages of 16 and 40, excluding foreign nationals, are told to report to work camps. Hungary's national radio station announces three times a day that individuals holding Swiss documents are exempt from reporting for duty and can move freely during all hours of the day (Jews were forbidden from exiting their houses for more than two hours each day).

Thousands of Hungarian Jews clamored to the Glass House in search of Swiss papers, including Jews already slated to cross the border into Germany. A photo taken by an unknown photographer during that time depicts masses of people crowding the building's doors holding out their arms.

Lutz and Kraus step up their rescue efforts. Beyond the 40,000 certificates, now tens of thousands are issued forged documents, printed both inside the Glass House and elsewhere on paper stolen from the same printing house that printed the valid documents for the Swiss. The documents provide a sense of security, but

(Continued on page 12)



BOOK REVIEWS

JEWISH PARTISANS OF THE SOVIET UNION DURING WORLD WAR II

Jewish Partisans of the Soviet Union during World War II.

Compiled and edited by Dr. Jack Nusan Porter with the assistance of Yehuda Merin. The Spencer Press: Newtonville, Massachusetts, 2013. 624 pp. \$34.95 softcover.

REVIEWED BY DR. DIANE CYPKIN

In this absorbing two-part compendium, *Jewish Partisans of the Soviet Union during World War II*, compiled and edited by Dr. Jack Nusan Porter, we have an admirable first-person sourcebook. In other words, the articles offered here are not written by people who heard about others or heard about events. Rather, each and every writer knows of what he or she writes, because they actually lived and experienced it! Moreover, most interestingly, we immediately learn that the first part of this volume is itself a historic document. Originally published in Russian, it was quickly put together not long after the war ended. Its purpose: to prove to a stubbornly paranoid Stalin, become comfortable in showing his brutal anti-Semitic side, how faithful and, in fact, devoted the Jews of Russia had been to the Soviet Union and to him during the war. Hence, hopefully (and as it turned out, impossibly), the eradication of Stalin's anti-Semitic thoughts and actions! Because of this vital life-and-death purpose, most all the articles here were written by non-Jews, further confirming their objective reportage.

Thus, in this first part, we read about Jews who led partisan groups. One

such leader was partisan commander Siedelnikov. During the war his group "blew up scores of German transports, and wiped out enemy garrisons." "In one of his brilliant operations, Seidelnikov succeeded in releasing some two hundred and fifty Red Army POWs from enemy camps." We read about Israel Lapidot, another Jewish leader whose company "derailed twenty-one trains full of German troops, laid fourteen ambushes, and accounted for hundreds of dead Germans." They additionally "destroyed their [German] bases, and put the *Ossipovichi-Minsk* railway tracks out of commission." We read about Jewish doctors with the partisans, like Dr. Melchior, who worked tirelessly to save his patients, and even went so far as to secure medicines for them — an unbelievable feat! We read about devoted and fearless Jewish nurses like Dossia Baskina. She "was not only a medical nurse" among the partisans "but also a dauntless and expert saboteur. She took part in blowing up sixteen enemy convoys."

Especially remarkable is the information offered in this section about the Jewish filmmaker Michael Moshe Glieder. Glieder held a highly responsible leadership position among the partisans, determinedly and courageously carrying out sabotage mis-

sions and taking part in the "blowing up of ten enemy convoys." Concomitantly, his devotion to documenting it all with his trusty camera — most always by his side — was no less! Because of that last, he snapped singular combat images. Between one mission and another, Glieder also "filmed the everyday life of the company." In sum "he succeeded in shooting some four thousand pictures." After the war, "his photographs were integrated" into a number of films, including *The Popular Avengers*, for which he received the coveted Stalin Award!

In the second part of this book Porter presents us with material gathered more recently, and focuses more specifically on "a particular region of Volynia, Ukraine, the partisans and the family camp in the area of *Horodok, Manievich, Lishnivka, Kamin-Kashirsk, Rafalovka, Griva and Povorsk.*" Much more of the material here is written by Jews. Porter's parents and many of their friends were partisans here. Indeed, contained in this section is Porter's interview with his father and mother.

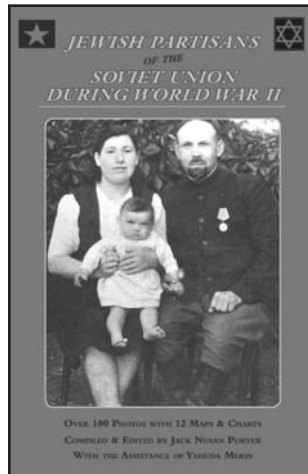
Here we learn about exactly what happened when the bloodthirsty Germans came to his parents' hometown of *Manievich*; how "the Ukrainian population gave them a festive welcome"; the brutal actions

taken against the Jews by the Germans, helped by eager Ukrainian collaborators; and the terror and "unbelievableness" of it all to the Jews of this town. On the other hand, we also read about those Jews that miraculously escaped this hell; how they ran into the forests; how they eventually became part of partisan groups; the anti-Semitism found among mixed partisan groups; how difficult it was to live in the forest, what with the lack of food and the terrible, relentless cold; and how hard these Jews fought, regardless of the odds, to take revenge and, most importantly, to survive!

Particularly fascinating here is the material about the Kruk Division (a partisan company led by the enigmatic man Kruk), along with the family camp attached to it. They creatively and fearlessly made mines from the gunpowder in "huge artillery shells" left by the Germans. One false move could cost one or more limbs, or death . . . and, sadly, sometimes did! We learn that Porter's father, Irving Porter (Yisroel Puchtik) was "in charge of this project along with twenty other men."

Jewish Partisans concludes with a section containing many interesting maps, partisan documents, historic photos, and a marvelous "annotated bibliography on Jewish resistance and related topics." In short, this book will interest any and all students of the Holocaust.

Dr. Cypkin is a Professor of Media, Communication, and Visual Arts at Pace University.



THE NAZI DOCTOR WHO GOT AWAY WITH MASS MURDER

The Eternal Nazi: From Mauthausen to Cairo, the Relentless Pursuit of SS Doctor Aribert Heim.

By Nicholas Kulish and Souad Mekhennet. Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group: New York, NY, 2014. 336 pp. \$16.95 paperback.

REVIEWED BY DAVID MIKICS

The Eternal Nazi tells the gripping story of the hunt for Aribert Heim, and the German detective who relentlessly pursued him.

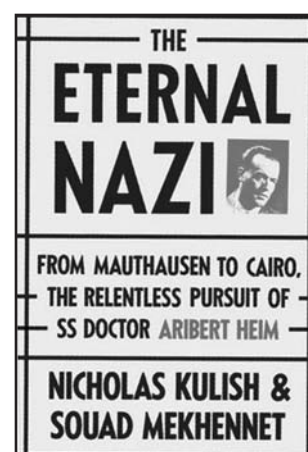
"Everything would have been different if I had come from a happy home with people who cared about me," Josef Mengele wrote in the 500-page autobiography discovered after his death. Mengele's autobiography offers a disturbing spectacle: the pathetic whining of a pampered, sadistic murderer, interlaced with sermons on racial superiority and odd little drawings of bunnies and wooden cabinets. Mengele is a prime case of the perpetrator's urge to see himself as a sufferer, a common syndrome among war criminals. In Auschwitz he was a petty god dis-

pensing death; after the war, he became a weakling.

When Mengele drowned in 1979 while swimming off the coast of Brazil, he became the most famous Nazi to escape judgment for his crimes. But there was another Nazi fugitive who lasted much longer: Aribert Heim, who like Mengele was both a doctor and a genocidal killer. Tall, athletic and good-looking, Heim served in 1942 and 1943 in the Austrian concentration camp *Mauthausen*, where inmates called him "Dr. Death." After the war, he played for a time on a German hockey team in *Bad Nauheim*, then became a successful gynecologist in *Baden-Baden*, and finally escaped to Egypt, where, after living in solitude for years and then converting to Islam, he died in 1992. Most of the Third Reich's evildoers lived undisturbed, comfortable lives in postwar Germany. Heim too might

have escaped the net of justice had he not drawn attention to himself by fleeing from the *Bundesrepublik*, whose citizens were all too eager to gloss over his crimes.

Nicholas Kulish and Souad Mekhennet tell Heim's story in *The*



Eternal Nazi: From Mauthausen to Cairo, the Relentless Pursuit of SS Doctor Aribert Heim, and it's a horrifying one. Heim apparently enjoyed injecting gasoline directly into the hearts of inmates, especially Jews. Sometimes he would cut off the head of a corpse and, after baking the flesh off, give the skull to a friend or display it as a trophy. He once told a

12-year-old Jewish boy, before giving him a fatal injection, that his death was merited because the Jews had started the war.

When Kulish and Mekhennet traveled to Cairo to investigate Heim's life and death there, they found a brief-

case stuffed with his memorabilia, including travel brochures, old photographs, and sketches Heim had made of his medical condition. In the briefcase they discovered a long article in which Heim, excited like many anti-Semites by Arthur Koestler's book *The Thirteenth Tribe*, argued that the Jews were really descendants of the Khazars and therefore, somehow, did not exist — and that therefore anti-Semitism didn't exist either. If the Jewish people were a "colossal hoax," as Heim insisted, then their claims against Germany must also be a fraud, and "anti-Semitism will have no meaning," since the Jews are not Semites.

In other writings found in the briefcase, Heim compared himself to Menachem Begin, who was about to become Israel's prime minister. Heim complained that he was being persecuted by his fellow countrymen, rather than honored for his service to his homeland like Begin, who had also killed innocents. Throughout his final years in Egypt, Heim wrote occasion-

(Continued on page 14)

THE DAY A HOLOCAUST SURVIVOR GOT REVENGE ON HIS TORMENTOR

BY MARTIN GREENFIELD

He survived the savagery of the Holocaust, made it to America with barely a penny and became a world-famous tailor in Brooklyn, dressing celebrities and presidents. In his new memoir, *Measure of a Man*, Martin Greenfield tells the story of his extraordinary life. In this excerpt, he explains how the concentration camps nearly stripped him of his humanity at age 16 — and the day he got it back.

While at *Buchenwald*, the SS assigned me to work in the munitions factory. But early one morning after roll call, a soldier placed me on a 12-prisoner team to perform repairs outside the camp in nearby *Weimar*.

Working in the city was a welcome distraction from camp life. Sometimes you got lucky and spotted a potato in a field or smuggled a trinket to trade for food. Either way, it was a chance to see the sky, escape the stench of rotting corpses, and confirm that there was still a world beyond the barbed wire.

We loaded our gear and marched the few miles to *Weimar*. The soldiers stopped us in front of a bombed-out mansion, home to the mayor of *Weimar*. A big black Mercedes sat out front. The soldiers commanded us to sift the rubble, clear the debris, and begin repairs on the mansion.

