

10 JAHRE  
**ZENTRUM FÜR HOLOCAUST-STUDIEN**  
AM INSTITUT FÜR ZEITGESCHICHTE IN MÜNCHEN

**2013**  
—  
**2023**

TEN YEARS  
**CENTER FOR HOLOCAUST STUDIES**  
AT THE LEIBNIZ INSTITUTE  
FOR CONTEMPORARY HISTORY IN MUNICH

Leibniz Institute  
for Contemporary History

**Institut für  
Zeitgeschichte**

Zentrum für Holocaust-Studien

10 JAHRE  
**ZENTRUM FÜR HOLOCAUST-STUDIEN**  
AM INSTITUT FÜR ZEITGESCHICHTE IN MÜNCHEN

2013  
—  
2023

TEN YEARS  
**CENTER FOR HOLOCAUST STUDIES**  
AT THE LEIBNIZ INSTITUTE  
FOR CONTEMPORARY HISTORY IN MUNICH

MÜNCHEN/MUNICH 2023

**REDAKTION:**  
FRANK BAJOHR, GILES BENNETT, KATARINA KEZERIC,  
ANDREA LÖW, ANDREAS RENTZ, ANNA ULLRICH

9

S. 63

BEITRÄGE

FRANK BAJOHR AND RACHEL O'SULLIVAN

THE HOLOCAUST, COLONIALISM AND NAZI IMPERIALISM: ACADEMIC RESEARCH IN THE SHADOW OF A POLEMIC DEBATE

BERT HOPPE

WITNESSES KILLED, ARCHIVES DESTROYED, DOCUMENTS IN DANGER: THE DIFFICULTIES OF PROTECTING UKRAINE'S HISTORICAL MEMORY AGAINST RUSSIAN MISSILES

ANDREA LÖW

»WE ARE FAR, VERY FAR FROM OUR FORMER HOME«: GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN JEWS AFTER DEPORTATION »TO THE EAST«

ANNA ULLRICH

FADING FRIENDSHIPS AND THE »DECENT GERMAN«. REFLECTING, EXPLAINING, AND ENDURING ESTRANGEMENT IN NAZI GERMANY, 1933-1938

FRANK BAJOHR

GERMAN RESPONSES TO THE PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS AS REFLECTED IN THREE COLLECTIONS OF SECRET REPORTS



I  
O  
J  
A  
H  
R  
E  
Z  
F  
H  
S  
—  
A  
M  
I  
F  
Z  
M  
Ü  
N  
C  
H  
E  
N

5

S. 33

DAS ZENTRUM IN DER EUROPEAN HOLOCAUST RESEARCH INFRASTRUCTURE (EHRI)

6

S. 37

DAS FELLOWSHIP-PROGRAMM DES ZENTRUMS

S. 47

STATEMENTS  
JAN GRABOWSKI  
JONATHAN HUENER  
PAWEŁ MACHCEWICZ  
DENISA NESTAKOVA  
ANDREA PETÒ

7

S. 51

MEDIENAUSKÜNFTE, DISKUSSIONSBEITRÄGE, WISSENSCHAFTLICHE BERATUNGSTÄTIGKEIT

8

S. 55

LEHRE UND FORTBILDUNG

S. 61

STATEMENT  
KIM WÜNSCHMANN

1

S. 5

VORNEWEG  
ANDREAS WIRSCHING

2

S. 7

EDITORIAL  
FRANK BAJOHR

3

S. 9

KONGRESSE, KONFERENZEN UND KOOPERATIONEN

4

S. 15

FORSCHUNGSPROJEKTE, BÜCHER UND PUBLIKATIONEN

ZENTRUM FÜR HOLOCAUST-STUDIEN AM INSTITUT FÜR ZEITGESCHICHTE IN MÜNCHEN

JUBILÄUMSPUBLIKATION 2023

Leibniz Institute for Contemporary History | Institut für Zeitgeschichte München-Berlin



# VORNEWEG

Anfangs war das Zentrum für Holocaust-Studien eine reine Kopfgeburt. Im Umkreis des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte München–Berlin (IfZ) und der LMU begannen erste Überlegungen im Jahre 2011, und niemand konnte damals ahnen, was sich im Verlauf des nächsten Jahrzehntes hieraus entwickeln sollte. Von Beginn an unstrittig war allerdings die dringende Notwendigkeit eines solchen Zentrums. Ziel war es, die bislang maßgeblich in den USA und in Israel angesiedelte Holocaust-Forschung durch einen institutionellen Pfeiler in Deutschland zu stärken bzw. überhaupt erst zu etablieren.

Die Gründung eines solchen Zentrums erschien als schmerzhaftes wissenschaftliches und kulturpolitisches Desiderat. Schon damals zeichnete sich die Gefahr ab, dass die Geschichte des Völkermords an den europäischen Juden zunehmend zu einer abstrakten Erinnerungsschiffre wurde, und dies trotz der durchaus auch in Deutschland etablierten NS-Forschung. Die Einsicht, dass die Erforschung des Nationalsozialismus und des Holocaust nicht notwendigerweise dasselbe sind, beeinflusste ebenfalls die damaligen Überlegungen. Zu einem Zeitpunkt, da absehbar war, dass Zeitzeugen immer weniger und bald gar nicht mehr zur Verfügung stehen würden, kam auch im öffentlichen Raum der wissenschaftlichen, aus den Quellen erarbeiteten Holocaust-Forschung eine zunehmend große Bedeutung zu. Umso wichtiger war es, in Deutschland eine hochrangige, international wahrgenommene und ausstrahlende Holocaust-Forschung zu etablieren, die vor zehn Jahren noch kaum verankert war.

Da der Massenmord an den europäischen Juden ein deutsches Verbrechen war, legten wir Wert darauf, dass es sich um eine dezidiert deutsche Einrichtung handeln sollte, die sich aber gegenstandsgemäß international ausrichten, nationalen und internationalen Wissenschaftlern und Institutionen als kompetenter Partner dienen und ein wichtiges Zentrum innerhalb eines internationalen Netzwerks bilden sollte.

Es gehörte zu den sehr positiven Erfahrungen deutscher Forschungs- und Wissenschaftsförderung, dass die politischen Gremien und Geldgeber im Bund-Länder-Verfahren der Leibniz-Gemeinschaft von Anfang der Grundidee des Vorhabens überaus aufgeschlossen gegenüberstanden und das



Institut für Zeitgeschichte nachdrücklich ermutigten, ein entsprechendes Antragsverfahren zu beginnen. Dafür, dass dies gelang, gebührt dem Freistaat Bayern als unserem Sitzland und dem Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung beziehungsweise ihren Vertretern großer Dank. Im Sommer 2013 war es dann so weit: Das IfZ konnte in Kooperation mit der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (LMU) ein internationales Kompetenz- und Kommunikationszentrum für die Holocaust-Forschung aufbauen. Das neu gegründete Zentrum für Holocaust-Studien sah sich dabei nicht nur als Forum für die internationale

Holocaust-Forschung, sondern insbesondere auch als Brücke nach Osteuropa, eben jener Region, in der für die Zukunft der größte Erkenntnisgewinn für die Holocaust-Forschung zu erwarten war.

Zehn Jahre nach seiner Gründung haben sich die damaligen Absichten und Hoffnungen mehr als erfüllt. Dank der überaus engagierten und vorausschauenden Leitung durch Frank Bajohr und Andrea Löw konnten die Ziele vollumfänglich erreicht werden. Die Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeiter des Zentrums haben wesentliche eigene Forschungen vorgelegt. Das Zentrum verfügt heute über eine etablierte Kollegstruktur mit internationaler Strahlkraft. Es spielt eine wichtige Rolle in der Integration osteuropäischer Forscherinnen und Forschern beziehungsweise der von ihnen bearbeiteten Themenfeldern. Schließlich ist es führend in der kommunikativen Vermittlung der europäischen mit der israelischen und nordamerikanischen Holocaust-Forschung. Zeugnis davon gab unter anderem die erste große Lessons and Legacies-Tagung auf europäischem Boden, die unter Federführung des Zentrums im November 2019 in München stattfand.

Im Namen des gesamten Instituts für Zeitgeschichte danke ich allen am Aufbau und der Arbeit unseres Zentrums für Holocaust-Studien und wünsche ihm weiterhin gutes Gedeihen und viel Erfolg.

Prof. Dr. Andreas Wirsching  
Direktor des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte München–Berlin



# EDITORIAL



# 2

Unbestreitbar kommt der Bundesrepublik eine besondere Verantwortung für die Erinnerung an den Holocaust zu. Forschung, Lehre und Vermittlung zu diesem Thema benötigen jedoch eine entsprechende institutionelle Basis, die hierzulande lange gefehlt hat. Deshalb richtete das Institut für Zeitgeschichte 2013 mit entsprechender Anschub-Finanzierung des Bundesministeriums für Bildung und Forschung ein Zentrum für Holocaust-Studien ein, das 2017 erweitert und durch eine Bund-Länder-Finanzierung auf eine dauerhafte institutionelle Basis gestellt wurde.



ischen Pfeiler der Forschung zu stärken und gegenüber der älteren Forschung in Nordamerika einerseits und Israel andererseits besser sichtbar zu machen. So fand die Kongressserie »Lessons & Legacies of the Holocaust«, die seit 1989 ausschließlich auf Nordamerika konzentriert war, durch Initiative des Zentrums im November 2019 erstmals in München statt. In Zukunft wird sie alternierend in Nordamerika und Europa (2023: Prag) ausgerichtet, unter steter organisatorischer Beteiligung des Zentrums und der Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung.

Seitdem haben wir viel auf den Weg gebracht. Deshalb laden wir Sie, liebe Leserinnen und Leser, dazu ein, sich davon selbst ein Bild zu machen – anhand einiger beispielhafter Aufsätze, die einen Eindruck über die von uns bearbeiteten Themen vermitteln, aber auch der zehnjährigen Bilanz der verschiedenen Arbeitsfelder.

Auch unser englischsprachiges Jahrbuch »European Holocaust Studies« hat sich seit 2018 zu einem wichtigen Sprachrohr der europäischen Holocaust-Forschung entwickelt. Europäisch sind auch unsere Forschungsprojekte ausgerichtet, auch wenn wir uns selbstverständlich mit der zentralen Rolle NS-Deutschlands beim Holocaust beschäftigen, wie dies von einer deutschen Forschungseinrichtung zu Recht erwartet werden kann. Schließlich kommen auch Vermittlung und Wissenstransfer in unserer Arbeit nicht zu kurz. Mitarbeiter/innen des Zentrums lehren an verschiedenen deutschen Universitäten, engagieren sich bei der Fortbildung von Lehrkräften, stehen in NS-Strafprozessen mit ihrer Expertise als Gutachter zur Verfügung und nehmen auch in der medialen Öffentlichkeit, in der Halbwissen, moralisierende Kenntnislosigkeit und problematische Analogieschlüsse weit verbreitet sind, zu Fragen des Holocaust Stellung.

Seit seiner Gründung war das Zentrum vor allem darum bemüht, die deutsche mit der internationalen Forschung und Vermittlung eng zu verzahnen. Von Beginn an fungierte das Zentrum deshalb als wichtiger Partner des europäischen EHRI-Projektes (European Holocaust Research Infrastructure), das mit seinem Portal eine zentrale Informationsressource über Quellen- und Archivbestände zum Thema Holocaust entwickelt hat, ohne die eine entsprechende Forschung nicht mehr denkbar ist. Seit 2013 hat das Zentrum mehr als 120 Forscherinnen und Forscher als Gastwissenschaftler und Fellows beherbergt. Viele von ihnen stammen aus Osteuropa und finden für ihre Forschungen oft wenig Unterstützung, ja sind sogar vielfältigen Pressionen und Angriffen ausgesetzt. In diesem Sinne hat das Zentrum immer eine wichtige Brückenfunktion für die kritische Forschung in Osteuropa ausgeübt. Dies gilt seit 2022 auch für ukrainische Forscherinnen und Forscher, die nach dem russischen Angriff unter erschwerten Bedingungen arbeiten müssen.

Wir können heute noch nicht übersehen, welchen Stellenwert die Beschäftigung mit dem Holocaust in der deutschen und internationalen Öffentlichkeit langfristig einnehmen wird. Wir können auch jüngeren Generationen und einer immer stärker durch Migranten geprägten deutschen Gesellschaft nicht vorschreiben, wie und auf welche Weise sie sich mit den NS-Verbrechen auseinandersetzen. Wir können sie nur ermuntern, dies zu tun. Dabei werden wir auch in Zukunft unsere Expertise gerne zur Verfügung stellen.

Eine unverzichtbare Plattform für die internationale Forschungsdiskussion sind mittlerweile auch die zahlreichen Workshops und Konferenzen des Zentrums, hat sich doch das Thema Holocaust zu einem breiten internationalen Forschungsfeld entwickelt. Neben der Brückenfunktion nach Osteuropa hat sich das Zentrum besonders bemüht, den europä-

Prof. Dr. Frank Bajohr  
Wissenschaftlicher Leiter des Zentrums für Holocaust-Studien

I  
O  
J  
A  
H  
R  
E  
Z  
F  
H  
S  
—  
A  
M  
I  
F  
Z  
M  
Ü  
N  
C  
H  
E  
N

# KONGRESSE, KONFERENZEN UND KOOPERATIONEN



3

**I**n den ersten zehn Jahren seiner Existenz hat das Zentrum für Holocaust-Studien annähernd dreißig Konferenzen und Workshops durchgeführt bzw. war als Mitveranstalter an solchen beteiligt. Wer sich das breite Spektrum der verhandelten Themen näher besieht, gewinnt einen prägnanten Eindruck von den Trends der Holocaust-Forschung im letzten Jahrzehnt. Diese ist immer schon ein internationales und zudem interdisziplinäres Feld gewesen, in dem allerdings lange Zeit nationale Perspektiven dominierten. Auch thematisch hat sich beispielsweise die deutsche Forschung lange Zeit eher mit den Tätern des Holocaust, die israelische eher mit den jüdischen Opfern beschäftigt. Dies hat sich signifikant geändert – und die Konferenzen und Konferenzbeteiligungen des Zentrums spiegeln diese wachsende Internationalisierung und Vielfalt der Forschung und Forschungsdiskussion wider. In thematisch-methodischer Hinsicht lassen sich die Konferenzen des Zentrums fünf Gruppen zuordnen:

Nachdem sich das Zentrum anfänglich noch mit einer Forschungsbilanz aus deutscher Sicht beschäftigt hatte, besaßen die nachfolgenden Konferenzen fast alle eine genuin europäische Perspektive, sei es die Integration der Holocaust-Forschung in eine europäische Alltags- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte unter deutscher Besatzung (2015), die Radikalisierung rechtsradikaler und antisemitischer Bewegungen und Politikansätze in Europa am Vorabend des Zweiten Weltkrieges (2016), die Gewaltdynamiken in den verschiedenen mittel- und osteuropäischen »Borderlands« vor und im Zweiten Weltkrieg (2018), Kindheitserfahrungen in Krieg und Völkermord (2022) oder die Rolle nichtdeutscher, europäischer Täter im Holocaust (2023).

Zweitens widmete das Zentrum eine Reihe von thematischen Workshops Fragen und Problemen der Erinnerungskultur. Auf vielen Forschungskongressen stammt mittlerweile die Mehrheit der verhandelten Themen aus diesem Komplex, der etwas unscharf auch als »Aftermath Studies« bezeichnet wird. Im Einzelnen beschäftigte sich das Zentrum mit dem Phänomen des »Dark Tourism« an vielen Gedenk- und Tator-

ten des Holocaust (2017), den problematischen Tendenzen der Erinnerungskultur in Mittel- und Osteuropa (2018) oder den Herausforderungen für die Erinnerungskultur durch den Postkolonialismus, die Kolonialismus- und vergleichende Genozidforschung (2020).

Eine dritte Serie von Workshops und Konferenzen war vor allem der Förderung wissenschaftlichen Nachwuchses gewidmet. Dazu gehörten u. a. gemeinsame deutsch-israelische Doktorandenseminare mit der Hebrew University of Jerusalem sowie europäische Workshops, auf denen Nachwuchswissenschaftler/innen ihre Forschungen mit anderen Doktoranden und älteren Forscher/innen diskutieren konnten (2017, 2018, 2019, 2022).

Viertens war das Zentrum darum bemüht, die deutschen Forscherinnen und Forscher besser mit den internationalen Institutionen von Forschung und Vermittlung zu vernetzen. Diesem Zweck dienten u. a. Seminare für Lehrende an deutschen Universitäten sowie für Mitarbeiter/innen an deutschen Gedenkstätten, die 2015 in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies am US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington durchgeführt wurden. Diese Seminare gaben den Teilnehmenden Gelegenheit, ihre Lehrveranstaltungen und Forschungen in einem internationalen Rahmen zu diskutieren und die internationale Forschungs-Infrastruktur besser kennenzulernen.

Eine fünfte Serie von Workshops und Konferenzen war schließlich den Quellen des Holocaust und ihrer Interpretation (2014, 2016) sowie methodischen Fragen gewidmet (2019). Angesichts der zunehmenden Internationalisierung des Forschungsfeldes, den mehr als zwanzig Sprachen, in denen die Quellen des Holocaust abgefasst sind, sowie der wachsenden Auffächerung des interdisziplinären Forschungsfeldes kommen solchen Workshops in Zukunft eine wachsende Bedeutung zu.

Darüber hinaus bot und bietet das gemeinsam mit dem Historischen Seminar der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität veranstaltete Kolloquium »The Holocaust and its Contexts« jedes Semester die Möglichkeit für Mitarbeitende, Fellows und Gäste



des Zentrums, Einblicke in ihre aktuelle Forschung zu geben und mit Studierenden und der interessierten Öffentlichkeit zu diskutieren.

Als Partnerinstitution der European Holocaust Research Infrastructure (EHRI) ist das Zentrum insbesondere in die Planung und Durchführung von methodologischen Seminaren eingebunden, die internationalen Promovierenden und Postdocs die Gelegenheit geben, sich über Methoden und Trends im Bereich der Holocaustforschung zu informieren, eigene Projekte vorzustellen und mit führenden Forscherinnen und Forschern zu diskutieren.

Darüber hinaus kooperierte das Zentrum bei zahlreichen Veranstaltungen in den vergangenen Jahren mit wichtigen Institutionen im Feld der Holocaust-Forschung bzw. -Erinnerung, sowohl national (z. B. Gedenkstätte Sachsenhausen, Fritz Bauer Institut), wie international, z. B. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USA), Polin Museum (Polen), Mémorial de la Shoah (Frankreich). Diese Beispiele unterstreichen, wie schnell sich das Zentrum innerhalb weniger Jahre bestens vernetzt und als wichtiger Kooperationspartner etabliert hat. Das beste Beispiel hierfür ist die Tatsache, dass es dem Zentrum 2019 gelang, die größte Fachkonferenz im Bereich der Holocaust-For-

schung, »Lessons and Legacies« zum ersten Mal außerhalb Nordamerikas zu veranstalten. Vom 4.–7. November kamen in München über 200 Forscherinnen und Forscher zusammen, die in 36 Panels und 11 Workshops ihr Projekte im Bereich von Holocaust-Forschung und -Vermittlung präsentierten und diskutierten. Damit handelte es sich bei der »Lessons and Legacies« in München um die größte Fachkonferenz, die zu diesem Thema bislang in Deutschland bzw. Europa stattgefunden hat. Neben dem Zentrum war die Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, die Holocaust Educational Foundation an der Northwestern University sowie die LMU München an der Organisation beteiligt. Die Stadt München finanzierte u. a. ein Besuchsprogramm für die Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer zu ehemaligen Stätten der NS-Herrschaft und des Holocaust. Insgesamt demonstrierte der Münchner Kongress den Bedarf für ein ständiges europäisches Forum, das die Probleme und Erkenntnisse der Holocaust-Forschung in breiter internationaler Perspektive diskutiert. 2023 findet die Konferenz in Prag statt und das Zentrum ist als wichtiger Kooperationspartner eng in die Vorbereitung und Durchführung eingebunden. Künftig soll die Konferenzserie »Lessons & Legacies« alternierend in Nordamerika und Europa ausgerichtet werden.



## 2015

**20.-24.7.2015, Washington, DC:** Summit on Teaching the Holocaust at German Universities (zusammen mit dem Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies des US Holocaust Memorial Museums)

**24.-26.9.2015, Amsterdam:** Probing the Limits of Categorization. The »Bystander« in Holocaust History (zusammen u. a. mit dem Duitsland Instituut der Universität Amsterdam)

**26.-30.10.2015, Washington, DC:** Research at German Memorial Sites and Documentation Centers on the History of National Socialism and the Holocaust (zusammen mit dem Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies des US Holocaust Memorial Museums)

## 2016

**18.-20.2.2016, München:** Right-Wing Politics and the Rise of Antisemitism in Europe 1935-1941

**26.6.-1.7.2016, Vilnius:** Languages, Cultures and Perspectives. How to read Holocaust Sources (EHRI-Seminar, zusammen mit dem Vilna Gaon State Jewish Museum)

## 2017

**28.6.-1.7.2017, Glasgow:** Dark Tourism Sites Related to the Holocaust, the Nazi Past and World War II. Visitation and Practice (zusammen mit der Dokumentation Obersalzberg und der Glasgow Caledonian University)

**17.-22.9.2017, Lviv/Lemberg:** Advanced Holocaust Studies Today (EHRI-Seminar, zusammen mit dem NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies und dem Center for Urban History of East Central Europe)

**18.-20.10.2017, Berlin:** Raul Hilberg und die Holocaust-Historiographie (zusammen u. a. mit dem Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung in Potsdam)

## 2018

**7.-9.2.2018, München:** The Holocaust in the Borderlands. Inter-ethnic Relations and the Dynamics of Violence in Occupied Eastern Europe

**12.-15.4.2018, Worcester/Mass., USA:** International Graduate Conference on Holocaust and Genocide Studies (zusammen mit dem Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies der Clark University und der Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

**3.-7.9.2018, Budapest:** Researching and Remembering the Holocaust in Central Europe (EHRI-Seminar, zusammen mit der Central European University und dem Polish Center for Holocaust Research)

## WORKSHOPS, KONFERENZEN UND KONGRESSE, AN DENEN DAS ZENTRUM ALS VERANSTALTER FUNGIERTE ODER ALS MITVERANSTALTER BETEILIGT WAR:

### 2013

EHRI-Summer-School in Kooperation mit der Akademie für Politische Bildung Tutzing und der MISU Summer Academy der LMU »German Sources and Archives of the Holocaust«, u. a. mit öffentlichem Abendvortrag »Forty-Five Years as a Holocaust Historian« von Prof. Christopher R. Browning (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill/USA) im IfZ München und in der APB Tutzing.

### 2014

**10.-12.4.2014, Tutzing:** Der Holocaust. Kontexte und Forschungsansätze. Eine Bilanz (zusammen mit der Akademie für Politische Bildung, Tutzing)

**10./11.10.2014, Dachau:** Zeugnis ablegen bis zum letzten. Tagebücher und persönliche Zeugnisse aus der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus und des Holocaust (Dachauer Symposium, zusammen mit Sybille Steinbacher)

**23.-25.10.2014, München:** The Holocaust and European Societies. Social Processes and Social Dynamics



Andrea Löw und Kim Wünschmann auf einer Abendveranstaltung im Gemeindezentrum der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinde München, aus Anlass der Konferenz »Lessons & Legacies«, November 2019





Podiumsdiskussion an der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München mit Frank Bajohr, Dieter Pohl, Christopher Browning und Hana Kubástová, aus Anlass der Konferenz »Lessons & Legacies«, November 2019

## 2019

**21.1.-23.1.2019, Bratislava:** XX. Century: If this is a Woman. Research on Holocaust and Gender (zusammen mit der Comenius Universität und der Slowakischen Akademie für Wissenschaften)

**16.6.-20.6.2019, Jerusalem:** New Trends in Holocaust and Genocide Studies (Deutsch-Israelisches Doktorandenseminar, zusammen mit der Hebrew University of Jerusalem und der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)

**4.-7.11.2019, München:** Special Conference Lessons & Legacies of the Holocaust (zusammen mit der Holocaust Educational Foundation an der Northwestern University, Evanston, und der Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung)

## 2020

**18.-19.2.2020, Brighton, UK:** German-Jewish Agency in Times of Crisis 1914–1938 (zusammen mit dem Centre for German-Jewish Studies der University of Sussex, dem Institut für die Geschichte der deutschen Juden, Hamburg und dem Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung an der TU Berlin)

**1.-4.3.2020, Leicester:** Narrative Art and Visual Storytelling in Holocaust and Human Rights Education (Workshop, zusammen

mit dem Stanley Burton Centre of Holocaust and Genocide Studies der University of Leicester und der University of Victoria/Kanada)

**11.-13.11.2020, München (digital):** Colonial Paradigms of Violence. Comparative Analysis of the Holocaust, Genocide and Mass Killing (zusammen mit dem Hugo Valentin Center der Universität Uppsala/Schweden)

## 2021

**15.-17.10.2021, München:** Lessons and Legacies Regional Interim Meeting (zusammen mit der Holocaust Educational Foundation an der Northwestern University, Evanston)

## 2022

**8.-12.5.2022, München:** German Israeli Research Workshop (zusammen mit der Hebrew University of Jerusalem und der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)

**17.-19.10.2022, München:** Childhood at War and Genocide. Children's Experiences of Conflict in the 20th Century – Agency, Survival, Memory and Representation (zusammen mit dem UCL Institute of Advanced Studies und dem Fritz Bauer Institut, Frankfurt am Main)

**27.11.2022, Warschau:** »Operation Reinhardt« and the Destruction of the Polish Jews (zusammen mit dem POLIN Museum, Warschau, des Polish Center for Holocaust Research, der Gedenkstätte Majdanek und dem US Holocaust Memorial Museum)

## 2023

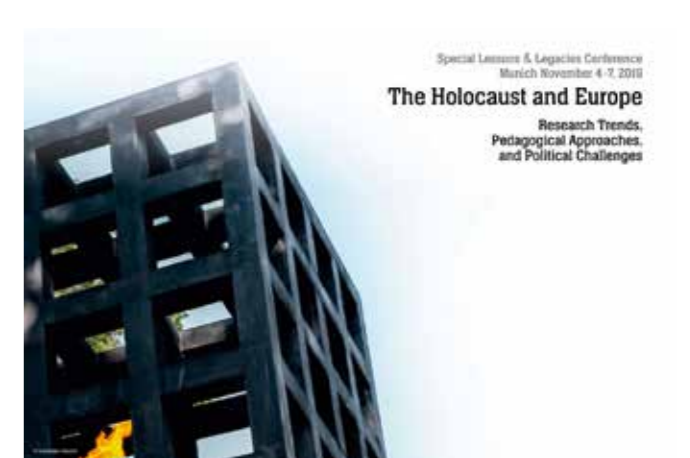
**14.-16.3.2023, Paris:** The Shoah as a European »Project«? New Perpetrator Research in a Transnational Perspective (zusammen mit dem Deutschen Historischen Institut in Paris, der Tel Aviv University und der EHESS Paris)

**21.6.-23.6.2023 Gedenkstätte Sachsenhausen, Oranienburg:** Der Überfall auf die Sowjetunion und die deutsche Besatzungspolitik. Geschichte und Aufarbeitung (zusammen mit der Stiftung Brandenburgische Gedenkstätten, der Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung und der Stiftung Hamburgische Gedenkstätten)

**6.-10.11.2023, Prag:** Lessons & Legacies Europe. Bridging Disciplines, Histories, and Cultures (zusammen mit der Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, der Holocaust Educational Foundation an der Northwestern University/Evanston, der Karls-Universität Prag und dem Masaryk Institut der tschechischen Akademie der Wissenschaften)



Charlotte Knobloch, Präsidentin der IKG München und Oberbayern, berichtet von ihren persönlichen Erlebnissen während des Novemberpogroms 1938, aus Anlass der Konferenz »Lessons & Legacies«, November 2019



Teilnehmerinnen der Konferenz »Lessons & Legacies«: (von links): Denisa Neštáková, Anna Ullrich, Hannah Wilson und Kerstin Schwenke





# FORSCHUNGS- PROJEKTE, BÜCHER UND PUBLIKATIONEN

**S**eit 2013 veröffentlichten die Mitarbeiter/innen des Zentrums für Holocaust-Studien zahlreiche Monographien sowie Aufsätze in Sammelbänden und Fachzeitschriften. Gemeinsam mit den verschiedenen abgeschlossenen und noch laufenden Forschungsprojekten demonstrieren sie die thematische Bandbreite des Zentrums. Dabei sind fünf Schwerpunkte auszumachen, die aktuellen Tendenzen der jüngeren Holocaust-Forschung entsprechen.

Von Anfang an lag ein Fokus auf der Alltagsgeschichte im Holocaust, wobei insbesondere die Reaktionen und Verhaltensstrategien der verfolgten Juden, ihre Lebensbedingungen in den Lagern, aber auch ihr Streben nach Selbstbehauptung beleuchtet wurden. Viele Publikationen und Projekte widmeten sich den Gettos wie Litzmannstadt oder Warschau oder den Konzentrations- und Vernichtungslagern wie Auschwitz. Spätere Veröffentlichungen und Projekte beleuchten den Alltag der nichtjüdischen Mehrheitsgesellschaft und behandeln beispielsweise die Reaktionen auf und das Wissen um den Holocaust in der nichtjüdischen Bevölkerung, die Situation von Fußballvereinen wie dem FC Bayern München in der NS-Zeit oder die nationalsozialistische Inszenierung des Alltags in den Konzentrationslagern im Kontext von Lagerbesuchen.

Für die Grundlagenforschung zum Holocaust ist die Veröffentlichung von Quellen entscheidend. Als besonders wichtig erweisen sich immer wieder Tagebücher – von Juden wie von Nichtjuden. Im Jahre 2015 wurden in Zusammenarbeit mit dem US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington die lange verschollen geglaubten Tagebücher des NSDAP-Chefideologen Alfred Rosenberg publiziert, die seitdem in sieben fremdsprachigen Buchausgaben erschienen. Während die Rosenberg-Tagebücher tiefe Einblicke in die Gedankenwelt eines NS-Täters erlauben, geben andere Publikationen weniger prominenten Stimmen aus dieser Zeit Raum und beleuchten zeitgenössische Wahrnehmungen und Einschätzungen von

NS-Verfolgten wie der Mehrheitsgesellschaft, wie sie sich in Tagebüchern, Briefen, Fotografien und anderen Quellen niedergeschlagen haben.

Der Holocaust im besetzten Mittel- und Osteuropa bildet einen weiteren wichtigen Forschungs- und Publikationsschwerpunkt des Zentrums. Das gilt nicht allein für Polen, sondern auch für Rumänien, Serbien, Weißrussland oder die Ukraine, der aktuell verschiedene Projekte gewidmet sind. Im Fokus standen und stehen dabei der Alltag und die Lebensverhältnisse der jüdischen Bevölkerung, einschließlich der aus dem »Altreich« nach Osteuropa deportierten Juden sowie die Strukturen der antisemitischen Diskriminierungs- und Vernichtungspolitik der deutschen Besatzer.

Eine Reihe von Publikationen sind dem Wissenstransfer in die interessierte, nichtwissenschaftliche Öffentlichkeit gewidmet. Den Anfang machte der Sammelband »Der Holocaust. Ergebnisse und neue Fragen der Forschung«, der 2015 von Frank Bajohr und Andrea Löw herausgegeben wurde. Im Jahr 2018 erschien erstmals das englischsprachige Jahrbuch »European Holocaust Studies«, das jeweils einem themenspezifischen Schwerpunkt gewidmet ist, bislang unbekannte Quellen vorstellt und Einblicke in laufende Forschungsprojekte vermittelt. Ziel ist es, den aktuellen Stand der europäischen Forschung zu bündeln und stärker mit der internationalen Forschung in den USA und Israel zu vernetzen.

Weitere Veröffentlichungen kreisen schließlich um die künstlerische Rezeption und Darstellung des Holocaust. Nach vereinzelt Aufsätzen zur Rezeption im Kino und im Theater startete 2019 das Forschungsprojekt »Graphic Novels und die Vermittlung der Holocaust-Geschichte«, bei dem in Zusammenarbeit mit Holocaust-Überlebenden und Illustratorinnen Forscher aus fünf Ländern Publikationen von Graphic Novels vorbereiten und ihre Verwendung in Unterricht und Studium analysieren.