I walked alone to the back of the estate to assess the damage. Dusty piles of broken bricks lay scattered across the yard. Seeing the cellar door ajar, I slowly opened it. A shaft of sunlight filled the dank cellar. On one side of the space sat a wooden cage wrapped in chicken wire. I walked closer and noticed two quivering rabbits inside the cage.

"They're still alive!" I said to myself with surprise.

Inside the cage were the remains of the rabbits' dinner. I unlatched the cage and pulled out a wilted leaf and carrot nub. The lettuce was browning and slimy, the carrot still moist from the rabbits' gnawing. Excited, I wolfed down the lettuce and tried to crack the chunk of carrot in half with my teeth.

My luck was short-lived. "What are you doing?" a voice yelled.

I whipped my head around toward the door. A gorgeous, smartly dressed blond woman holding a baby stood silhouetted in the door frame. It was the mayor of *Weimar's* wife.

"I ... I found your rabbits!" I stammered with a cheerful nervousness. "They're alive and safe!"

"Why in the hell are you stealing my rabbits' food?" barked the woman. "Animals!" I stood silent and stared at the floor.

"I'm reporting this immediately!" she said, stomping away. My heart pounded in my emaciated chest. A few min-

utes later, an SS soldier ordered me to come out of the cellar. I knew what was coming, and the knowing made it all the worse.

"Down on the ground, you dog! Fast!" yelled the German. He gripped his baton and bludgeoned my back. I do not know whether the mayor's wife watched the beating. Given her cruelty, why would she want to miss it? On the hike back to *Buchenwald*, I replayed the scene over and over in my mind.

How could a woman carrying her own child find a walking skeleton saving her pets and have him beaten for



Martin Greenfield, an 84-year-old Holocaust survivor, owns and operates Martin Greenfield Clothiers in Brooklyn, N.Y.

nibbling on rotten animal food? I thought.

In that moment, my numbness to death melted. In its place rose an alien blood lust, a hunger for vengeance unlike any I had ever known. The surge of adrenaline and rush of rage felt good inside my withered frame.

Then and there I made a vow to myself: If I survived *Buchenwald*, I would return and kill the mayor's wife.

On April 11, 1945, 3:15 p.m., the Allies liberated *Buchenwald*.

Physically, I was free. Emotionally, I was in chains. I'd made a promise to myself. And I intended to keep it.

I located two Jewish boys who were well enough to make the walk to *Weimar*. I told them what the woman did and what I was prepared to do about it. We could rummage machine guns from the mountain of German weapons seized by the inmates and Americans that lay in piles on the *Appelplatz*.

The streets outside camp were electric with an ominous sense of disquiet. A smattering of prisoners in striped pajamas ambled in search of non-camp food. I kept my eyes open for SS. We gripped our guns and got to *Weimar* as quickly as possible.

My heartbeat quickened the closer we got to the mayor's house. Pent-up rage from all I had seen and experienced surged through me. Killing the mayor's wife could not repay the Nazis for the terror they had inflicted on us. But it was a start.

We walked a few miles before turning down the street the mayor's home

was on. I pointed to a house several paces down the road: "I think that's it." The big black Mercedes was not out front.

It took me a moment to make sure I had the right house.

"The car isn't here. Looks like the house is empty," I said. "The plan is we take our guns and go in through the side door. Then we hide and wait so I can kill the blond bitch that had me beaten."

The boys nodded.

We crept up to the side door. I slowly turned the knob. It was unlocked. I entered the house quietly, with my

gun drawn. The boys fell in behind me and eased the door shut. We stepped softly to mute the sounds of our wooden clogs on the floor.

"Hello?" a voice around a corner said. "Hello?"

Just then the beautiful blond woman turned the corner and let out a screech. She had the baby in her arms again.

"Don't shoot!" she screamed. "Don't shoot!"

"Remember me?!" I yelled. "Do you?!"

Her blond tresses shook violently. She hid her face behind her upraised hand as if shielding herself from the sun.

"You had me beaten because of the rabbits. I'm here to shoot you!" I said, sounding like an SS.

"No! Please!" she quavered. "The baby, please!"

I aimed the machine gun at her chest. The baby wailed. My finger hovered above the trigger.

"Shoot her!" one of the boys said. "Shoot her!" The woman's outstretched hand trembled in the air. My heart pounded against my chest like a hammer.

"Shoot her!" the other boy yelled. "That's what we came here for! Do it!"

I froze. I couldn't do it. I could not pull the trigger. That was the moment I became human again. All the old teachings came rushing back. I had been raised to believe that life was a precious gift from God, that women and children must be protected.

Had I pulled the trigger, I would have been like Mengele. He, too, had

faced mothers holding babies — my mother holding my baby brother — and sentenced both to gruesome deaths. My moral upbringing would not allow me to become an honorary member of the SS.

Still, extending mercy felt weak. I tried to save face in front of the boys. If I couldn't be a hardened killer, I could at least be a car thief. "Where is the car?" I yelled.

"There is nothing," she said.

"Where is it?!" I barked.

"It's not here," she said.

I lowered the gun and stomped out of the house and went around back.

"You made us come here for nothing?" one of the boys huffed.

"I couldn't shoot her," I said. "She had a baby!"

"How many babies did they kill?" he quipped. He had a point.

We walked to the large barn behind the house and unlatched the heavy wooden doors. There, covered with hay, sat the big black Mercedes. "That lying Nazi bitch!" one of the boys yelled. I was livid. I'd spared her life and she'd lied to my face.

"Wait here," I told the boys. I marched back in the house, gun drawn, and found her. "This time, I'm really going to shoot you," I said. "Give me the keys!" She gave me the keys. I jogged back to the boys and the car. "I got them," I said rattling the keys in my hand.

"Who knows how to drive?" one of the boys asked.

"Don't worry, I do," I said. We brushed off the hay and hopped in the car.

"Hurry up! Let's get out of here," one of the boys said.

What a sight we must have been: three teenage Jews in striped prisoner uniforms, armed with machine guns, driving a black Mercedes in *Weimar*, Germany, on our way back to the *Buchenwald* concentration camp. We smiled, laughed, and talked tough like the men we weren't.

"Did you see how scared she was?" one boy said excitedly. "I bet she made in her underwear!" We chuckled and drove on.

"Look!" one of the boys said, pointing out the window. "Two girls!" I pulled the car to the side of the street.

We invited the German girls to take a ride. They must have been so mesmerized by the Mercedes that our raggedy uniforms failed to give them pause. To my surprise, they hopped in. This was the closest any of us had been to attractive girls in a long, long time. They rode with us a few blocks before we dropped them off.

I contemplated ditching the car. After all, we were driving the mayor of *Weimar's* Mercedes. If that didn't give us away, the license plates would. But then I thought, What the hell? When's the next time you will get to drive a

(Continued on page 15)

SURVIVORS' CORNER

A U.S. RABBI LEARNS OF THE NAZIS' FINAL SOLUTION

On August 28 1942, the contents of what has been called the Riegner Telegram, which constituted an attempt to get news of the German decision on the Final Solution into the hands of the Allies, were received by American rabbi Stephen Wise, the president of the World Jewish Congress.

Historians have since speculated whether a significant number of Jewish lives could have been spared if Wise had gone public with the information immediately, rather than waiting three months to call a press conference, as he did.

Gerhard Riegner (1911–2001) was a Swiss Jew who in 1942 served as office manager of the World Jewish Congress office in Geneva, in neutral Switzerland. That summer, Riegner received a report that originated with a German industrialist named Eduard Schulte, regarding the mass murder of the Jews.

Schulte (1891–1966) was the head of a large German conglomerate that did extensive business with the German military. He had frequent contact with senior Nazi officers, and because he himself was opposed to Hitler, took advantage of frequent business trips to Switzerland to pass on information he had picked up to intelligence channels there.

Schulte reported on what he'd heard from high-ranking SS officers to Isidor Koppelman, an associate in Zurich, who passed the information on to Benjamin Sagalowitz, the head of the

Federation of Jewish Communities of Switzerland. He in turn informed Riegner, in the hope that he would be able to get word out to the United States and Britain.

At the time, it was not possible for private individuals or organizations to send telegrams from Switzerland.



Stephen Wise.

The idea was for Riegner to use his contacts at a foreign legation to transmit what he had learned.

On August 8 Riegner visited Howard Elting, the vice-consul at the U.S. Consulate in Geneva, briefed him on what he had been told, and asked Elting to send the material onward to Rabbi Wise, a well-known Reform rabbi, president of the World Jewish Congress, and a friend of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's. Similarly, Riegner visited a British

diplomat, with a request that the same message be sent both to a British WJC official and to Wise.

Three days later, a cable went out from the U.S. legation in Bern to Washington, reporting, in telegraphic style, that "in Führer's headquarters plan under consideration to exterminate

a WJC official — sent it on to Rabbi Wise on August 28. Wise contacted Sumner Welles, the U.S. under secretary of state, who asked him not to publicize the information until the State Department had made attempts to verify the telegram's shocking contents.

In late November, Welles called Wise and informed him that he had received four independent statements confirming Riegner's report. According to Wise's memoir, Welles told him he himself could not release the information to the press, but said, "There is no reason why you should not. It might even help if you did."

According to Israeli historian Yehuda Bauer, Wise did hold a press conference, but "it received minimal newspaper coverage, and his message was basically ignored until the Bergson group, headed by Hillel Kook ... went into action."

The Bergson Group was far more sensationalistic than the socially respectable Stephen Wise. Nonetheless, it was not until January 1944 that FDR established the War Refugee Board, which was charged with the rescue of Jews from occupied Europe.

There are good reasons to believe that the United States could have done more to save Jewish lives during the Holocaust, both militarily and through humanitarian channels. But to pin the deaths of Jews on the excessive timidity of Rabbi Wise seems like a case of misplaced blame.

IN EYE OF NAZI STORM, DUTCH JEWS FOUND UNLIKELY REFUGE

BY CNAAN LIPSHIZ,
THE TIMES OF ISRAEL

In her nightmares, Tilly Walvis pictured German soldiers storming the house where she was hiding and deporting her children and the Christian couple sheltering them.

Walvis had good reason to fear. At the time, her family was living in the home of Albert and Frederika Santing in *Hoensbroek*, a Dutch town in the southeastern province of *Limburg*. Next door lived a family of Dutch Nazis, and delivering the hidden Jews to the German occupation forces would have meant praises and a handsome reward.

Fortunately for Walvis, the soldier who entered the house in 1944 was American, and he was looking for Nazis, not Jews. According to an account from the Yad Vashem Holocaust center in Jerusalem, Walvis sought to assure him they were not hostile, so she told him in English that she was Jewish.