## FORSCHUNGS- UND EDITIONSPROJEKTE DES ZENTRUMS FÜR HOLOCAUST-STUDIEN

Rudolf Höß – Handlungspraxis, Beziehungsstrukturen  
und Privatleben eines KZ-Kommandanten  
**ANNA RAPHAELA SCHMITZ**

Making Sense of Catastrophe: The Jewish Leadership  
in Romania (1938–1948)  
**GAËLLE FISHER**

Wege der Erfahrung, Pfade der Erinnerung:  
Der Holocaust in der Vojvodina aus der Perspektive  
jüdischer Opfer und deutscher Vertriebener  
**CAROLINE MEZGER**

Zentralen des Terrors in der besetzten Sowjetunion.  
Die Dienststellen der Kommandeure der Sicherheitspolizei  
und des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS  
**CHRISTIAN SCHMITTWILKEN**

Graphic Novels und die Vermittlung der  
Holocaust-Geschichte  
**ANDREA LÖW, FRANK BAJOHR**

Besuche in nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslagern  
**KERSTIN SCHWENKE**

Der FC Bayern München 1929–1949.  
Aufstieg und Niedergang eines Fußballvereins im  
Kontext der Entwicklung des deutschen Fußballs  
**GREGOR HOFMANN**

Das radikal Böse. Der Ulmer Einsatzgruppen-Prozess 1958  
und die Wiederentdeckung des Holocaust  
**FRANK BAJOHR**

»Nach Osten«. Das kurze Leben deutschsprachiger Juden  
nach ihrer Deportation ins besetzte Osteuropa  
**ANDREA LÖW**

Colonialism and the Expansion of the Third Reich in  
Poland: Discourses, Perceptions and Methods  
**RACHEL O'SULLIVAN**

Juden in Italien während Ausgrenzung,  
Verfolgung und Holocaust (1938–1945).  
Subjektive Wahrnehmungen und Verhaltensweisen  
**MIRJAM NEUHOF**

Das Ende der Gemeinschaften: Shtetl nach dem  
Zweiten Weltkrieg und dem Holocaust  
**TOBIAS WALZ**

Editionsprojekt: Quellen aus den Gettos  
**ANDREA LÖW**

Das politische Tagebuch Alfred Rosenbergs 1934–1944  
**FRANK BAJOHR**



Andreas Wirsching und Frank Bajohr  
sichten Neuerscheinungen  
des Zentrums für Holocaust-Studien

## PUBLIKATIONEN UND BÜCHER VON MITARBEITER/INNEN DES ZENTRUMS FÜR HOLOCAUST-STUDIEN

2013

**FRANK BAJOHR**

»... die hatten immer das meiste Geld« : Funktion und Bedeutung eines antijüdischen Klischees im »Dritten Reich«. – In: Juden. Geld. Eine Vorstellung / hrsg. von Fritz Backhaus ... – Frankfurt am Main [u. a.] : Campus-Verl., 2013, – S. 343–352.

»Volksgemeinschaft« von außen betrachtet: Gemeinschaftsutopien und soziale Praxis in Berichten ausländischer Diplomaten und des sozialdemokratischen Exils 1933 – 45. – In: »Volksgemeinschaft« als soziale Praxis : Neue Forschungen zur NS-Gesellschaft vor Ort / hrsg. von Dietmar von Reeken u. Malte Thießen. – Paderborn [u. a.] : Schöningh, 2013. – (Nationalsozialistische »Volksgemeinschaft« ; Bd. 4), – S. 79–95.

Eine Stadt macht mobil : Hamburg und die SPIEGEL-Affäre. – In: Die SPIEGEL-Affäre : Ein Skandal und seine Folgen / hrsg. von Martin Doerry. – München: Dt. Verl.-Anstalt, 2013, – S. 202–214.

Neuere Täterforschung, Version: 1.0. – In: Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte, 2013, [http://docupedia.de/zg/Neuere\\_Taeterforschung](http://docupedia.de/zg/Neuere_Taeterforschung).

»1933« eighty years on / Frank Bajohr, Shelley Baranowski, Anthony McElligott, Thomas Mergel u. Armin Nolzen. – In: Politics, Religion & Ideology. – 14 (2013, 3), S. 431–448.

Bedrohung, Hoffnung, Skepsis. Vier Tagebücher des Jahres 1933. / hrsg. von Frank Bajohr, Beate Meyer, Joachim Szodrzyński. – Göttingen: Wallstein, 2013. – 494 S.

**GILES BENNETT**

Die Arbeitsbedingungen der Warschauer Juden 1941–1942 : Max Bischof und die Transferstelle Warschau. – In: Arbeit in den nationalsozialistischen Ghettos / hrsg. von Jürgen Hensel u. Stephan Lehnstaedt. – Osnabrück: Fibre-Verl., 2013. – (Einzelveröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts Warschau ; Bd. 29), – S. 91–110.

EHRI National Reports on Holocaust History and Archives / hrsg. von Giles Bennett, Dieter Pohl u. Veerle Vanden Daelen. – In: European Holocaust Research Infrastructure, 2013, <http://www.ehri-project.eu/national-reports>.

**ANDREA LÖW**

Alltag im Holocaust : Jüdisches Leben im Großdeutschen Reich 1941–1945 / hrsg. von Andrea Löw, Doris L. Bergen u. Anna Hájková – München: Oldenbourg, 2013. – (Schriftenreihe der Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte ; Bd. 106). – VI, 265 S.

Warum eine Alltagsgeschichte des Holocaust? / Doris L. Bergen, Anna Hájková u. Andrea Löw. – In: Alltag im Holocaust : Jüdisches Leben im Großdeutschen Reich 1941–1945 / hrsg. von Andrea Löw, Doris L. Bergen u. Anna Hájková. – München: Oldenbourg, 2013. – (Schriftenreihe der Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte ; Bd. 106), – S. 1–12.

»Wanderung ins Ungewisse«? : Was wussten Juden in den Ghettos Litzmannstadt und Warschau 1942 über die Vernichtung? – In: Naziverbrechen : Täter, Taten, Bewältigungsversuche / hrsg. von Martin Cüppers, Jürgen Matthäus u. Andrej Angrick. – Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchges., 2013. – (Veröffentlichungen der Forschungsstelle Ludwigsburg der Universität Stuttgart ; 25), – S. 258–272.

Chronisten der »Lebenswelt Ghetto« : Dokumentations-tätigkeit in den Ghettos Litzmannstadt und Warschau. – In: Lebenswelt Ghetto : Alltag und soziales Umfeld während der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung / hrsg. von Imke Hansen. – Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013. – (Veröffentlichungen des Nordost-Instituts ; Bd. 18), – S. 310–329.

Getto łódzkie Litzmannstadt Getto : Warunki życia i sposoby przetrwania. – Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego [u. a.], 2012. – 487 S.

Moralisches Dilemma : Vom Widerstand in Ghettos im besetzten Polen. – In: Einsicht. – 5 (2013), S. 21–27.

Warthegau : »Und diese Stadt wird leben, weil sie so leidenschaftlich leben will«. – In: Arbeit in den nationalsozialistischen Ghettos / hrsg. von Jürgen Hensel u. Stephan Lehnstaedt. – Osnabrück: Fibre-Verl., 2013. – (Einzelveröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts Warschau ; Bd. 29), – S. 113–137.

Zeugnisse für die »Nachwelt« : Dokumentationstätigkeit in den Ghettos Litzmannstadt und Warschau. – In: Lesestunde / hrsg. von Ruth Leiserowitz, Joanna Nalewajko-Kulikow u. Stephan Lehnstaedt. – Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton [u. a.]; Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau, 2013, – S. 315–330.

Das Warschauer Getto : Alltag und Widerstand im Angesicht der Vernichtung / Markus Roth u. Andrea Löw. – Orig.-Ausg. – München: Beck, 2013. – 239 S. – (Beck'sche Reihe; Bd. 6087).



## 2014

## FRANK BAJOHR

»Communities of action« and diversity of attitudes: reflections on mechanisms of social integration in National Socialist Germany, 1933–1945. – In: Visions of community in Nazi Germany: social engineering and private lives / hrsg. von Martina Steber u. Bernhard Gotto. – Oxford [u. a.]: Oxford Univ. Press, 2014, – S. 187–199.

Fremd im Reich : die NS-Herrschaft und die Deutschen in den Berichten ausländischer Diplomaten 1933–1945. – In: Teilungen überwinden : Europäische und internationale Geschichte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert ; Festschrift für Wilfried Loth / hrsg. von Michaela Bachem-Rehm u. Wilfried Loth. – München [u. a.]: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2014, – S. 339–348.

Hamburg im »Dritten Reich« : Rückblick und Ausblick. In: Zeitgeschichte in Hamburg. – 2013 (2014), S. 15–34.

## ANDREA LÖW

Krakowscy Żydzi pod Okupacją Niemiecką 1939–1945 / Andrea Löw ; Markus Roth. – Kraków: Universitas, 2014. – 274 S.

Arbeit in den Gettos : Rettung oder temporärer Vernichtungsaufschub? – In: Arbeit im Nationalsozialismus: [Tagung ... »Arbeit und Lebenslauf in globalgeschichtlicher Perspektive« ...] / hrsg. von Marc Buggeln. – München [u. a.]: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2014, – S. 293–308.

Die »Stunde der Auseinandersetzung mit den deutschen Verbrechen« : der Erste Frankfurter Auschwitz-Prozess. – In: Krieg und Recht : die Ausdifferenzierung des Rechts von der ersten Haager Friedenskonferenz bis heute / hrsg. von Martin Löhnig, Mareike Preisner u. Thomas Schlemmer. – Regensburg: Ed. Rechtskultur, 2014. – (Rechtskultur Wissenschaft ; Bd. 16), – S. 151–164.

Widerstand und Selbstbehauptung von Juden im Nationalsozialismus. – In: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte. – 64 (2014, 27) S. 25–30.



Frank Bajohr und Andrea Löw (Hrsg.):

**Der Holocaust.**  
Ergebnisse und neue Fragen der Forschung.

Frankfurt am Main | Fischer, 2015. | (Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus; Bd. 3279) | 423 S.

## 2015

## FRANK BAJOHR

»... Zeugnis ablegen bis zum letzten« : Tagebücher und persönliche Zeugnisse aus der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus und des Holocaust / hrsg. von Frank Bajohr u. Sybille Steinbacher. – Göttingen: Wallstein, 2015. – (Dachauer Symposien zur Zeitgeschichte ; Bd. 15). – 240 S.

Das »Zeitalter des Tagebuchs«? : subjektive Zeugnisse aus der NS-Zeit; Einführung. – In: »... Zeugnis ablegen bis zum letzten« : Tagebücher und persönliche Zeugnisse aus der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus und des Holocaust / hrsg. von Frank Bajohr u. Sybille Steinbacher. – Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2015. – (Dachauer Symposien zur Zeitgeschichte ; Bd. 15). – S. 7–21.

Der Holocaust : Ergebnisse und neue Fragen der Forschung / hrsg. von Frank Bajohr u. Andrea Löw. – Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2015. – (Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus ; Bd. 3279). – 342 S.

Tendenzen und Probleme der neueren Holocaust-Forschung : eine Einführung. – In: Der Holocaust : Ergebnisse und neue Fragen der Forschung / hrsg. von Frank Bajohr u. Andrea Löw. – Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2015. – (Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus ; Bd. 3279). – S. 9–30.

Alfred Rosenberg : Die Tagebücher von 1934 bis 1944 / hrsg. von Jürgen Matthäus u. Frank Bajohr. – Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2015. – (S. Fischer : Geschichte). – 650 S.

Alfred Rosenberg : Diarios 1934–1944 / Frank Bajohr y Jürgen Matthäus (eds.). – 1ª ed. – Barcelona: Crítica, 2015. – 768 S.

Alfred Rosenberg : Journal : 1934–1944 / ed. par Frank Bajohr et Jürgen Matthäus. – 1 vol. – Paris: Flammarion, DL 2015. – 676 S.

Alfred Rosenberg : The Political Diary of Alfred Rosenberg and the Onset of the Holocaust / hrsg. von Frank Bajohr and Jürgen Matthäus. – Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015. – XVIII, 509 S. – (Documenting life and destruction: Holocaust sources in context ; Bd. 10).

Alfred Rosenberg, the Holocaust, and the War of Destruction in the East : Recent Findings from the Rosenberg Diaries. – In: Cholokost: 70 let spustja : materialy Meždunarodnogo Forum a i 9-j Meždunarodnoj konferencii »Uroki Cholokosta i sovremennaja Rossija« / hrsg. von Ilya Altman, Igor Kotler u. Jürgen Zarusky. – Moskva: Centr »Cholokost«, 2015. – (Rossijskaja biblioteka Cholokosta), – S. 118–125.

»Arisierung« und wirtschaftliche Existenzvernichtung im Nationalsozialismus. – In: Alfred Flechtheim : Raubkunst und Restitution / hrsg. von Andrea Bambi u. Axel Drecol. – Berlin [u. a.]: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2015. – (Schriftenreihe der Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte ; Bd. 110), – S. 29–36.

Der Nationalsozialismus als »Krankengeschichte der Moderne« : ein kritischer Blick zurück. – In: Detlev Peukert und

die NS-Forschung / hrsg. von Rüdiger Hachtmann u. Sven Reichardt. – Göttingen: Wallstein, 2015. – (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus ; Bd. 31), – S. 146–158.

Die Profiteursgesellschaft des »Dritten Reiches«. – In: München und der Nationalsozialismus : Katalog des NS-Dokumentationszentrums München / hrsg. von Winfried Nerdinger, Hans Günter Hockerts u. Marita Krauss. – München: Beck, 2015, – S. 450–456.

The Profiteer Society of the »Third Reich«. – In: Munich and National Socialism : catalogue of the Munich Documentation Centre for the History of National Socialism / ed. by Winfried Nerdinger, Hans Günter Hockerts and Marita Krauss. – München: Beck, 2015, – S. 446–452.

Täterforschung : Ertrag, Probleme und Perspektiven eines Forschungsansatzes. – In: Der Holocaust : Ergebnisse und neue Fragen der Forschung / hrsg. von Frank Bajohr u. Andrea Löw. – Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2015. – (Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus ; Bd. 3279), – S. 167–185.

## GILES BENNETT

Guide to the Sources on the Holocaust in Occupied Poland / Translated, revised and updated edition of the original Polish »Źródła do badań nad zagładą Żydów na okupowanych ziemiach polskich« by Alina Skibińska. Co-authors: Giles Bennett ... – [Amsterdam] : European Holocaust Research Infrastructure (EHRI), 2014. – 443 S. = [http://training.ehri-project.eu/sites/default/files/portal\\_assets/skibinska\\_guide.pdf](http://training.ehri-project.eu/sites/default/files/portal_assets/skibinska_guide.pdf)

Sources for Research into the Extermination of the Jews in Poland in German Archives. – In: Guide to the Sources on the Holocaust in Occupied Poland / translated, revised and updated edition of the original Polish »Źródła do badań nad zagładą Żydów na okupowanych ziemiach polskich« by Alina Skibińska. Co-authors: Giles Bennett ... – [Amsterdam]: European Holocaust Research Infrastructure (EHRI), 2014, – S. 177–188. = [http://training.ehri-project.eu/sites/default/files/portal\\_assets/skibinska\\_guide.pdf](http://training.ehri-project.eu/sites/default/files/portal_assets/skibinska_guide.pdf)

## ANDREA LÖW

Der Holocaust : Ergebnisse und neue Fragen der Forschung / hrsg. von Frank Bajohr u. Andrea Löw. – Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2015. – (Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus ; Bd. 3279). – 342 S.

Tendenzen und Probleme der neueren Holocaust-Forschung : eine Einführung. – In: Der Holocaust : Ergebnisse und neue Fragen der Forschung / hrsg. von Frank Bajohr u. Andrea Löw. – Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2015. – (Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus ; Bd. 3279), – S. 9–30.

Handlungsspielräume und Reaktionen der jüdischen Bevölkerung in Ostmitteleuropa. – In: Der Holocaust : Ergebnis-

se und neue Fragen der Forschung / hrsg. von Frank Bajohr u. Andrea Löw. – Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2015. – (Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus ; Bd. 3279), – S. 237–254.

Józef Zelkowitz : in diesen alpträumen Tagen : Tagebuchaufzeichnungen aus dem Getto Lodz/Litzmannstadt, September 1942 / hrsg. und kommentiert von Angela Genger, Andrea Löw u. Sascha Feuchert. Aus dem Jiddischen übers. von Susan Hiep. – Göttingen: Wallstein, 2015. – 151 S.

Das Getto Litzmannstadt (Lodz), Józef Zelkowitz und die »Allgemeine Gehsperr« im September 1942. – In: Józef Zelkowitz : in diesen alpträumen Tagen : Tagebuchaufzeichnungen aus dem Getto Lodz/ Litzmannstadt, September 1942 / hrsg. und kommentiert von Angela Genger, Andrea Löw und Sascha Feuchert. – Göttingen: Wallstein, 2015, – S. 129–139.

Documenting as a »Passion and Obsession« : Photographs from the Lodz (Litzmannstadt) Ghetto. – In: Central European History. – 48 (2015), S. 387–404.

Fleischhacker und die Lebenswirklichkeiten im Getto Litzmannstadt. – In: In Fleischhackers Händen : Wissenschaft, Politik und das 20. Jahrhundert / hrsg. von Jens Kolata. – Tübingen: Museum der Universität Tübingen - MUT, 2015. – (Schriften des Museums der Universität Tübingen MUT ; Bd. 8), – S. 165–183.

Tagebücher aus dem Ghetto Litzmannstadt : Autoren, Themen, Funktion. – In: »... Zeugnis ablegen bis zum letzten« : Tagebücher und persönliche Zeugnisse aus der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus und des Holocaust / hrsg. von Frank Bajohr u. Sybille Steinbacher. – Göttingen: Wallstein, 2015. – (Dachauer Symposien zur Zeitgeschichte ; Bd. 15), – S. 142–163.



Frank Bajohr und Jürgen Matthäus (Hrsg.):

**Alfred Rosenberg: Die Tagebücher von 1934 bis 1944.**

Ergebnisse und neue Fragen der Forschung.

Frankfurt am Main | Fischer, 2015. | (S. Fischer: Geschichte) | 650 S.

## 2016

## FRANK BAJOHR

Alfred Rosenberg : dzienniki 1934–1944 / Alfred Rosenberg ; redakcja i komentarz Jürgen Matthäus, Frank Bajohr ; z niemieckiego przełożył Michał Antkowiak. – Warszawa: Wielka Litera, 2016. – 671 S.

The Holocaust and European Societies. Social Processes and Social Dynamics / hrsg. von Frank Bajohr u. Andrea Löw. – London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. – (The Holocaust and its Contexts). VIII, 348 S.

Mehr als eine Erzählung. Zeitgeschichtliche Perspektiven auf die Bundesrepublik / hrsg. von Frank Bajohr, Anselm Doe-ring-Manteuffel, Claudia Kemper und Detlef Siegfried. – Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2016. – 406 S.

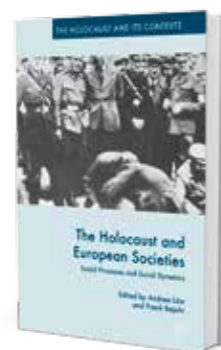
## ANDREA LÖW

The Holocaust and European Societies. Social Processes and Social Dynamics / hrsg. von Frank Bajohr u. Andrea Löw. – London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. – (The Holocaust and its Contexts). VIII, 348 S.



Frank Bajohr und Sybille Steinbacher (Hrsg.):  
»... Zeugnis ablegen bis zum letzten«  
Tagebücher und persönliche Zeugnisse aus der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus und des Holocaust.

Göttingen | Wallstein, 2015. | (Dachauer Symposien zur Zeitgeschichte: Band 15) | 240 S.



Frank Bajohr und Andrea Löw (Hrsg.):  
**The Holocaust and European Societies.**  
Social Processes and Social Dynamics.

London | Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. | (The Holocaust and its Contexts). | VIII, 348 S.

## 2017

## FRANK BAJOHR

Ansprache im Landtag von Sachsen-Anhalt anlässlich des Gedenktages der Bundesrepublik Deutschland an die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus am 27. Januar 2016. – In: *Erinnern!* – (2016), S. 3–14

Der Cultural Turn und die Gesellschaftsgeschichte des Nationalsozialismus. – In: *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*. – 65 (2017), S. 223–232

Korruption! : au coeur du système nazi. – [Paris]: Flammarion, 2017. – 366 S. – (Au fil de l'histoire)

Nationalist mobilization : foreign diplomat's views on the Third Reich 1933–1945. – In: *Beyond the racial state : rethinking Nazi Germany* / hrsg. von Devin O. Pendas, Mark Roseman u. Richard F. Wetzell. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017. – (Publications of the German Historical Institute), – S. 362–379

The camps and the people's community : the Nazi concentration camps as a mirror and instrument of Nazi social policy. – In: *Buchenwald : ostracism and violence 1937 to 1945 : guide to the permanent exhibition at the Buchenwald Memorial* / hrsg. von Volkhard Knigge, Rikola-Gunnar Lüttgenau, Harry Stein u. Michael Löffelsender. – Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2017, – S. 254–258

Verdrängung ohne Rechtsgrundlage : der Antisemitismus in Bädern und Kurorten vor und nach 1933. – In: *Die Nürnberger Gesetze – 80 Jahre danach : Vorgeschichte, Entstehung, Auswirkungen* / hrsg. von Magnus Brechtken, Hans-Christian Jasch, Christoph Kreuzmüller u. Niels Weise. – Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2017, – S. 37–52

Vom Herrschaftssystem zur »Volksgemeinschaft« : der lange Weg zu einer Gesellschaftsgeschichte des Nationalsozialismus. – In: *Die NS-Volksgemeinschaft : zeitgenössische Verheißung, analytisches Konzept und ein Schlüssel zum historischen Lernen?* / hrsg. von Uwe Danker u. Astrid Schwabe. – Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2017. – (V&R Academic; Band 13), – S. 23–36

Was befahl Hitler? : worüber die Forschung heute streitet: ein Überblick. – In: *Der Weg in den Holocaust : die Wannsee-Konferenz und die »Endlösung der Judenfrage«* / hrsg. von Benedikt Erenz, Christian Staas u. Volker Ullrich; Redaktion: Scholter Judith. – Hamburg: Zeitverlag Gerd Bucerius GmbH & Co. KG, 2017. – (Zeit-Geschichte; Nr. 1/2017), – S. 88–91

Zwischen Zustimmung, Ablehnung und Hinnahme : Reaktionen der Bevölkerung auf »Euthanasie« und Holocaust. – In: *Informationen : Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift des Studienkreises Deutscher Widerstand 1933–1945*. – 42 (2017) 86, S. 7–14

## GAËLLE FISHER

Between liberation and emigration : Jews from Bukovina in Romania after the Second World War. – In: *Year Book / Leo Baeck Institute*. – 62 (2017) 4, S. 115–132

Bukowina / Gaëlle Fisher u. Maren Röger, 2017. = <http://ome-lexikon.uni-oldenburg.de/p32554>. – Online-Lexikon zur Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa  
»Heimat« Heimstättensiedlung : constructing belonging in post-war West Germany. – In: *German History*. – 35 (2017) 4, S. 568–587

## ANDREA LÖW

Arbeiten, um zu überleben : wie die Menschen im Ghetto Lodz versuchen, sich zu retten. – In: *Der Weg in den Holocaust : die Wannsee-Konferenz und die »Endlösung der Judenfrage«* / hrsg. von Benedikt Erenz, Christian Staas u. Volker Ullrich. – Hamburg: Zeitverlag Gerd Bucerius GmbH & Co. KG, 2017. – (Zeit-Geschichte; Nr. 1/2017), – S. 34–35

Eine Komödie im Warschauer Getto? : von Liebe und Humor unter tödlichen Bedingungen. – In: *Die Liebe sucht eine Wohnung : eine Komödie aus dem Warschauer Getto* / hrsg. von Markus Roth u. David David; übersetzt v. Danuta Strobel. – Berlin: Metropol, 2017. – (Studien und Dokumente zur Holocaust- und Lagerliteratur; Band 4), – S. 117–128

In der »Öde von Łódź« : deutsche Jüdinnen und Juden im Ghetto Litzmannstadt. – In: *Deutsche Jüdinnen und Juden in Ghettos und Lagern (1941–1945): Łódź. Chełmno. Minsk. Riga. Auschwitz. Theresienstadt* / hrsg. von Beate Meyer u. Esther Yen. – Berlin: Metropol, 2017, – S. 24–42

## CAROLINE MEZGER

70 Years of the Historical Archive of Zrenjanin. – In: СПОМЕНИЦА ИСТОРИЈСКОГ АРХИВА ЗРЕЊАНИН 1947–2017 : [Erinnerung an das Historische Archiv von Zrenjanin 1947–2017] / hrsg. von Filip Krčmar. – Zrenjanin, 2017, – S. 379–380

## 2018

## FRANK BAJOHR

Alfred Rosenberg : die Tagebücher von 1934 bis 1944 / Jürgen Matthäus und Frank Bajohr (Hrsg.). – Taschenbuchausgabe. – Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch, Juli 2018. – 650 S. – (Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus)

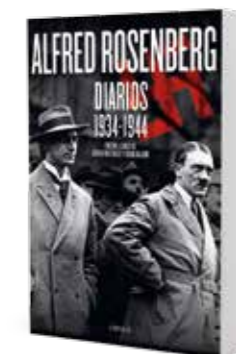
Os diários de Alfred Rosenberg : 1934–1944 / organização Jürgen Matthäus e Frank Bajohr. – São Paulo: Crítica, 2018. – 660 S.

Éclairer au pays des coupables : la Shoah et l'historiographie allemande 1990–2015 / Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine ; rédacteur en chef: Georges Bensoussan ; Frank Bajohr, Andrea Löw. – Paris : Centre, octobre 2018. – (Revue d'histoire de la Shoah ; no. 209, octobre 2018). – 716 S.

En guise d'introduction / par Frank Bajohr et Andrea Löw. – In: *Éclairer au pays des coupables : la Shoah et l'historiographie allemande 1990–2015 / Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine ; rédacteur en chef: Georges Bensoussan*. – Paris: Centre, octobre 2018. – (Revue d'histoire de la Shoah ; no. 209, octobre 2018), – S. 31–38

La société allemande et la persecution des Juifs : 1933–1945. – In: *Éclairer au pays des coupables : la Shoah et l'historiographie allemande 1990–2015 / Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine ; rédacteur en chef: Georges Bensoussan*. – Paris: Centre, octobre 2018. – (Revue d'histoire de la Shoah; no. 209, octobre 2018), – S. 39–58

Wolfgang Langhoff: die Moorsoldaten : 13 Monate Konzentrationslager. Unpolitischer Tatsachenbericht : (1935). – In: *HolocaustZeugnisLiteratur : 20 Werke wieder gelesen* / hrsg. von Markus Roth u. Sascha Feuchert. – Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2018, – S. 30–41



Frank Bajohr und Jürgen Matthäus (Hrsg.):  
**Os diários de Alfred Rosenberg.**  
1934–1944.

São Paulo | Crítica, 2018. | 660 S.



**GAËLLE FISHER**

Schweigen, Störung und Stimmigkeit : Erinnerungen an die Umsiedlung »Heim ins Reich« unter den Buchenlanddeutschen. – In: Germanisierung im besetzten Ostoberschlesien während des Zweiten Weltkriegs / hrsg. von Hans-Werner Retterath. – Münster, New York: Waxmann, 2018. – (Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Volkskunde der Deutschen des östlichen Europa ; Band 20), – S. 273–304

**GREGOR HOFMANN**

Der VfB Stuttgart und der Nationalsozialismus. – Schorndorf: Hofmann-Verlag, 2018. – 181 S. – (Wissenschaftliche Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Sportgeschichte Baden-Württemberg e.V. ; Band 12)

**ANDREA LÖW**

Éclairer au pays des coupables : la Shoah et l'historiographie allemande 1990–2015 / Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine ; rédacteur en chef: Georges Bensoussan ; Frank Bajohr, Andrea Löw. – Paris: Centre, octobre 2018. – (Revue d'histoire de la Shoah ; no. 209, octobre 2018). – 716 S.

En guise d'introduction / par Frank Bajohr et Andrea Löw. – In: Éclairer au pays des coupables : la Shoah et l'historiographie allemande 1990–2015 / Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine ; rédacteur en chef: Georges Bensoussan. – Paris: Centre, octobre 2018. – (Revue d'histoire de la Shoah ; no. 209, octobre 2018), – S. 31–38



Georges Bensoussan, Frank Bajohr und Andrea Löw (Hrsg.):  
**Éclairer au pays des coupables.**  
La Shoah et l'historiographie allemande 1990–2015.

Paris | Centre, 2018. | (Revue d'histoire de la Shoah ; no. 209, octobre 2018) | 716 S.



**BAND 120:**  
Anna Ullrich:  
**Von »jüdischem Optimismus«  
und »unausbleiblicher Enttäuschung«.**  
Erwartungsmanagement deutsch-jüdischer Vereine und gesellschaftlicher Antisemitismus 1914–1938.

Berlin, Boston | De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2018.  
| XII, 350 S.

Les chroniqueurs du ghetto : l'activité de documentation dans les ghettos de Litzmannstadt et de Varsovie / par Andrea Löw. – In: Éclairer au pays des coupables : la Shoah et l'historiographie allemande 1990–2015 / Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine ; rédacteur en chef: Georges Bensoussan. – Paris: Centre, octobre 2018. – (Revue d'histoire de la Shoah ; no. 209, octobre 2018), – S. 487–508

Ghettos. – In: A Companion to Nazi Germany / hrsg. von Shelley Baranowski, Armin Nolzen u. Claus-Christian W. Szejnmann. – Hoboken, New Jersey, Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2018. – (Wiley Blackwell Companions to World History), – S. 551–564

**CAROLINE MEZGER**

Vom Hitler-Anhänger zum Kriegsflüchtling : donauschwäbische Kindheitserfahrungen und die Scheidewege der historischen Handlungsfähigkeit. – In: Kindheiten im Zweiten Weltkrieg / hrsg. von Francesca Weil, André Postert u. Alfons Kenkmann. – Halle (Saale): Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 2018, – S. 297–317

**ANNA ULLRICH**

Von »jüdischem Optimismus« und »unausbleiblicher Enttäuschung« : Erwartungsmanagement deutsch-jüdischer Vereine und gesellschaftlicher Antisemitismus 1914–1938. – Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019. – XII, 350 S. – (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte ; Band 120)

**2019****FRANK BAJOHR**

Right-Wing Politics and the Rise of Antisemitism in Europe 1935–1941 / Frank Bajohr and Dieter Pohl (editors) ; Gaëlle Fisher and Caroline Mezger (editorial team). – Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2019. – (European Holocaust Studies ; volume 1). – 267 S.

German Antisemitism and its Influence in Europe : the Case of Alfred Rosenberg and the Nazi Foreign Policy Office after 1933. – In: Right-Wing Politics and the Rise of Antisemitism in Europe 1935–1941 / Frank Bajohr and Dieter Pohl (editors) ; Gaëlle Fisher and Caroline Mezger (editorial team). – Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2019. – (European Holocaust Studies ; volume 1), – S. 9–18

Raul Hilberg und die Tendenzen gegenwärtiger Holocaustforschung. – In: Raul Hilberg und die Holocaust-Historiographie / hrsg. von René Schlott. – Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2019. – (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus ; Band 35), – S. 211–213

Trends der Holocaustforschung seit den 1990er Jahren : Errungenschaften, Wandel, Probleme und Herausforderungen. – In: Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht. – 70 (2019) 9/10, S. 485–496

**GAËLLE FISHER**

The Holocaust in the Borderlands : interethnic Relations and the Dynamics of Violence in Occupied Eastern Europe / Gaëlle Fisher and Caroline Mezger (editors). – Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2019. – (European Holocaust Studies ; volume 2). – 264 S.

Introduction – the Holocaust in the Borderlands : interethnic Relations and the Dynamics of Violence / Gaëlle Fisher and Caroline Mezger. – In: The Holocaust in the Borderlands : interethnic Relations and the Dynamics of Violence in Occupied Eastern Europe / editors: Gaëlle Fisher and Caroline Mezger. – Göttingen: Wallstein, 2019. – (European Holocaust Studies ; volume 2), – S. 9–33



**VOLUME 1:**  
Frank Bajohr und Dieter Pohl  
(Hrsg.):  
**Right-Wing Politics and  
the Rise of Antisemitism in  
Europe 1935–1941.**

Göttingen | Wallstein Verlag, 2019.  
| 267 S.