"Me too," he replied, bringing tears

of joy to Walvis' eyes and wild cries of excitement from the other family members.

Walvis was among 2,200 Dutch and German Jews who survived the Holocaust in *Limburg*, a narrow sliver



Monument at *Westerbork* transit camp in the Netherlands, from which Jews were transported to Nazi camps in Germany during World War II.

of a province near the Belgian and German borders that recent research has revealed to have been the safest place for Jews in the Netherlands during the Holocaust.

Approximately 10 percent of Jews who went into hiding in *Limburg* were caught, roughly one-third the rate of Amsterdam.

Not only did Jews in *Limburg* survive the war in higher proportions

than the rest of the Netherlands, but the region actually had more Jewish residents after the Holocaust than before, according to Herman van Rens, an amateur Dutch historian

whose recent book, *Persecuted in Limburg*, was published last year ahead of the 70th anniversary of the region's liberation.

Yet the story of the Holocaust in *Limburg* had remained unrecorded until van Rens and his wife, Annelies, began painstakingly collecting lists of Jews from dozens of municipal archives across the province. Through their work, the van Rens were able to show that *Limburg* had twice as many Jews in hiding than previously thought.

In 1933, the Jewish population in *Limburg* stood at 800. Two waves of refugees — Germans before the war and Dutch following the German invasion — brought the Jewish population to 2,200 by 1945, according to van Rens. The 46 percent growth stands in stark contrast to the rest of the Netherlands, which lost 75 percent of its Jews in the Holocaust — a death rate matched in Western Europe only by Germany itself, with 88 percent, according to the Anti-Defamation League.

Limburg residents speak a unique
(Continued on page 15)

ITALIAN PRAISED FOR SAVING JEWS IS NOW SEEN AS NAZI COLLABORATOR

BY PATRICIA COHEN,
THE NEW YORK TIMES

He has been called the Italian Schindler, credited with helping to save 5,000 Jews during the Holocaust. Giovanni Palatucci, a wartime police official, has been honored in Israel, in New York and in Italy, where squares and promenades have been named in his honor, and in the Vatican, where Pope John Paul II declared him a martyr, a step toward potential sainthood.

But at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, the tale of his heroic exploits is being removed from an exhibition after officials there learned of new evidence suggesting that, far from being a hero, he was an enthusiastic Nazi collaborator involved in the deportation of Jews to Auschwitz.

A letter sent to the museum's director by the Centro Primo Levi at the Center for Jewish History in New York stated that a research panel of more than a dozen scholars who reviewed nearly 700 documents concluded that for six years, Palatucci was "a willing executor of the racial legislation and — after taking the oath to Mussolini's Social Republic, collaborated with the Nazis."

The letter said that Italian and German records provided no evidence that he had helped Jews during the war and that the first mention only surfaced years later, in 1952. Researchers also found documents that showed Palatucci had helped the Germans identify Jews to round up.

There is no established explanation for how the account of Palatucci's heroics took hold, but some experts say its persistence owed much to the flattering light it shed on Italy after the war. Scholars said the new evidence surfaced in recent years as they gained access to documents. The goal of their research, they said, was to understand the role of *Fiume*, the city where Palatucci worked, as a

breeding ground for Fascism; the documents that undermined the account of Palatucci's selfless heroism were a by-product of that investigation.

Palatucci has been credited with saving thousands of Jews between 1940 and 1944 while he was police chief in *Fiume*, an Adriatic port city that was considered the first symbol of Italy's new Fascist Empire. (It is now called *Rijeka* and is part of Croatia.) When the Nazis occupied the city in 1943, for example, Palatucci was said to have destroyed records to prevent the Germans from sending *Fiume's* Jews to concentration camps. His own death at age 35 in a camp at *Dachau* seemed to corroborate his valor.

But Natalia Indrimi, the executive director of the Centro Primo Levi, said historians have been able to review these supposedly destroyed records in the *Rijeka* State Archives.

What they show, said Dr. Indrimi, who coordinated the research, is that *Fiume* had only 500 Jews by 1943, and that most of them — 412, or about 80 percent — ended up at Auschwitz, a higher percentage than in any other Italian city. The research on Palatucci found that rather than being police chief, he was the adjunct deputy commissary responsible for enforcing Fascist Italy's racial laws. What's more, his deportation to *Dachau* in 1944 was not related to saving Jews but to German accusations of embezzlement and treason for passing plans for the postwar independence of *Fiume* to the British.

The report said it was possible that Palatucci had helped a handful of people, although it was unclear whether he had done this on the orders of superiors.

Dr. Indrimi said "the myth" surround-

ing Palatucci started in 1952 when his uncle Bishop Giuseppe Maria Palatucci used the story to persuade the Italian government to provide a pension for Giovanni Palatucci's parents. The account, she said, gained momentum because it seemed to bolster the reputation of Pope Pius XII, whom Jewish groups have described as being indifferent to genocide.

"If anything, Giovanni Palatucci represents the silence, self-righteousness and compliance of many young Italian officers who enthusiastically embraced Mussolini in his last disastrous steps," Dr. Indrimi wrote in her letter to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Some of the evidence was presented at a conference at New York University last year.

Perhaps the greatest recognition Palatucci received was being named in 1990 by Yad Vashem, Israel's memorial to the Holocaust, as one of the Righteous Among the Nations — an honor roll of those who rescued Jews that also includes Oskar Schindler, the German industrialist who helped 1,200 Jews avoid the death camps.

After receiving the historians' report, Yad Vashem said it had "commenced the process of thoroughly examining the documents," Estee Yaari, the foreign media liaison, wrote in an e-mail.

The narrative of Palatucci's selflessness became the subject of articles, books and a television movie. Recently the Giovanni Palatucci Association credited his otherworldly intervention for the miraculous disappearance of a man's kidney tumor as part of the case being made for sainthood.

The Anti-Defamation League awarded Palatucci its Courage to Care Award on May 18, 2005, which Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg in turn

declared to be Giovanni Palatucci Courage to Care Day. The International Raoul Wallenberg Foundation has a paean to him on its Web site.

The Rev. Federico Lombardi, a Vatican spokesman, said in an e-mail that the Vatican was aware of the questions raised and had asked a historian to study the matter.

An estimated 9,000 Jews were deported from Italy during World War II. But experts have noted that, although the 45,000 Jews in Italy were persecuted, most survived the war.

Still, many scholars portray the belated claims of some Italians that they went out of their way to save Jews as part of an attempt to recast Italy's Fascist past. "The default statement of every Fascist leader after the war was that 'I helped the Jews,'" Dr. Indrimi said.

Alexander Stille, a professor at the Columbia University journalism school who has reviewed some of the documents, said the Palatucci case was a result of three powerful institutions, all with a vested interest in publicizing what appeared to be a heroic tale: "The Italian government was anxious to rehabilitate itself and show that they were better and more humane than their Nazi allies. The Catholic Church was eager to tell a positive story about the church's role during the war, and the State of Israel was eager to promote the idea of righteous gentiles and tell stories of right-minded ordinary people who helped to save ordinary Jews."

Mr. Stille, whose recent family memoir, *The Force of Things*, includes a tale about his Jewish grandfather in *Fiume*, said, "Palatucci was the beneficiary of that."

An article in the Italian newspaper *Corriere Della Sera* said that a growing chorus of historians and researchers had called the Palatucci rescue "a blatant scam orchestrated by friends and relatives."



Giovanni Palatucci.

LAWYERS MAKE CASE FOR GIVING IRAQI JEWS HOLOCAUST BENEFITS

BY OFER ADERET, HAARETZ

When the pogrom against Iraq's Jews known as the *Farhud* erupted on Shavuot eve in 1941, Hela Saref Kargola was 16 years old. She lived with her family in central *Basra*, a city in southern Iraq.

"We were at home," recalled Kargola, who died in 2012. "When we heard the mob screaming outside, we went out onto the terrace. We saw many Arabs crowding at Jewish homes, carrying dozens of household objects and furniture in their arms. They emptied the Jews' homes and took whatever they could carry," she recalled.

"Yesterday's neighbors became

today's enemies. Police officers supposed to keep order took off their uniforms and joined in the killing," she added. Her descriptions are horrific. "Pregnant women were taken off buses, their abdomens were cut open and the fetuses removed. Elderly people were beaten to death in the streets. Entire homes were looted to their foundations."

According to statistics at Yad Vashem, 179 Jews were killed, more than 2,000 wounded, and 50,000 were victims of theft during the *Farhud* (an ancient word meaning imposing brutal terror on the subjects of a regime). "Terrible acts of cruelty were carried out during the pogrom. Babies, elderly people and women were murdered and their limbs

hacked to pieces. Women were raped. Synagogues were damaged and Torah scrolls desecrated," according to a brief paper in Hebrew about the *Farhud* at Yad Vashem's Web site.

"Why? Why? How did it happen that people who had been guests in Jewish homes a day or two before, who had worked with them and admired them, suddenly turned into monsters? How did they change in such an awful way?" Kargola asked.

A legal struggle that *Farhud* victims are waging against Israel provides a possible explanation of the motives. Based on the professional opinion of historians, the plaintiffs claim that Nazi Germany was behind it. Accordingly, they are demanding that

the government recognize the victims of the *Farhud* as victims of the Nazis, granting them compensation and benefits according to the Disabled Victims of Nazi Persecution Law.

Their claims, which were denied, are now being clarified by an appeals committee. "If we do not convince them, we will appeal to the District Court and even to the Supreme Court," say attorneys David Yadid, Doron Atzmon and Sivan Batsri, experts in the rights of Holocaust survivors and victims of Nazi persecution, who brought the lawsuit.

How much were the Nazis involved in Iraq?

A look at the professional opinion written by the historians recruited by

(Continued on page 13)

PHOTO HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE ANNUAL TRIBUTE DINNER OF T



Ron Meier, executive director of the American Society for Yad Vashem; Rabbi Israel Meir Lau, Chairman of the Yad Vashem Council; Josh Gelnick; Eugen Gluck, trustee of the American Society for Yad Vashem, and Yaakov Katz.



Ambassador Ron Prozor, Israel's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, and Leonard Wilf, Chairman of the American Society for Yad Vashem.



Leonard Wilf, ASYV Chairman, recognizes Righteous Among the Nations Varian Fry and Marc Chagall, whom he saved, by presenting an award to Bella Meyer, the granddaughter of Marc Chagall, and James Fry, the son of Varian Fry. They were introduced by Caroline Massel, trustee.



Mark Moskowitz, dinner chair, inaugurates the 2014 Annual Tribute Dinner with Leonard Wilf, Chairman of the American Society for Yad Vashem.



Honoree Sigmund Rolat with his family.



Jeremy Halpern; Abbi Halpern, Co-Chair, Young Leadership Associates; Gladys Halpern; Sharon Halpern; and David Halpern, trustee.

THE AMERICAN & INTERNATIONAL SOCIETIES FOR YAD VASHEM



Marilyn and Barry Rubenstein, trustees; and Leslie and Michael Adler.



Sima Katz, Rita and David Levy, Rebecca Levy and Matthew Levy leading Hamotzi.



H.E. Ido Aharoni, Consul General of Israel in New York.



Barry Levine and Abbi Halpern, Young Leadership Associates Co-Chairs.





REPORT FROM YAD VASHEM

HOLOCAUST EXPERTS WORK TO PRESERVE WWII-ERA ITEMS

BY ARON HELLER, AP

With survivors dying in growing numbers and their live testimonies soon to be a thing of the past, Holocaust commemoration efforts are increasingly focused around preserving the belongings that contain their stories.

In October Israel's Yad Vashem Holocaust memorial held a first-of-its-kind workshop devoted to the physical and digital preservation of documents. Over three days, visiting international experts discussed the ethical and technical challenges of conserving originals for history's sake while creating a vast digital archive to make them more accessible and user-friendly.

"The two approaches are not mutually exclusive," said Doris A. Hamburg, director of preservation projects at the U.S. National Archives and Records Administration. "Accessibility is a major goal for so many institutions, and conservation helps to facilitate that."

In the underground Yad Vashem archive containing stacks upon stacks of original documents, books and microfilm, its director Haim Gertner carefully slipped on a pair of white gloves before sifting through a pile of cracked, yellowing pages from a diary rescued from a burning synagogue on *Kristallnacht*.

The brittle pages were falling apart; their corners still had traces of soot. From it he read the following meticu-

lously handwritten phrase: "Memory is the only heaven from which you cannot be expelled."

It's the central challenge for Yad Vashem and other Holocaust museums around the world — keeping the memory of the Holocaust alive after its last survivors pass away.



Yad Vashem archive director Haim Gertner shows a musical score with German lyrics at the Yad Vashem Holocaust memorial archives in Jerusalem.

The German Nazis and their collaborators murdered six million Jews during World War II, wiping out a third of world Jewry. In addition to rounding up Jews and shipping them to death camps, the Nazis also confiscated their possessions and stole their valuables, leaving little behind. Those who survived often had just a small item or two they managed to keep. Many have clung to the sentimental objects ever since.

In recent years, Yad Vashem has embarked on a last-ditch effort to collect as many items as possible from

Israel's aging population of less than 200,000 survivors and their relatives. The goal of the "Gathering the Fragments" project is to collect as many artifacts as possible before the survivors — and their stories — are gone forever.

The diary in Gertner's hands was

just one such item to be recently acquired. But for such a relic to survive, the museum can't allow every visitor to get his or her hands on it. Upon arrival at Yad Vashem, the items go through a sorting process. They are then disinfected and scanned for posterity before it is decided whether they are in good enough condition to go on display in the museum or whether they should be stored in the archives.

The institute's paper conversion laboratory is often referred to as the "hospital" for fragile documents and items,

where they are treated and preserved with an attempt to maintain their original feel. Then they go to the digital services department, where they are scanned, photographed and filed.

The scanning provides a secure copy in case the original deteriorates, and allows the documents to be posted online for those unable to visit the museum.

Gertner said Yad Vashem scans nearly 20 million documents a year and has accumulated 350,000 hours of audio and video testimony. Within four to five years, all of Yad Vashem will be digitized, he said.

But for many wanting to connect emotionally, the virtual experience is not enough, said Jane E. Klinger, the chief conservator at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

"In a typical digitization program, the focus is to capture information on a page without necessarily capturing the context of that information and the context of the page," she said.

"If digitization were enough, why is it that, at least in the United States, in this digital age, museum attendance is increasing overall?" she asked.

"It's because people want to see the original. They want to get the material sense of it. Artifacts, whether they are documents, manuscripts, photographs, bowls from Auschwitz — I see them as memory in a concrete form, in tangible form. Somebody can tell you a memory, you can remember something, but you can't really hold it or see it."

"SOBBING AT THEIR OWN FUNERAL"

BY DR. DAVID SILBERKLANG

Scholars often discover new material that sheds light on historical events, or at times examine documents that have long been accessible but have evaded scrutiny. The latter was the case with Jan Tomasz Gross's book *Neighbors*, first published in Polish in 2000 (English and Hebrew, 2001). The core source for this book, arguably one of the most important books in the last 30 years on the *Shoah* in Poland, was a survivor testimony that had been available in archives since 1945 and a synopsis that appeared in print in two earlier publications in the 1980s. But it took Gross's incisive analysis and skilled writing to bring to our attention the significance of the murder of the Jews of *Jedwabne* by their neighbors. This opened the door to a new, ongoing and important branch of research on Polish-Jewish relations during the war.

The latest issue of *Yad Vashem Studies* (42:1, 2014) features two such groundbreaking articles: Leon Saltiel's "Dehumanizing the Dead:

The Destruction of *Thessaloniki's* Jewish Cemetery"; and Dr. Lea Prais' "'Jews from the World to Come': The First Testimonies of Escapees from *Chełmno* and *Treblinka* in the Warsaw Ghetto, 1942–1943." The springboards for both articles are items that scholars have known — the ancient Jewish cemetery in *Thessaloniki* (Salonika), Greece, was destroyed during the Nazi occupation; and the first testimonies by escapees from the above-mentioned extermination camps were by Jakub Grojnowski (Szlamek) and Yaakov Krzepicki. Actually, even in the names of these escapees, neither of whom survived the *Shoah*, there is new information. For, as we now know, Grojnowski was actually a cover name for Szlamek (Szlomo), whose family name is uncertain (Feiner, Wiener or Bajler), and Krzepicki was not Avraham, as nearly all publications have heretofore indicated, but Yaakov.

What have Saltiel and Prais found, and what light does this shed on the *Shoah*?

Saltiel, a doctoral candidate at the University of Macedonia in *Thessaloniki*, recounts the story of the destruction of the ancient Jewish cemetery in the town that began in December 1942, progressed rapidly, and was completed by the municipality of the liberated city after the end of the war. More than 500,000 graves were uprooted; gravestones were used as building materials, even until very recently; and Aristotle University was built on the ruins of the cemetery. This is the first article to analyze this event in depth, probing the roles of the main German and Greek actors behind the cemetery's destruction and the subsequent allocation of the land and reuse of the tombstones. Local and regional Greek officials, including Church figures, were deeply complicit in the desecration and destruction, and even decades later various church officials claimed not to understand why using Jewish tombstones as building materials might be objectionable. The roles of these people during and after the war raise many

multifaceted issues. Saltiel also uses the story of the destruction of the Jewish cemetery of *Thessaloniki* as a case study on the triangular relations between the Jews, the German occupation forces, and the local elites on the eve of the deportations. The Greeks in this story had various options, regarding both the destruction of the cemetery and also the deportations to death for which the destruction laid the groundwork. Saltiel uses new documentation from a wide variety of sources alongside the previously known details to demonstrate clearly that not only did the local leaders not protest the destruction, but they were also eager to see it done and jumped into action with alacrity. They initiated and benefited from the destruction of the cemetery and subsequently, during the deportations to extermination camps, turned a blind eye to their Jewish neighbors' fate. The article is accompanied by damning photos showing the desecration in process as well as local attitudes even many

(Continued on page 15)

THE CYCLIST WHO SAVED JEWS IN WARTIME ITALY

BY PETER CRUTCHLEY, BBC

“He had everything to lose. His story is one of the most dramatic examples during World War II of an Italian willing to risk his own life to save the lives of strangers.”

Film director Oren Jacoby is describing Gino Bartali, one of the leading cyclists of his era — a three-time winner of the Giro d'Italia, who also notched up two Tour de France victories, 10 years apart, before and after the war.



Gino Bartali competing in the Tour de France in 1938.

During his lifetime, Bartali didn't talk about his wartime activities.

It was only after his death in 2000 that details began to emerge, and Jacoby fills in some remaining gaps in a Storyville documentary film about Italy's secret heroes, due to be premiered this year.

Bartali, a villager from a poor Tuscan family, was reaching the peak of his career as the war approached.

He won his first Giro d'Italia in 1936, retaining the title in 1937. Then — to Italy's delight — he won the 1938 Tour de France. It was a moment the country's Fascist leader, Benito Mussolini, had been looking forward to eagerly.

“Mussolini believed that if an Italian

rider triumphed in the Tour it would show that Italians too belonged to the master race,” says Bartali's son Andrea in Jacoby's film.

“It was a matter of national pride and Fascist prestige that my father won the 1938 Tour, so he was under real pressure.”

Bartali was invited to dedicate his win to Mussolini, but refused. It was a grave insult to Il Duce and a big risk to take.

In the middle of that year's Tour, Mussolini had published a Manifesto

on Race, which led later to Jews being stripped of citizenship or any position in government or the professions. Italy remained, however, a country in which Jews could take refuge, until it surrendered to the Allies in 1943. The German army then occupied northern and central parts of the country and immediately started rounding up Jews and sending them to concentration camps.

At this point Bartali, a devout Catholic, was asked by the Cardinal of Florence, Archbishop Elia Dalla Costa, to join a secret network offering protection and safe passage to Jews and other endangered people.

His role in the network was uniquely suited to his talents — he became a

courier. On the face of it he was undertaking the long training rides for which he was renowned, but in reality he was carrying photographs and counterfeit identity documents to and from a secret printing press.

All were hidden in the frame and handlebars of his bicycle.

“We've seen documentation that he traveled thousands of kilometers across Italy, traveling the roads between cities as far apart as Florence, Lucca, Genoa, Assisi, and the Vatican in Rome,” says Jacoby.

By taking on this role, he put himself at huge risk. At one point he was arrested and questioned by the head of the Fascist secret police in Florence, where he lived.

For a period he went into hiding, living incognito in the town of Citta Di Castello in Umbria.

In addition to this, Bartali hid his Jewish friend Giacomo Goldenberg, and Goldenberg's family.

“He hid us in spite of knowing that the Germans were killing everybody who was hiding Jews,” Goldenberg's son, Giorgio, says in Jacoby's film.

“He was risking not only his life but also his family. Gino Bartali saved my life and the life of my family. That's clear because if he hadn't hidden us, we had nowhere to go.”

Approximately 80% of Italian and refugee Jews living in Italy before World War II survived, partly thanks to the efforts of Italian sympathizers.

It's taken a lot of detective work, by a number of people, to piece Bartali's story together over the last 14 years.

Andrea Bartali says that eventually little by little, his father told him about his actions during the war, but made him promise not to tell anyone at that time.