Special Section: Bukovina and Bukovinians after the Second World War : (re)shaping and (re)thinking a Region after Genocide and »Ethnic Unmixing« / guest editors: Gaëlle Fisher and Maren Röger. – In: East European Politics and Societies 33 (2019) 1, S. 176–256

Bukovina : a Borderland Region in (trans-)national Historiographies after 1945 and 1989–1991 / Gaëlle Fisher and Maren Röger. – In: East European Politics and Societies 33 (2019) 1, S. 176–195

Looking Forwards through the Past : Bukovina's »Return to Europe« after 1989–1991. – In: East European Politics and Societies 33 (2019) 1, S. 196–217

Right-Wing Politics and the Rise of Antisemitism in Europe 1935–1941 / Frank Bajohr and Dieter Pohl (editors) ; Gaëlle Fisher and Caroline Mezger (editorial team). – Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2019. – (European Holocaust Studies ; volume 1). – 267 S.

**ANDREA LÖW**

Zwischen Kitsch und Aufklärung : Judenverfolgung als Melodram in »Ehe und Schatten« (1947). – In: Verfilmte Trümmerlandschaften : Nachkriegserzählungen im internationalen Kino 1945–1949 / hrsg. von Johannes Hürter u. Tobias Hof. – Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019. – (Schriftenreihe der Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte ; Band 119), – S. 33–51

**CAROLINE MEZGER**

The Holocaust in the Borderlands : interethnic Relations and the Dynamics of Violence in Occupied Eastern Europe / Gaëlle Fisher and Caroline Mezger (editors). – Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2019. – (European Holocaust Studies ; volume 2). – 264 S.

Introduction – the Holocaust in the Borderlands : interethnic Relations and the Dynamics of Violence / Gaëlle Fisher and Caroline Mezger. – In: The Holocaust in the Borderlands : interethnic Relations and the Dynamics of Violence in Occupied Eastern Europe / Gaëlle Fisher and Caroline Mezger (editors). – Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2019. – (European Holocaust Studies ; volume 2), – S. 9–33



**VOLUME 2:**  
Gaëlle Fisher und Caroline  
Mezger (Hrsg.):  
**The Holocaust in the  
Borderlands:  
Interethnic Relations and  
the Dynamics of Violence in  
Occupied Eastern Europe.**

Göttingen | Wallstein Verlag,  
2019. | 264 S.

terethnic Relations and the Dynamics of Violence in Occupied Eastern Europe / editors: Gaëlle Fisher and Caroline Mezger. – Göttingen: Wallstein, 2019. – (European Holocaust Studies ; volume 2), – S. 9–33

Reiner Frigyes Park : a Reflection on Current Events in Hungary. – In: Baltic Worlds. – 11 (2019) 4, S. 34–36

Right-Wing Politics and the Rise of Antisemitism in Europe 1935–1941 / Frank Bajohr and Dieter Pohl (editors) ; Gaëlle Fisher and Caroline Mezger (editorial team). – Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2019. – (European Holocaust Studies ; volume 1). – 267 S.

The 1944 Crvenka Massacre and the Potentials of Postwar Testimony. – In: Holocaust Studies : a Journal of Culture and History (2019) = <https://doi.org/10.1080/17504902.2019.1678954>

Zwischen Habsburgmonarchie und Nationalsozialismus : donauschwäbische Minderheitenschulen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. – In: Die mittel-osteuropäischen Nationalstaaten nach 1918 : Transformationen nach dem Zusammenbruch der Kaiserreiche / hrsg. von Rainer Bendel. – Münster, Berlin: LIT, 2019. – (Vertriebene – Integration – Verständigung ; Band 8), – S. 217–262

#### KERSTIN SCHWENKE

Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen. – In: Historisches Lexikon Bayerns. – München: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2019 = [https://www.historisches-lexikon-bayerns.de/Lexikon/Bayerische\\_Verwaltung\\_der\\_staetlichen\\_Schlösser,\\_Gärten\\_und\\_Seen](https://www.historisches-lexikon-bayerns.de/Lexikon/Bayerische_Verwaltung_der_staetlichen_Schlösser,_Gärten_und_Seen)

Politikerleben: Stadtrat, Bürgermeister, Parteimitglied. – In: Georg Scherer: ein Dachauer Leben : Begleitbroschüre zur Ausstellung beim ASV Dachau vom 28. März – 27. Juli 2019 / hrsg. vom Dachauer Allgemeinen Sportverein. – Dachau: ASV Dachau, 2019, – S. 28–31

#### ANNA ULLRICH

Alte Konflikte und neue Allianzen im Kampf gegen den Antisemitismus : zur Rolle der Aufklärungsarbeit in Centralverein, Zionistischer Vereinigung und Jüdischen Frauenbund 1928–1933. – In: Deutschsprachige Zionisten : Verfechter, Kritiker und Gegner, Organisationen und Medien (1890–1938) / hrsg. von Lisa Sophie Gebhard u. David Hamann. – Berlin: Peter Lang, 2019. – (Zivilisationen & Geschichte ; Band 58), – S. 75–89

EHRI Seminars : researching and remembering the Holocaust in the Twenty-First Century. – In: The Holocaust in the Borderlands : interethnic Relations and the Dynamics of Violence in Occupied Eastern Europe / editors: Gaëlle Fisher and Caroline Mezger. – Göttingen: Wallstein, 2019. – (European Holocaust Studies ; volume 2), – S. 253–258

#### MARTIN WIESCHE

Juden in Mecklenburg 1845–1945 : Lebenswege und Schicksale : ein Gedenkbuch / Michael Buddrus u. Sigrid Fritzlar ; unter besonderer Mitarbeit von Ute Eichhorn, Angrit Lorenzen-Schmidt, Martin Wiesche ; Hrsg.: Institut für Zeitgeschichte München–Berlin u. Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. – Schwerin, 2019

Band 1: Texte & Übersichten. – 671 S.

Band 2: Kurzbiographien. – 807 S.



Frank Bajohr und Jürgen Matthäus (Hrsg.): **Alfred Rosenberg: Journal 1934–1944.**

Barcelona | Crítica, 2015. | 768 S.

## 2020

#### FRANK BAJOHR

Dark Tourism : Reisen zu Stätten von Krieg, Massengewalt und NS-Verfolgung / hrsg. von Frank Bajohr, Axel Drecolle u. John Lennon. – Berlin: Metropol, 2020. – 266 S. – (Veröffentlichungen aus dem Zentrum für Holocaust-Studien)

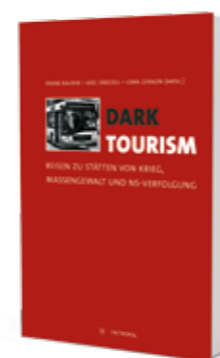
Liberalismus und Nationalsozialismus : eine Beziehungsgeschichte / hrsg. von Elke Seefried, Ernst Wolfgang Becker, Frank Bajohr u. Johannes Hürter. – Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2020. – 458 S.

Einleitung / Ernst Wolfgang Becker, Elke Seefried, Frank Bajohr u. Johannes Hürter. – In: Liberalismus und Nationalsozialismus : eine Beziehungsgeschichte / hrsg. von Elke Seefried, Ernst Wolfgang Becker, Frank Bajohr u. Johannes Hürter. – Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2020, – S. 11–40

Zwischen Gegnerschaft, Geringschätzung, Nichtbeachtung und verdeckter Adaption. – In: Liberalismus und Nationalsozialismus : eine Beziehungsgeschichte / hrsg. von Elke Seefried, Ernst Wolfgang Becker, Frank Bajohr u. Johannes Hürter. – Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2020, – S. 117–131

Die Elite im Visier. – In: ZEIT Geschichte. – (2020) 6 [Die Nürnberger Prozesse], S. 52–58

Nach dem Zivilisationsbruch : Stand und Perspektiven der Holocaustforschung. – In: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte. – 70 (2020) 4–5, S. 25–30



Frank Bajohr, Axel Drecolle und John Lennon (Hrsg.): **Dark Tourism.**

Reisen zu Stätten von Krieg, Massengewalt und NS-Verfolgung

Berlin | Metropol Verlag, 2020. | 266 S.

#### GILES BENNETT

Źródła dotyczące transportów do obozów koncentracyjnych : historia mówiona oraz źródła procesowe dostępne na stronach www oraz w »ukrytym archiwum« = Quellen zu KZ-Transporten : Oral History & Justizquellen vom WWW bis zum »verborgenen Archiv«. – In: Transporty polskich więźniów w kompleksach obozowych KL Auschwitz, KL Dachau i KL Flossenbürg = Transporte polnischer Häftlinge in den KZ-Systemen Auschwitz, Dachau und Flossenbürg / hrsg. von Jadwiga Pinderska-Lech u. Gabriela Nikliborc. – Oświęcim: Państwowe Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau / Staatliches Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, 2020, – S. 449–472

#### KERSTIN SCHWENKE

Öffentlichkeit und Inszenierung : Besuche in nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslagern zwischen 1933 und 1945. – Berlin: Metropol, 2021. – 572 S. – (Geschichte der Konzentrationslager 1933–1945 ; Bd. 16) ; (Veröffentlichungen aus dem Zentrum für Holocaust-Studien)

Der lange Weg zur Gestaltung des Erinnerungsortes : der ehemalige SS-Schießplatz Hebertshausen nach 1945 / Anja Deutsch u. Kerstin Schwenke. – In: Der Massenmord an den sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen auf dem SS-Schießplatz Hebertshausen 1941–1942 : Begleitband zur Open-Air-Ausstellung und zur Gedenkinstallation »Ort der Namen« / hrsg. von Gabriele Hammermann u. Andrea Riedle. – Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2020, – S. 115–133



Kerstin Schwenke: **Öffentlichkeit und Inszenierung.** Besuche in nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslagern zwischen 1933 und 1945

Berlin | Metropol Verlag, 2020. | 572 S.



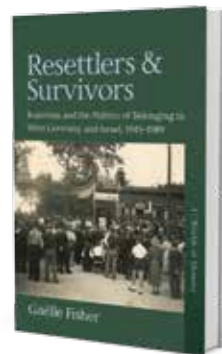
## GAËLLE FISHER

Resettlers and Survivors : Bukovina and the Politics of Belonging in West Germany and Israel, 1945–1989. – New York, Oxford: Berghahn, 2020. – x, 291 S. – (Worlds of Memory ; Bd. 3) ; (Veröffentlichungen aus dem Zentrum für Holocaust-Studien)

Aus dem Vergessenen lernen : eine Reise an Orte des Holocaust in Transnistrien. – In: Dark Tourism : Reisen zu Stätten von Krieg, Massengewalt und NS-Verfolgung / hrsg. von Frank Bajohr, Axel Drecoll u. John Lennon. – Berlin: Metropol, 2020. – (Veröffentlichungen aus dem Zentrum für Holocaust-Studien), – S. 160–179

»Ethnic Germans«, »Expellees« or »Old Austrians« : Identity Narratives and Memory Politics of Germans from Bukovina in Austria since 1945. – In: Bukovina-Deutsche : Erfindungen, Erfahrungen und Erzählungen einer (imaginierten) Gemeinschaft seit 1775 / hrsg. von Maren Röger u. Alexander Weidle. – Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2020. – (Danubiana Carpathica ; Bd. 10 [571]), – S. 147–168

From Model to Warning : Narratives of Resettlement »home to the Reich« after World War II. – In: German-Balkan Entangled Histories in the Twentieth Century / hrsg. von Mirna Zakić u. Christopher A. Molnar. – Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2020. – (Russian and East European Studies), – S. 180–201



Gaëlle Fisher:  
**Resettlers & Survivors.**  
Bukovina and the Politics  
of Belonging  
in West Germany  
and Israel, 1945–1989

New York, Oxford | Berghahn, 2020. |  
(Worlds of Memory; Band 3) | x, 291 S.

## ANDREA LÖW

German Reich and Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, September 1939–September 1941 / executive editor: Andrea Löw; Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2020. – 848 S. – (The Persecution and Murder of the European Jews by Nazi Germany, 1933–1945 ; Volume 3)

Die Enzyklopädie des Gettos Lodz/Litzmannstadt / hrsg. von Dominika Bopp, Sascha Feuchert, Andrea Löw, Jörg Riecke, Markus Roth u. Elisabeth Turvold ; unter Mitarbeit von Nicole Widera u. Martin Wiesche. – Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2020. – 432 S. – (Schriftenreihe zur Łódźer Getto-Chronik) ; (Veröffentlichungen aus dem Zentrum für Holocaust-Studien)

Das Getto in Lodz/Litzmannstadt und seine Enzyklopädie : eine historische Einführung. – In: Die Enzyklopädie des Gettos Lodz/Litzmannstadt / hrsg. von Dominika Bopp, Sascha Feuchert, Andrea Löw, Jörg Riecke, Markus Roth u. Elisabeth Turvold ; unter Mitarbeit von Nicole Widera u. Martin Wiesche. – Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2020. – (Schriftenreihe zur Łódźer Getto-Chronik) ; (Veröffentlichungen aus dem Zentrum für Holocaust-Studien), – S. 338–348

»Die Lage ist unter diesen Umständen sehr unsicher« : Briefe deportierter Wiener Juden vom Herbst 1939 bis zum Frühjahr 1940 an die Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Wien. – In: Nisko 1939 / hrsg. von Christine Schindler. – Wien: Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstandes, 2020. – (Jahrbuch / Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstandes ; Bd. 2020), – S. 207–227



Dominika Bopp, Sascha Feuchert,  
Andrea Löw, Jörg Riecke, Markus Roth  
und Elisabeth Turvold (Hrsg.):

**Die Enzyklopädie des  
Gettos Lodz/Litzmannstadt.**

Göttingen | Wallstein Verlag, 2020. | 432 S.

## RACHEL O'SULLIVAN

Integration and Division : Nazi Germany and the »Colonial Other« in Annexed Poland. – In: Journal of Genocide Research. – 22 (2020) 4, S. 437–458

## ANNA ULLRICH

Hoffen – Scheitern – Weiterleben : Enttäuschung als historische Erfahrung in Deutschland im 20. Jahrhundert / hrsg. von Bernhard Gotto u. Anna Ullrich. – Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2021. – (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte; Bd. 125). – 223 S.

Einführung : zum Umgang mit Enttäuschung aus zeitgeschichtlicher Perspektive / Bernhard Gotto u. Anna Ullrich. – In: Hoffen – Scheitern – Weiterleben : Enttäuschung als historische Erfahrung in Deutschland im 20. Jahrhundert / hrsg. von Bernhard Gotto u. Anna Ullrich. – Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2021. – (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte; Bd. 125), – S. 1–11

Alles eine Frage der »Erwartungsdämpfung«? Innerjüdisches Erwartungsmanagement und alltägliche Antisemitismuserfahrung 1918 bis 1933. – In: Hoffen – Scheitern – Weiterleben : Enttäuschung als historische Erfahrung in Deutschland im 20. Jahrhundert / hrsg. von Bernhard Gotto u. Anna Ullrich. – Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2021. – (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte ; Bd. 125), – S. 33–53

Eine Frage der Erwartung? Der Centralverein und die Wahrnehmung und Einschätzung der nichtjüdischen Deutschen. – In: »Was soll aus uns werden?« Zur Geschichte des Centralvereins deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland / hrsg. von Regina Grundmann, Bernd J. Hartmann u. Daniel Siemens. – Berlin: Metropol, 2020, – S. 45–80

## 2021

## FRANK BAJOHR

Warum Hitler? : die Deutschen und ihr Nationalsozialismus / Frank Bajohr, Wolfgang Benz, Andreas Braune, Jörg Echternkamp, Wolfgang Schieder, Christoph Strohm, Hans-Ulrich Thamer, Johannes Tuchel, Annette Weinke, Michael Wildt, Ulrich Wyrwa ; hrsg. in Zusammenarbeit mit DAMALS – das Magazin für Geschichte. – Darmstadt: wbg Theiss, 2021. – 128 S.

Die Deutschen und die NS-Verbrechen : ein ziemlich offenes Geheimnis. – In: Warum Hitler? : die Deutschen und ihr Nationalsozialismus / Frank Bajohr, Wolfgang Benz, Andreas Braune, Jörg Echternkamp, Wolfgang Schieder, Christoph Strohm, Hans-Ulrich Thamer, Johannes Tuchel, Annette Weinke, Michael Wildt, Ulrich Wyrwa ; hrsg. in Zusammenarbeit mit DAMALS – das Magazin für Geschichte. – Darmstadt: wbg Theiss, 2021, – S. 83–94

Holocaustforschung : Entwicklungslinien in Deutschland seit 1945. – In: Aufarbeitung des Nationalsozialismus : ein Kompendium / hrsg. von Magnus Brechtken. – Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2021, – S. 122–142

Dark Tourism : Überlegungen zu Tourismus, Gewalt und Erinnerung. – In: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte. APuZ. – 71 (2021) 50, S. 40–45

Der lange Weg zur Holocaust-Erinnerung / Frank Bajohr. – Berlin: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2021. = <https://www.kas.de/de/einzeltitel/-/content/der-lange-weg-zur-holocaust-erinnerung-ein-blick-zurueck>

Introduction to EHRI-Project »Diplomatic Reports« / Frank Bajohr = <https://diplomatic-reports.ehri-project.eu/exhibits/show/about/introduction>

Reaktionen der Bevölkerung auf »Euthanasie« und Holocaust : einige Überlegungen. – In: »Euthanasie« und Holocaust : Kontinuitäten, Kausalitäten, Parallelitäten / hrsg. von Jörg Osterloh u. Jan-Erik Schulte. – Paderborn: Schöningh, 2021. – (Schriftenreihe der Gedenkstätte Hadamar ; Band 1), – S. 137–154

## GILES BENNETT

Archival Curation of Holocaust Sources and Holocaust Research-Findings of the European Holocaust Research Infrastructure / Giles Bennett, Charlotte Hauwaert, Dorien Styven u. Veerle Vanden Daelen. – In: The Holocaust in South-Eastern Europe : Historiography, Archives Resources and Remembrance / hrsg. von Adina Babeş-Fruchter u. Ana Bărbulescu. – Wilmington/DE, Malaga: Vernon Press, 2021. – (Series in World History), – S. 57–78

**GAËLLE FISHER**

Moving forward through the Past : Bukovina's Rediscovery after 1989–91. – In: Diversity in the East-Central European Borderlands : Memories, Cityscapes, People / hrsg. von Eleonora Narvselius u. Julie Fedor. – Stuttgart: ibidem Verlag, 2021. – (Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society ; Volume 235), – S. 147–181

**BERT HOPPE**

Babyn Jar : Massenmord am Stadtrand. – In: Babyn Jar : der Ort, die Tat und die Erinnerung / hrsg. von Manfred Sapper u. Volker Weichsel. – Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2021. – (Osteuropa ; 71. Jahrgang, Heft 1/2 (2021)), – S. 5–22

**ANDREA LÖW**

Der Hund : Franz Dubas Bericht / Moses Rosenkranz ; hrsg. von Sascha Feuchert u. Andrea Löw. – Aachen: Rimbaud, 2021. – 205 S. – (Bukowiner Literaturlandschaft ; Band 85)

»Der Hund« – Versuch einer historischen Einordnung. – In: Der Hund : Franz Dubas Bericht / hrsg. von Sascha Feuchert u. Andrea Löw. – Aachen: Rimbaud, 2021. – (Bukowiner Literaturlandschaft ; Band 85), – S. 185–202

Film and the Reordering of City Space in Nazi Germany: the Demolition of the Munich Main Synagogue / Andrea Löw, Kim Wünschmann. – In: Places, Spaces and Voids in the Holocaust / hrsg. von Natalia Aleksion u. Hana Kubátová. – Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2021. – (European Holocaust Studies; Volume 3), – S. 25–54

**European Holocaust Studies****HERAUSGEBER:**

Frank Bajohr, Andrea Löw,  
Andreas Wirsching

**VOLUME 3**

Natalia Aleksion, Hana Kubátová (Hrsg.):

**Places, Spaces, and Voids in the Holocaust.**

Göttingen | Wallstein Verlag, 2021. | 344 S.

**RACHEL O'SULLIVAN**

The German Mission in Africa and Poland : Women, Expansion, and Colonial Training during the Third Reich. – In: Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History. – 22 (2021) 2 = <https://doi.org/10.1353/cch.2021.0027>

**KERSTIN SCHWENKE**

Öffentlichkeit und Inszenierung : Besuche in nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslagern zwischen 1933 und 1945. – Berlin: Metropol, 2021. – 572 S. – (Geschichte der Konzentrationslager 1933–1945 ; Band 16)

»... bring one into touch with the prisoners ...« : Gefangenenfürsorge britischer und US-amerikanischer Quäker in nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslagern 1933 bis 1935. – In: Religiöse Praxis in Konzentrationslagern und anderen NS-Haftstätten / hrsg. von Insa Eschebach, Gabriele Hammermann u. Thomas Rahe. – Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2021. – (Beiträge zur Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung ; Heft 2), – S. 64–74

Inszenierung der Lager : was wusste die »Volksgemeinschaft« über die Konzentrationslager?. – In: Praxis Geschichte. – 34 (2021) 6, S. 36–41

**ANNA ULLRICH**

Introduction : German-Jewish Agency in Times of Crisis, 1914–1938 / David Jünger, Anna Ullrich. – In: The Leo Baeck Institute Year Book. – 66 (2021)

**NATALIA ALEKSIUN, HANA KUBÁTOVÁ (EDS.)**

Places, Spaces, and Voids in the Holocaust. (European Holocaust Studies, Vol. 3), Göttingen (Wallstein Verlag) 2021. – 344 S.

**2022****FRANK BAJOHR**

Atemlos in die Ewigkeit : der Nationalsozialismus. – In: Politische Zukünfte im 20. Jahrhundert : Parteien, Bewegungen, Umbrüche / hrsg. von Elke Seefried. – Frankfurt, New York: Campus Verlag, 2022, – S. 179–194

Der Führer, sein Plan und seine Gehilfen : Lesarten des Holocaust in Strafprozessen der Nachkriegszeit : ein Rückblick aus historischer Sicht. – In: Wortmeldungen zur Zeit- und Regionalgeschichte : Festschrift für Uwe Danker / hrsg. von Robert Bohn u. Jürgen Weber. – Husum: Husum Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 2022, – S. 24–32

Die Dynamik der Verfolgung in den Kriegsjahren. – In: Gesellschaft, Staat und Verbrechen / Idee/Konzeption: Thomas Sandkühler, Rupert Grübl, Monika Franz ; Redaktion: Monika Franz, Markus Baar. – München: Bayerische Landeszentrale für Politische Bildungsarbeit, 2022. – (Der Nationalsozialismus. Herrschaft und Gewalt ; Band 2) / (Geschichte/Zeitgeschichte), – S. 238–259

From Debates on the Political Order to Visions of Community : the Trajectories of Writing a Social History of National Socialism. – In: Rethinking Fascism : the Italian and German Dictatorships / hrsg. von Andrea Di Michele u. Filippo Focardi. – Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2022. – (Studies in Early Modern and Contemporary European History ; Volume 4), – S. 61–72

Holocaust, Kolonialismus und NS-Imperialismus : Forschung im Schatten einer polemischen Debatte / Frank Bajohr, Rachel O'Sullivan. – In: Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte. – 70 (2022) 1, S. 191–202

Jüdischer Rettungswiderstand : Überleben im Untergrund / Frank Bajohr. – Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2022. = <https://www.kas.de/de/web/wissenschaftliche-dienste-archiv/publikationen/einzeltitel/-/content/juedischer-rettungswiderstand-ueberleben-im-untergrund>

Selfie am Mahnmahl : Dark Tourism zu KZ-Gedenkstätten / Frank Bajohr, Axel Drecol. – In: iz3w. Zeitschrift zwischen Süd und Nord. – September/Oktober (2022) 392, S. 24–25

**GAËLLE FISHER**

A Nazi Rescuer? : Fritz Schellhorn and the Contested Memory of the Holocaust in Romania. – In: Holocaust and Genocide Studies. – 36 (2022) 2, S. 209–223

Geschichtsschreibung und Rechtsprechung : Martin Broszat und die Entschädigung jüdischer Überlebender des Holocaust aus Rumänien 1955 bis 1965. – In: Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte. – 70 (2022) 2, S. 327–359

Introduction : a Light in the Clouds. – In: A Light in the Clouds / hrsg. von Margalith Esterhuizen. – Toronto: The Azrieli Foundation, 2022. – (The Azrieli Series of Holocaust Survivor Memoirs ; Band 14), – S. xv–xxviii



Gregor Hofmann:

**Mitspieler der »Volksgemeinschaft«.**

Der FC Bayern und der Nationalsozialismus

Göttingen | Wallstein Verlag,  
2022. | 525 S.

**GREGOR HOFMANN**

Mitspieler der »Volksgemeinschaft« : der FC Bayern und der Nationalsozialismus. – Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2022. – 525 S.

**BERT HOPPE**

Angriff auf das historische Erbe : Russland attackiert ukrainische Archive. – In: Osteuropa. – 72 (2022) 6–8, S. 201–209

**ANDREA LÖW**

Emmie Arbel und das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem. – In: Aber ich lebe : vier Kinder überleben den Holocaust : nach den Erinnerungen von Emmie Arbel, David Schaffer, Nico Kamp und Rolf Kamp / hrsg. von Charlotte Schallié, Barbara Yelin, Miriam Libicki u. Gilad Seliktar. – München: C.H.Beck, 2022, – S. 149–154

Ghettos in Selbstzeugnissen : Alltag und Selbstbehauptung im Schatten der Vernichtung. – In: Schnittstelle Germanistik. Forum für Deutsche Sprache, Literatur und Kultur des mittleren und östlichen Europas. – 2 (2022) 1, S. 19–39

Spurensuche : Angehörige von Ernst Grube in Izbica und Piaski und die Ermordung der Jüdinnen und Juden im Generalgouvernement. – In: »Aus der Erinnerung für die Gegenwart leben« : Geschichte und Wirkung des Shoa-Überlebenden Ernst Grube / hrsg. von Matthias Bahr, Peter Poth u. Mirjam Zadoff. – Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2022. – (Public Memory ; Band 1), – S. 88–101

Surviving Ravensbrück and Bergen-Belsen as a Child. – In: But I Live : three Stories of Child Survivors of the Holocaust / hrsg. von Miriam Libicki, Gilad Seliktar u. Barbara Yelin. – Toronto, Buffalo, London: New Jewish Press, an imprint of University of Toronto Press, 2022, – S. 147–155



**ANNA-RAPHAELA SCHMITZ**

Dienstpraxis und außerdienstlicher Alltag eines KL-Kommandanten. Rudolf Höß in Auschwitz. – Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2022. – 454 S.

**RACHEL O'SULLIVAN**

Colonial Paradigms of Violence: comparative Analysis of the Holocaust Genocide and Mass Killing / hrsg. von Michelle Gordon u. Rachel O'Sullivan. – Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2022. – (European Holocaust Studies ; Volume 4). – 303 S.

Introduction: Colonial Paradigms of Violence / Michelle Gordon, Rachel O'Sullivan. – In: Colonial Paradigms of Violence : comparative Analysis of the Holocaust Genocide and Mass Killing / hrsg. von Michelle Gordon u. Rachel O'Sullivan. – Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2022. – (European Holocaust Studies ; Volume 4), – S. 9–29

Holocaust, Kolonialismus und NS-Imperialismus : Forschung im Schatten einer polemischen Debatte / Frank Bajohr, Rachel O'Sullivan. – In: Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte. – 70 (2022) 1, S. 191–202



Anna-Raphaela Schmitz:  
**Dienstpraxis und außerdienstlicher Alltag eines KL-Kommandanten.**  
Rudolf Höß in Auschwitz  
Berlin | Metropol Verlag, 2022. | 454 S.

**European Holocaust Studies****HERAUSGEBER:**

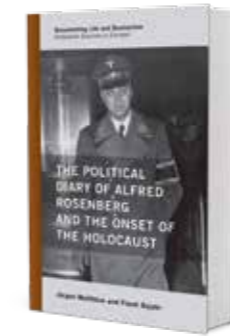
Frank Bajohr, Andrea Löw,  
Andreas Wirsching



VOLUME 4  
Michelle Gordon, Rachel O'Sullivan (Eds.):  
**Colonial Paradigms of Violence.**  
Comparative Analysis of the Holocaust,  
Genocide, and Mass Killing  
Göttingen | Wallstein Verlag, 2022. | 303 S.



Angela Genger, Andrea Löw und Sascha Feuchert  
(hrsg. und kommentiert):  
**Josef Zelkowitz. In diesen abtraumhaften Tagen.**  
Tagebuchaufzeichnungen aus dem Getto Lodz/Litzmannstadt  
September 1942. – Aus dem Jiddischen übersetzt von Susan Hiep.  
Göttingen | Wallstein, 2015. | 151 S.

**Weitere Übersetzungen zu Alfred Rosenberg:  
Die Tagebücher von 1934 bis 1944**

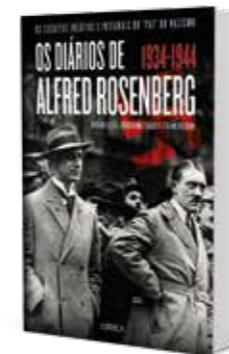
Frank Bajohr und Jürgen Matthäus (Hrsg.):  
**Alfred Rosenberg: The Political Diary of Alfred Rosenberg and the Onset of the Holocaust.**

Lanham, Maryland | Rowman & Littlefield, 2015. |  
(Documenting Life and Destruction: Holocaust Sources in Context; vol. 10) | XYIII, 509 S.



Frank Bajohr und Jürgen Matthäus (Hrsg.):  
**Alfred Rosenberg.**  
Dzienniki 1934–1944.

Warszawa | Wielka Litera, 2016. |  
671 S.



Frank Bajohr und Jürgen Matthäus (Hrsg.):  
**Os diários de Alfred Rosenberg.** 1934–1944.

São Paulo | Crítica, 2018 | 660 S.

# DAS ZENTRUM IN DER EUROPEAN HOLOCAUST RESEARCH INFRASTRUCTURE (EHRI)

# 5

**A**ls das Zentrum 2013 gegründet wurde, übernahm es auch die Verantwortung für die seit 2010 vom Institut für Zeitgeschichte getragene Kooperation mit EHRI, der European Holocaust Research Infrastructure.

Der EU-geförderte Forschungsverbund besteht aus mehr als 20 Institutionen, darunter führende Archive, Forschungsinstitute, Bibliotheken und Museen im Bereich von Holocaust-Forschung, -erinnerung und -vermittlung in Europa, Israel und den Vereinigten Staaten und wird federführend vom NIOD (NL) koordiniert. Zentrales Ziel von EHRI ist es, Informationen zu Holocaust relevanten Quellen zentral zur Verfügung zu stellen und so, zusammen mit verschiedenen Vernetzungs- und Förderangeboten, die transnationale Holocaustforschung zu stärken. Dies geschieht maßgeblich durch das EHRI-Portal. Hier finden sich über 60 Länderberichte mit konzisen Informationen zur Geschichte des entsprechenden Landes während des Zweiten Weltkriegs und des Holocausts, ebenso wie kurze Berichte zur jeweiligen Archivsituation. Hinzu kommen Hinweise zu mehr als 2.200 Archiven, die von den Öffnungszeiten und Kontaktmöglichkeiten hin zum Sammlungsprofil reichen. Für die Recherche besonders relevant sind jedoch die mehr als 400.000

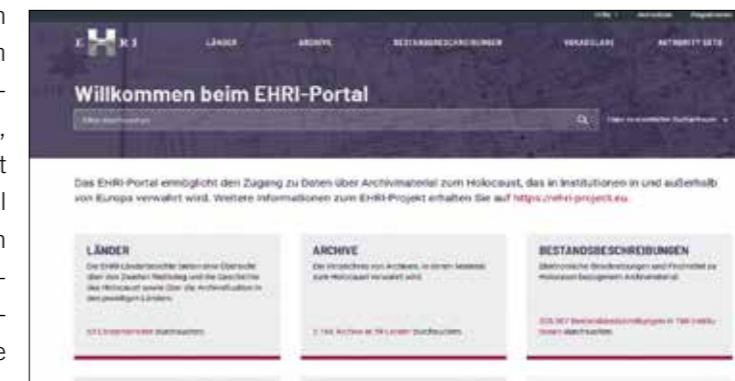
durchsuchbaren Beschreibungen von Holocaust-relevanten Beständen, die Forscherinnen und Forschern einen umfangreichen Überblick über für das eigene Projekt relevante Material – und wo es gefunden werden kann – gibt.

Daneben gehören zu den EHRI-Angeboten zahlreiche Aktivitäten wie Seminare, Workshops, das Conny-Kristel-Fellowship (benannt nach der 2018 verstorbenen, ersten Direktorin von EHRI), Onlineangebote wie Onlinekurse und -editionen sowie

der EHRI Document Blog. Zu den neuesten Angeboten zählt die Podcast-Reihe »For the Living and the Dead. Traces of the Holocaust«, ein Massive Open Online Course zur kritischen Nutzung von Primärquellen in der Holocaust-Forschung (in dem die Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeiter

des Zentrums Videos zu verschiedenen Themen gesteuert haben) und ein »Geospatial Repository«, das den Forschungszugang zu Daten über Orte und Räume, die mit dem Holocaust in Verbindung stehen, erleichtert.

Das Zentrum ist vielfältig und zentral in die Arbeit von EHRI eingebunden. Seit seiner Gründung gehört es dem Projektmanagement-Board, in dem die verschiedenen Aufgaben und Aktivitäten koordiniert und besprochen werden. Darüber hinaus



Webseite des EHRI-Portals (portal.ehri-project.eu)





Roundtable mit ehemaligen EHRI-Fellows, moderiert von Anna Ullrich bei der Abschlusskonferenz der zweiten Projektphase von EHRI, Amsterdam 2019

war und ist das Zentrum verantwortlich für eine Reihe von Aufgabenbereichen innerhalb der Forschungsinfrastruktur, darunter die zentrale Koordination des Stipendienprogramms (seit 2019 Conny-Kristel-Fellowship) von EHRI sowie die Unterstützung und Mitarbeit bei der Konzeption und Durchführung von Seminaren und Onlinekursen.

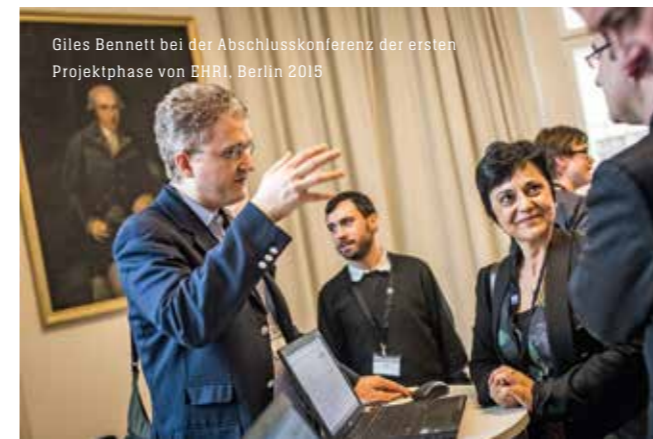
Nach zwei erfolgreiche Projektphasen (EHRI-1, 2010–2015 und EHRI-2, 2015–2019), ermöglicht durch EU-Förderprogramme, wurde EHRI 2018 in die Roadmap des Europäischen Strategieforums für Forschungsinfrastrukturen (kurz: ESFRI) aufgenommen. Zwei Jahre später erhielt das Projekt Mittel für eine dritte Projektphase (EHRI-3, 2020–2024), die eine Fortsetzung und Weiterentwicklung von EHRI-Angeboten erlaubte. Die Aufnahme in die Roadmap unterstreicht die strategische Bedeutung, die EHRI innerhalb des Europäischen Forschungsraums zugeschrieben wird und ist damit ein wichtiger Schritt um EHRI dauerhaft als Konsortium für eine europäische Forschungsinfrastruktur (ERIC) zu etablieren. Seit 2019 wurden im Rahmen einer Vorbereitungsphase (EHRI-PP) wichtige strategische und organisatorische Schritte unternommen, um die Etablierung eines dauerhaften EHRI Konsortiums (EHRI-ERIC) voranzutreiben. Das Zentrum war dabei maßgeblich für die Entwicklung einer künftigen Forschungs- und Innovationsstrategie für EHRI-ERIC verantwortlich, um zu gewährleisten, dass



Gruppenarbeit beim EHRI-Seminar »Aktienkunde des Holocausts«, organisiert vom Bundesarchiv, Berlin 2018



Anna Ullrich bei der Abschlusskonferenz von EHRI-2 »Holocaust Studies and its Social Setting: Challenges and Trends«, Amsterdam 2019



Giles Bennett bei der Abschlusskonferenz der ersten Projektphase von EHRI, Berlin 2015



Anna Ullrich (2.v.r.) und EHRI Kollegin Katharina Freise (r.) bei der Präsentation von EHRI während der Vollversammlung der International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), Stockholm 2022

die Forschungsinfrastruktur auch in Zukunft die Holocaustforschung optimal unterstützt. Bisher wurde die Projektarbeit von EHRI von einem Konsortium aus internationalen Einrichtungen getragen, dagegen wird die Arbeit im zukünftigen EHRI-ERIC maßgeblich von nationalen Konsortien der am ERIC beteiligten Länder organisiert und durchgeführt – und neben europäischen auch maßgeblich mit nationalen Mittel finanziert. Während die zentrale Organisation von EHRI-ERIC weiterhin beim NIOD/in den Niederlanden liegt, wird das Zentrum die Koordination des nationalen Konsortiums in Deutschland (EHRI-DE)

übernehmen. Hierzu gehört die Umsetzung der Aktivitäten vor Ort, Austausch und Kooperation mit nationalen Partnern und die Zusammenarbeit mit anderen nationalen Konsortien innerhalb von EHRI-ERIC. Der offizielle Beginn für das Konsortium für eine europäische Holocaust-Forschungsinfrastruktur ist für den 27. Januar 2025 geplant, den 80. Jahrestag der Befreiung des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz. Das Zentrum freut sich darauf, zu der nachhaltigen Gestaltung von EHRI beizutragen und auch zukünftig die Entwicklung von EHRI-ERIC maßgeblich mitgestalten zu können.

EHRI-Seminar »Advanced Holocaust Studies Today: Sources and Approaches« mit Frank Bajohr, Andrea Löw und Anna Ullrich, Lviv 2017





# DAS FELLOWSHIP-PROGRAMM DES ZENTRUMS



Institut für  
Zeitgeschichte

münchen-Berlin

Von Beginn an stellten Fellowships eine zentrale Säule der Aktivitäten des Zentrums dar, ging es doch darum, die deutsche mit der internationalen Forschungsdiskussion eng zu verzahnen. Mit dem Ausbau des Zentrums wurde das Programm ab 2017 erweitert und differenziert: Junior Fellowships für Doktorandinnen und Doktoranden sowie Senior Fellowships für Post-Docs bzw. Habilitandinnen und Habilitanden, jeweils mit einer Dauer von bis zu vier Monaten. Daneben Distinguished Fellowships für etablierte Forscherinnen und Forscher mit Second Book, für Habilitierte sowie Professorinnen und Professoren mit einer Dauer von bis zu zwölf Monaten. Von Beginn an begleiteten auch die maximal sechs Wochen langen EHRI Fellowships, seit 2018 Conny-Kristel-Fellowships (benannt nach der 2018 verstorbenen, ersten Direktorin von EHRI), die Arbeit des Zentrums.

Mit engen Partnern schrieb das Zentrum darüber hinaus gemeinsame Fellowships aus: Das gemeinsame Fellowship mit dem US Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) umfasst einen Austausch je eines in Deutschland tätigen Fellows nach Washington DC ans USHMM und eines in den USA tätigen Fellows ans Zentrum in München. Das Angebot ist für Promovierende und Post-Docs konzipiert. An Promovierende richtet sich das Joseph-Wulf-Fellowship zusammen mit der Gedenk- und Bildungsstätte Haus der Wannsee-Konferenz in Berlin-Wannsee: Neben zwei Monaten am Zentrum in München als Junior-Fellow mit Stipendium erhalten Joseph-Wulf-Fellows in Berlin kostenlose Unterkunft in der Gästewohnung der Gedenkstätte und ein Ticket für die öffentlichen Verkehrsmittel. Das Zentrum war auch Gastinstitution für mehrere langfristige Humboldt-Forschungsstipendien sowie Jahresstipendien für Doktorandinnen und Doktoranden.

Die Fellows des Zentrums kamen und kommen aus einer Vielzahl von Ländern: Gruppiert man diese nach Regionen, so

stehen mit 35 an der Spitze Forscherinnen und Forscher aus Ostmittel- und Osteuropa (Polen, Tschechien, Slowakei, Ungarn, Moldova, Rumänien, Ukraine). Hier leistete das Zentrum eine wichtige Brückenfunktion für die kritische Forschung in Osteuropa, die bei der Arbeit zu geschichtspolitisch nicht immer bequemen Themen oft Pressionen und Angriffen ausgesetzt sind. 34 Fellows kamen aus West-, Mittel- und Südeuropa (Großbritannien, Frankreich, Niederlande, Italien, Österreich). Nordamerika (USA, Kanada) war mit 26 Fellows vertreten. Von deutschen Institutionen wurden 19 Fellows gefördert. Je ein weiterer Fellow kam aus Australien, Togo und Tunesien.

Geographisch nehmen die Forschungsthemen sehr unterschiedliche Räume in den Blick: Themen zum Deutschen Reich und Ostmittel- und Osteuropa waren stark präsent, ebenso Projekte, die sich mit den Verbündeten NS-Deutschlands beschäftigen. Aber auch scheinbar periphere Themen wie die Geschichte der Internierten auf Mauritius wiesen zugleich auf größere geographische Zusammenhänge.

In zeitlicher Perspektive reichte das Spektrum von Projekten zur Vorgeschichte des Holocaust (etwa Ullrich Wyrwas Forschungen zur Weltwirtschaftskrise von 1929 und dem Antisemitismus in Europa) bis zu Fragen der unmittelbaren Nachgeschichte des Holocaust, wie z. B. Studien zur Geschichte der Displaced Persons (D.P.s) oder zu Nachkriegsprozessen gegen Täter. Daneben widmeten sich zahlreiche Forschungen der Erinnerungskultur, die auch als »Aftermath Studies« bezeichnet werden. Komparative Projekte (z. B. über verschiedene Gruppen von NS-Verfolgten) wurden ebenso bearbeitet wie solche zu bestimmten, bisher weniger intensiv behandelten Quellen (z. B. vertiefte Studien zu Fotografien).

Die meisten Projekte widmeten sich naturgemäß den zeit-historischen Ereigniszusammenhängen des Holocaust bis 1945 und erfassten das gesamte Spektrum der damals Betei-



ligten: Manche waren explizit der »Tätergeschichte« verpflichtet, während andere die jüdische Perspektive und die Handlungsmöglichkeiten der Opfer in den Blick nahmen; manche Studien wiederum analysierten das Verhalten nicht direkt beteiligter »Dritter«, die früher auch als »Bystander« bezeichnet wurden. Auch geschlechtergeschichtliche Zugänge bildeten einen deutlichen Schwerpunkt in vielen Projekten, darunter nicht zuletzt zur weiblichen Perspektive (als Täterinnen, Verfolgte oder »Bystanders«).

Das Fellowship-Programm des Zentrums war von Anfang an interdisziplinär ausgerichtet: Neben Historikerinnen und Historikern waren z.B. auch Vertreterinnen und Vertreter der Literaturwissenschaft, der Soziologie, der Rechtsgeschichte, der Musikwissenschaft, der Filmwissenschaft, der Museums- und Kulturgeschichte oder der Archivwissenschaft Gäste am

Zentrum. Fellows präsentierten mindestens im meist monatlichen Fellowtreff ihre Forschungsprojekte, so dass Angehörige des Zentrums, des IfZ und andere Fellows sowohl über die jeweiligen Projekte informiert wurden als auch Rückmeldungen geben und Fragen stellen konnten. Neben Ressourcen des IfZ wurden meist auch Bibliotheken und Archive in München, Berlin und darüber hinaus von Fellows des Zentrums genutzt.

Das Zentrum für Holocaust-Studien wird sich weiterhin bemühen, dass alle Fellows eine stimulierende, angenehme, Arbeitsumgebung vorfinden und vor allem von der reichen Archivüberlieferung im IfZ und darüber hinaus profitieren. Umgekehrt tragen die Fellows dazu bei, dass deren innovative Themen und Ansätze auch die Projekte des Zentrums inspirieren und befruchten.

## FELLOWS DES ZENTRUMS FÜR HOLOCAUST-STUDIEN, 2013–2022

2013

### ZFHS-FELLOWSHIP

Tomasz Frydel (University of Toronto, Toronto / Canada):  
Genocide from Below: Village Society and the Holocaust in Occupied Poland, 1939–1945

Dana Smith (Queen Mary, University of London; Leo Baeck Institute, London, London/ UK):  
»Jüdischer Kulturbund in Bayern« (1934–1938) and the Role of Jewish Cultural Life under Pre-War National Socialist Persecution

### EHRI-FELLOWSHIP

Adam Gellert (Holocaust Memorial Center, Budapest / Hungary):  
Partners in Crime. The German-Hungarian Solution of the Jewish Question in Hungary in 1944

Elisabeth Büttner (Jagiellonian University, Kraków / Poland):  
German Prisoners in the Auschwitz Concentration Camp 1940–1945

2014

### ZFHS-FELLOWSHIP

Sari J. Siegel (University of Southern California, Los Angeles / USA):  
Medicine Behind Barbed Wire: Jewish Prisoner-Physicians in Nazi Labor, Concentration, and Extermination Camps in the Greater German Reich, 1938–1945

Yurii Radchenko (Kharkiv Collegium, Kharkiv / Ukraine):  
Ukrainian Hilfspolizei, Self-Government, and the Holocaust in Ukraine: The Case of the Military Administration Zone

Froukje Demant (Deutschlandinstitut der Universität Amsterdam, Amsterdam / Netherlands):  
The Daily Relations of Jews and Non-Jews in the German-Dutch Border Region, 1925–1955

### EHRI-FELLOWSHIP

Katarzyna Person (Jewish Historical Institute, Warsaw / Poland):  
Jews from Poland in the Displaced Persons Camps in Germany

Aleksandra Loewenau (Oxford Brookes University, Oxford / UK):  
Rebuilding Lives of Jewish Survivors of Medical Experiments at Auschwitz: A Comparative Study

Matt Lawson (Edge Hill University, Ormskirk / UK):  
Film Music of German Holocaust Cinema

Devra Katz (University of Haifa, Haifa / Israel):  
Emotions in Stutthof: An Analysis of the Social Function of Emotions in a Prisoner Society

2015

### ZFHS-FELLOWSHIP

Elisabeth Pönisch (University of Freiburg, Freiburg i. Br. / Germany):  
»Judenhäuser« im Deutschen Reich ab 1939. Eine Lebensweltstudie zu Alltag und Nachbarschaft

Felix Matheis (University of Hamburg, Hamburg / Germany):  
Hamburg im Osten. Die Besetzung Polens aus der Perspektive der Hansestadt 1939–1945

Diana Dumitru (University of Chisinau, Chisinau / Moldova):  
Traumatic Encounters: Jews, Gentiles and the Soviet State in the Aftermath of the Holocaust

Adam Gellert (Central European University, Budapest / Hungary):  
Partners in Crime. The German-Hungarian Solution of the Jewish Question in Hungary in 1944

Alexander Kruglov (Ukrainian Institute for Holocaust Studies, Dnepropetrovsk / Ukraine):  
The Holocaust in the USSR Regions Occupied by Germans. Problem of Regional Features and Periodization

2016

### ZFHS-FELLOWSHIP

Irina Rebrova (Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung, TU Berlin, Berlin / Germany):  
Memory about the Holocaust in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russian Discourses on World War II. The Case of the North Caucasus

Margit Reiter (Institute for Contemporary History, University of Vienna, Vienna / Austria):  
Antisemitism after the Shoah. Ideological Continuities and Political Reorientation in the Milieu of Former National Socialists in Post-War Austria

Ionut Biliuta (Gheorghe Sincai Institute for Social Sciences and the Humanities, Romanian Academy, Bucharest / Romania):  
Preaching the Gospel of Hate. Antisemitism, Fascism and the Orthodox Church in Interwar Romania

Christina Winkler (University of Potsdam / University of Leicester, Potsdam / Germany & Leicester / UK):  
Everyday Life and Violence in Occupied Rostov-on-Don (1942–1943)

### JOINT FELLOWSHIP WITH THE USHMM

Natalia Aleksiu (Touro College, New York City / USA):  
Daily Survival: Social History of Jews Hiding in Eastern Galicia

Jennifer Allen (Yale University, New Haven / USA):  
Commemorating Mass Trauma in an Age of Transnationalism

Vortrag und Diskussion im »Fellow-Treff« des Zentrums für Holocaust-Studien





Anna Ullrich und drei Fellows besuchen die Dokumentation Obersalzberg

### HUMBOLDT FELLOW

Katarzyna Person (Jewish Historical Institute, Warsaw / Poland):  
Jews from Poland in the Displaced Persons Camps in Germany

### EHRI-FELLOWSHIP

Beate Müller (Newcastle University, Newcastle / UK):  
Fine Young Democrats? German Youth in OMGUS Surveys, 1945-49

Katharina Hering (National Equal Justice Library, Georgetown Law Library, Washington D.C. / USA):  
The Ethics of Access to Case Files Documenting Reparation and Restitution Claims

Rachel O'Sullivan (University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh / UK):  
Drang nach Osten: The Volksdeutschen and the Nazi Colonial Campaign in Poland, 1939–1943

Marta Zawodna (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan / Poland):  
Ways of Handling the Remains of Dachau Camp Victims in a Comparative Perspective

Viktoriya Sukovata (Kharkiv National Karazin University, Kharkiv / Ukraine):  
Jüdisches Theater in Ghettos während des Holocausts

Olga Radchenko (National Bogdan Chmelnički-University, Cherkassy / Ukraine):  
Der Holocaust im Oblast Tscherkassy

Cristina Spinei (University of Iasi, Iasi / Romania):  
Literary Paradigms of Modern Urban Identities and Jewish Self-hatred in the Novels of Israel Joshua Singer and Isaac Bashevis Singer

2017

### DISTINGUISHED FELLOWSHIP

Susanna Schrafstetter (University of Vermont, Burlington / USA):  
Überlebensstrategien auf der Flucht: Deutsche Juden in Italien, 1933–1950

### SENIOR FELLOWSHIP

Frank Grelka (European University Viadrina, Frankfurt an der Oder / Germany):  
Presaging the Holocaust? On the Water Works Camps of Lublin, 1940–1942

Vojin Majstorovic (University of Toronto, Toronto / Canada):  
The Red Army and the Holocaust, 1939–1948  
Olga Radchenko (Cherkasy National University, Cherkasy / Ukraine):  
»Es war keine große Aktion«. Der Holocaust im Kontext anderer nationalsozialistischer Gewaltverbrechen in der Provinz des Generalbezirks Kiew, 1941–1942

### JUNIOR FELLOWSHIP

Felix Matheis (University of Hamburg, Hamburg / Germany):  
Hamburg im Osten. Die Besetzung Polens aus der Perspektive der Hansestadt 1939–1945

Christian Mentel (Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung, Potsdam / Germany):  
Amoklauf gegen die Wirklichkeit. Holocaust-Leugnung als historisches Phänomen

Rachel O'Sullivan (University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh / UK):  
Drang nach Osten: The Volksdeutschen and the Nazi Colonial Campaign in Poland, 1939–1943

Andrea Kirchner (Goethe-University Frankfurt, Frankfurt am Main / Germany):  
Richard Lichtheim (1885–1963) – From Constantinople to Geneva. A Political Biography

Carmel Heeley (Leo Baeck Institute / Queen Mary University, London / UK):  
The Germans, the Jews and the Alps: How Moral Values, Bavarian Traditions and Sport Formed the Personal and Professional Relationships between German-Gentiles and German-Jews in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, 1920–1950

### JOINT FELLOWSHIP WITH THE USHMM

Craig Sorvillo (University of Florida, Gainesville / USA):  
The Devil's Advocate: Rudolf Aschenauer, Post-War Justice and Historical Memory

### EHRI-FELLOWSHIP

Montassar Adaili (Manouba University, Tunis / Tunisia):  
The Role of Women in the Jewish Resistance in Extermination and Concentration Camps

Anna Koch (University of Southampton, Southampton / UK):  
Suspicious Comrades: German Communists of Jewish Origin between Nazism and Stalinism, 1918–1952

Irina Makhalova (National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow / Russia):  
Collaborators in the Crimea during the Nazi occupation (1941–1944)

2018

### DISTINGUISHED FELLOWSHIP

Gerald Steinacher (University of Nebraska-Lincoln, Lincoln / USA):  
Forgive and Forget? Catholic Responses to Postwar Justice in Germany and Italy 1945–1950

Bob Moore (University of Sheffield, Sheffield / UK):  
Rescue and »Sheltering« in Context. The Secret Diary of Arnold Douwes: Rescue in the Occupied Netherlands

### SENIOR FELLOWSHIP

Daniel Uziel (Yad Vashem / Ben-Gurion University, Jerusalem / Israel):  
Zwangsarbeit in der deutschen Luftfahrtindustrie

Mykola Borovyk (Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Kyiv / Ukraine):  
(Un)expected Enemies: Local Collaborators in the Jewish Survivors Memory About the Holocaust in Ukraine

Iwona Guśc (University of Groningen, Groningen / Netherlands):  
Children's Holocaust Diaries, Voices of Young Survivors and their Role in Shaping the Holocaust Memory

Bert Hoppe (Humboldt-Universität Berlin, Berlin / Germany):  
Geschichte Kiews unter deutscher Besatzung

Gelinada Grinchenko (National University Kharkiv, Kharkiv / Ukraine):  
War, People, and Catastrophe in the Oral Histories of Survivors and Witnesses

Mathew Turner (Deakin University, Melbourne / Australia):  
Holocaust Erklärungsarbeit and German Historians, 1960-2000: »Hyperaffirmation« or Historicisation?

### JUNIOR FELLOWSHIP

Philipp Dinkelaker (Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung, Technische Universität Berlin, Berlin / Germany):  
Der Umgang mit »jüdischer Kollaboration« in Nachkriegsdeutschland im Spiegel von Ehrengerichts-, Straf- und Sozialhilfverfahren von und gegen Überlebende der Shoah

### JOINT FELLOWSHIP WITH THE USHMM

Alicja Podbielska (Clark University, Worcester / USA):  
The Memory of Rescue in Poland  
Joseph Wulf Fellowship with the House of the Wannsee Conference

Denisa Nešťáková (Comenius University Bratislava, Bratislava / Slovakia):  
Women and Men in the Labour Camp Sered, Slovakia (1941-1945)

### EHRI-FELLOWSHIP

Paula Oppermann (University of Glasgow, Glasgow / UK):  
Latvian Fascists Between Collaboration and Resistance. The Pērkonkrusts Movement in WWII and Beyond

Anne-Lise Bobeldijk (NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies / University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam / Netherlands):  
Competing narratives of victimhood in the age of transitional justice: The history and memory of the Terrorscape Maly Trostenets

Franziska Anna Karpinski (Loughborough University, Loughborough / UK):  
In Defense of Honor and Masculinity – In-Group Pressure, Violence, and Punishment in the Third Reich's Elite, 1933–1945

Anton Hruboň (Matej Bel University, Banská Bystrica / Slovakia):  
Architect of Genocide: Alexander Mach and the Destruction of Slovak Jews





Gespräche und Vorträge auf der Konferenz »Lessons &amp; Legacies«, November 2019



Lennart Savenije (University Nijmegen, Nijmegen / Netherlands): Jewish working camps in the Netherlands, under the supervision of the Nederlandsche Heidemaatschappij / Dutch Heathlandcompany

Anica Filipovici (Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities, Cluj-Napoca / Romania) Antisemitism and Far-right Propaganda in High Schools of Interwar Romania

## 2019

### DISTINGUISHED FELLOWSHIP

Andrea Pető (Central European University, Budapest / Hungary): Invisible Perpetrators: Memory of Hungarian Female Perpetrators of WWII in Hungary

### SENIOR FELLOWSHIP

Anna Wylegała (Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw / Poland): The Social Anthropology of Filling the Void: Poland and Ukraine after World War II

Maris Rowe-McCulloch (University of Toronto, Toronto / Canada): Encountering the »Other« at Sachsenhausen: From Nazi Concentration Camp to Soviet Prison Camp, 1941–1950

Roni Mikel Arieli (Hebrew University, Jerusalem / Israel): Memories of Migration and Migration of Memory: The Transnational History of the Jewish Refugees Deportation to Mauritius (1940–1945)

Beate Meyer (Institut für die Geschichte der deutschen Juden, Hamburg / Germany): Die Situation ausländischer Juden im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland

Darren O'Byrne (University of Cambridge, Cambridge / UK): The Margins of Perpetration: Wilhelm Kube and the Occupation of Belarus, 1941–1943

Ulrich Wyrwa (Universität Potsdam, Potsdam / Germany): Die Weltwirtschaftskrise von 1929 und der Antisemitismus in Europa. Die politischen und sozialpsychologischen Folgen von Arbeitslosigkeit und »Großer Depression«

Cornelia Wilhelm (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München / Germany): Die letzte Generation des deutschen Rabbinats: Deutsche Rabbiner im amerikanischen Exil, 1933–1990

Michal Schvarc (Historisches Institut der Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Abteilung für Neuere Geschichte / Slowakisches Nationalmuseum – Museum der Kultur der Karpatendeutschen, Bratislava / Slovakia): Die Karpatendeutschen und ihr Anteil am Holocaust in der Slowakei. Ein unbekanntes und schwieriges Kapitel des deutsch-jüdischen Verhältnisses

Kay Schiller (Durham University, Durham / UK): »Der schnellste Jude Deutschlands«: Alex Natan (1906–1971) – eine kulturgeschichtliche Biographie

### JUNIOR FELLOWSHIP

Paula Oppermann (University of Glasgow, Glasgow / UK): Latvian Fascists Between Collaboration and Resistance. The Pērkonkrusts Movement in WWII and Beyond

Lukas Meissel (University of Haifa, Haifa / Israel): SS-Fotografie in NS-Konzentrationslagern. Genres und Bedeutungen von Fotografien der Erkennungsdienste

Saskia Millmann (University of Glasgow, Glasgow / UK): »Flexible Engagement«: The League of Nations and its Non-Members; Partial Study: The German-Jewish Refugee Crisis in the 1930s

Carmel Heeley (Leo Baeck Institute / Queen Mary University London, London / UK): The Germans, the Jews and the Alps: How Moral Values, Bavarian Traditions and Sport Formed the Personal and Professional Relationships between German-Gentiles and German-Jews in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, 1920–1950

Anna Veronica Pobbe (University of Trento, Trento / Italy): Hans Biebow: the Ghetto-Manager. The History of the Łódź Ghetto through the Lens of its Head

### JOSEPH WULF FELLOWSHIP WITH THE HOUSE OF THE WANNSEE CONFERENCE

Anna Corsten (University of Leipzig, Leipzig / Germany): Unerbetene Erinnerer? Deutsch-amerikanische Zeithistoriker in der Auseinandersetzung mit Holocaust, jüdische Geschichte und Nationalsozialismus nach 1945

## 2020

### DISTINGUISHED FELLOWSHIP

Jan Grabowski (University of Ottawa, Ottawa / Canada): Open Ghettos in Occupied Poland: A Study of Institutional and Social Control

### SENIOR FELLOWSHIP

Bill Niven (Nottingham Trent University, Nottingham / UK): »Jud Süß«: Die Nachwirkungen eines nationalsozialistischen Filmes

Daniel Siemens (Newcastle University, Newcastle / UK): Hinter der Weltbühne: Hermann Budzislowski und das zwanzigste Jahrhundert

Noah Benninga (Vidal Sassoon Center for the Study of Antisemitism, Hebrew University / Richard Koebner Minerva Center for German History, Hebrew University, Jerusalem / Israel): Fashion in Auschwitz: a Study of the Social World of the Metropolis of Death

Sina Fabian (Humboldt-Universität Berlin, Berlin / Germany): Genuss und Gewalt. Alkohol im Zweiten Weltkrieg und im Holocaust

Fabien Théofilakis (Univ. Sorbonne 1, Paris / France): »Und die Geschichte wird noch einmal urteilen«. Eichmann in Jerusalem: The Holocaust Seen from the Glass Booth

Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe (Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin / Germany): Polish Mayors and the Administration of the General Government. Holocaust, Occupation, and Collaboration

### JUNIOR FELLOWSHIP

Miriam Schulz (Columbia University, New York City / USA): The Last Myth of Silence: Soviet Yiddish Culture and the Holocaust in the Long Cold War

Alexandra Pulvermacher (Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt, Klagenfurt / Austria): Polnische Juden unter deutscher und sowjetischer Besatzung (September 1939 bis Juni 1941)

### JOINT FELLOWSHIP WITH THE USHMM

Anna Holian (Arizona State University, Tempe / USA): Setting Up Shop: Jewish Economic Life in Postwar Germany Joseph Wulf Fellowship with the House of the Wannsee Conference

Florian Zabransky (University of Sussex, Falmer / UK): Between Love and Sexualised Violence: Male Jewish Intimacy and the Holocaust

### HUMBOLDT FELLOW

Winson Chu (University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee, Milwaukee / USA): The Kriminalpolizei and the Lodz Ghetto



Bill Niven stellt sein Projekt über die Nachwirkungen des Films »Jud Süß« vor



2021

**DISTINGUISHED FELLOWSHIP**

Jonathan Huener (University of Vermont, Burlington / USA):  
Reichsgau Wartheland

Suzanne Brown-Fleming (USHMM, Washington D.C. / USA):  
Opa war ein Nazi: Eduard Geist and the Crimes of the Third Reich

**SENIOR FELLOWSHIP**

Viktoria Soloschenko (Institut für Weltgeschichte der Nationalen Akademie der Wissenschaften der Ukraine, Kiew / Ukraine):  
Der Holocaust der ukrainischen Juden und Spuren ihrer konfiszierten Kulturgüter

Andrii Kudriachenko (Institut für Weltgeschichte der Nationalen Akademie der Wissenschaften der Ukraine, Kiew / Ukraine):  
Holocaust, Hungersnot in der Ukraine, ukrainisch-deutsche Beziehungen Mitte 20. – Anfang 21. Jh., das historische Gedächtnis der Ukrainer

Kamil Kijek (University of Wrocław, Wrocław / Poland):  
The Last Polish Shtetl? Jewish Community of Dzierżoniów, Jewish World, the Cold War and Communism (1945–1950)

Marta Havryshko (I. Krypiakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Lviv / Ukraine):  
War, Gender, and Power: Sexual Violence during the Holocaust in Ukraine

Marilyn Campeau (University of Toronto, Toronto / Canada):  
Facing Europe: Soviet Soldiers in Germany, 1945–1994

Zofia Trębacz (Jewish Historical Institute, Warsaw / Poland):  
Between the Lines. Jewish Correspondence during the Holocaust

Teresa Malice (Universität Bielefeld, Bielefeld / Germany):  
›Ordinary Women‹ as Bystanders? Female Writings and Majority Society in Nazi Germany, Austria and Fascist Italy. History and Memory

**JUNIOR FELLOWSHIP**

Judith Vöcker (University of Leicester, Leicester / UK):  
›Im Namen des Deutschen Volkes‹ – Die deutsche Gerichtsbarkeit in Warschau und Krakau während der nationalsozialistischen Besatzung des Generalgouvernements (1939–1945)

Alexandra Kramen (Clark University, Worcester / USA):  
Justice Pursued: The Struggle for Holocaust Justice in the Je-

wish Displaced Persons Community of Föhrenwald, 1945–1957

Katrin Antweiler (Justus Liebig-Universität, Gießen / Germany):  
Memorialising the Holocaust in Human Rights Museums. A Comparative Analysis of Memory as a Means of Government

Vlasta Kordová (Jan Evangelista Purkyně University in Ústí nad Labem, Ústí nad Labem / Czech Republic):  
Die nazistische ›Bandenbekämpfung‹ an der Ostfront 1941–1944