“When I asked my father why I couldn't tell anyone, he said, ‘You must do good, but you must not talk

about it. If you talk about it you're taking advantage of others' misfortunes for your own gain.”

According to Jacoby, Bartali's reticence is a “defining characteristic” of many of the Italians who were willing to risk their lives in World War II.



Bartali's son Andrea visits the Yad Vashem Holocaust Memorial in Israel.

“He didn't want to be acknowledged for what he had done: few of those he helped ever knew his name or what role he had played in their rescue,” says Jacoby.

Last September he was posthumously awarded with the honor Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem.

“When Bartali was stopped and searched, he specifically asked that his bicycle not be touched since the different parts were very carefully calibrated to achieve maximum speed,” the citation points out.

Andrea Bartali says his father refused to view his actions as heroic.

“When people were telling him, ‘Gino, you're a hero’, he would reply: ‘No, no — I want to be remembered for my sporting achievements. Real heroes are others, those who have suffered in their soul, in their heart, in their spirit, in their mind, for their loved ones. Those are the real heroes. I'm just a cyclist.’”

LESS THAN HALF UNDER AGE 35 ARE AWARE OF HOLOCAUST

If you're under 35, chances are you're unaware of the Holocaust. So says a new global survey released by the Anti-Defamation League, which found less than half of respondents (48 percent) under age 35 knew about it.

By contrast, 61 percent of those over 50 said they knew about the Holocaust, during which six million Jews and as many as five million Roma, gays, political and war prisoners, and others were murdered by the Nazi regime in Germany from 1939 to 1945.

The poll, which included 53,100 interviews in 96 languages in 101 countries, found about a quarter of the world's population believes some negative stereotypes about Jews are “probably true,” including “Jews are more loyal to Israel than [their home] country” and “Jews have too much power in the business world.”

The survey found the West Bank and the Gaza Strip had the highest

percentage (93 percent) of people who agree with at least six of those statements. Those areas, known collectively as the Palestinian territories, are home to more than four million Palestinians and have long been a focus of violence and controversy between Israel and the Arab world.

Iraq had the highest number of respondents in any single country, 92 percent, expressing anti-Semitic views. Combined, the Middle East and North Africa had the highest number of respondents (74 percent) with anti-Semitic views. Iran, at 56 percent, had the lowest of any country in that region.

Elsewhere, Greece had the highest percentage, with nearly seven in 10 people (69 percent) claiming some agreement with Jewish stereotypes.

The poll also found that 28 percent believe the number of Jews who died in the Holocaust has been greatly exaggerated. Four percent of global respondents said the Holocaust was

“a myth and didn't happen.”

Abraham Foxman, longtime head of the New York-based Anti-Defamation League, called the results “sobering.”

“You would think — I would think — that 70 years after the Holocaust, with all the marvels of communication, of greater openness, that [anti-Semitism] would be low,” Foxman told the *Wall Street Journal*.

In the United States, 9 percent of those surveyed held anti-Semitic views, down from 29 percent in 1964. Laos was the least anti-Semitic country, according to the poll, with a fraction (0.2 percent) expressing stereotypical views.

In terms of global anti-Semitism, the poll wasn't all bad news. Less than a quarter of respondents in western Europe (24 percent) expressed anti-Semitic views. Another poll, released by the Pew Charitable Trusts' research center, found favorable views of Jews are on the rise in Europe.

And while 26 percent of respondents said they believed six or more of the anti-Jewish statements were “probably true,” more (28 percent) said none were true.

The survey also “didn't find a correlation between anti-Semitism and anti-Israel views,” the *Journal* noted.

In the Netherlands, for example, the survey showed 43 percent of the population had a negative attitude toward Israel, but 5 percent accepted six or more of the anti-Semitic statements.

The Anti-Defamation League survey comes after an annual report, released by Tel Aviv University and the European Jewish Congress in April, which found anti-Jewish attacks fell by nearly 20 percent in 2013.

However, the same report concluded anti-Semitism — in the form of “visual and verbal expressions, insults, abusive language and behavior, threats and harassments” — is on the rise.

THE HOLOCAUST'S FOREMOST UNSUNG HERO

(Continued from page 3)

in some cases they are recognized as forgeries by the authorities and their holders are sent to the extermination camps.

When Eichmann and the S.S. seek to bring all the Jews in the Budapest ghetto to prepare them for transportation to extermination camps, Kraus approaches Lutz and asks him to grant additional houses extraterritorial status. Lutz purchases 76 houses in Budapest and gives them Swiss immunity. Thousands of Jews possessing Swiss documents are given refuge in these safe houses. These houses are seen as Swiss territory in every respect, and their inhabitants are protected from being deported or taken to work camps. The Red Cross provides them with food and basic supplies.

Lutz's daring plan is adopted by other diplomats hailing from neutral countries. Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg turns 28 houses in Budapest into Swedish territory, housing 4,500 Jews. The Spanish, Portuguese and Vatican legations arrive at a similar agreement with the Hungarian authorities: Spain is allowed to hand out 1,500 certificates, Portugal 700 and the Vatican 3,000. Signs are posted on the safe houses declaring that they are under the protection of the legation and that foreigners are not allowed to enter. All the houses protected by foreign legations are dubbed an "international ghetto."

Kraus purchases another factory, a textile mill, and rents the football association headquarters that shares a wall with the Glass House in order to house the thousands of Jews he aims to save. Some 3,000 people crowd into the Glass House alone, sleeping side by side, head to toes, not daring to leave the building for any reason. They sleep in every available space, in cellars, in hallways, on tables, in attics. On Shabbat they all hold a collective Kiddush.

Youngsters belonging to the Zionist youth movement become Kraus' assistants. Pinhas Rosenbaum, a young Hungarian Jew at the Glass House, gets his hands on an Arrow Cross uniform and goes out in disguise every day to hand out dozens of *Schutz-Passes* to Jews. Tova Singer, a 12-year-old girl, takes a forged document stating that she is Christian, and helps transport orphan children from the ghetto to Red Cross orphanages.

Meir Friedman, a Glass House survivor, recalls how the document disseminators became bolder and bolder as time went by. "Dr. Shendor Unger, one of the Zionist bureaucrats, took a consulate vehicle and drove alongside the death march from Budapest to Vienna. Those who were able to say their names were provided with documents on the spot, in the car. They filled out a form and handed it to them. In 90 percent of the cases, the Hungarians had no choice but to honor these papers. Another car that followed the march took those

people back to Budapest."

In November 1944, the systematic extermination of Jews left outside the safe houses begins. Death marches to the Austrian border take 2,000 Jews to their deaths each day, in the blistering cold. Kraus and Lutz debate whether or not to continue issuing *Schutz-Passes*, because if they were to issue more papers than they were allotted, the trick would likely be discovered, jeopardizing the entire operation. In the end they decide to keep going.

Clerks and youth movement members work entire nights signing certificates. Kraus' people and members of the Swedish and Swiss legations go out into the streets, handing out life-saving papers with the ink still wet. They go to the death marches and hand out *Schutz-Passes*. The Hungarians are forced to release another group of people every time.

Holocaust researcher Dr. Ayala Nadivi explains that "it made no differ-



Jews near Moshe Kraus' Glass House.

ence who received [the documents]. Young, old, men, women, they gave them to whomever they could."

According to Kraus' own account, up to 60 or 70 thousand people were in the safe houses. "It emerged that only 32,000 Jews were in the ghetto, while there were some 150,000 Jews in Budapest at the time," Kraus wrote after the war. "That is when the authorities decided to start looking for the missing Jews."

The attacks against the remaining Jews become worse. The Nazis start taking Jews to the banks of the Danube River, stripping them of their clothes and shooting them to death. Their bodies are then thrown into the river.

"WE SLEPT ON THE TABLES"

The Arrow Cross tries to enter the Glass House and the other safe houses several times, under the pretext that they are looking for forged documents, but they retreat after Lutz steps in, asserting the buildings' diplomatic immunity.

Meir Friedman was 18 years old when he entered the Glass House. In the spring of 1944 he and his family fled from northern Hungary and headed to Budapest. "Lutz was a true righteous gentile. After all, he would have had to be blind not to see through the maneuver that Kraus and the Zionist youth movement had undertaken. Lutz pretended not to know," Friedman recalls.

"It was a miracle from above that 3,000 people were able to fit inside that building. The conditions were not good, but it was Holocaust deluxe compared to what the people on the outside were going through. I lived in a niche between the office and the top floor, together with several other people. Everyone tried to keep themselves occupied, so they wouldn't go completely crazy," he says.

"There was a cellar for Orthodox Jews. They studied Torah in there without stopping. There was an attic for the Hapoel Hamizrachi party. There was a cellar for Hashomer Hatzair with counselors for children and lectures for adults. There was no shortage of lecturers, professors and doctors among us. I remember someone handing out fliers about choir rehearsals."

Friedman helped affix photos to printed certificates. "The documents didn't provide absolute protection, but

most of the Nazis honored them. There were instances, however, when they tore the paper into pieces and took the Jew."

Didn't the Nazis notice that tens of thousands of Jews became Swiss nationals right under their nose?

"Maybe they did notice, but they

couldn't change extraterritorial laws. They wanted to show the world that they respected international law.

"On December 31, members of the Arrow Cross entered the Glass House compound in order to take us to the Danube. I will never forget it, because of the bitter cold. We were outside for two hours, until the Swiss embassy intervened and they were forced to let us go back in. Apparently the ruling rabble wanted to be seen as a legitimate government, so they respected the Swiss."

Friedman's wife, Vera (Zipora) arrived in Budapest from Vienna at the age of 5, shortly after *Kristallnacht*. Her father was taken to a work camp, and she and her mother hid with relatives in the city. When she was 11, the Arrow Cross rose to power.

"One day, Pinhas Rosenbaum came to us dressed as a Nazi officer. We were startled. We didn't know who he was. After the guard left the building, he immediately started speaking Yiddish so that we wouldn't be scared. He took my mother and me to the Glass House," she recounts.

"The front of the building was impressive and unusual. It was made entirely of glass. Inside were offices, a yard and warehouses. People slept on huge tables, and beneath them. Twenty people on the table and another ten below. There were families in every corner. We lived on the ground floor."

"On Shabbat we would hold a collective Kiddush and everyone sang. During Hanukkah we lit candles. We weren't sad together, but each one of us was sad by himself. Everyone had one suitcase that served as a closet as well as a partition from the person sleeping on the other side.

"The youngsters who were out dressed as Nazis also made sure there was food, and we got food from the Red Cross. Peas, mushrooms, cans. The sanitary conditions were rough — there were only four or five bathrooms for 3,000 people. People stood in line for the bathroom for hours. We bathed once a week. Men bathed in the yard in subzero temperatures, and the women used one pail filled with ice water in a corner. Once a week it was obscured with a curtain.