**JOINT FELLOWSHIP WITH THE USHMM**

Daan de Leeuw (Clark University, Worcester / USA):  
The Geography of Slave Labor: Dutch Jews and the Third Reich, 1942–1945

**DAAD FELLOW**

Hanna Green (Clark University, Worcester / USA):  
Jewish Women Passing as Aryan during the Holocaust

2022

**DISTINGUISHED FELLOWSHIP**

Jonathan Huener Paweł Machcewicz (Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw / Poland):  
Poland in the 1950s and 1960s: Communism, Nationalism, Antisemitism, and Political Uses of History

Suzanne Brown-Fleming (USHMM, Washington D.C. / USA):  
Opa war ein Nazi: Eduard Geist and the Crimes of the Third Reich

**SENIOR FELLOWSHIP**

Viorel Achim (Nicolae Iorga Institute of History at the Romanian Academy, Bucharest / Romania):  
The ethnic Germans and the extermination of the Jews and Roma in Romanian-occupied Transnistria

Michał Grochowski (University of Wrocław, Wrocław / Poland):  
Jewish ›Collaboration‹ with Germans in the Warsaw Ghetto – A Multi Level Analysis

Yurii Kaparulin (Kherson State University, Kherson / Ukraine):  
Between Soviet Modernization and the Holocaust: Jewish Agrarian Settlements in Kherson Province, 1924–1947



Messan Tossa (Togo State Archives / University of Lomé, Lomé / Togo):

Artefakte der Holocaustliteratur im Afrikanischen Kontext

**JUNIOR FELLOWSHIP**

Kathrin Janzen (Vienna University, Vienna / Austria):  
Soziale Verflechtungen innerhalb eines TäterInnenkollektivs – Familiäre und private Beziehungen zwischen Tatbeteiligten der nationalsozialistischen ›Euthanasie‹-Morde

Johannes Meerwald (Fritz Bauer Institut, Frankfurt am Main / Germany):

Als der Holocaust nach Bayern kam. Jüdische Häftlinge im Lagerkomplex Dachau (1944–1945)

Benet Lehmann (Justus Liebig-Universität, Gießen / Germany):  
Visual Power. Wehrmacht Photographs from ›the East‹ and their biographies (1939–2021)

Olga Kartashova (New York University, New York City / USA):  
International Networks and Jewish Efforts to Prosecute Nazi Criminals in Poland, 1944–1955

Hannah Riedler (University of Klagenfurt, Klagenfurt / Austria):  
Gewalt im deutsch und sowjetisch besetzten Polen 1939–1941

**JOINT FELLOWSHIP WITH THE USHMM**

Jonathan Lanz (Indiana University, Bloomington / USA):  
The Ghetto Next to the Gas Chamber: Social Networks and Daily Life in the Theresienstadt Family Camp

**JOSEPH WULF FELLOWSHIP WITH THE HOUSE OF THE WANNSEE CONFERENCE**

Tamar Aizenberg (Brandeis University, Waltham / USA):  
Emotional Engagement Versus Historical Fact: Grandchildren of Holocaust Survivors, Grandchildren of Nazis, and Holocaust Memory

**EHRI CONNY KRISTEL FELLOWSHIP**

Carmel Heeley (Queen Mary, University of London / Leo Baeck Institute, London / UK):

German Jews, German Gentiles and the Alps: How Conceptions of Heimat, Bavarian Traditions and Moral Values defined ›German‹ Belongings and German-Jewish experience, 1920–1940

Nataliia Ivchyk (Rivne State University of Humanities in Ukraine, Rivne / Ukraine):

Disgraced Worlds: Jewish Families during the Holocaust  
Corneliu Pintilescu (George Barițiu Institute of History, Cluj-Napoca / Romania):

Martial Law and the Holocaust: An Inquiry into the Legal Framework of the Operation of Camps in Transnistria under Romanian Occupation (1941–1944)

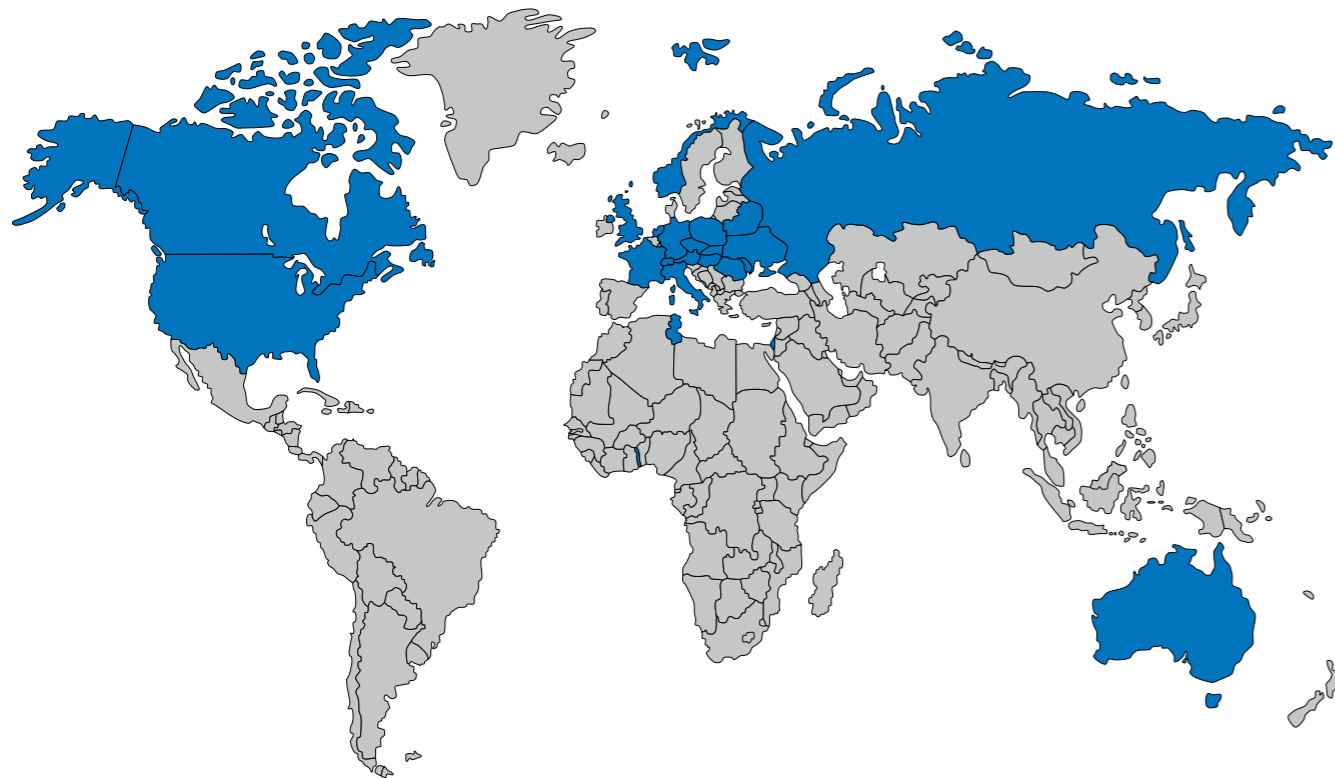
Karianne Hansen (University of Leicester, Stanley Burton Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Leicester / UK):

›How do you know I am Norwegian?‹ Ethnicity, nationality, and race in the Nazi concentration camps





## UNSERE FELLOWS KOMMEN AUS FOLGENDEN LÄNDERN:



Australia 1	Israel 5	Slovakia 3
Austria 4	Italy 1	Togo 1
Canada 5	Moldova 1	Tunisia 1
Czech Republic 1	Netherlands 4	UK 22
France 1	Poland 10	Ukraine 12
Germany 9	Romania 5	USA 20
Hungary 3	Russia 1	



Anna Ullrich mit den Fellows Winson Chu, Fabien Théofilakis und Bill Niven vor der Dokumentation Obersalzberg

## STATEMENTS



»My tenure as an Invited fellow at the Center for Holocaust Studies at the IfZ in Munich was one of the most memorable research endeavors in my life. My goal was to prepare ground and to start research into the theme: ›Open Ghettos in Occupied Poland: A Study of Institutional and Social Control‹. I have been planning this trip for more than a year and I have identified several collections of interest in the archives of the IfZ, as well as the archival collections held in the archives in Berlin and in Freiburg. I arrived in Munich in January 2020. With the help of my wonderful new colleagues in Munich: Prof. Frank Bajohr, Prof. Andrea Löw, Dr. Anna Ullrich and Giles Bennett, I quickly made myself at home in the Center. I started my research, and I managed to take part in several meetings involving other visiting scholars. And then the world around us collapsed, the pandemic started, and everything started closing down. Next few months were busy, either going into quarantine or emerging from it. Nevertheless, with some tenacity, hunting down the available openings of the archives, I spent many productive days and weeks in the archives of the IfZ, in Berlin Lichterfelde and, during the summer, I even managed to complete my research in the Bundesarchiv Militärarchiv Freiburg (military archives in Freiburg). All in all, pandemic notwithstanding, it was a memorable research fellowship for which I am grateful to my wonderful hosts. The project which I initiated three years ago in Munich is now in its final phases.«

JAN GRABOWSKI, PhD; Fellow,  
Royal Society of Canada  
Professor/Professeur titulaire  
Department of History/Département d'histoire  
University of Ottawa/Université d'Ottawa



»As a historian of Germany and Poland, I was aware for many years of the importance and reputation of Munich's Institut für Zeitgeschichte as a center for research, publishing, and public outreach. I was therefore honored to have the opportunity to spend seven months at the Institut in 2021 and 2022 undertaking research on National Socialist Germanization policy in the ›Reichsgau Wartheland,‹ a region of western Poland annexed to National Socialist Germany in 1939. The reputation of the Institut für Zeitgeschichte is well-deserved: I found the guidance of colleagues like Frank Bajohr, Andrea Löw, and Giles Bennett to be invaluable; the library and archival collection were outstanding; the lectures, symposia, and conferences sponsored by the IfZ reflected its commitment to providing a public forum for cutting-edge scholarship. Moreover, the Institut is at the crossroads of an international community of scholars who, regardless of their background and accomplishments, bring new ideas, approaches, and skills to its research agenda and profile. I learned much from them, and recalling conversations with them, am reminded of how much of the work of history can happen over lunch in the Cafeteria!«

JONATHAN HUENER  
Professor of History, University of Vermont

## STATEMENTS

»My stay at the Center for Holocaust Studies was scholarly very fruitful and enriching. My research did not pertain directly to the wartime extermination of Jews, but mostly to the postwar period. I have been working on a book about political and propagandistic exploitation of the Holocaust, and especially of the Polish-Jewish relations during the war, by the Polish communists. They became obsessed with these subjects in the 1960s when the nationalist legitimization became increasingly important in their ideology and social engineering. I was able to use all library and archive resources of the Institute for Contemporary History to work on a comparative perspective. The latter included experiences of other Communist countries who also confronted legacies of the Holocaust and sometimes launched antisemitic campaigns, like Polish communists did in 1967–1968. I also greatly valued conversations with other scholars and fellows at the Center, and our regular seminars, which were often eye-opening. Last but not least, I had great time in Munich exploring Bavaria on a bike in company of colleagues from the Center. Our daily achievement was once 106 km.«



Prof. Dr. **PAWEŁ MACHCEWICZ**  
Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy  
of Sciences, Warsaw



»My time at the Center for Holocaust Studies at the IfZ in Munich allowed me to fully concentrate on the start of my post-doc project. With the help of my fellow researchers and their constructive feedback I had a chance to re-visit some of my preliminary thoughts, and discuss the most effective ways how to approach challenging sources. Friendly and supportive, yet highly professional atmosphere created by the employees and fellows, both early-career and well-established scholars, had an enormous impact on what I expect from a research institution and how I perceive what a healthy and productive work environment should look like. While the Center for Holocaust Studies at the IfZ offered me a quiet space to focus on my writing and research, Munich itself gave me many impulses.«

Dr. **DENISA NEŠŤÁKOVÁ**  
Research Associate  
Department of General History, Faculty of Arts  
Comenius University in Bratislava

## STATEMENTS



»In 2019 when I was awarded a senior fellowship at the Center I was struggling in an extremely dramatic political and professional situation in Budapest. I spoke out against the public attacks on gender studies in Hungary and globally and as a result I found myself in public debates and very often as a target of personal attacks. Therefore, living and working in Munich was a valuable opportunity to zoom out from the depressing and violent academic reality in Hungary. I could focus on my writing projects I ignored because of the time consuming but necessary everyday political fights. This period was one of the most productive times of my academic career as far as scholarly output is concerned. In the Center the scholarly debates on the weekly seminars somehow made me forget about the everyday fights for academic freedom and science as it was considered the norm there. By now it is clear that in Hungary not only the fight for gender studies was lost but also Central European University had to move from Budapest to Vienna. I could use the inspiration, strength and energy I collected during my stay in the Center after I returned to Budapest when we packed our university and moved to Vienna. I am very grateful for that opportunity.«

Prof. Dr. **ANDREA PETŐ**  
Central European University, Vienna



# MEDIENAUSKÜNFTE, DISKUSSIONSBEITRÄGE, WISSENSCHAFTLICHE BERATUNGSTÄTIGKEIT

Schaulustigen wurden die Juden am 10. November 1938 beim sogenannten Schandmarsch durch die Maximiliansstraße  
**Wir brauchen eine Kultur des Hinscha**  
Veranstaltung im Reichssaal gedenkt Reichspogromnacht am 9. Nove

h Weiten  
burg. In der Nacht zum  
Samstag jährte sich die  
Pogromnacht zum 80. Mal.  
Feierstunde im Histori-  
chssaal haben Bürger-  
meisterin Gertrud Maltz-Schwarz-  
fischer und die Vorsitzende der Jü-  
dischen Gemeinde, Ilse Danziger,  
die Ereignisse gedenkt und aufge-  
klärt. Im anschließenden  
Antisemitismus entschieden entgegen-

etroffenheit gestern im His-  
torischen Reichssaal war spürbar –  
wenn jeder die Ereignisse des  
Pogroms schon viele Male ge-  
hört, sei es in der Schule, aus der  
Fernsehtage oder im Fernsehen. Doch  
Andrea Löw, stellvertretende  
Leiterin des Zentrums für Holo-  
cauststudien in München, die Briefe  
aus dem Tagebucheinträge vorlas, wur-  
den den Zuhörern das Ausmaß dieser  
Verbrechen vom 9. zum 10. November  
einmal deutlich.

**Verletzte und Kranke wurden  
aus der Synagoge getrieben**  
Nicht nur, dass die einst so prächt-  
ige Synagoge am Brixner Hof, die  
1912 fertiggestellt worden war,  
innerhalb weniger Stunden nur  
ein Haufen Schutt war. Auch  
die Geschäfte in der edlen Max-  
straße waren innerhalb kürzester  
Zeit in blinder Wut demoliert und  
zertrümmert.  
Wir dürfen neben dem materiel-



Bürgermeisterin Gertrud Maltz-Schwarzfischer (v.l.), Ilse Danziger von der Jüdischen Gemeinde und die stellvertretende Leiterin des Zentrums für Holocauststudien München und Rabbinder Josef...

die frisch Operierten mussten  
stramm stehen und Kniebeugen ma-  
chen.“ Einige von ihnen seien da-  
nach an inneren Blutungen gestor-  
ben, so Löw.

## Bespuckt und mit Steinen beworfen

Gegen 11 Uhr am nächsten Tag  
folgte dann der Schandmarsch, bei  
dem die Juden von der SS durch die  
Maxstraße getrieben wurden, um-  
zingelt und beschaulustigen, die sie be-

getroffen vor 80 Jahren“, betonte  
sie. Man wisse heute dank der For-  
schung sehr viel über die Ereignisse  
damals.

## „Wie können wir Brücke schlagen zur Bevölkerung?“

Doch genau deshalb stelle sie sich  
die Frage: „Wie können wir die Brü-  
cke schlagen zur breiten Bevölke-  
rung – zu denen, die heute nicht hier  
sind?“ Und auch zu denen, die wie  
AfD-Politiker Gauland eine erinne-  
rungs- und politische Wende vorantrei-

**M**itarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeiter des Zentrums sind  
gefragte Gesprächspartner für Medienauskünfte. Die  
Vielfalt der Anfragen, die dabei in der Pressestelle  
des Instituts eingehen, unterstreichen die Notwendigkeit und,  
gleichzeitig, die Herausforderung, die komplexen Abläufe und  
Aspekte des Holocausts einem breiten Publikum zu vermit-  
teln. In den vergangenen zehn Jahren entstanden eine Reihe  
von Dokumentationen, an denen Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitar-  
beiter des Instituts als Interviewpartner beteiligt waren. Hierzu  
gehören die ZDF-Dokumentation »Der Buchhalter von Ausch-  
witz. Oskar Gröning und seine Ankläger« (2015), die mehrtei-  
lige Dokumentationsserie »Aufstieg und Fall des Nationalso-  
zialismus« für ZDF Info, der Kinofilm über die strafrechtliche  
Aufarbeitung der NS-Verbrechen und ihre gesellschaftlichen  
Hintergründe für den Dokumentarfilm »Fritz Bauers Erbe –  
die NS-Prozesse im Spiegel der Zeit«, sowie die Arte Doku-  
mentationen »Die Nazis, die Arbeit und das Geld« und »Ghet-  
tos«. Auch in großen Zeitungen und Zeitschriften finden sich  
Beiträge aus dem Zentrum, die oftmals an Jahrestage ange-  
lehnt sind. In den vergangenen Jahren veröffentlichten vor al-  
lem Frank Bajohr und Andrea Löw Texte zum Holocaust oder  
wurden zu ihrer Forschung interviewt (DIE ZEIT, Spiegel On-  
line, Süddeutsche, Tagesspiegel, Neue Zürcher Zeitung). Die  
gilt auch für verschiedene Radioprogramme, wie dem Baye-  
rischen Rundfunk oder Deutschlandradio, wo beispielsweise  
Andrea Löw im Januar 2020 Gast in der Sendung »Zur Diskus-  
sion« zum Thema »Geschichtspolitik und Erinnerungskultur –  
das umkämpfte Gedenken an die Shoah« war. Es sind nämlich  
nicht nur historische Analysen, denen sich das Zentrum in sei-  
nen Medienauskünften und -auftritten widmet, sondern auch  
historisch informierte Betrachtungen der Gegenwart, mit allen  
dazugehörigen Unwägbarkeiten und Konflikten. So veröffent-  
lichte Bert Hoppe im April 2022, wenige Wochen nach dem  
russischen Angriff auf die Ukraine in DIE ZEIT seinen Beitrag

»Getötete Zeitzeugen, zerstörte Archive, bedrohte Dokumen-  
te. Das historische Gedächtnis der Ukraine ist den russischen  
Raketen schutzlos ausgeliefert« und sprach mit Deutschland-  
radio Kultur über »Bedrohte Archive und Kultur in der Ukrai-  
ne«. Andrea Löw schreibt regelmäßig für Der Hauptstadtbrief,  
wo sie nicht nur Einblicke in ihre Forschung bietet, sondern  
auch über ritualisiertes Gedenken, Gerichtsverfahren gegen  
ehemalige KZ-Wachmänner und Sekretärinnen sowie über  
»Geschichtsvergessenheit in Zeiten von Corona« reflektiert.

Auf die Expertise von Frank Bajohr wurde darüber hinaus  
bereits mehrfach vor Gericht zurückgegriffen. So wirkte er u. a.  
als Sachverständiger am Strafverfahren gegen Oskar Gröning  
vor dem Landgericht Lüneburg mit. Durch dieses vielfältige En-  
gagement und die damit einhergehende Sichtbarkeit mag es  
nicht verwundern, dass Mitarbeitende und Fellows selbst Ge-  
genstand von Reportagen wurden: 2019 erschien in der Süd-  
deutschen Zeitung ein Profil über Frank Bajohr (»Jede Gene-  
ration stellt ihre eigenen Fragen«) und über Andrea Petö, die  
zu diesem Zeitpunkt ihr Senior Fellowship am Zentrum absol-  
vierte und über die Attacken illiberaler Demokratien gegen ihre  
Holocaust- und Genderforschung reflektierte (»Die Rechten  
haben jetzt schon unser aller Leben verändert«).



Frank Bajohr und Stefan Hordler als Sachverständige  
im Prozess gegen Oskar Gröning





**Kongress zur Schoa-Forschung erstmals in Europa**

Ab morgen treffen sich rund 200 Wissenschaftler zum interdisziplinären Kongress in München

Von Montag bis Donnerstag treffen sich rund 200 internationale Holocaust-Forscher zum interdisziplinären Kongress »Lessons & Legacies of the Holocaust« in München. Damit findet die Veranstaltung erstmals in Europa statt, wie das Institut für Zeitgeschichte am Sonntag mitteilte.

Durch die jüngsten amerikanischen Überfälle und Wahlversprechen rechter Parteien erhalte der Kongress eine beklemmende politische Aktualität, so die Ankündigung. Diskutiert werden sollen neue Forschungserkenntnisse, aber auch Probleme und die Vermittlung des Themas.

Das Treffen gibt es seit 1979, es fand bisher immer in Newamerika statt. Mehr als 700 Forschende hatten sich mit Themenvorschlägen beworben. Mit dem Ziel, die europäische Forschung zu stärken.



**Wir brauchen eine Kultur des Hinschauens“**

Reichspogromnacht am 9. November 1938



„Wir dürfen neben dem materiellen Schaden nicht die ungeschehene Gewalt gegen die Menschen vergessen“, so Löw. Sie erinnert an Frauen, die vergewaltigt wurden. Oder an alte Juden, die aus dem Altersheim geholt wurden, um in Schlachthäusern verarbeitet zu werden. Auch kranke Juden in Krankenhäusern wurden nicht verschont: „Sie wurden aus ihren Betten geholt – sogar in die Gaskammern.“

„Wir dürfen neben dem materiellen Schaden nicht die ungeschehene Gewalt gegen die Menschen vergessen“, so Löw. Sie erinnert an Frauen, die vergewaltigt wurden. Oder an alte Juden, die aus dem Altersheim geholt wurden, um in Schlachthäusern verarbeitet zu werden. Auch kranke Juden in Krankenhäusern wurden nicht verschont: „Sie wurden aus ihren Betten geholt – sogar in die Gaskammern.“

„Wir dürfen neben dem materiellen Schaden nicht die ungeschehene Gewalt gegen die Menschen vergessen“, so Löw. Sie erinnert an Frauen, die vergewaltigt wurden. Oder an alte Juden, die aus dem Altersheim geholt wurden, um in Schlachthäusern verarbeitet zu werden. Auch kranke Juden in Krankenhäusern wurden nicht verschont: „Sie wurden aus ihren Betten geholt – sogar in die Gaskammern.“

Mit freundlicher Genehmigung der Mediengruppe Attenkofer

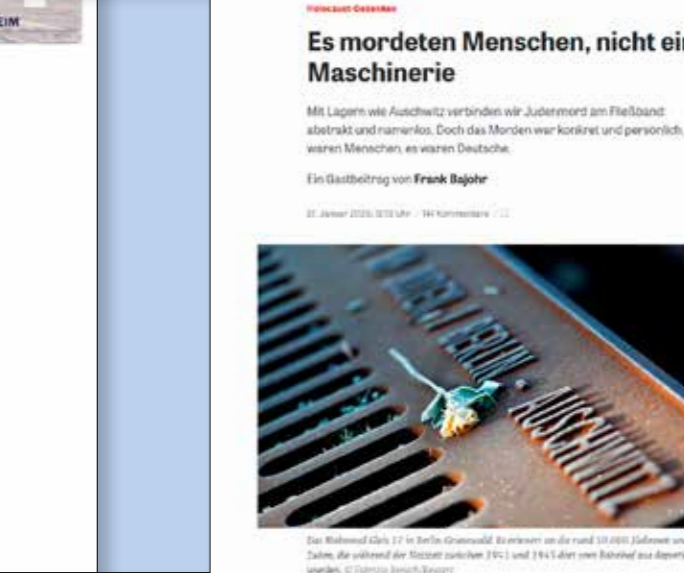


**„Bloßer Zuschauer kann man eigentlich gar nicht sein“**

Dr. Andrea Löw ist stellvertretende Leiterin des Zentrums für Holocaust-Studien am Institut für Zeitgeschichte in München und forscht schwerpunktmäßig zu Judenverfolgung und Gettoisierung in der NS-Zeit. Seit 2018 hat sie einen Lehrauftrag am Lehrstuhl für Zeitgeschichte der Universität Mannheim inne. Was sich in den letzten Jahren in der Holocaust-Forschung getan hat, warum sich manche Länder mit der historischen Aufarbeitung schwer tun und wie man die Menschen wieder zum Zuhören bringt – darüber hat FORUM mit ihr gesprochen.

FÜR DIE Holocaust-Forschung ist die deutsche Erinnerungskultur allgegenwärtig. Ob im Schulunterricht, in Gedenkstätten oder in Spielfilmen – man hat das Gefühl, das Thema würde bereits vor allem Perspektiven beleuchtet. Ist der Holocaust nicht weggeglitten?

Dr. Andrea Löw überlegt nicht. Tatsächlich gibt es seit einigen Jahren sogar einen ähnlichen Boom.



**Wider das ritualisierte Gedenken**

Vor 75 Jahren wurde das Vernichtungslager Auschwitz befreit. In Osteuropa gibt es noch mehr Orte der Vernichtung, die Teil des Gedenkens werden sollten | Von Andrea Löw



Regelmäßig fährt Frank Bajohr mit Studenten zu den einstigen Vernichtungslagern der Nationalsozialisten, denn kein Buch, kein Film lässt Geschichte so unmittelbar erfassen. Der Historiker vom Institut für Zeitgeschichte ist einer der führenden Holocaustexperten. Die Welt bevordert Deutschland für seine Aufarbeitung der Vergangenheit, sagt er.

Von Marlene Schwarz



# LEHRE UND FORTBILDUNG

## 8

**J**üngste Untersuchungen über den Status der Lehre zum Thema »Holocaust« an deutschen Universitäten haben gravierende Defizite offenbart. Vor allem an kleineren Universitäten finden Studierende keinerlei Lehrangebot, sollen aber ausweislich der Lehrpläne aller 16 Bundesländer über den Holocaust unterrichtet. Dieses gravierende Manko kann eine einzelne Forschungseinrichtung nicht beseitigen, doch hat sich das Zentrum für Holocaust-Studien seit seiner Gründung darum bemüht, Studierende und das Lehrpersonal an den Schulen mit den aktuellsten Ergebnissen, Debatten und Tendenzen der Holocaust-Forschung vertraut zu machen. Seit 2014 existiert dazu eine Kooperation mit der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität (LMU) München; mehrere Mitarbeiter/innen bieten seitdem Vertiefungskurse, Seminare und Übungen an. Im Rahmen einzelner Lehrveranstaltungen fanden auch Exkursionen mit den Studierenden statt, so im Sommersemester 2017 nach Riga, Kaunas und Vilnius, im Sommersemester 2018 nach Krakau und Lublin sowie in die ehemaligen Lager der »Aktion Reinhard« in Belzec, Majdanek und Sobibór und im Sommersemester 2019 in die Westukraine. Seit dem Wintersemester 2017/18 findet zudem regelmäßig das Kolloquium »The Holocaust and its

Contexts« an der LMU statt, das als wichtiges Diskussionsforum dient, Trends, Themen und Grundsatzfragen der Holocaust-Forschung aufgreift und neuere Forschungen in einem weiteren Kontext präsentiert. Das Kolloquium steht allen Interessierten offen und wurde während der Corona-Pandemie auch digital fortgeführt.

Neben der LMU wurden weitere Lehrveranstaltungen an den Universitäten Hamburg, Mannheim, Augsburg, Leipzig oder Amsterdam angeboten. Im Juli 2019 organisierte das Zentrum gemeinsam mit der Abteilung für Jüdische Geschichte und Kultur sowie dem Lehrstuhl für Zeitgeschichte der LMU München und in Verbindung mit der Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (bpb) eine Fortbildungsveranstaltung für Lehrkräfte mit dem Titel »Nationalsozialismus und Holocaust in Erfahrung und Erinnerung. Neue Quellen und Vermittlungsstrategien für den Geschichtsunterricht«. Dabei wurden neue Forschungstrends und Quellen zum Holocaust vorgestellt und Möglichkeiten ihrer didaktischen Vermittlung diskutiert. Darüber hinaus beteiligten sich die Mitarbeiter/innen des Zentrums an verschiedenen weiteren Fortbildungsveranstaltungen und hielten dort Vorträge.



## LEHR- UND FORTBILDUNGSVERANSTALTUNGEN UNTER BETEILIGUNG DES ZENTRUMS FÜR HOLOCAUSTSTUDIEN

2013

**FRANK BAJOHR:**

Hauptseminar »Gesellschaftliche Mobilisierung in Krisenzeiten. Das Deutsche Reich, Italien und die USA in den 1930er Jahren« im Sommersemester 2013 an der *Universität Hamburg* (mit Christoph Strupp).

2014

**FRANK BAJOHR:**

Übung »Holocaust und Täterforschung. Entwicklung, Ertrag und Perspektiven eines Forschungsansatzes« im Wintersemester 2014/15 an der *Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*.

**ANDREA LÖW:**

Referentin bei der Lehrerfortbildung »Neue Quellen zum Holocaust« des *Pädagogischen Instituts München* am 23. Januar.

2015

**FRANK BAJOHR:**

Vertiefungskurs »Jenseits von Täter, Opfer, Bystander: Gesellschaftsgeschichte des Holocaust« mit Andreas Wirsching im Sommersemester 2015 am *Historischen Seminar der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*.

Übung »Verdrängung, Existenzvernichtung, »Arisierung« und Restitution. Zu den materiellen Dimensionen von Judenverfolgung« im Wintersemester 2015/16 am *Historischen Seminar der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*.

**ANDREA LÖW:**

Leitung der Masterclass »The Bystander in Holocaust History« gemeinsam mit Jan Grabowski am 24. September im *Duitsland Instituut Amsterdam*.

2016

**FRANK BAJOHR:**

Übung »Das Ende eines langen Weges? Der Prozess gegen den SS-Angehörigen Oskar Gröning vor dem Landgericht Lüneburg und die Strafverfolgung nationalsozialistischer Gewaltverbrechen nach 1945« im Sommersemester 2016 am *Historischen Seminar der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*.

Vertiefungskurs »Zwischen Ohnmacht und Selbstbehauptung. Jüdische Reaktionen auf Verfolgung und Holocaust 1933–1945« im Wintersemester 2016/17 am *Historischen Seminar der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*.

**GILES BENNETT:**

Between Complicity and Culpability: Critical Thinking about the Holocaust via History, Tagungsorganisation, Programmgestaltung und inhaltliche Begleitung der Lehrerfortbildung der *Federal Education Association/US Department of Defense Education Activity*, Berchtesgaden, 9. bis 11. Oktober

Andrea Löw trägt auf der Lehrerfortbildung »Neue Quellen zum Holocaust« in München 2014 vor.



2017

**FRANK BAJOHR:**

Übung »Der Holocaust im Baltikum. Jüdisches Leben, Massenmord und Erinnerungskultur in Lettland und Litauen (mit Exkursion nach Riga, Vilnius und Kaunas)« im Sommersemester 2017 am *Historischen Seminar der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*.

Kolloquium »The Holocaust and its Contexts (mit Kim Wünschmann)« im Wintersemester 2017/18 am *Historischen Seminar der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*.

**ANDREA LÖW:**

Übung »Der Holocaust im Baltikum. Jüdisches Leben, Massenmord und Erinnerungskultur in Lettland und Litauen (mit Exkursion nach Riga, Vilnius und Kaunas)« im Sommersemester 2017 am *Historischen Seminar der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*.

**GAËLLE FISHER:**

Übung »The Holocaust in Central and Eastern Europe: Antecedents, Events and Aftermath / Der Holocaust in Ostmitteleuropa: Vorgeschichte, Ablauf, Erinnerung« im Wintersemester 2017/18 an der *Universität Augsburg*.

2018

**FRANK BAJOHR:**

Übung »Holocaust, deutsche Besatzungsherrschaft und Erinnerungskultur in Polen (mit Exkursion nach Krakau und Lublin)« im Sommersemester 2018 am *Historischen Seminar der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*.

Kolloquium »The Holocaust and its Contexts (mit Kim Wünschmann)« im Sommersemester 2018 am *Historischen Seminar der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*.