"Every day in the afternoon we had a Bnei Akiva meeting. We sang and talked about Eretz Israel. We heard that all the Jews in Europe had been murdered. All my relatives in Poland and Vienna. My mother's eight siblings. We never knew if we would survive. Every day was a surprise. We asked ourselves questions. We knew that we had a job — to keep the fire burning and go to Israel to build a Jewish life."

Meir Friedman met his wife after the war, at a Bnei Akiva chapter in Hungary. Together they moved to Israel as part of the youth movement, and later married and had three children and many grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

In February 1945, with the liberation of Budapest, it became clear that more than 100,000 Jews in the city had survived. Several days before the liberation, the owner of the Glass House, Arthur Weiss, was caught and murdered by the Nazis. His wife and son survived, and moved to the U.S. after the war.

Carl Lutz was one of the first to be awarded the title "Righteous Gentile" by Yad Vashem. In 1965, Israel issued a medal in his honor, and a street in *Haiifa* was named after him.

Moshe Kraus moved to Israel and ran an institution for young boys. He married a Holocaust survivor from Budapest. The two had no children.

The Swiss government honored Kraus for saving 30,000 Hungarian Jews.

At the end of the war, when the Jewish Agency told Lutz that he would be inducted into the Jewish National Fund's "Golden Book" of honor and that a ceremony would be held to honor him, he thanked them, but informed them that it was Kraus who should receive the honor, because without him, the operation would have never succeeded. As the ceremony neared, Lutz wrote the JNF again asking them to recognize Kraus' contribution. But then, at the lavish ceremony, no one mentioned Kraus. Only Lutz praised him again and again.

LAWYERS MAKE CASE FOR GIVING IRAQI JEWS HOLOCAUST BENEFITS

(Continued from page 7)

the parties provides a fascinating glimpse into the historical debate about Nazi Germany's influence in Iraq and the suffering that the Nazis caused to Jews living in Arab countries, far from occupied Europe.

The historical material includes minutes of a German military discussion, the Nazi foreign ministry's correspondence, British army intelligence reports and the report of the investigative committee established in Iraq after the pogrom. The Iraqi prime min-



Violence in Iraq before the *Farhud*.

ister, Rashid Ali al-Gaylani; the Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin al-Husseini; Adolf Hitler and his book *Mein Kampf*; the Nazi radio station that broadcast from Berlin and had reception in Iraq; and the Fascist youth movement that mirrored Germany's Hitler Youth all play major roles in the material.

The plaintiffs claim that the riots against the Jews in Iraq were "a direct result of incitement and deliberate, organized German-Nazi propaganda whose purpose was to make the Jews hateful to the Arab inhabitants of Iraq and motivate them to strike at the Jews." Attorneys Yadid and Batsri are convinced that "the Germans were directly linked to the people who fueled, instigated and organized the riots, supported them and directed them." They add: "The broad scope of the riots... and other historical sources prove that there was a directing hand behind the riots — the hand of Nazi Germany." They see Iraq as a satellite and a vassal state of Nazi Germany.

But on the other side of the barricade is the Holocaust Survivors Rights Authority at the Finance Ministry, whose officials claim that Nazi involvement in Iraq was marginal, meaning the case of Iraqi Jewry is not like that of other Jews subject to Nazi rule. The Authority says that the riots were caused by other factors, such as traditional hatred of Jews, a fight against supporters of the British and support for the Palestinian national struggle.

"Germany did not go out of its way to infiltrate Iraqi territory and establish a physical or ideological foothold there," writes Dr. Yaacov Toby of the University of Haifa in his professional opinion. "Berlin's affairs were directed toward the European continent, not

elsewhere." He added, "There was no expectation, and certainly no order, from the German government to the Iraqi government to carry out any government activity inside Iraq, and certainly not one of violent incidents or killing of Jews."

The historical documents in archives in Israel and abroad were collected for the plaintiffs by Professor Yitzchak Kerem, an expert on Spanish and Oriental Jewry. In his professional opinion, he wrote, "The deciding factor in the outbreak of the *Farhud* was Nazi incitement against Iraq's Jews, which was carried out by the Nazi regime through the representatives and agents it appointed."

He draws a firm conclusion. "The *Farhud* must be seen as an integral part of the Holocaust that the Nazi regime brought on our people." He calls the *Farhud* "the *Kristallnacht* of Iraqi Jewry."

Historian Dr. Nissim Kazaz, an expert on Iraqi Jewry whose father was killed in the riots, claims that the pogrom was "indisputably" the result of "ongoing anti-Jewish incitement by the emissaries of Nazi Germany and the Arab leaders who joined with them." He said, "The participants in the pogrom were organizations, military people and police officers steeped in Nazi ideology beside the rioters, whom had been incited by Nazi Germany's lackeys in Iraq." He also believes that the victims of the *Farhud* should be regarded as "inseparable from the victims and those affected by the Holocaust of European Jewry."

To understand the Nazis' influence in Iraq, we must return to 1932, the year the British mandate ended there. Dr. Fritz Grobba, an Orientalist and German diplomat stationed in Iraq as Germany's ambassador, established the Nazi hold there. Before that, he had served in the German consulate in Jerusalem and fought on the Palestine front during World War I. Among other activities, he acquired the newspaper *Al-Alam Al-Arabi*, in which he published an Arabic translation of *Mein Kampf* and other essays containing anti-Semitic propaganda. He sent Iraqi officers and intellectuals on trips to Germany as guests of the Nazi party.

He also gave financial support to nationalist youth groups in Iraq and provided them with Nazi propaganda materials. A delegation from the Al-Fatwa nationalist youth movement even visited Germany in May 1938, attended the Nazi party conference in Nuremberg and returned to Iraq armed with anti-Jewish messages.

"They made an effort to emulate and adopt the extremely anti-Semitic slogans and tendencies of the Hitler Youth," wrote Professor Michael Eppel, former head of the Department of Middle Eastern History at the University of Haifa. This youth movement later participated in the pogrom, together with other groups. "The influence of Nazi Germany was the deciding factor in directing anger on the street toward physical attack, a pogrom against the Jews," he wrote. "The Iraqi politicians who encouraged it and handed out weapons to the worked-up crowd were among Germany's strongest supporters, and they were very strongly influenced by the spirit of Fascism and Nazism."

Dr. Toby disagrees. "Of the many factors that created the hostile atmosphere toward the Jews inside Iraq, the German one is at the bottom of the list. It was marginal, perhaps almost negligible, in comparison with other factors," he wrote, adding, "The mere existence of propaganda is not enough... to base a conclusion about a link, expectation or intent by the Germans to carry out an act against the Jews inside Iraq."

Another figure at the center of the claim is the Iraqi prime minister at the time, Rashid Ali al-Gaylani, who seized power in a coup in 1941 and established a pro-Nazi government that lasted for two months — the pogrom took place immediately upon the fall of this government.

Professor Kerem collected testimonies proving that al-Gaylani's government had been funded by the Nazis. In a telegram sent on May 21, 1941 from Baghdad, Dr. Grobba, Germany's ambassador in Iraq, writes that he transferred tens of thousands of gold ingots to al-Gaylani. Alongside that, he gives an update about al-Gaylani's request for 80,000 more gold ingots and mentions the agreement that was about to be signed between Germany and Iraq, as part of which the Nazis would grant a loan of one million gold ingots to their allies in Baghdad.

Money and propaganda were not the only things the Nazis provided to Baghdad. They also sent weapons to Iraq in an attempt to help the Iraqis fight against a common enemy — the British. Professor Kerem found evidence of that in the archives of Germany's Foreign Ministry and Defense Ministry. He says that in the minutes of a meeting of the supreme German command from May 7, 1941, it is written that "Hitler decided to assist Iraq in every possible way, including sending arms, ammunition, money and military aid."

Dr. Toby interprets this differently. "The Iraqis were courting the Germans enthusiastically and begging for their political, financial and military assistance. Throughout most of the period under discussion,

Germany responded with indifference. It was only toward the end that they agreed to send limited assistance, which contributed nothing to the administration in Baghdad," he wrote.



Hela Kargola.

Indeed, the German attempt to help the Iraqis fight the British failed. On May 29, 1941, after the British reached the gates of Baghdad, al-Gaylani fled from Iraq. The Jews thought that the danger had passed, and on the morning of the Shavuot festival, June 1, 1941, they emerged wearing their holiday clothing to welcome the pro-British ruler, who had returned to Iraq. But Iraqi troops set upon them, and within hours Jews were being attacked all over the city and in other places as well.

"*Farhud, ya ummat Muhammad!* (*Farhud, O nation of Mohammed!*) was the cry of the mob when the signal was given to murder and rob the Jews," Hela Kargola later said. "Thousands, regardless of gender, age or status, took part in the celebration of slaughter and theft."

Were the Nazis behind the pogrom, or was it a spontaneous outbreak of frustrated Iraqis? Researchers differ. In the heat of the dispute, an embarrassing situation has been created in which the state is being asked to defend the strongly pro-Nazi Dr. Grobba. In his professional opinion, Dr. Toby wrote that Grobba "was not of the sort of people who were sworn Nazis," but rather "a professional diplomat who evidently stayed in office when the Nazis came to power, not because of strong faith in Nazi ideology."

Dr. Kazaz, the plaintiffs' expert, was irritated to read these assertions. "The truth is that Dr. Grobba was a professional diplomat serving his country and his homeland. And let us say that he was 'not of the sort of people who were sworn Nazis,' by Dr. Toby's definition. The question still remains: what kind of Nazi does Dr. Toby think he was? And even if we work on the assumption that he was not a sworn Nazi, he still remains in the category of a Nazi."

THE NAZI DOCTOR WHO GOT AWAY WITH MASS MURDER

(Continued from page 4)

al coded letters to his family in Germany, but even his fellow Nazis in Egypt didn't know him. As Kulish and Mekhennet remark, the irony of Heim's life is that, had he stood trial in West Germany, he probably would have gotten only a few years in prison. German sentences for Nazi criminals like Heim were notoriously light, and acquittals were easily had. Most Nazi perpetrators were not tried at all. By telling Heim's story, *The Eternal Nazi* shows how long it took for Germany to fully reckon with its Nazi past — a good 30 years.

For the most part, we think that there are two kinds of perpetrators of war crimes. There is the ordinary man (or, very rarely, woman) who lapses into, or becomes habituated to, killing, and there is the brutal monster. There might be some cases in between, though, and Heim could be one of them. Unlike Mengele, who was a psychopathic torturer through and through, Heim is in some ways a more doubtful instance, and therefore a more important one. He was supposed to be particularly evil because he talked to his victims sympathetically before he killed them. But perhaps he was just being ambivalent rather than sadistic: an even more frightening idea.

Olga Lengyel, a survivor of Auschwitz, remarked that less than 10 percent of the SS men there were sadists; in fact, she couldn't remember a German who had not saved someone at some point. Yet most people were not saved but murdered, and sadism mixed readily with occasional gestures of sympathy. The recent, groundbreaking book by the historian Wendy Lower, *Hitler's Furies*, delves into this ethical confusion. Lower's focus is on German women who committed atrocities in the East; and some of them seem to have been rather kind in some ways. The reader keeps coming back to the incident of one woman, Erna Petri (the only one of Lower's subjects to serve time for her murders), who first gave food to a hungry group of Jewish boys and then shot them in the back of the neck, just as Hitler's soldiers had done to over a million Jews on the Eastern front. Is it really true that things could have gone either way? Lower's research is superb, but her account hits the expected wall: How can an ordinary human being permit herself to do such terrible things?

There is no way to tell Heim's story without describing the atmosphere of postwar Germany. Kulish and Mekhennet adeptly portray the silence and repression that surrounded Nazi crimes. Until the 1958 *Ulm* trials, in which the massacres committed by the SS were widely publicized and Germans were forced to confront photos of soldiers shooting naked women and children and throwing them into

ditches, many asserted that only a few leading Nazis had real blood on their hands. After *Ulm* came the 1960s: the Eichmann trial, the *Frankfurt Auschwitz* trial, and the explosion of rage from left-wing terrorists who announced that postwar Germany was still a Fascist regime. (America and Israel were also Fascist, according to the Red Army Faction, who wound up spreading Nazi guilt too thin and displacing it onto its victims.)



Dr. Aribert Heim.

The terrorists were blood-soaked fanatics, but they did get one thing right: In postwar Germany, prominent ex-Nazis thrived at all levels of society, including the highest echelons of government. The Nazi past eventually became the defining mark of German national identity. At least in West Germany, starting in the 1980s, every schoolchild saw pictures of emaciated corpses and was told that all Germans were responsible for the horror. The meaning of being German, the schoolchildren learned, was that Germany could never do anything like that again. But in the 1950s and '60s the conscience-struck teaching of German guilt had not yet begun, and Nazi history existed mostly in what fathers refused to say to their children, what husbands concealed from their wives. Some children rejected their fathers utterly; some demanded to know more; and some loyally made excuses for Nazi misdeeds.

Like Mengele's son Rolf, Rüdiger Heim shielded a murderer: He visited his father secretly, kept his whereabouts concealed, and funneled money to him so he could evade justice. (German law declares that a defendant's family cannot be prosecuted for obstructing a criminal case in this way.) But Rüdiger protected his father in part because he thought he still might find out something that he needed to know. Both Rolf Mengele and Rüdiger Heim wanted to — had to — see and know who their father really was and what he had to say for himself. The answer, in both cases, was nothing, yet both sons shied away from the judgment that every civilized reader demands. The sons of Mengele and Heim denied their fathers' victims what the victims needed most, to see these men on trial,

and in this way they augmented their fathers' crimes. Yet Rüdiger Heim comes off rather well in Kulish and Mekhennet's book: He deplores anti-Semitism and is haunted by the German guilt for the Holocaust. He just can't believe that his own father did what history says that he did.

When Heim landed in Egypt in 1963, he found himself on welcoming, even familiar ground. President Nasser, if one trusts his own words on the subject, was as true a disciple of the Nazi cause as had ever lived. "During the Second World War, our sympathies were with the Germans," Nasser told the *Deutsche Nationalzeitung* in May 1964, adding that "The lie of the six million murdered Jews is not taken seriously by anybody." *Wehrmacht* General Wilhelm Fahrmbacher prepared the Egyptian army for its effort to destroy Israel in 1948, and Wilhelm Voss, a former SS weapons expert, developed the Egyptian missile program. Johann von Leers, a convert to Islam known as Omar Amin, served Nasser as an anti-Semitic propagandist. Von Leers was famous for his lavish dinner parties, where his wife Gisele strutted about in primitive-looking gold jewelry and hinted that she was the reincarnation of a Bronze Age priestess. The circle of old Nazis in Egypt was riddled with spies. Because of the CIA's partnership with ex-Nazi spymaster Reinhard Gehlen, many of the SS men in Egypt drew American paychecks. The most intriguing figure in this crew was Wolfgang Lotz, who was actually a blond, blue-eyed, German-born Jew masquerading as a Nazi. Lotz in fact worked for Mossad. Wary of this treacherous atmosphere, Heim had minimal contact with the other ex-Nazis in Egypt; in this as in so much else, he was a man alone.

In February 1979 *Der Spiegel* broke the story that Dr. Aribert Heim, a Nazi war criminal whose location was unknown, was supporting himself by profits from his Berlin apartment building; the money was being channeled through Heim's sister. In order to avoid getting in trouble for tax evasion, to show that the building's profits went to Heim and not to her, the sister had to prove that he was still alive. So, Heim provided an audiotape in which he attested to his own existence and to the fact that he was still in hiding, living off rent paid by German citizens.

A political firestorm erupted. Heim's tenants were outraged, along with the rest of the German public. Millions of Germans had recently been shaken by the vastly popular American-made mini-series *Holocaust*, which brought home the horrors of the Nazi genocide, and they were newly enthusiastic about war-crimes trials for aging Nazi offenders like Heim. Within months, Heim was tried and convict-

ed in absentia and his livelihood seized. He was forced to move to a small room in one of Cairo's many run-down hotels, where he became friends with the landlord's children and tried to teach them English and French. (Heim was a fluent speaker of both languages, along with Arabic.) His landlord and his dentist started talking to him about the Muslim faith, and soon Heim was reading the Quran. Heim embraced Islam in 1980 and took the new name Tarek Hussein Farid.

His conversion might have been sincere, but perhaps he merely wanted a better disguise, afraid that Aribert Heim was now a household name, and that the law was closing in on him.

Kulish and Mekhennet show that the search for Heim was really the work of one man: Alfred Aedtner (who was aided by the famous Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal).

Aedtner was a *Wehrmacht* veteran who, after he became a police detective in 1964, tirelessly pursued German war criminals at a time when most of his fellow Germans wanted to forget or excuse the "excesses" of the Third Reich — or protect the perpetrators. The nondescript Aedtner was a mild, well-dressed aficionado of schnitzel and beer whose steely drive to bring Nazis to justice is never completely explained. Aedtner is the other protagonist of *The Eternal Nazi*, and he is every bit as significant as the vampiric entity of the title. Heim plays that ageless near-mythic figure, the evil man with a clear conscience, unrepentant to the end. The stolid Aedtner is simply a professional called to a task.

It is just as unclear to Aedtner's son as it is to Kulish and Mekhennet why Aedtner was so dedicated to prosecuting Nazis, a job that meant traveling all over Europe to take testimonies, tracking down endless hints about potential witnesses, and following up tantalizing rumors that almost never panned out. (Heim was, over the years, said to be in Spain, Chile and a number of other places where he never set foot.) Aedtner's son says, "He wanted to get them," the *Verbrecher*, the Nazi wrongdoers, and that desire made him work endless frustrating hours. The authors think that maybe Aedtner's dedication to hunting Nazis "grew out of nothing more than an ingrained opposition to suffering, and he could never get over the extreme, almost limitless suffering that the Nazis had caused."

If this was it, then Aedtner's simple reaction accomplished something more than all the elaborate theories about Nazism put together. Aedtner would never have put it this way, but he probably agreed with the sentence from the Book of Job inscribed at *Birkenau*, which gives these words to the Nazis' victims: "O Earth, cover not up my blood, and let my cry never cease."

“SOBBING AT THEIR OWN FUNERAL”

(Continued from page 10)
years after the *Shoah*.

Dr. Prais, a veteran researcher at Yad Vashem's International Institute for Holocaust Research, analyzes two remarkable documents — the wartime accounts of Jakub Grojnowski and Yaakov Krzepicki, escapees from the *Chełmno* and *Treblinka* extermination camps, respectively — as recorded for the “Oneg Shabbat” underground archive in the Warsaw ghetto in 1942. Grojnowski's was the first report on *Chełmno*, and whereas Krzepicki's was not the first to reach the ghetto, it is by far the most comprehensive and detailed testimony on *Treblinka* (323 handwritten pages). The little that was published of Krzepicki until now is only a small fraction of the full document, and as Dr. Prais shows, has missed most of who he was and what he had to say about *Treblinka* and the Jews transported to the camp.

Dr. Prais' article is the most extensive discussion of Krzepicki's critically important testimony to date, while her precision and insight carry the discussion of Grojnowski's testimony well beyond what earlier scholars have achieved. Krzepicki's full testimony is analyzed here for the first time, and the innumerable crossed-out words and lines, corrections and marginal additions make that analysis all the more challenging. Dr. Prais' multilay-

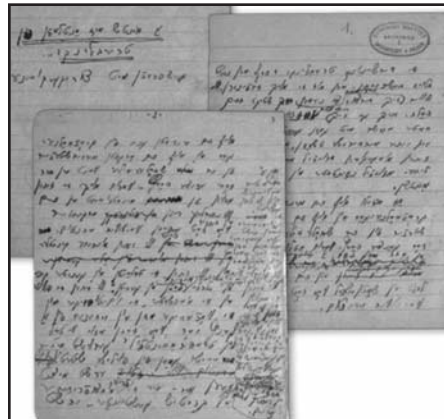
ered comparative analysis of the two testimonies highlights the authors' different Jewish approaches. Whereas Szlamek's account focuses on his fellow gravediggers in compassion and mourning, Krzepicki's expresses outrage against the Jews' surrender and helplessness on the way to the camp and in it. His comments are insightful, sometimes harsh, always searing.

Krzepicki was deported from Warsaw to *Treblinka* on August 25, 1942 and escaped on September 13. His Yiddish testimony was recorded by Rachel Auerbach for Oneg Shabbat from December 28, 1942 to March 7, 1943. Auerbach then fled the ghetto to the “Aryan” side and survived, while Krzepicki remained in the ghetto and fell in the Warsaw ghetto uprising on April 22, 1943.

Krzepicki's testimony leads us stepwise along the twisting path of the deportees' consciousness, from the lack of clarity following their abduction to the unbridled, stark horror of the camp at which they arrived. He is derisive and contemptuous of their clinging to scraps of hope based on the false information fed them by the Germans. His observations are often laced with bitter sarcasm, as when he describes an SS man's speech promising newly arrived Jews that they would work in their trades. “Some people began to applaud the German. The majority of the Jews who had heard

the honeyed speech really calmed down and once again began to believe that they were in a work camp... and people regained their places, like children in a classroom.”