Kolloquium »The Holocaust and its Contexts (mit Kim Wünschmann)« im Wintersemester 2018/19 am *Historischen Seminar der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*.

**ANDREA LÖW:**

Übung »Holocaust, deutsche Besatzungsherrschaft und Erinnerungskultur in Polen (mit Exkursion nach Krakau und Lublin)« im Sommersemester 2018 am *Historischen Seminar der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*.

Hauptseminar »Jenseits von Tätern, Opfern, Zuschauern: eine Gesellschaftsgeschichte des Holocaust« im Wintersemester 2018/19 an der *Universität Mannheim*.

»Die Novemberpogrome 1938 im Prozess der Judenverfolgung«, Vortrag im Rahmen der Fortbildungsveranstaltung »Die Novemberpogrome 1938 im Unterricht und am außerschulischen Lernort«, *NS-Dokumentationszentrum München*, 8. November.



Gesellige Runde mit Teilnehmer/innen des Deutsch-Amerikanisch-Israelischen Doktorandenworkshops 2018 an der Clark University/Worcester



## 2019

**FRANK BAJOHR:**

Übung »Holocaust, deutsche Besatzungsherrschaft und Erinnerungskultur in der (West-)Ukraine (mit Exkursion nach Lemberg und Drohobytch)« im Sommersemester 2019 am *Historischen Seminar der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*.

Kolloquium »The Holocaust and its Contexts (mit Jan Neubaier)« im Sommersemester 2019 am *Historischen Seminar der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*.

Kolloquium »The Holocaust and its Contexts (mit Kim Wünschmann)« im Wintersemester 2019/20 am *Historischen Seminar der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*.



Frank Bajohr und Andrea Löw auf einer Tagung des Projekts »Narrative Art and Visual Storytelling« an der Universität Leicester, März 2020

**ANDREA LÖW:**

Hauptseminar »Jenseits von Tätern, Opfern, Zuschauern: eine Gesellschaftsgeschichte des Holocaust« im Sommersemester 2019 an der *Universität Mannheim*.

Hauptseminar »Jüdische Reaktionen auf Verfolgung und Massenmord 1939–1945« im Wintersemester 2019/20 an der *Universität Mannheim*.

**ANNA ULLRICH:**

Übung »Holocaust, deutsche Besatzungsherrschaft und Erinnerungskultur in der (West-)Ukraine (mit Exkursion nach Lemberg und Drohobytch)« im Sommersemester 2019 am *Historischen Seminar der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*.



Redaktionsbesprechung der »European Holocaust Studies« per Zoom, von oben nach unten: Andrea Löw und Hana Kubátová, Rachel O'Sullivan und Frank Bajohr, Natalia Aleksiu und Gaëlle Fisher

**GAËLLE FISHER:**

Hauptseminar »Judenheiten: Eine Einführung in die moderne jüdische Geschichte zwischen Warschau, New York und Tel Aviv« im Wintersemester 2019/20 an der *Universität Augsburg*.

**FORTBILDUNGSVERANSTALTUNG DES ZENTRUMS:**

»Nationalsozialismus und Holocaust in Erfahrung und Erinnerung. Neue Quellen und Vermittlungsstrategien für den Geschichtsunterricht«, gemeinsam mit der Abteilung für Jüdische Geschichte und Kultur sowie dem Lehrstuhl für Zeitgeschichte der LMU München und in Verbindung mit der Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (bpb) im Juli 2019.

## 2020

**FRANK BAJOHR:**

Übung »Der Holocaust. Neue Forschungsansätze und -ergebnisse« im Wintersemester 2020/21 am *Historischen Seminar der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*.

Kolloquium »The Holocaust and its Contexts (mit Kim Wünschmann)« im Wintersemester 2020/21 am *Historischen Seminar der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*.

**ANDREA LÖW:**

Hauptseminar »Krieg, Besatzung, Holocaust: Polen 1939–1945« im Sommersemester 2020 an der *Universität Mannheim*.

## 2021

**FRANK BAJOHR:**

Übung »Wie das Runde ins Eckige kam. Zur Sozial- und Zeitgeschichte des Fußballs« im Wintersemester 2021/22 am *Historischen Seminar der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*.

Kolloquium »The Holocaust and its Contexts (mit Magnus Altschäfl)« im Wintersemester 2021/22 am *Historischen Seminar der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*.

Kolloquium »The Holocaust and its Contexts (mit Paula Oppermann)« im Sommersemester 2022 am *Historischen Seminar der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*.

»Tendenzen der Holocaust-Forschung«, Keynote Lecture auf dem Fortbildungsseminar »Der Holocaust im Schulunterricht«, *LMU München (online)*, 22. Februar.

**ANDREA LÖW:**

»Shoah«, Vortrag im Rahmen der Lehrerfortbildung/Vortragsreihe »1.700 Jahre Quellen aus der deutsch-jüdischen Geschichte«, *München (online)*, 14. Juni.

**GAËLLE FISHER:**

Seminar »Emanzipation, Verfolgung, Emigration: Geschichte der Juden in Rumänien seit 1850« im Sommersemester 2022 an der *Universität Leipzig*.

Frank Bajohr und Andrea Löw auf einem Workshop der Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung über Gedenkfahrten nach Osteuropa im Geschichtsort Villa ten Hompel, Münster

**KERSTIN SCHWENKE:**

»Zwangsarbeit im Nationalsozialismus: eine Einführung«, Vortrag im Rahmen der virtuellen Fortbildungsveranstaltung »Zwangsarbeit im Nationalsozialismus. Virtuelle Vermittlung und Herausforderungen für die historische Bildung«, *online*, 28. Januar.

»Das Konzentrationslager Dachau – (K)ein Ort des Holocaust?«, Workshop-Leitung im Rahmen der virtuellen Fortbildungsveranstaltung »Der Holocaust im Schulunterricht: Vermittlung, Forschungstrends, Herausforderungen«, *online*, 22. Februar.

## 2022

**FRANK BAJOHR:**

Übung »Von der Ausgrenzung zum Holocaust. Die Verfolgung der Juden im Deutschen Reich 1933–1945« im Wintersemester 2022/23 am *Historischen Seminar der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*.

## 2023

**FRANK BAJOHR:**

Übung Täter und Täterinnen des Holocaust. Entwicklung, Ertrag und Perspektiven eines Forschungsansatzes« Im Wintersemester 2023/24 am *Historischen Seminar der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*.

Kolloquium »The Holocaust and its Contexts (mit Paula Oppermann)« im Sommersemester 2023 am *Historischen Seminar der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*.



## STATEMENT

HOLOCAUST-STUDIEN IN FORSCHUNG UND LEHRE:  
RÜCKBLICK AUF EINE FRUCHTBARE ZUSAMMENARBEIT

»Als ich 2017 von Großbritannien nach München wechselte, reizte mich die Aufgabe, die Kooperation der LMU München mit dem Zentrum für Holocaust-Studien am Institut für Zeitgeschichte aufzubauen. Die Forschung zu Geschichte und Wirkung von Nationalsozialismus und Shoah, die Auseinandersetzung mit Teilhabe an der Diktatur und Widerstand, das Bewahren der Quellen und die kreative Entwicklung neuer Formen der Vermittlung werden in Stadt und Region vielfach und von vielen Institutionen betrieben. In meinen Münchner Jahren durfte ich sie kennenlernen und mit ihnen produktiv zusammenarbeiten. Dafür hätte es keine bessere Basis als die Verbindung zwischen dem von Margit Szöllösi-Janze geleiteten Lehrstuhl für Zeitgeschichte und Frank Bajohr und seinem Team am ZfHS geben können. Gemeinsam konnten wir das internationale Forschungskolloquium ›The Holocaust and Its Contexts‹ initiieren, in dem auch viele der Fellows des ZfHS an der Universität ihre Arbeiten vorstellen konnten. Als Diskussionsforum, das Themen, Trends und Grundsatzfragen der Holocaust-Forschung aufgreift, erreicht es bis heute Studierende, Lehrende, Forschende sowie die interessierte Öffentlichkeit.

Dass die Holocaust-Forschung sich als dynamisches und interdisziplinäres akademisches Feld mit starken Initiativen im Wissenschaftstransfer inzwischen etabliert hat, zeigt vor allem auch die Konferenzreihe ›Lessons & Legacies of the Holocaust‹. Wir konnten diese zentrale Fachtagung im November 2019 nach München holen, womit sie erstmalig seit ihren Anfängen im Jahr 1989 außerhalb Nordamerikas stattfand. Weitere ›Lessons & Legacies Europe‹ sollen folgen. Ein für mich unvergessliches Ereignis war die im Rahmen der Konferenz organisierte Abendveranstaltung, auf der die Präsidentin der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinde Dr. Charlotte Knobloch uns alle mit ihrem Zeugnis über ihr Erleben der Pogromnacht in München im November 1938 tief bewegte. Ein filmisches Zeugnis über den Abbruch der Münchner Hauptsynagoge haben Andrea Löw und ich an diesem Abend gezeigt und im Nachgang eingehend erforscht. Ich freue mich, dass wir diese Studie in der ZfHS-Buchreihe ›European Holocaust Studies‹ veröffentlichen konnten.

Aus den erfüllten Münchner Jahren der Kooperation mit dem ZfHS habe ich Vieles ans Institut für die Geschichte der deutschen Juden nach Hamburg mitgenommen. Die Synergien zwischen den Jüdischen Studien und der Holocaust-Forschung zu stärken, ist eines meiner Ziele. Ich gratuliere dem ZfHS zum Zehnjährigen und wünsche uns weiterhin einen fruchtbaren Austausch.«

KIM WÜNSCHMANN





# BEITRÄGE

## THE HOLOCAUST, COLONIALISM AND NAZI IMPERIALISM: ACADEMIC RESEARCH IN THE SHADOW OF A POLEMIC DEBATE\*

FRANK BAJOHR AND RACHEL O'SULLIVAN

Since 2020, there has been an increasingly heated debate in the German Federal Republic concerning remembrance culture: Is it too one-sided and catechistically focused on the Holocaust and the persecution of Jews in the Third Reich, thus persistently ignoring a broader context of colonialism, imperialism and racism? This article attempts to show that the dichotomies and polemics of this debate almost obscure the scholarly research that has been striving to adequately contextualize Nazi crimes for decades. The majority of research on the topic has rejected simple constructions of continuity between colonialism and the Holocaust. However, Nazi mass violence beyond the Holocaust, as well as Nazi occupation policies in Eastern Europe, are worth analyzing more closely under colonial premises.

For almost two years, there has been a growing debate in the Federal Republic of Germany about the direction of Germany's culture of remembrance. The dispute began in the spring of 2020 with the public debate about the political scientist Achille Mbembe, one of the best-known scholars of postcolonialism, who was accused by the German government's antisemitism Commissioner, Felix Klein, amongst others, of relativizing the Holocaust and questioning Israel's right to exist.<sup>1</sup> Since then, Holocaust remembrance as a central element of German remembrance culture has increasingly moved to the centre of the debate which has, in addition to many thought-provoking contributions, become progressively shrill and polemical in its tone. Accusations of Holocaust denial from the left, directed at scholars of postcolonialism and comparative genocide research, are answered by the latter with assertive attacks on German remembrance culture: the remembrance of the Holocaust and the struggle against antisemitism have – so the accusation goes – been elevated, as a »narrative of redemption«, to the rank of a »catechism« within the Federal Republic, which demonizes almost every form of criticism of the state of Israel as antisemitism.<sup>2</sup> With respect to postcolonialism, Germany would remain in provincial blindness and lacks any broader, comparative perspective on imperialism and colonialism, racism, genocide and mass violence.

\* Originally published in: Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte 70 (2022) 1, p. 191–202.

<sup>1</sup> »Für eine Entschuldigung sehe ich keinen Anlass«. Ein Gespräch mit Felix Klein, dem deutschen Antisemitismusbeauftragten, über den Streit um den Historiker Achille Mbembe und die dadurch ausgelösten Proteste« (Adam Soboczynski), *Die Zeit* (May 20, 2020). See also the contributions on history and remembrance in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 40–41 (2021).

<sup>2</sup> A. Dirk Moses, »Der Katechismus der Deutschen«, *Geschichte der Gegenwart* (May 23, 2021), [geschichtedergewenart.ch/der-katechismus-der-deutschen/](https://geschichtedergewenart.ch/der-katechismus-der-deutschen/), accessed on September 10, 2021.



On the one hand, the heated polemics of the debate obscure the fact that both sides represent legitimate concerns regarding remembrance culture that are by no means mutually exclusive. For example, the memory of the Holocaust, which hardly played a role in the decades after 1945, is not an expression of German provincialism, but rather of German culture. It is a successful example of a post-national and almost global culture of remembrance, which began in the USA and has finally become established in Germany and Europe since the 1980s and 1990s. This culture of remembrance is still, to this day, contested; for example, by patriotic and nationalist narratives of history, especially in Central and Eastern Europe.<sup>3</sup> At the same time however, it is hard to overlook the fact that colonialism and imperialism have not produced a comparable public culture of remembrance within many European countries; whereby, this discrepancy is particularly noticeable in countries with a much longer colonial tradition than Germany, especially Great Britain.<sup>4</sup> On one side, critical remembrance of the Holocaust and, on the other, remembrance of the crimes of colonialism and imperialism, are not mutually exclusive, since remembrance is not a zero-sum game, as Michael Rothberg has aptly put it.<sup>5</sup> On the contrary, the painstakingly enforced Holocaust remembrance, especially in European countries, can act as a positive example of how the continent's colonial and imperial past could be given appropriate public attention.

Conversely, the shrill public debate has given the erroneous impression that the often invoked uniqueness of the Holocaust is a matter of dogma, or even that there is a ban on comparison. This not only overlooks the fact that any assessment of the Holocaust as unique virtually presupposes a systematic comparison but also that the question of an appropriate contextualization of the Holocaust and Nazi politics has occupied scholars for decades. This has produced a wealth of theoretical debates and empirical findings; however, they too are scarcely mentioned in the Feuilletons and almost obscured by the polemic public debates. Many scholars working in the field of Holocaust Studies, such as the Israeli cultural historian Alon Confino, are not afraid to touch on the subject of the Holocaust and colonialism, even if they are sceptical about simple continuity and causality theories.<sup>6</sup> Significantly, these debates on comparative aspects and the contextualization of the Holocaust are carried out by institutions active in the field of Holocaust Studies.

For example, the Center for Holocaust Studies at the Leibniz Institute for Contemporary History in Munich and the Hugo Valentin Centre at Uppsala University organised a workshop titled »Colonial Paradigms of Violence« in November 2020, which brought researchers of the Holocaust and colonial history together.<sup>7</sup> The Wiener Holocaust Library in London has hosted various public discussions on the broader context of colonial violence and genocide as part of its lecture series on »Racism, Antisemitism, Colonialism and Genocide.«<sup>8</sup> The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) in Washington D.C. organised workshops such as »The Holocaust at the Crossroads of Empire« and presents case studies of other examples of genocide on their website.<sup>9</sup> Such platforms for academic discussion not only stimulate the necessary debate about the singularity and comparability of the Holocaust but also the empirical research beyond the usual boundaries of academic subdisciplines.

Scholars have always inquired about possible connections between the Holocaust and colonialism. For example, in his 1944 book *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, the Polish jurist Raphael Lemkin defined the term »genocide« as a process, which is characterised by two phases:

[O]ne, destruction of the national pattern of the oppressed group; the other, the imposition of the national pattern of the oppressor. This imposition, in turn, may be made upon the oppressed population which is allowed

<sup>3</sup> See for example Daniel Levy and Nathan Sznajder, *Erinnerung im globalen Zeitalter. Der Holocaust*, (Suhrkamp: Frankfurt a. M., 2001); on the renationalisation of historical images, see Klaudia Kończal and A. Dirk Moses, »Patriotic Histories in Global Perspective,« *Journal of Genocide Research* 24, no. 2 (2022): 153–157.

<sup>4</sup> In this respect, the relationship between Holocaust remembrance and remembrance of colonial crimes in Great Britain is much more problematic. See for example the contributions in Tom Lawson and Andy Pearce (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Britain and the Holocaust* (Cham: Springer, 2020).

<sup>5</sup> Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory. Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009) 3; the German edition was published in 2021 under the title: *Multidirektionale Erinnerung: Holocaustgedenken im Zeitalter der Dekolonisierung* (Berlin: Metropolis Verlag, 2021).

<sup>6</sup> See Alon Confino, *A World without Jews: The Nazi Imagination from Persecution to Genocide* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2014).

<sup>7</sup> »Colonial Paradigms of Violence: Comparative Analysis of the Holocaust, Genocide and Mass Killing,« Digital Workshop of the Center for Holocaust Studies and the Hugo Valentin Centre, November 11–13, 2020; a selection of papers from the workshop have been published in the fourth volume of the series *European Holocaust Studies*, see Michelle Gordon and Rachel O'Sullivan (eds.), *Colonial Paradigms of Violence: Comparative Analysis of the Holocaust, Genocide, and Mass Killing* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2022).

<sup>8</sup> »Racism, Antisemitism, Colonialism and Genocide: A New Event Series,« The Wiener Holocaust Library, [wienerholocaustlibrary.org/global-category/antisemitism-and-genocide/](http://wienerholocaustlibrary.org/global-category/antisemitism-and-genocide/), accessed on August 11, 2021.

<sup>9</sup> »The Holocaust at the Crossroads of Empire: West and Sub-Saharan African Approaches to African, Holocaust, and Jewish Studies,« Digital Workshop of the USHMM, March, 4, 2021, [www.ushmm.org/research/about-the-mandel-center/initiatives/global-south/the-holocaust-at-the-crossroads-of-empire](http://www.ushmm.org/research/about-the-mandel-center/initiatives/global-south/the-holocaust-at-the-crossroads-of-empire), accessed on September 28, 2021 and USHMM's »Genocide Prevention«, [www.ushmm.org/genocide-prevention](http://www.ushmm.org/genocide-prevention), accessed on August 10, 2021.

to remain, or upon the territory alone, after removal of the population and the colonization of the area by the oppressor's own nationals.<sup>10</sup>

Even more explicitly than in his well-known book, Lemkin repeatedly referred to examples of colonial and imperial violence in his unpublished works to illustrate the concept of genocide.<sup>11</sup> Other contemporaries also made references between colonial and imperial mass violence and the mass crimes of National Socialism, including Aimé Césaire. In his book *Discours sur le colonialisme* published in 1950, he described the Holocaust and Nazi crimes as the application of »colonialist practices« to Europe; similarly, Hannah Arendt, in her study *The Origins of Totalitarianism* initially published in 1951, located antisemitism, expansionism and racism within European imperialism.<sup>12</sup>

While such theses tended to move within the framework of general interpretations and considerations outside empirical research for a considerable length of time, the debate on the relationship between colonialism and the Holocaust gained momentum after the turn of the millennium. Jürgen Zimmerer and other scholars placed the Holocaust in a direct line of continuity with the German colonial crimes of the *Kaiserreich*, especially with regard to the German war of extermination against the Herero and Nama in what was then German South West Africa between 1904 and 1908.<sup>13</sup> However, most of the historians involved in the debate, including Birthe Kundrus, Robert Gerwarth, Stephan Malinowski and Pascal Grosse, rejected such simple continuity theories. A causal continuity »from Windhoek to Auschwitz« and the interpretation of the Holocaust as a »colonial genocide« constructed a German *Sonderweg* (special path) of colonial mass violence, which ignores the transnational reality of Western practices of colonial violence at the time. Moreover, a causal tracing of genocides to colonial origins cannot explain why, out of all nations, those with the longest and most violent colonial traditions did not commit genocidal excesses after 1918. The one-sided fixation on colonial violence ignores the history of the First World War and the immediate post-war period, which was much more significant for the National Socialist practice of violence. There were neither structural nor personal continuities between Windhoek and Auschwitz. Furthermore, the phenomenon of colonialism is historically far too complex to be reduced to a simple history of extermination.<sup>14</sup>

If one assumes an understanding of the Holocaust in a narrower sense, then further arguments can be put forward against simple continuity theories. While colonial massacres and mass violence commonly emerged from guerrilla wars between indigenous populations and colonists the Holocaust was not based on real conflicts but on ideological projections. It was not limited to any specific territory and represented the unprecedented attempt, to make a group of people, together with women and children, »disappear from the earth,« as Heinrich Himmler put it.<sup>15</sup> During the Holocaust, it was not a nation and the colonial »other« that confronted one another, since the Holocaust was preceded by comprehensive racist, antisemitic reformulations of one's own nation with the aim of a National Socialist Volksgemeinschaft. Specifically, concerning the anti-Jewish policy exemplified in the infamous Nuremberg Laws, there are no direct colonial precursors to be found.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Raphael Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1944), 79.

<sup>11</sup> See for example A. Dirk Moses, »Raphael Lemkin, Culture, and the Concept of Genocide,« in *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies*, ed. Donald Bloxham and A. Dirk Moses (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 19–41.

<sup>12</sup> Aimé Césaire, *Discours sur le colonialisme* (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1955), 13; Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1951).

<sup>13</sup> Jürgen Zimmerer, *Von Windhuk nach Auschwitz? Beiträge zum Verhältnis von Kolonialismus und Holocaust* (Münster: LIT, 2011); Benjamin Madley, »From Africa to Auschwitz: How German South West Africa Incubated Ideas and Methods Adopted and Developed by the Nazis in Eastern Europe,« *European History Quarterly* 35 (2005), 429–464; David Olusoga and Casper W. Erichsen, *The Kaiser's Holocaust: Germany's Forgotten Genocide and the Colonial Roots of Nazism* (London: Faber and Faber, 2010). For a historiographical overview of the debate, see for example Matthew P. Fitzpatrick, »The Pre-History of the Holocaust? The *Sonderweg* and *Historikerstreit* Debates and the Abject Colonial Past,« *Central European History* 41, no. 3 (2008): 477–503; Thomas Kühne, »Colonialism and the Holocaust: Continuities, Causations, and Complexities,« *Journal of Genocide Research* 15, no. 3 (2013): 339–362.

<sup>14</sup> See Robert Gerwarth and Stephan Malinowski, »Der Holocaust als »kolonialer Genozid«? Europäische Kolonialgewalt und nationalsozialistischer Vernichtungskrieg,« *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 33 (2007): 439–466; Robert Gerwarth and Stephan Malinowski, »Hannah Arendt's Ghosts. Reflections on the Disputable Path from Windhoek to Auschwitz,« *Central European History* 42, no. 2 (2009): 279–300; Birthe Kundrus, »Von den Herero zum Holocaust? Einige Bemerkungen zur aktuellen Debatte,« *Mittelweg* 36, no. 4 (2005): 82–91; Kundrus, »Kolonialismus. Imperialismus. Nationalsozialismus? Chancen und Grenzen eines neuen Paradigmas,« in *Kolonialgeschichten. Regionale Perspektiven auf ein globales Phänomen*, ed. Claudia Kraft, Alf Lütke and Jürgen Martschukat (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 2010), 187–210; Pascal Grosse, »What does German Colonialism Have to Do with National Socialism? A Conceptual Framework,« in *Germany's Colonial Pasts*, ed. Eric S. Ames, Marcia Klotz, and Lora Wildenthal (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 115–134; for a recent critique of rash analogies between Holocaust and colonialism, see Stefan Klävers, *Decolonizing Auschwitz? Komparativ-postkoloniale Ansätze in der Holocaustforschung* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019).

<sup>15</sup> Heinrich Himmler in his speech in Posen on October 6, 1943 to the *Reichleiters* and *Gauleiters* of the NSDAP, in Bradley F. Smith and Agnes F. Peterson (eds.), *Heinrich Himmler. Geheimreden 1933–1945 und andere Ansprachen*, (Frankfurt a. M.: Propyläen/Ullstein, 1974), 169–170.

Such particularities and the argument of singularity based on them are not ex post facto constructions proclaimed as a dogma by supposed high priests of memory culture but were already emphasised by contemporaries. In their diaries and records, persecuted Jews, for example, could not classify the mass murder in any line of continuity with preceding violent events and experiences and therefore often referred to it as »the greatest crime ever committed in history.«<sup>17</sup>

However, not only the victims but also the perpetrators understood their actions to be singular. In general, National Socialism cultivated an emphatically anti-historical self-image and did not see itself within a succession of previous regimes and empires; so much so that even Hitler declared the use of the term »Third Reich« undesirable.<sup>18</sup> This was not only to avoid the impression that the Nazi state was in a line of continuity with previous empires but also that the Third Reich could be followed by another. Namely, for National Socialism, past and present were regarded as conditions that could be radically overridden and transferred into a state of eternity: a »thousand-year Reich« in which history would be de facto abolished and fundamental problems eliminated forever by their »final solution.«<sup>19</sup> It was this state of tension, between the present and the utopian prospect of eternity, which triggered constant fears of lateness and unleashed, therefore, the hectic mobilisation efforts, radical mechanisms and exterminatory energy in equal measure.<sup>20</sup>

Firmly convinced of its uniqueness, the supporters of National Socialism also did not see themselves within an unbroken tradition of German colonialism. In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler had already unequivocally declared that he wanted to »consciously draw a line under the foreign policy direction of our pre-war period«; he wrote, »We are finally concluding the colonial and trade policy of the pre-war time and moving on to the land policy of the future.«<sup>21</sup> Although the Nazi Party did undertake comprehensive colonial planning in which the focal areas of German colonial tradition, particularly Africa, featured, these areas were planned to only function as so-called supplementary space for the desired eastern empire.<sup>22</sup> With a certain audacity, the National Socialists reproached other nations for their colonial crimes.<sup>23</sup> And as if to ridicule the exterminatory war in German South West Africa, colonial magazines of the Nazi era portrayed the Herero, as a »black master race« blessed with »brave black warriors« who had fought »desperately for their freedom« in the struggle against the German colonial rulers.<sup>24</sup>

The pronounced anti-historical orientation of National Socialism and its self-image of singularity are not always given appropriate weight in the debate on contexts and continuities. Nevertheless, historical research should not avoid the question of continuities, causalities and contexts of National Socialist politics and should therefore also examine colonialism and its consequences. However, the Holocaust, by virtue of its specificities, is thematically far less suitable for this than other elements of Nazi rule. Two, in particular, are destined to be analysed more closely under colonial premises: the broad field of National Socialist mass violence beyond the Holocaust and the attempt to achieve the vision of a new *Lebensraum* through the occupation of Central and Eastern Europe within the framework of an imperialist exterminatory war.

<sup>16</sup> See Cornelia Essner, »Von Windhuk nach Nürnberg: Zur Frage der kolonialen Kontinuität,« in *Die Nürnberger Gesetze – 80 Jahre danach. Vorgeschichte, Entstehung, Auswirkungen*, ed. Magnus Brechtken et al., (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2017), 25–36, specifically 35: »The *völkisch* antisemitism with its superstition of blood, which became state doctrine through the Nuremberg Laws, did not need a preliminary colonial practice phase to develop its force.«

<sup>17</sup> Diary entry by Abraham Lewin in the Warsaw Ghetto on August 28, 1942, quoted in Andrea Löw, »Ein Verbrechen, das mit nichts zu vergleichen ist.« Die Ursprünge der Debatte um die Singularität des Holocaust,« in *Holocaust und Völkermorde. Die Reichweite des Vergleichs*, ed. Sybille Steinbacher (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 2012), 125–143, here 132.

<sup>18</sup> Document Nr. 2252, July 10, 1939, in *NS-Presseanweisungen der Vorkriegszeit. Edition und Dokumentation, Vol. 7/II: Mai bis August 1939*, ed. Karen Peter (Munich: Saur, 2001), 678: »The Führer's wish to stop using the term »Third Reich« was reiterated.«

<sup>19</sup> See Frank Bajohr, »Atemlos in die Ewigkeit. Nationalsozialismus,« in *Politische Zukünfte im 20. Jahrhundert. Parteien, Bewegungen, Umbrüche*, ed. Elke Seefried (Frankfurt a. M./New York: Campus, 2022), 179–196.

<sup>20</sup> On the tense relationship between the present and the eternal future, see for example Anselm Doering-Manteuffel, »Die Ordnung der Zeit im nationalsozialistischen Herrschaftssystem,« in *Die Zukunft des 20. Jahrhunderts. Dimensionen einer historischen Zukunftsforschung*, ed. Lucian Hölscher (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 2017), 101–120.

<sup>21</sup> Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf. Eine kritische Edition, Vol. II*, ed. Christian Hartmann et al., (Munich/Berlin: Institut für Zeitgeschichte, 2016), 1657.

<sup>22</sup> See for example Karsten Linne, *Deutschland jenseits des Äquators? Die NS-Kolonialplanungen für Afrika* (Berlin: Ch. Links Verlag, 2008).

<sup>23</sup> See Paul Moore, »»And What Concentration Camps Those Were!«: Foreign Concentration Camps in Nazi Propaganda, 1933–9,« *Journal of Contemporary History* 45, no. 3 (2010): 649–674.

<sup>24</sup> Ilse Steinhoff, »Die Hereros, das schwarze Herrenvolk in Südwestafrika,« in *Köhler's Kolonial-Kalender 1941*, 167–172, here 168. Applicable references can also be found in Dieter Pohl, »Massengewalt und der Mord an den Juden im »Dritten Reich,«« in *Holocaust und Völkermorde*, 107–123, here 117–118.

<sup>25</sup> Shelley Baranowski, *Nazi Empire: German Colonialism and Imperialism from Bismarck to Hitler* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Dirk van Laak, *Über alles in der Welt. Deutscher Imperialismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005).

Historians such as Shelley Baranowski or Dirk van Laak have, with good reason, placed National Socialist imperialism in the long-term chronology of German imperialism, which began in the Bismarck era and ended in 1945.<sup>25</sup> In doing so, they also take into account the *Kaiserreich's* colonialism but without presenting the history of German imperialism as a sequence of unbroken continuities or equating Nazi imperialism with the imperial strategies of other powers. In the latter regard, the British historian Mark Mazower has argued that the distinctive features of Nazi imperialism consisted of the attempt to establish colonial rule not outside but within Europe. In doing so, however, they revoked a fundamentally white consensus.<sup>26</sup> Similarly, Wendy Lower and Dieter Pohl have spoken of »Nazi colonialism,«<sup>27</sup> or a »totalitarian colonial administration,«<sup>28</sup> within the Nazi establishment of rule in Ukraine and National Socialist practices of rule in Eastern Galicia. This included, above all, the attempt to ensure the unrestricted exploitation of the conquered territories with a relatively small personnel force and, at the same time, to establish comprehensive racist hierarchies there.

In particular, the comprehensive plans for the ethnic cleansing and reorganisation of the occupied territories including the German settlement areas and so-called *Wehrdörfer* (fortified villages) in Eastern Europe, which were to be realised after the Holocaust as expressed in the *Generalplan Ost* (General Plan East), thematically demand analysis from a colonial perspective.<sup>29</sup> These plans can be seen as a form of settler colonialism, which aimed not to exploit the indigenous population for labour purposes but instead to replace them in the long-term with the new colonizer population.<sup>30</sup> As Patrick Wolfe has pointed out, settler colonialism »destroys to replace.«<sup>31</sup> In this sense, even colonial assimilation attempts, in which the indigenous population is absorbed into the culture and society of the occupier, can be interpreted as an attempt to ultimately eradicate the »natives.« Although, for some time, many scholars have tended to avoid the term genocide when analysing mass murder in colonial contexts, it has become more widely used in conjunction with settler colonialism.<sup>32</sup> Lorenzo Veracini, for example, has argued that the colonial settlement projects were based on »fantasies of ultimately »cleansing« the settler body politic of its (indigenous and exogenous) alterities.«<sup>33</sup>

Caroline Elkins and Susan Pederson have integrated Nazi Germany's expansion towards Eastern Europe into a comparative analysis of settler colonial projects and also related Nazi Germany's expansion to Japanese expansion into China, Taiwan and Korea – as an attempt to achieve international power and regional hegemony through territorial conquest and the deployment of settlers.<sup>34</sup> The settlement of *Volksdeutsche* (ethnic Germans) and the so-called *Wiedereindeutschungsverfahren* (re-Germanisation procedures) in the eastern territories formally incorporated into the

<sup>26</sup> Mark Mazower, *Hitler's Empire: Nazi Rule in Occupied Europe* (London: Allen Lane, 2008).

<sup>27</sup> Wendy Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007). See also David Furber, *Going East: Colonialism and German Life in Nazi-Occupied Poland* (PhD Diss., University of New York, 2003).