Still, Krzepicki did show some sympathy for children and women in



Pages from the wartime account of Yaakov Krzepicki, who escaped from *Treblinka*.

Treblinka. One story in particular rattled him: “A boy of about eight years, who had come with his father, was standing there pleading. He did not want to undress until he had said goodbye to his father. His father was standing on the other side of the door, unable to reach him. He was under one guard and his son under another. But a miracle happened to him. A Ukrainian corporal who was standing in the barracks made a move. He had understood the Polish

words and carried out the child's wish. He led the child outside to his father who took him in his arms and kissed his soft cheeks and sat him back down on the ground. The little rascal, now calm, went back into the barracks with the Ukrainian and undressed himself. His last wish had been fulfilled.

“I could not allow myself to think about this. I had neither the time nor the head for it, nor could I take it to heart. Something in me always warned me: Steel yourself, don't let yourself fall apart.”

He also related how the older women met with their fate. “Some sought consolation in God and prepared themselves to die with God's name on their lips. Some pleaded for help, prayed for a miracle, a rescue; others had given up all hope.... The women's sobbing was reminiscent of the sobbing that one hears at funerals. Here people were sobbing at their own funeral.”

The story of Greek attitudes toward their Jewish neighbors, as reflected in the destruction of the Jewish cemetery in *Thessaloniki*, and Krzepicki's insight into the heart-wrenching scenes at *Treblinka* are deeply disturbing and leave us with many questions. It is to be hoped that these articles will encourage new research into these important insights into human behavior arising from the *Shoah*.

THE DAY A HOLOCAUST SURVIVOR GOT REVENGE ON HIS TORMENTOR

(Continued from page 5)
Mercedes?

So I drove the car all the way back to *Buchenwald*. In fact, I drove straight through the camp gates. Only



Residents from *Weimar* avert their eyes as American forces make them walk past a pile of corpses at the *Buchenwald* concentration camp.

this time, the irony of the slogan emblazoned across the gates — “To each what he deserves!” — made me laugh.

Prisoners stood motionless and stared as we coasted into camp. They must have assumed an important dignitary or the mayor of *Weimar* himself would step out of the fancy car. When they saw our striped prisoner uniforms, they rushed us. “How did you get a Mercedes?” someone asked.

“Well,” I said, smiling, “we just got it.”

Throughout my life I had heard that everything happens for a reason, that God's ways were mysterious but purposeful. I believed that. But some-

thing I read decades after my show-down at the mayor of *Weimar*'s house proved to me that in the end, in this life or the one after, God ultimately achieves justice.

A friend shared with me an article from a 1945 issue of *Life* magazine about Nazi suicides following the war. Here is a portion of what it said: “In the last days of the war the overwhelming realization of utter defeat was too much for many Germans. Stripped of the bayonets and bombast which had given them power, they could not face a reck-

oning with either their conquerors or their consciences. These found the quickest and surest escape in what Germans call *Selbstmord*, self-murder ... In Hitler's Reich, Germans stopped killing others and began killing themselves. In *Weimar*, the mayor and his wife, after seeing *Buchenwald* atrocities, slashed their wrists.”

That day at the mayor's home, God pricked my conscience. In so doing, He spared me the guilt and shame of killing the mayor of *Weimar*'s wife.

I didn't need to kill her. She did it for me.

IN EYE OF NAZI STORM, DUTCH JEWS FOUND UNLIKELY REFUGE

(Continued from page 6)

dialect and share a proud tradition of tight-knit communities with little anonymity — characteristics that van Rens believes contributed to their willingness to take risks to save Jews.

“When you betrayed someone to death in *Limburg*, everybody knew and it carried different social implications than in Amsterdam,” van Rens told JTA.

The sentiment was so strong that *Limburg* police had virtually stopped proactive attempts to track down Jews by 1943, at a time when special bounty hunter units were stepping up efforts to catch Jews elsewhere in the Netherlands, among other countries.

In Amsterdam, a group known as the Henneicke Column received 7.5 guildens for every Jew delivered to the Germans. The price was later upped to 40 guildens. The group is believed to have been responsible for the deaths of 8,000 to 9,000 Jews.

In addition to offering refuge, *Limburg* also promised Jews a path out of Nazi-controlled areas altogether. The area is not as densely populated and flat as the rest of the Netherlands, and its limestone caves lead across the border to Belgium. In addition to those who hid in *Limburg*, approximately 3,000 Jews passed through the province on their way to Spain and Switzerland.

Van Rens also discovered another difference that he believes is key to

understanding the high mortality rates elsewhere and to challenging the notion that Dutch Jews went like lambs to the slaughter.

“Unlike in Amsterdam and the northern Netherlands, where most Jews were rounded up by police who showed up one night unannounced at their doorstep and simply took them away, *Limburg* Jews received more time before they needed to report for deportation,” van Rens said.

In 1942, *Limburg* Jews under 60 received 24 hours to report to police. More than half didn't show up, instead opting to go into hiding. A few months later, older Jews were given a week to report to police. Then, too, more than half went into hiding.

“So the perception of Dutch Jews being too docile, too obedient, clearly doesn't hold up because when they were given a chance, even if just 24 hours, to save themselves, most made serious attempts to escape the Nazis' claws,” van Rens said. “For me it was an encouraging discovery.”

Van Rens' research has generated new interest in the Holocaust and won praise from some of Holland's leading experts on the Holocaust, including Johannes Houwink ten Cate of the Dutch Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, or NIOD, who called van Rens' research “beyond question.”

“No one had the patience to conduct such detailed research before,” ten Cate said. “It's drudgery.”

The American & International Societies for Yad Vashem Annual Tribute Dinner

JAMES FRY:

“HE LOVED TO FIGHT BATTLES, BIG AND SMALL”

Participating in an event like this causes a mix of emotions for me. I'm proud of my father for his actions in France during the war, but I also regret that he didn't obtain much recognition in his own lifetime.

He received a medal from the French government in a small ceremony just a few months before he died, but other than that, few people paid much attention to what he had done until around 20 years after his death. I know this was deeply disappointing for him.

Another reason that events like this cause mixed emotions for me is that I know that my father did not work alone. He could not have done what he did without a network of collaborators and co-conspirators. These included Jews and others on the Nazis' enemies list who voluntarily passed up opportunities to leave France and escape danger so that they could stay and help others get out.

I'd like to read some passages from an article about my father that does a great job of capturing these contradictions and describing what a complex person he was. The article is a review of one of the biographies of my father. It was written by Christopher Caldwell and appeared in *Policy Review*.

I think it does a good job of summarizing not only the remarkable things my father achieved in his 13 months in *Marseille* during the war, but also the troubles he had in the rest of his life.

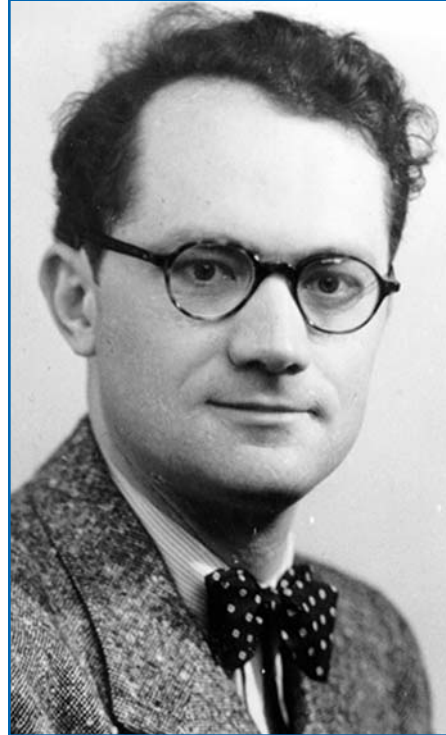
I'll read the beginning and end of the article, and skip over the long middle part that describes his time in *Marseille*, because we have already heard about some of that today.

I've taken the liberty of making a few minor corrections, but the words are almost all Caldwell's.

Varian Fry may be the great American civilian hero of World War II — although by the time the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor in December 1941, his political activities against the Axis had ended. In 1996, he became the first American to be named Righteous Among Nations by Israel's Yad Vashem Holocaust memorial — although few Americans know of the dangerous activities for

which he was honored.

As the Marseille representative of the New York-based Emergency Rescue Committee (Emerescue) from August 1940 to September 1941, Fry aided 4,000 refugees from Hitler. He was responsible for the escapes of from 1,200 to 1,800 promi-



Varian Fry, eminent European writers, artists, intellectuals and politicians specifically targeted by the Gestapo, most of them Jews. They included Heinrich Mann and his nephew, the historian Golo Mann; Lion Feuchtwanger; Franz Werfel; the Hitler biographer Konrad Heiden; Marc Chagall; and the sculptor Jacques Lipchitz.

When Fry was deported by Vichy authorities in September 1941, his life fell apart. His marriage ended. Soon after, he was fired from Emerescue, which had grown impatient with his intensity, particularly his insistence that only he understood the refugee problem in France. (Correct, as it turned out: He was never replaced.) He served for a few months as assistant editor at The New Republic, where he wrote, in December 1942, an extraordinary document called "The Massacre of the Jews," the first piece of journalism to give hard evidence that Hitler had launched a program to exterminate the Jews of Europe.

He taught creative writing at CCNY for a year. He latched on as a writer/consultant for Coca-Cola, but was fired when he turned one of his reports into a taunting account of the stupidity of the company's board of directors. He finally exhausted the patience of his second wife, who divorced him in 1967. He died of a heart attack a few weeks later, just shy of his sixtieth birthday.

Fry's biographer Andy Marino aptly described what it was about Fry that made him so deft at heroics and so bad at regular life: "He felt terribly scared and isolated," Marino writes of the Marseille period, "but at the same time he found himself exhibiting a sort of nothing-to-lose daring that thrilled him. He was acting very unlike himself, and he was getting to like it."

The article concludes:

If [Fry] was without honor in his own country, it's understandable. He was impossible to work with, mentally troubled, locked in himself. But let us not forget that he was a prophet, too, and put himself in harm's way to prevent the future he saw unrolling before him. Not the ideal person, maybe. But certainly the kind that every generation everywhere has always had too few of.

Sometimes I wonder if my father's mental troubles were paradoxically part of the secret of his success as a rescuer.

I have trouble imagining he would have volunteered for the mission in France if he had had a family and even a moderately successful career in 1940.

But there is more to it than that, I think. One thing I remember about my father, and which is obvious from the article I just read, is that he loved to fight battles, big and small. For him, righteous indignation was like a drug, and he was addicted.

Unfortunately, throughout much of his life, he let this addiction lead him to behavior that was harmful to himself and often to others. In ordinary life, it is not healthy to fail to recognize that some battles are not worth fighting. It is not healthy to treat every person with whom one has a disagreement as if he or she were the embodiment of evil.

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