<sup>28</sup> Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941–1944. Organisation und Durchführung eines staatlichen Massenverbrechens* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1997), 94.

<sup>29</sup> See Mechtild Rössler and Sabine Schliepmacher (eds.), *Der »Generalplan Ost«. Hauptlinien der nationalsozialistischen Planungs- und Vernichtungspolitik* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag 1993); Isabel Heinemann, »Wissenschaft und Homogenisierungsplanungen für Osteuropa. Konrad Meyer, der »Generalplan Ost« und die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft,« in *Wissenschaft – Planung – Vertreibung. Neuordnungskonzepte und Umsiedlungspolitik im 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Isabel Heinemann and Patrick Wagner (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006), 45–72.

<sup>30</sup> See Lorenzo Veracini, »Introduction: Settler Colonialism as a Distinct Mode of Domination,« in *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism*, ed. Edward Cavanagh and Lorenzo Veracini (London: Routledge, 2017), 1–8, here 3–5; with regard to the Nazis' ethnic cleansing and settlement policies in Eastern Europe, Carroll P. Kakel has argued that these were inspired by American settler colonialism. See Kakel's work on the topic, for example Carroll P. Kakel, *The American West and the Nazi East: A Comparative and Interpretative Perspective* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Kakel, »Patterns and Crimes of Empire: Comparative Perspectives on Fascist and Non-Fascist Extermination,« *The Journal of Holocaust Research* 33, no. 1 (2019): 4–21.

<sup>31</sup> Patrick Wolfe, »Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,« *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 387–409, here 388, 403; see also Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London: Cassell, 1999).

<sup>32</sup> See for example Ben Kiernan, *Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); see also the contributions in A. Dirk Moses (ed.), *Empire, Colony, Genocide: Conquest, Occupation, and Subaltern Resistance in World History* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008).

<sup>33</sup> Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 33.

<sup>34</sup> Caroline Elkins and Susan Pederson, »Introduction Settler Colonialism: A Concept and Its Uses,« in *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century: Projects, Practices, Legacies*, ed. Caroline Elkins and Susan Pederson (New York: Routledge, 2005), 1–20; see also Elizabeth Harvey, »Management and Manipulation: Nazi Settlement Planners and Ethnic German Settlers in Occupied Poland,« in *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Elkins and Pederson, 95–112.

<sup>35</sup> See for example Bradley J. Nichols, »The Hunt for Lost Blood: Nazi Germanization Policy in Occupied Europe« (PhD Diss., University of Tennessee, 2016); Nichols, »The Re-Germanization Procedure: A Domestic Model for Nazi Empire-Building,« *German Historical Institute Bulletin* (2018): 69–91; Rachel O'Sullivan, »Integration and Division: Nazi Germany and the »Colonial Other« in Annexed Poland,« *Journal of Genocide Research* 22, no. 4 (2020): 437–458; Gerhard Wolf, *Ideologie und Herrschaftsrationalität: Nationalsozialistische Germanisierungspolitik in Polen* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2012); Wolf, »Negotiating Germanness: National Socialist Germanization policy in the Wartheland,« *Journal of Genocide Research* 19, no. 2 (2017): 214–239.



German Reich, where a racially-stratified German population was to be created, can also be analysed from a colonial perspective and compared with colonial practices. Additionally, such examples show how Nazi Germany's fantasies of racial reordering, as in other colonial contexts, were confronted with numerous similar problems, challenges and contradictions when it came to translating these fantasies into reality.<sup>35</sup>

An interpretation of National Socialist occupation and rule in Eastern Europe in colonial terms is practically inevitable as the German actors almost excessively used colonial terms and interpretations to describe their activities and the Central or Eastern European environment. In 1942, the *Kolonialpolitisches Amt der NSDAP* (NSDAP Office of Colonial Policy), which was effectively disbanded from 1942/1943 onwards and which geographically concentrated their plans on Africa and overseas territories, explicitly criticised the rampant use of colonial terms in the occupied eastern territories.<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, the Reich Commissioner for Ukraine, Erich Koch, often referred to Ukrainians as »Negroes« who were to be publicly whipped in cases of misconduct.<sup>37</sup> Correspondingly, in her diary, a Ukrainian woman noted: »We are like slaves. I often think of the book ›Uncle Tom's Cabin‹. Once we shed tears over these Negroes, now we are obviously experiencing the same thing.« The Ukrainian SS auxiliary troops were also often referred to as »blacks« or »askaris,« recalling the indigenous soldiers in the German colonies during the First World War who were under the command of General von Lettow-Vorbeck.<sup>38</sup> In annexed Poland, the Reich Germans themselves described the ethnic German resettlers in a language that resembled the representations of a colonial »other.« They emphasized their alleged primitiveness, carelessness and naivety and thus legitimised the National Socialist Germanisation mission in the *Reichsgaue*.<sup>39</sup> A Polish witness reported that Reich Germans often referred to the Baltic Germans as »the stupid Hottentots.«<sup>40</sup>

Although one cannot speak of any major presence of former German colonial actors in Eastern Europe, especially not among the leading representatives of the German occupying power, individuals from colonial contexts can certainly be identified. Graduates of the *Koloniale Frauenschule* (Colonial Women's School), for example, were deployed for *Osteinsatz* (Eastern assignment), as were representatives of former colonial economic enterprises who served on the economic staffs of the occupying forces or assisted in the establishment of tobacco plantations in Ukraine.<sup>41</sup> Numerous Bremen and Hamburg trading companies, who had previously been primarily economically active in Africa, were positioned in the General Government as so-called *Kreisgroßhändler* (district wholesalers) and were utilized in occupied Poland in particular because of their colonial experience. In their reports, they often emphasized that the »primitiveness of Poland« was strongly reminiscent of Africa.<sup>42</sup>

All in all, colonialism clearly provided a welcome arsenal of interpretation for the actors within the German occupation apparatus in the East, even though, because of their young age, they often had no colonial experience. In a sense, colonisation gave their activities higher sanctity as a mission and a pioneering task for future generations; at the same time, it also legitimized the racist hierarchies of the occupied territories and the self-conception of Germans as the so-called *Herrenmensch* (master race). However, colonial rhetoric was also used by some to criticize German occupation practices in the East in the name of colonialism. For example, a German district captain in the General Government profusely mocked »eastern half-humanity« at the deployment location and explicitly defined himself as a »colonist.« Nevertheless, the size of the colonial task was not matched by German occupation personnel because of incompetence, greed and the pursuit of enrichment. They were »worse than ten naked Negroes«; »instead of colonizing, for

<sup>36</sup> Linne, *Deutschland jenseits des Äquators?*, 148

<sup>37</sup> Quoted in Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine*, 109–110.

<sup>38</sup> Thomas Sandkühler, *Das Fußvolk der »Endlösung«. Nichtdeutsche Täter und die europäische Dimension des Völkermords* (Darmstadt: wbg, 2020), 73.

<sup>39</sup> See for example, O'Sullivan, »Integration and Division,« 10–12.

<sup>40</sup> Andrzej Sakson, »Polnische Zeitzeugen berichten,« in *Umgesiedelt – Vertrieben: Deutschbalten und Polen 1939–1945 im Warthegau*, ed. Eckhart Neander and Andrzej Sakson (Marburg: Verlag Herder-Institut, 2010), 27.

<sup>41</sup> Karsten Linne, »Rendsburg: Zwischen Afrika-Träumereien und ›Osteinsatz‹. Die Koloniale Frauenschule,« in *Kolonialismus hierzulande. Eine Spurensuche in Deutschland*, ed. Ulrich van der Heyden and Joachim Zeller (Erfurt: Sutton, 2007), 131–136; see also Linne, *Deutschland jenseits des Äquators?*, 148; on parallels between the training in the Colonial Women's School and the tasks of German women on their *Osteinsatz*, see Rachel O'Sullivan, »The German Mission in Africa and Poland: Women, Expansion, and Colonial Training During the Third Reich,« *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 22, no. 2, 2021: muse.jhu.edu/article/801556, accessed on October 15, 2021.

<sup>42</sup> Felix Matheis is currently preparing a dissertation on the activities of Hanseatic companies in the General Government. The quotation can be found in an interview with Felix Matheis in the taz Nord August 17, 2021: »One still does not want to know anything about it.«; see also Karsten Linne, »Deutsche Afrikafirmen im ›Osteinsatz‹,« 1999. *Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts* 16, no. 1 (2001): 49–90.

<sup>43</sup> Quoted in Markus Roth, *Herrenmenschen. Die deutschen Kreishauptleute im besetzten Polen – Karrierewege, Herrschaftspraxis und Nachgeschichte* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2009), 7–8, 59.

<sup>44</sup> Alexander Mitscherlich and Fred Mielke (eds.), *Medizin ohne Menschlichkeit. Dokumente des Nürnberger Ärzteprozesses* (Frankfurt a. M./Hamburg: S. Fischer, 1960).

which the best would just be good enough, in the Reich, one regards the East as a kind of garbage heap onto which one can dump any kind of dirt.«<sup>43</sup>

In addition to the German occupation in the East, the broad field of National Socialist mass violence beyond the Holocaust is worth analysing from the perspective of colonial causalities and continuities. As is well known, Nazi policies of exclusion and extermination were not rooted in antisemitism alone but had a much broader ideological foundation, which also included racial hygiene and (colonial) racism, antiziganism and anti-Slavism.

It is well known that Nazi concentration camps were also places of medical experimentation on prisoners and a cautionary tale for »medicine without humanity.«<sup>44</sup> But did these human trials represent an exceptional special case or did they not, at least partially, also have colonial antecedents? Nobel Prize winner Robert Koch had already advocated the establishment of »concentration camps« for the sick during the colonial era,<sup>45</sup> whereby German colonial medicine did not vastly differ from its European counterparts. Earlier research within medical history, which was neither intensively adopted by historians nor by the wider public, had already pointed to a questionable tradition of human experimentation in the colonies, which colonial doctors continued after 1933.<sup>46</sup> One well-known example was the Director of the Tropical Medicine Department at the Robert Koch Institute, Claus Schilling. As a colonial doctor in Togo and German East Africa, Schilling had carried out human experiments before 1914, which he later continued, among other things, on inmates of psychiatric institutions in Fascist Italy and on around one thousand prisoners of the Dachau concentration camp, whom he infected with malaria pathogens to test a possible antidote.<sup>47</sup> Recent research by Sarah Ehlers also shows that some doctors who had researched sleeping sickness in German East Africa and carried out medical experiments on the indigenous population continued these experiments on humans in internment camps during the Third Reich. They used concentration camp prisoners and, in some cases, inhabitants of Jewish ghettos.<sup>48</sup>

It has been known for some time that racial research at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Anthropology, Human Heredity and Eugenics was linked to mass crimes committed during the Nazi era, including crimes against concentration camp prisoners and Sinti and Roma.<sup>49</sup> This applies not least to the colonial connections of the scientists working there. The Institute's Director Eugen Fischer, for example, had presented a study on the »Rehobother Bastards« in German South West Africa in 1913 and, among other things, was responsible for the forced sterilisation of the children of German women and French occupation soldiers from African colonies, who were called »Rhineland Bastards« in National Socialist parlance.<sup>50</sup> The project »Geschichte der Ihnestr. 22« (History of Ihne Street 22) – the site of the Institute – led by Manuela Bauche, will investigate these complex themes.<sup>51</sup>

Overall, the research fields and projects mentioned document that studies on colonial connections to National Socialist rule are progressing. Corresponding discussions have been ongoing for many years without receiving due attention in the wider public or the memory culture interpretation struggles. Within this context, a direct connection between the Holocaust and colonialism is generally viewed with scepticism, and with good reason. However, the corresponding construction of continuity or the comparison itself is not taboo but an integral part of contextualisation discussions, particularly in the field of Holocaust Studies. Moreover, it can hardly be denied that Nazi imperialism and the broad field of National Socialist mass violence effectively demand to be researched and analysed comparatively and, consequently, also under colonial premises.

<sup>45</sup> Manuela Bauche, »Robert Koch, die Schlafkrankheit und Menschenexperimente im kolonialen Ostafrika,« June 2006, [www.freiburg-postkolonial.de/Seiten/robertkoch.htm](http://www.freiburg-postkolonial.de/Seiten/robertkoch.htm), accessed August 31, 2021.

<sup>46</sup> See for example the earlier work of Wolfgang U. Eckart, *Medizin und Kolonialimperialismus 1884–1945* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1997).

<sup>47</sup> Marion Hulverscheidt, »Die Beteiligung von Mitarbeitern des Robert-Koch-Institutes an Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit – tropenmedizinische Menschenversuchen im Nationalsozialismus,« in *Infektion und Institution: Zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte des Robert Koch-Instituts im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Marion Hulverscheidt and Anja Laukötter (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2009), 147–168.

<sup>48</sup> See for example, Sarah Ehlers, »Disease Control and Human Experimentation: Networks, Practices and Biographical Pathways from Colonial Medicine to Nazi Germany,« in *Colonial Paradigms of Violence*, ed. Gordon and O'Sullivan, 83–114; on sleeping sickness, see Ehlers, *Europa und die Schlafkrankheit: Koloniale Seuchenbekämpfung, Europäische Identitäten und Moderne Medizin 1890–1950* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019).

<sup>49</sup> Carola Sachse (ed.), *Die Verbindung nach Auschwitz. Biowissenschaften und Menschenversuche an Kaiser-Wilhelm-Instituten. Dokumentation eines Symposiums* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2003); Hans-Walter Schmuhl, *Grenzüberschreitungen. Das Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut für Anthropologie, menschliche Erblehre und Eugenik 1927–1945* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2005).

<sup>50</sup> Eugen Fischer, *Die Rehobother Bastards und das Bastardierungsproblem beim Menschen* (Jena: G. Fischer, 1913); on the forced sterilisation of the »Rhineland Bastards« see Reiner Pommerin, »Sterilisierung der Rheinlandbastarde«. Das Schicksal einer farbigen deutschen Minderheit 1918–1937 (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1979).

<sup>51</sup> See the project »Geschichte der Ihnestr. 22«; [www.polsoz.fu-berlin.de/polwiss/gesch-ihne22/index.html](http://www.polsoz.fu-berlin.de/polwiss/gesch-ihne22/index.html), accessed August 11, 2021.

## WITNESSES KILLED, ARCHIVES DESTROYED, DOCUMENTS IN DANGER: THE DIFFICULTIES OF PROTECTING UKRAINE'S HISTORICAL MEMORY AGAINST RUSSIAN MISSILES.<sup>1</sup>

BERT HOPPE

After their initial military successes, an officer wrote retrospectively that the invaders had probably hoped to take Kyiv »on the move.« The first advance on the Ukrainian capital came from the northwest, with only one tank company and some motorized infantry. Having advanced to twenty kilometers outside the city center, the attack stalled: »The units' way was blocked by the Irpin River, over which all bridges and crossings had been destroyed. Thus began a bloody two and a half months for the Fascist troops, which eventually cost them hundreds of thousands of killed soldiers and officers.«

An invasion, the advance on Kyiv with tanks, Irpin: much of the subject matter in this Soviet report from the summer of 1942 about the ultimately failed defense of the Ukrainian capital against the Wehrmacht the year before seems disturbingly current. I recently found this document while doing research on the history of Kyiv during World War II in the former Central Party Archive of Ukraine – just three weeks before Putin sent his troops on the march to »denazify« the country. Now, I encounter place names from historical sources every day in the news. In early March, a photo on the front page of the New York Times dramatically demonstrated how current events overlap with those of eighty years ago: it showed a family killed by Russian artillery fire as they fled the destroyed bridge over the Irpin River. Their bodies lay at the feet of a Soviet monument to Red Army soldiers who perished in combat against the *Wehrmacht* at that spot in 1941.

Putin's »denazification« of Ukraine is now killing the people who survived the terror of the Nazis, people like Borys Romanchenko, whom the Germans deported to Dortmund in 1942 as a teenager, enslaving him as a forced laborer. After having attempted to escape, he was sent to the Buchenwald concentration camp and then to three other concentration camps. In 1945, he was forced to serve with the Soviet occupation forces in East Germany and was not allowed to return home until 1950. In March 2022, in Kharkiv, the 96-year-old burned to death in his bedroom. A Russian rocket had hit his apartment building.

With the death of Romanchenko, who for many years was committed to the work at the Buchenwald Memorial, an important voice of the »living memory« has fallen silent.

Additionally, the Russian invasion endangers research on the history of World War II. In Ukraine, archives were opened to an extent which has long since become unimaginable in Russia. When I began researching relations between German and Soviet communists in the Weimar Republic in Moscow in 1999, the former head of the Federal Security Service (FSB), Vladimir Putin, had just been appointed Prime Minister. Shortly thereafter, the first archival holdings I needed for my work were closed – and subsequently, FSB employees came to the archive to ensure the files from these holdings were not released. In Kyiv, on the other hand, not only the holdings of the former party and the Central State Archives are accessible, but also those of the archive of the Ukrainian secret service known as the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU), where the records of the Soviet Interior Ministry (NKVD) are kept.

Occasionally, reading these texts really draws you in. For example, the reports of the Soviet secret police from the summer and fall of 1941 convey an oppressive picture of the atmosphere in Kyiv, which was besieged by the *Wehrmacht*. Some inhabitants underestimated the imminent danger and considered early reports of German atrocities to be Soviet propaganda; some even believed that the USSR had started the war. Others had a premonition about what was coming: for example, the editor of an agricultural magazine predicted that hard times were ahead, »especially for the Jews, who will be shot by the Germans in groups.«

Exactly what the Jews had to fear could already be known from 1939, when refugees from German-occupied parts of Poland fled East (in some places in Eastern Ukraine about ninety percent of these refugees were of Jewish origin). From the beginning of the invasion, the Germans also dropped masses of leaflets whose messages found their way into the minds of many citizens, as Soviet informer reports indicate. One Kyiv woman declared in mid-August 1941:

»The Germans are a cultured people, only Jews and Communists need be afraid of them, everyone else must merely keep calm.«

Many Jewish Kyiv residents recognized the danger in 1941 and tried to escape to the east, which in turn was taken as evidence that they were cowards and did not want to fight.

»The city is now purging itself of Jews, they are fleeing,« said one worker two weeks before the *Wehrmacht* marched in, »but death will still find them everywhere.« Escaping the city, however, was very difficult. Trains were crowded and seats in cars were reserved for the Soviet *nomenklatura*.

The documents show how Kyiv became alienated from itself under the pressure of violence and war. Soviet society was corroded by distrust, and after decades of oppression and Stalinist terror, many debts had accumulated.

The German occupiers now directed this hatred towards the Jews. In November 1941, a caretaker proudly recorded how he and some neighbors locked eighteen Jewish residents in a room on the night of 29 September and the next morning escorted them »to the specified place« – to Babyn Yar – »from where they have not returned.« A few days after the massacre of the Kyiv Jews, the newspaper *Ukrainske Slovo*, published under German supervision, drew the readers' attention to »the little house at Shevchenko Boulevard 45« where the Ukrainian militia received information about hidden »partisans, Jews and Red commissars.« The groups left behind by the Party and the NKVD in Kyiv to work underground were also gradually decimated by denunciations.

These documents are invaluable for understanding how the German war of extermination was experienced in Ukraine. In particular, for comprehending why and how some collaborated with the Germans while others turned away in horror. Today, the documents are threatened by a new war and with them many memories of the fate of Ukrainian victims of war and the Holocaust, traces of which are omnipresent in the files.

It is possible that a treasure trove of historical knowledge, which most Germans were previously unaware of, could be irretrievably damaged. After all, even many historians have ignored or simply overlooked the fact that all of these connections were available to research in Ukraine without restrictions for many years. However, significantly there are several cooperation projects between German and Russian archives; for example, on the digitization of captured German files on World War I and II, but no comparable cooperation with Ukrainian institutions. This ignorance also applies to other topics: Ukrainian archives offer revealing holdings covering the entire Soviet era – from the time of the civil war to the years of »standstill« under Leonid Brezhnev and perestroika under Mikhail Gorbachev. Historians just had to use them.

In addition, there are numerous sources from the early modern period and the nineteenth century which could help to correct widespread German misconceptions about Eastern and East Central Europe. In today's Germany, an understanding of the nation which equates cultural diversity with ethnic tensions is still widespread. It is no wonder that so many people are astonished at Russian-speaking Ukrainians who courageously oppose Putin's troops. The fact that, in spring of 2014, a political scientist like Herfried Münkler considered, in various interviews, that a division of Ukraine along the Dnipro was a way to settle the conflict with Russia was also a result of widespread ignorance of Ukraine's history.

At the same time, people have repeatedly pointed to Ukraine's supposedly problematic attitude toward its history during World War II. In particular, the honoring of the nationalist leader Stepan Bandera, who pandered to the Germans (and was sent to a concentration camp by them shortly after the invasion of the Soviet Union) is seen as proof that the Ukrainians have not yet come to terms with their past as exemplarily as we Germans have – overlooking the fact that the involvement of Ukrainian auxiliary police in the mass shootings of Jews is an integral part of Ukraine's Holocaust memorials.

After the »Revolution of Dignity,« the *Euromaidan* of 2014, the archival policy which was already much more liberal than in Russia received a further boost. Researchers could now photograph the files themselves or download digital copies. Moreover, previously closed holdings were opened. In addition to the files of investigative and criminal proceedings, for example, proceedings against Ukrainian auxiliary police officers who had participated in the murder of Jews or against persons denounced by acquaintances for »anti-Soviet statements,« or the personnel files of former NKVD secret service employees are now also accessible. Based on these files, in recent years, Ukrainian historians have been able to make important contributions to the history of Soviet rule as well as to research on Nazi perpetrators.

Since the beginning of the Russian invasion on 24 February, the reading rooms of the archives have been closed, and the buildings are safeguarded by members of the National Guard to protect them from terrorist attacks. But the

<sup>1</sup> This article was originally published in German in *Die Zeit* (3 April 2022).



historical memory of Ukraine is largely unprotected against Russian missiles and shells. In a video interview, Anatoly Khromov, Head of the Ukrainian Archives Service, reports that all the historical files of the regional NKVD and KGB stored in the building of the SBU regional administration in Chernihiv have been burned, including several thousand files on the victims of Stalinist terror. In Kharkiv, the state archive was hit, though the building in which files are stored suffered relatively minor damage. The situation in the areas occupied by Russian forces, on the other hand, is completely unclear; there is no longer any contact possible with many of the employees there. There are also very limited possibilities for rescuing holdings from threatened areas, says Khromov, as virtually no region within Ukraine can be considered safe. The archives, therefore, have little choice but to store their most valuable collections in newly acquired fireproof lockers that can withstand a fire for two hours. In addition, efforts are currently being made to copy as many digital copies as possible to the servers of foreign archives – an agreement to this effect was recently concluded with the British National Archives. The problem is that only a small part of the files has been digitized so far. The holdings in the entire Ukraine amount to about 86 million units (including films, photos and sound recordings).

Roman Podkur of the Institute of History at the Academy of Sciences in Kyiv hopes that at least some of the material can be secured through some kind of grassroots initiative by historians. Since Ukrainian archives have allowed unlimited photography free of charge since 2015, he says, there are copies of many documents that can be assembled into a virtual archive. At the beginning of February, we met in his office not far from the National Gallery; Roman showed me that one of the barricades of the Maidan activists had been under his window exactly eight years earlier, and told me about his editions of NKVD documents from various regional archives. At present, he tells me on the phone, he is engaged mainly in volunteer work, besides collecting new material on the current war: »A historian never stops thinking like a historian ...«

Even if the Russian invasion ends soon, historical research in Ukraine has suffered a serious setback. Many historians have fled to the West, some losing almost everything in the process – like Alexander Kruglov, one of the country's most important Holocaust researchers. His apartment in Kharkiv was destroyed by Russian shelling, and his library and his private archive were burned along with the copies of documents that he had collected over many years and were important for his work. All that remained was what he had saved on his laptop.

## **»WE ARE FAR, VERY FAR FROM OUR FORMER HOME«: GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN JEWS AFTER DEPORTATION »TO THE EAST«<sup>1</sup>**

**ANDREA LÖW**

Wilhelm Schischa, who together with his wife Johanna was deported from Vienna to Opole Lubelskie in occupied Poland in February 1941, wrote in a letter on March 3rd 1941: »Everything here is covered in excrement and dirt, 20 cm high. We have passed through huge snowfields, across the Vistula, we are far, very far from our former home.«<sup>2</sup>

And Heinz Rosenberg, who was deported from Hamburg to Minsk in November 1941, wrote the following about his arrival in his memoirs: »Hundreds of corpses covered the floor... There was blood everywhere, and food was still standing on the stoves and tables. All the rooms were in complete disarray. There was not a living soul to be found.«<sup>3</sup>

The shock at the violence upon arrival, the confrontation with the first corpses, but also the attempts to somehow find one's way, to organize life – all this is described in the accounts of those who were on those transport trains and survived the following years in places they sometimes referred to as »hell.« This article gives some first insights into a bigger project about German and Austrian Jews after their deportation to »the East«. Questions I will address include:

What were the expectations and perceptions of the Jewish men, women, and children who were deported from numerous cities in the German Reich to occupied Poland, Minsk or Riga? How did they assess their situation after the initial shock of arriving in places so foreign to them, and how did they try to organize their new lives? How did they perceive the local population and, conversely, how were they seen by them?

How did the attitude and behavior of the local German rulers affect those Jews who, after all, were so much more familiar to them than the local »Ostjuden« [East European Jews], not least because of their common language – and who nevertheless eventually murdered them?

The circumstances were different, depending on whether someone was deported to one of several towns in occupied Poland in the fall of 1939, the spring of 1940, or the spring of 1941, or whether the deportees were already confronted with mass murder directly upon arrival, as was the case in Minsk and Riga from the end of 1941, where parts of the local ghetto population had been shot to make room for the new arrivals. The latter then moved into the apartments of those who had just been murdered and showed signs of recent use. What impact did this experience have on self-perception and on how the small remaining room for maneuver was nevertheless used?

Here I would like to present some insights into the history of the deportees, focusing on the examples of the deportations to occupied Poland in the spring of 1941 and the deportations to Riga and Minsk.

### **BACKGROUND: A BRIEF HISTORY OF DEPORTATIONS AFTER THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR**

After the quick occupation of Poland, the Nazi leaders' ideas about what should happen to the German, Austrian and also the Czech Jews changed: After forced emigration had previously been the means of choice to get as many Jews as possible to leave the German Reich, their »evacuation« into the newly occupied areas was now possible.

Various deportation experiments between October 1939 and the spring of 1941 were each aborted. Numerous letters

<sup>1</sup> This is an edited version of the Shapiro lecture I gave at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., on December 12th, 2022. This article was made possible thanks to the author's tenure as a J.B. and Maurice C. Shapiro Senior Scholar-in-Residence at the Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. I also wish to thank Giles Bennett for linguistic improvements. As this is based on a lecture, the present article does not include comprehensive coverage of the research literature connected to the topic.

<sup>2</sup> Postcard written by Wilhelm and Johanna Schischa, 3.3.1941: USHMM, 2003.454.1: Schischa Family Papers, fol. 1. Unless otherwise stated, this and the following quotations from primary sources have been translated from German by the present author.

<sup>3</sup> Heinz Rosenberg, Jahre des Schreckens... und ich blieb übrig, daß ich Dir's ansage, Göttingen 1985, p. 20.

and postcards have survived from some of these Jews who were deported at an early stage. They impressively describe the strange and very foreign world into which the authors found themselves thrown overnight.



In February 1941 Wilhelm and Johanna Schischa were deported from Vienna to Opole Lubelskie in occupied Poland. For almost a year they wrote at least twice a week to their relatives in Vienna; they also sent some letters to their daughter Lilly, who had left Vienna with a Kindertransport in 1939. They sometimes even sent photos: as Wilhelm Schischa mentions in his letters, he would ask the local photographer to take pictures for him.

Many Jews had to stay in some kind of mass quarters, one of which was in the synagogue, where conditions were disastrous. Wilhelm and Johanna Schischa managed to find a

place to stay with local Jews. After some days he wrote about an improvement of their situation, while still mentioning the dirt in the town: »Since yesterday it is already a little better. We are no longer lying on the floor but have wooden beds. It's a relief to finally be able to stretch out our tired limbs completely. A lot is going on here all day long, the Viennese walk the streets, which are full of dirt.«<sup>4</sup>

When reading these letters and seeing these photographs, the contrast between their former life in Vienna and the conditions they were forced to live in now becomes very clear. And yet they did not know – and could not know – what else was in store for them.

These are very rare examples of photographs sent home by deportees to their loved ones in order to document what was happening to them. Also, in this case, we have letters and postcards written over a longer period, lasting about a year. This of course distinguishes these holdings from the individual letters that have survived from Jews deported to the same area in 1942.

Another example of such letters and postcards are those written by Hermann and Celine Mandelbaum who were deported from Vienna to Modliborzyce. Hermann writes in April 1941: »We have been in this squalid backwater for more than 4 weeks now, living among totally unsophisticated and unhygienic people. We, Mrs. and Mr. Fröhlich, live with a family of six in a single room, or rather a chicken coop... We force ourselves not to take everything very tragically, because we live here with the awareness and hope to see you, my dearest ones, quite soon in the best of health. May God help us that the war will soon be over, so that we can soon tell each other everything with joy.« The last message written by them (or at least the last one we do know of) dates from November 21st, 1941.<sup>5</sup>

The postcards and letters written by the Schischas, the Mandelbaums and others document the shock about the conditions they had to live under after their deportation. Often they were full of disgust for the locals and their way of life, at other times they expressed thankfulness for their help, stressing that they shared their food and housing with them, although they hardly had anything themselves. Their only hope which made them try to endure everything were letters and postcards from home and the hope of being reunited soon.

Neither Wilhelm and Johanna Schischa nor Hermann and Celine Mandelbaum survived.

<sup>4</sup> Postcard written by Wilhelm und Johanna Schischa, 21.3.1941: USHMM, 2003.454.1: Schischa Family Papers, fol. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Postcard written by Hermann Mandelbaum, April, 1941: USHMM, 2016.265.1: Herman and Celine Mandelbaum correspondence.



Last picture of Wilhelm and Johanna Schischa

## SYSTEMATIC DEPORTATIONS

In the fall of 1941, the systematic deportations began. From mid-October to the beginning of November 1941, the National Socialists deported about 20,000 Jews in 24 transports from various cities of the »Old Reich«, from Luxembourg, Vienna, and Prague, as well as 5,000 Roma from the Austrian Burgenland region to the Lodz ghetto. Local authorities protested against further transports to the overcrowded ghetto. Heinrich Himmler and Reinhard Heydrich decided to direct the transports further east, to areas that had only come under German control after the attack on the Soviet Union. Between November 8, 1941, and February 6, 1942, approximately 1,000 people each traveled in 32 transports to Reichskommissariat Ostland, namely to Riga and Minsk. In November 1941, five transports of Jews from the Reich also arrived in Kaunas/Kovno in occupied Lithuania, where they were murdered upon arrival.<sup>6</sup>

At the destinations, officials prepared for the arrival of the deportees: they »made room« for them by murdering large parts of the local Jewish population. In Riga, according to German reports, SS and police forces together with Latvian auxiliary police units murdered 27,800 Latvian Jews in the Rumbula forest on November 30 and December 8-9, 1941. In Minsk, the SS murdered about 7,000 residents of the ghetto on November 7, 1941, and another 5,000 on November 20, 1941.

## THE DEPORTATION ORDERS

Simultaneously or within a short time span, the first Jews in the German Reich received orders to present themselves at predetermined assembly points for their deportation. Their property fell to the German Reich, they had to submit a detailed survey of their possessions and hand over the key to their home – with the deportation, officially called »evacuation«, they became stateless. They were allowed to take hand luggage and a suitcase. They often only knew very vaguely that they were to be taken »to the East«. In a letter from Else Kalischer dated October 23, 1941, shortly before her deportation from Berlin to Minsk, it is stated that the deportees »...will meet an uncertain fate and probably disappear somewhere in the dark.«<sup>7</sup> Some survivors report rumors, such as Karl Loewenstein: »Of course, no one knew where the transport was going. It was rumored that it would go to Minsk, but other places were also mentioned.« Then, upon departure, his identification card was stamped, »Evacuated from Berlin to Minsk on November 14, 1941.«<sup>8</sup>

But even this certainty about the destination – which, by the way, many others did not have when their trains departed – did not mean that people had even a rudimentary idea of what was in store for them. They could not know and in many cases thought that they were being taken somewhere to work.

A young woman – 19 or 20 years old – continued to write in her diary while sitting on a crowded train that had departed Vienna on November 23, 1941 with 1000 Jewish men, women and children. In her diary, she noted how she was doing during the journey, which lasted several days. She wrote: »On the train into the unknown.« Sitting close together in the compartment, they heard that Riga was to be their destination. She described the journey: »On Sunday at 6 o'clock in the evening we left Vienna. (Trucks took us to the train. Like cattle!). During the night we passed through Brünn [Brno], then we went on through Upper Silesia toward Poland. In Poland it is hopeless [trostlos]. [...] From Poland we were travelling to East Prussia and now we just crossed the Latvian border.« Here the diary ends. And a little later, the young woman's life ended as well.<sup>9</sup>

The train had crossed not the Latvian, but rather the Lithuanian border. Originally, the transport was supposed to go to Riga, but at the end of November 1941, like four other trains, it was diverted at short notice to Kaunas. Here, Lithuanian »auxiliary forces« under the command of members of Einsatzkommando 3 shot the German and Austrian Jews shortly after their arrival at Fort IX, an old Tsarist fortification. According to German records, they shot the young diarist on November 29. What may have been going through her mind and the minds of the others, who after all had thought that they were going somewhere to work, as they were led to the firing squad? How did she spend her last night in that strange place? We do not know.

Even as more and more rumors and news about the actual fate of many Jews in occupied Eastern Europe leaked out, causing growing fear of being deported among those who had stayed behind, many Jews assumed that their labor would be needed after all, that they were supposed to build something »in the East.«

<sup>6</sup> A lot of research on these deportations and the historical background exists, as well as local studies both on the deportees' places of origin and the ghettos they were brought to. In this article, only direct quotations are referenced in the annotations.

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in Anja Reuss/Kristin Schneider (eds.), Berlin – Minsk. Unvergessene Lebensgeschichten. Ein Gedenkbuch für die nach Minsk deportierten Berliner Jüdinnen und Juden, Berlin 2013, p. 265.

<sup>8</sup> Karl Loewenstein, Minsk, im Lager der deutschen Juden, Bonn 1961, p. 13–14.

<sup>9</sup> N.N., diary: USHMM, RG 26.014 (LCSAV R-1390), Reel 65, fol.68, Bl. 22. Edited in: Jürgen Matthäus (with Emil Kerenji, Jan Lamberts, and Leah Wolfson (eds.)), Jewish Responses to Persecution, Vol III: 1941–1942, Lanham 2013, p. 155f., and in the German original: VEJ 7/215, p. 580f.



I would like to mention the case of Oscar Hoffmann as an example, who was deported from Cologne to Minsk at a later stage, in July 1942. Upon arrival at the station in Minsk, the 18-year-old wrote a postcard to his former boss and now friend: »After an 87-hour journey, we arrived here in Minsk in good health and spirits. In Wolhonye [Volkovysk] we were loaded from our Cologne train into cattle cars. It is said that we are to leave the station immediately, together with our luggage, to be assigned to our camp. It is assumed that we will be employed in agriculture in the immediate vicinity of Minsk. Whether we will stay here for a long time is still uncertain. [...]« And he adds, »As I have just heard, there is some possibility that we will be able to pursue our occupations at local farms.«<sup>10</sup> As he wrote these lines, his murderers were already standing by at the pit in Maly Trostenets, the extermination site near Minsk. A few hours after writing the postcard, Oskar Hoffmann was dead.

Back to the winter of 1941. Those destined for deportation were often confronted with brutality and humiliation already at the assembly points. Some had to strip naked in order to be searched for valuables, for example. Hilde Sherman, who arrived in Riga, remembered how a Gestapo man yelled at her and pushed her into the room: »I was in a daze. It was the first time in my life that a stranger pushed me. [...] The beginning had been made. In Düsseldorf. In Germany. How was this to continue? And in a foreign country?«<sup>11</sup>

Edith Blau and her mother Meta were deported from Bielefeld to Riga. During the journey she wrote the following on a postcard: »My dear ones! I am standing in the moving train and write on the window. The night was terrible, but now it's comfortable again. We already look like pigs. No water, no light on the train. Hopefully we will be there soon. Write to Riga soon.« The postcard was stamped in Königsberg: She threw it out of the window when she saw soldiers outside.<sup>12</sup>

The journey, which usually lasted three days, took place in overcrowded and often ice-cold trains, with too little food and above all too little water. Upon arrival, chaos and violence reigned: as much as the Jews were already familiar with exclusion and arbitrariness from their hometowns, the arrival in Riga or Minsk was a deep shock. After arriving in Riga, German security police and Latvian police forces drove the people out of the wagons while beating them. Everything had to be done quickly, which was especially difficult for the elderly after the long and exhausting journey.

Isidor Nussenbaum remembered: »Huge confusion. Parents were calling for their children, spouses were searching for their other half, and everyone was looking for their luggage.« Most deportees never saw their luggage again. Those who were strong enough marched off, while the old and weak boarded waiting wagons, but in many cases, they were never to reach the ghetto. The deportees were sent to various places in and near Riga: the Jungfernhof and Salaspils camps and the Riga ghetto. Jungfernhof and Salaspils had to be built up by the first prisoners.

On December 10, 1941, a transport from Cologne arrived in Riga, whose inmates were the first to march from the station to the ghetto, where they were directly confronted with the traces of the massacres of the last two days. Lilly Menczel described this thus: »On the day of our arrival in the ghetto we saw traces everywhere of the fact that people had been murdered there shortly before: There was frozen blood in the streets – a terrible sight. We found food on the table in the apartment; they hadn't even let the poor condemned people finish their meal.«<sup>14</sup>

The events were similar in Minsk, where the reports also speak of violence and shouting on the part of the guards upon arrival. Gerhard Hoffmann from Hamburg described this in a letter after the liberation: »To the left and right of the train stood SS posts in a close chain. The train stopped and we were chased out it with whips. The first shots were heard – that was our reception. We saw the first corpses.«<sup>15</sup> Again, the deportees had to march several kilometers to the ghetto on foot, and some apparently went there in trucks. For many, the so-called Red House, a former school, was the first stop there. The building was completely overcrowded, with people lying there tightly packed in the rooms

<sup>10</sup> Postcard written by Oscar Hoffmann, 24.7.1942: NS-Dokumentationszentrum Köln, Bestand Nr. 170: Sammlung Erwin und Nanny Bernauer, N 272, 347.

<sup>11</sup> Hilde Sherman, *Zwischen Tag und Dunkel. Mädchenjahre im Ghetto*, Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Wien 1984, p. 30.

<sup>12</sup> Postcard written by Edith Blau: USHMM, Edith Brandon Papers: 1996.A.0070.1/RG-10.250, Series 2, Correspondence, 1939–1944; USC Shoah Foundation, VHA #709 Edith Brandon, 17.1.1995, Segment #9.

<sup>13</sup> Isidor Nussenbaum, »Er kommt nicht wieder«. *Geschichte eines Überlebenden*, ed. by Hans Medick/Jens-Christian Wagner, Dresden 2013, p. 45.

<sup>14</sup> Lilly Menczel, *Vom Rhein nach Riga. Deportiert von Köln: Bericht einer Überlebenden des Holocaust*, ed. by Gine Elsner, Hamburg 2012, p. 26.

<sup>15</sup> Testimony Gerhard Hoffmann: Archiv Gedenkstätte Flossenbürg, 2015.0123, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> IfZ Archiv, ED 424 Berthold Rudner: Aufzeichnungen aus dem Ghetto Minsk; printed in: Berthold Rudners Aufzeichnungen aus dem Ghetto Minsk (November 1941–Juni 1942), eingeleitet und kommentiert von Petra Rentrop, in: Wolfgang Benz/Barbara Distel/Angelika Königseder (Hrsg.), *Nationalsozialistische Zwangslager. Strukturen und Regionen – Täter und Opfer*, Berlin 2011, p. 374–408, quote p. 383.

and in the corridors. After a few days there, they arrived at their actual quarters. Berthold Rudner, an Austrian who was deported from Berlin to Minsk, wrote about it in his diary: »The quarters turned out to be miserable wooden houses, plundered and demolished, which were also in an indescribable condition that a Central European would not be able to imagine.« Rudner shared a small two-room apartment with 18 people, in which there was neither running water nor electricity.<sup>16</sup>

The deportees quickly learned of the mass killings shortly before their arrival, as Gerhard Hoffmann recalled: »We heard this from a few survivors who had had been hiding in basements to escape a sure death. They sneaked between houses in fear and tried to save some of their last belongings. Here and there shots were heard everywhere. It was a heart-wrenching sight to see. At the moment we were unable to comprehend this all.«<sup>17</sup> Soon they learned of the extent of the killings but could hardly think about what they had heard; they quickly had to go about organizing their new lives and had to work, which for those arriving in the first transport included having to build a fence around the ghetto.

## ORGANIZING LIFE IN THE GHETTO

In both Riga and Minsk, the ghettos of German-speaking Jews were separate from those of the local Jews, which distinguished these two ghettos from those in occupied Poland. In Minsk there were two »Special« ghettos for the those arriving with the various transports; in Riga there was the German and the »Small« ghetto, where the surviving local Jews lived. These ghettos were separated from each other by fences. A Jewish »self-administration«, appointed by the local German rulers, was responsible for organizing life in the ghetto and providing labor for the Germans. The most important positions in this self-administration were in each case filled with some of those arriving with the first transports, in Riga from the Cologne transport, in Minsk from the Hamburg transport.

The two German ghettos in Minsk were connected by a common Jewish Council. They were divided into districts or camps named after the places of origin of the deportees. Similarly, in Riga the deportees were housed together in their transport groups and the respective streets were also named after their places of origin, so there was a Hamburg, a Cologne or a Leipzig street in the ghetto. In both ghettos there was a Jewish hospital where doctors, nurses and orderlies tried to help the patients, but there was a lack of medicine and necessary space.

Despite the shock upon arrival, the deportees had to organize their lives in this strange and hostile environment. They began to clean up their new homes and make them as comfortable as possible. Erna Valk remembered the first phase of her life in Riga as follows: »I was very unhappy, and yet, like the others, I had to set about cleaning up the small room, which had to suffice for 3 families.«<sup>18</sup> Berthold Rudner describes this in Minsk: »With a lot of work the rooms were made up to some extent, beds were searched for and found and so at least a night's lodging was erected.«<sup>19</sup>

Two of them shared one bed. During the nights they therefore sometimes hardly got any rest, everyone rolled around, the sick moaned, the air was bad, but at the same time it was bitterly cold in this winter of 1941/42.

The living conditions were terrible, many fell ill, and the constant shortages also caused conflicts. Berthold Rudner again: »Harassment set in, and the other residents sank step by step into misery. Human and animal vermin (rats and bugs) sometimes made life unbearable. There were no bathing facilities. To clean oneself thoroughly was only possible to a limited extent.« His friend Martha Crohn died of typhus as early as January 1942. And not only she – on January 13, 1942, Rudner noted in his diary: »Death is going around! In the camp. The old and the sick are dying. Also, there are only mass graves. Every few days about 20 dead are buried! – It is a gruesome situation.«<sup>20</sup>

Those who wanted to survive had to supplement the meager official food rations by bartering and trading, and then smuggling extra food into the ghetto when they returned from work in the evening – always at the risk of their lives, because death loomed if they were discovered. Survivors from Riga report that it happened again and again that they returned in the evening and found murdered Jewish men hanging from the gallows. Ghetto commander Kurt Krause also repeatedly shot women who had been convicted of smuggling in the Jewish cemetery – as did ghetto commander Adolf Rube. But the life-threatening bartering was without alternative, as Käte Frieß wrote in her report written in the summer of 1945: »We had to barter, because otherwise I would not be sitting here today in front of the typewriter.«<sup>21</sup> Likewise

<sup>17</sup> Testimony Gerhard Hoffmann: Archiv Gedenkstätte Flossenbürg, 2015.0123, p. 1.

<sup>18</sup> Erna Valk, *Meine Erlebnisse in der Zeit vom 10. Dezember 1941 bis 30. Juni 1945*: Wiener Library, P.III.h. (Riga) No. 367; printed in: Andrea Löw, *Die »Hölle« bezeugen – Berichte aus Riga*, in: *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 1 (2023), p. 155–207, quote p. 187.

<sup>19</sup> Rudner, *Aufzeichnungen*, p. 383.

<sup>20</sup> Rudner, *Aufzeichnungen*, p. 397.

<sup>21</sup> Sandow, Christin (Hrsg.), »Schießen Sie mich nieder!« Käte Frieß' Aufzeichnungen über KZ und Zwangsarbeit von 1941–1945, Berlin 2017, p. 54.

in Minsk, where the SS repeatedly shot ghetto residents, but that didn't change anything, as Karl Loewenstein noted: »Bartering was forbidden and punishable by death, but that didn't stop anyone, because hunger hurts.«<sup>22</sup> A survivor from Frankfurt recalled: »Prisoners had gold crowns and bridges broken out of their mouths to satisfy hunger.«<sup>23</sup>

It was not only as punishment for bartering that the German guards committed murders; reports repeatedly mention arbitrary shootings, also for other »offenses«, such as not wearing the »Jewish star«. Even without the murders and larger »actions«, violence was omnipresent. Various reports testify that in Riga, Latvian policemen, as well as German SS men, repeatedly entered the ghetto at night and raped women.

People tried to do something to counter these conditions, which were terrible in every respect: To a certain extent, an everyday and a cultural life emerged. Schooling was organized for children, musicians and artists offered various performances, and in Riga there were even dance classes for a time. For some, religion was particularly important, and they celebrated Jewish holidays as best they could under the new conditions. In the Jungfernhof camp, the Hamburg rabbi Joseph Carlebach had tried to maintain morale among the camp inmates until his murder in March 1942, by celebrating religious festivities and giving classes for children. At the turn of the year, many deportees tried to organize an atmospheric celebration in a small circle.

In Riga there were soccer matches, which took place on the »Blechplatz« [tin square], which was often a place of terror and fear, as selections took place here and Jews were hanged. But then there were also the days when at the same spot the teams of Dortmund and Berlin or the Jewish Ordnungsdienst and a team of Latvian Jews played soccer against each other.

Despite the official ban on contact between the »German« and »Latvian« ghettos, there was contact on various levels, and friendships developed between the inhabitants of the two ghettos, especially between Latvian Jewish men, almost all of whom had lost their families during the mass shootings in November and December 1941, and German Jewish women. It was mainly the younger people who sought contact; overall, the relationship between German and Latvian Jews was often characterized by cultural distance and sometimes mistrust. The situation between the German and White Russian Jews in Minsk was similar: Karl Loewenstein named one main reason for this in his memoirs: the mass shootings before the arrival of the German Jews. He wrote: »Also, because of this, we were at first regarded by the Russians as their enemies, until we succeeded in convincing them that we were after all persecuted in exactly the same way by the National Socialists and that we had not come to Minsk voluntarily, but forcibly.«<sup>24</sup>

### LABOR AND EXTERMINATION

In the course of 1942 and 1943 at the latest, the German authorities murdered those they regarded »unfit for work« in several »actions«. I do not want to go into detail about these different »actions« here but want to stress that they drastically changed the deportees' understanding about their own fate: they realized that the horrible fate of the Latvian and White Russian Jews who had been shot shortly before their own arrival had not been an exception. Hilde Sherman recalled, »Even the most gullible gradually realized that our days were numbered.«<sup>25</sup> They understood they would by no means be spared just because, like the perpetrators, they saw themselves as Germans, came from the same culture, and spoke the same language. For example, Berthold Rudner, who was originally from Austria, wrote in his diary about his workplace on December 8, 1941: »Many Austrians with the SS here, with whom I get along well in the native dialect.«<sup>26</sup> Some of the deportees had, probably for these reasons, often been given better jobs; it is known from Minsk that many supervisor positions in factories and other work detachments were filled by German Jews. This reinforced already existing prejudices on the part of the local Jews, but also significantly deceived German Jews regarding their own fate. Thus, shortly after the war, Gerhard Hoffmann wrote: »Deceived by the sign Sonderghetto and by the fact, that we were strictly forbidden from having any contact with Russian Jews, we imagined that we were under special protection as German Jews, especially since the majority of the older men were front-line fighters from 1914–18.«<sup>27</sup>

Every day, the survivors of the respective »actions« moved in columns to their various work sites, and this continued until the ghettos were dissolved in October 1943 in Minsk and November 1943 in Riga. However, even the workers were never safe. Repeatedly selections took place, still existing families were torn apart, people were murdered in

<sup>22</sup> Loewenstein, Minsk, p. 53.

<sup>23</sup> N.N., Frau und einziges Kind in Minsk ermordet: WL, P.III.h. (Minsk) No. 1127, p. 1.

<sup>24</sup> Loewenstein, Minsk, p. 18.

<sup>25</sup> Sherman, Mädchenjahre, p. 51.

<sup>26</sup> Rudner, Aufzeichnungen, p. 388.

<sup>27</sup> Testimony Gerhard Hoffmann: Archiv Gedenkstätte Flossenbürg, 2015.0123, p. 2–3.

<sup>28</sup> Testimony Gerhard Hoffmann: Archiv Gedenkstätte Flossenbürg, 2015.0123, p. 8.

Bikernieki near Riga or Maly Trostenez near Minsk. In Maly Trostenez there was also a small labor camp where some of the deported Jews survived and were later deported from there to other camps. In Minsk, during the ghetto liquidation, mainly young, single men who remained were deported to labor and extermination camps in occupied Poland. After the deportation from Minsk, often a true odyssey through various camps followed: Gerhard Hoffmann, for example, described this in a letter shortly after the liberation: »Now followed a time [...] that was far worse than our ghetto life. We were pushed around from one camp to another. Labor camp – concentration camp. Concentration camp – labor camp. Hunger, disease, epidemics, beatings, shootings, gassings and other brutalities.« He was in Majdanek, Budzyn and Flossenbürg, among other places, and in the end was sent on one of the infamous death marches before being liberated by the Americans in Upper Bavaria. Many of his fellow prisoners died in the final weeks; he writes about himself: »I was starved, rotten, full of lice, and at times could only crawl on all fours for a while.«<sup>28</sup>

The remaining ghetto residents in Riga were sent to the newly built Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp in the north of the city beginning in the summer of 1943. On November 2, 1943, the security police cleared the ghetto in an »action« in which they selected children, the elderly and the sick, while the other Jews were at their workplaces. Survivors recall this terrible day: Workers came back in the evening to the almost empty ghetto and realized that their friends and relatives were no longer there. They had been deported to Auschwitz.



On November 6, the last ghetto residents were taken to Riga-Kaiserwald. For many this was a transit camp where they were registered and then sent on to other camps or to the so-called barracks of their factories. Those who remained in Kaiserwald were now concentration camp prisoners: families who had still been able to live together in the ghetto were separated, they had to hand in their clothes, had their hair shorn and were assigned prisoner numbers.

With the approach of the Red Army, the SS began to relocate the Jews who were still alive. For most of the Jews remaining in Riga, the next steps on the path of suffering led by ship to Danzig and from there to the Stutthof concentration camp. This was, as survivors testify, »hell«. Terrible hygienic conditions devastated the already weakened inmates, sick and weak prisoners were either murdered by the guards or left to die by themselves in death zones. Since the camp was completely overcrowded in the autumn of 1944, some prisoners were sent to various concentration camps in the Reich, while others had to perform forced labor in subcamps of Stutthof. Edith Blau, whose postcard from the deportation train I quoted, and her mother were among them.

About 200 prisoners who had remained in a camp near Riga were sent from there to Libau in October 1944, where they had to work in the harbor. Those still alive were taken by ship to Hamburg in February 1945 and imprisoned there in the Fuhlsbüttel police prison.

A group of 56 men came from there to Bergen-Belsen, while the rest had to set out together with other prisoners on a death march to Kiel on April 12, 1945, where they spent more terrible days in another camp before they were brought to Sweden in Red Cross buses at the beginning of May 1945.

Of the more than 31,000 German, Austrian and Czechoslovak Jews deported to the Baltic States, barely 1,100 survived the Holocaust. Of the approximately 7,000 German Jews deported to the Minsk ghetto, according to current knowledge, just under 50 survived.



### FINAL REMARKS

Raul Hilbert once wrote that every place has »its own deportation history.«<sup>29</sup> In fact the matter goes much further: every deportee has his or her own deportation history. Only very few survived and were able to bear witness after the liberation. And yet, an astonishing number of testimonies have survived that document the individual persecution and deportation history of individual people.

The personal accounts on which my research is based – memoirs, oral testimonies, letters, postcards and diaries – show how their authors found themselves from one day to the next in a world completely strange to them, a world marked by violence, brutality, hunger and the permanent fear and constant threat of death. They also testify to people's attempts to counter all this, to organize their lives and find ways and means to improve their desperate situation, to influence their fate.

These personal sources also make very clear what it meant to lose friends and relatives, to be in uncertainty about their fate, or to know exactly what awaited one's loved ones or what had already been done to them. Thus, the survivors vividly described terrible »actions« in the ghettos, including how on such days desperate people returned to the ghetto in the evening and found that their children or parents were no longer there.

Edith Blau and her mother had managed to stay together – they escaped during the last days of the war, upon which they disguised themselves as foreign laborers and then as Germans working for German troops. They were transported with those troops to Bornholm, Denmark, where they were finally liberated. Already in mid-May 1945 Edith Blau wrote a long testimony about what she lived through. The very first words read: »How do you start, when your heart is so full of everything, where do you find the words at this moment, when your memory throws everything into confusion. Hands tremble – and one wants to say everything in one big word – but I know, that this word does not exist.«<sup>30</sup>

Still – she and many others told their stories. I wanted to present some of these voices in this article.<sup>31</sup>



<sup>29</sup> Raul Hilbert, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, 3rd ed., 3 vols., New Haven 2003, vol. II, p. 473.

<sup>30</sup> Testimony Edith Blau, 11.5.1945: USHMM, 1996.A.0070.1\*5: Edith Brandon Papers, p. 28.

<sup>31</sup> This research is part of a book project about the experiences and reactions of German-speaking Jews during and after their deportation to the »East« which will be published in German with S. Fischer in March 2024.

## FADING FRIENDSHIPS AND THE »DECENT GERMAN«. REFLECTING, EXPLAINING, AND ENDURING ESTRANGEMENT IN NAZI GERMANY, 1933-1938<sup>1</sup>

ANNA ULLRICH

When Hitler was sworn in as German Chancellor on 30 January 1933, it brought decisive change not only in the political sphere but also in the social lives of Jews in Germany. The literature focusing on their personal experiences after this date and their own assessments of what was happening around them come to fairly consistent conclusions. The verdict Marion Kaplan reaches in her thoroughly researched book, *Between Dignity and Despair – Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* is representative. While analysing various autobiographical reports – mostly by women – on how relationships developed at this time, Kaplan concludes: »As Germans began to treat each other with reserve, they broke decisively with Jews.«<sup>2</sup> Needless to say, there were still certain acts of kindness and solidarity shown by non-Jewish Germans towards their Jewish friends and acquaintances. However, according to Kaplan, these actions tended merely to have a Janus-faced effect, since they »came as a great relief but also served as a false basis for optimism«.<sup>3</sup> This poignant comment sums up the fate that has befallen these small acts of solidarity in the course of historical research. On the one hand, they have been treated as mere footnotes to the process by which Jewish Germans became alienated from the rest of the population. On the other, the effects they may have had on individuals experiencing them have been reduced to two extremes – at best, momentary liftings of the burden of social and legal oppression; at worst, invitations to a false hope, luring Jews into the idea that life in Germany was still viable, and, in the long run, holding back decisions to get away.

In this article, I want to enlarge the set of possible interpretations and ascriptions Jewish Germans attributed to »friendly« relations with gentiles. I will take a more detailed look at the often insular, but mutually corroborative reports and anecdotes Jews wrote about such threatened relations during the first years of National Socialist rule, when some friendships faded, some endured. My sources are ones frequently drawn on for insights into Jewish life during these years. They are the autobiographical accounts gathered by a group of scholars during the autumn of 1939 and spring of 1940, now known as the »Harvard Competition« or *My Life in Germany* collection. Although it is often noted that these memoirs originated as submissions to a prize competition, the exact provisions and requirements the academic promoters laid down have seldom been explained. It is, however, necessary to understand these guidelines, as well as the people responding to them, to arrive at a fair critical interpretation of the assessments made in the accounts – especially the ones on relationships with non-Jews.<sup>4</sup>

As a first step, I will take a closer look at what the organizers intended when they gathered these testimonies and what preconditions were set. I will then analyse some of the ways in which the writers of the accounts depicted relationships between Jews and non-Jews after Hitler's rise to power and how they tried to make sense of the developments in Germany.

<sup>1</sup> Originally published in: Frank Bajohr/Andrea Löw (eds.): *The Holocaust and European Societies – Social Processes and Social Dynamics*, London 2016, p. 17–31.

<sup>2</sup> M. A. Kaplan (1998) *Between Dignity and Despair. Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press), p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Kaplan (1998) *Between Dignity and Despair*, p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> I am thankful to Uta Gerhard and Nadège Ragaru for discussing the significant meaning both the background and the composition of the appeal had for the competition.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. H. Liebersohn and D. Schneider (2001) »My Life in Germany before and after January 30 1933«. *A Guide to the Manuscript Collection at Houghton Library Harvard University* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society), p. 3; D. Garz, S. Tiefel and F. Schütze (2007) »An alle, die Deutschland vor und während Hitler gut kennen« *Autobiographische Beiträge deutscher Emigranten zum wissenschaftlichen Preisausschreiben der Harvard University aus dem Jahr 1939*, *Zeitschrift für Qualitative Forschung* No. 8, 179–88, 179.

## THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION *MY LIFE IN GERMANY* – HISTORY AND BACKGROUND

The initial idea of gathering people's testimonies in a collection can be traced back to three professors at Harvard University: the psychologist Gordon W. Allport, the historian Sidney B. Fay, and the sociologist Edward Y. Hartshorne. In August 1939, these three commissioned a one-page advertisement, which was published in the German exile press and in a couple of American newspapers.<sup>5</sup> The appeal asked those »who have known Germany well, before and since Hitler« to send in a written account of their recent experiences. As an incentive, the authors of the most insightful submissions were to be rewarded with prize money which ranged from \$500 (first prize) to \$20 (fifth). As for the formalities: the accounts were to be at least 20,000 words long (about 80 pages) and could be written in German or in English. The authors had to supply a short personal data sheet giving details of age, sex, religion, social position, and their last place of residence in Germany. The three professors made it quite clear what content they expected: their aim was to gather material for the »purely scientific purpose« of assessing the »social and emotional effects that National Socialism had on German society and the German people«. Therefore they advised the following:

»Your life-history should be written as simply, as directly, as fully and as concretely as possible. You should aim to describe, in so far as you can remember them: things which actually happened, things people did and said. The Judges are not interested in philosophical reflections about the past but in a record of personal experience. Quotations, wherever possible from letters, notebooks and other personal documents, will help to give your account the authenticity and completeness which are desired. Even if you have never written before, if you have a good memory, a good insight into human nature, you should try. Even if you do not win a prize, your manuscript will be of value as a source of information about modern Germany and National Socialism.«<sup>6</sup>

In view of the similarities, it is reasonable to assume that the three scholars based the form of their appeal on the work of another professor, the Columbia-based sociologist Theodore Abel. In 1934, after travelling through Germany, Abel had promoted a similar open contest. However, he addressed a quite different pool of potential authors: his search was for »the best personal life story of an adherent of the Hitler movement«.<sup>7</sup> He got more than 600 responses and, in 1938, published them in his book *Why Hitler Came into Power*.<sup>8</sup> The initial idea for the Harvard competition may thus be regarded as a supplement – maybe even a balance – to Abel's findings, since it was exclusively addressed to people who had already left Germany and hence could hardly classify as supporters of Hitler. The competition probably had a personal purpose too: of the three Harvard scholars who initiated it, Allport and Fay were already established scholars with a tenure, but Hartshorne, who was Fay's son-in-law, was only at the beginning of his academic career. It seems likely that the evaluation and analysis of the material gathered – following Abel's research methods, which were well thought of at the time – was to be Hartshorne's break-through into academia.<sup>9</sup>

By the autumn of 1940, about 260 manuscripts had arrived at Harvard University, roughly two-thirds written by recently emigrated German and Austrian Jews. In social background, the contributors were doubtless a rather homogenous group. A clear majority came from the German upper-middle class: many were doctors or lawyers. About one-third of the manuscripts came from women. Though the ages of the contributors began at the mid-twenties, most of the accounts were written by women and men between 40 and 65. A large proportion of the contributors had only emigrated from Germany after the 1938 November Pogrom, so certain major public incidents are referred to in almost every account – the Boycott of April 1933, the »Night of the Long Knives« (1934), and the passing of the Nuremberg Laws (1935). However, most contributors followed the guidelines and focused on descriptions of their personal experience of relationships with non-Jews – lasting, fading or broken.

<sup>5</sup> G. W. Allport, J. S. Bruner and E. M. Jandorf (1941) »Personality Under Social Catastrophe: Ninety Life-Histories of the Nazi Revolution«, *Journal of Personality* No. 10, 1–22, 21.

<sup>7</sup> For this endeavour he had also gained support from the Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda, cf. Garz et al. (2007), »An alle«, p. 179.

<sup>8</sup> T. Abel (1938) *Why Hitler Came into Power. An Answer Based on the Original Life Stories of Six Hundred of His Followers* (New York: Prentice-Hall).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. L. Weissberg (2013) »East and West: Karl Löwith's Routes of Exile« in H. O. Horch, N. Mittelman and K. Neuburger (eds) *Exilerfahrung und Konstruktion von Identität 1933 bis 1945* (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter), pp. 159–91, p. 161.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Garz et al. (2007) »An alle«, p. 180; Weissberg (2013) »East and West«, p. 163.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Allport et al. (1941) *Personality*, p. 1; Weissberg (2013) »East and West«, p. 163.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Allport et al. (1941) *Personality*, p. 2–3; D. Garz and H.-S. Lee (2003) »Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach dem 30. Januar 1933«. Ergebnisse des wissenschaftlichen Preisausschreibens der Harvard University aus dem Jahr 1939 – Forschungsbericht« in I. Wojak and S. Meinel (eds) *Im Labyrinth der Schuld. Täter – Opfer – Ankläger. Jahrbuch zur Geschichte und Wirkung des Holocaust* (Frankfurt am Main, Campus-Verlag), pp. 333–57, p. 336. Apart from this article, some of the assessments made about the influence of National Socialism, especially on the younger generations, resurfaced in one of Hartshorne's essays, cf. E. Harthorne (1941) *German Youth and the Nazi Dream of Victory* (New York: Edward Yarnall), especially pp. 18–19.

The preconditions for an in-depth examination of the manuscripts seemed ideal: an interdisciplinary team of scholars, a pre-prepared questionnaire for a psychological and sociological analysis, and about 220 accounts complying with the formal guidelines, and offering the content required.<sup>10</sup> However, ultimately, only one journal article appeared in which the accounts were used in the way the scholars seem to have planned when they set up the project. In their article, *Personality Under Social Catastrophe: Ninety Life-Histories of the Nazi Revolution*, Allport and two colleagues made a qualitative and quantitative analysis of responses from questionnaires applied to a selection of the manuscripts.<sup>11</sup>

They examined the contributors' reactions to oppression in Nazi Germany and how experiences of such treatment may have influenced the personality structures and political beliefs of the persecuted.<sup>12</sup> It remains unexplained why so few research results emerged from the project as a whole – an ambitious venture at its beginning – but it is likely that it was quietly abandoned when Hartshorne transferred from Harvard to the Office of Strategic Services (the OSS) in 1941.<sup>13</sup> Much later, in 1958, the manuscripts were deposited in the Houghton Library on Harvard's campus.

It is due to Monika Richarz, a German-based historian, that the manuscript collection gained renewed attention in the early 1980s. In her three-volume collection of sources, *Jüdisches Leben in Deutschland*, she included several excerpts from the manuscripts' accounts.<sup>14</sup> Since then, a number of these writings have been edited and published in their entirety,<sup>15</sup> while portions of others have appeared in source books.<sup>16</sup> Starting from the mid-1990s, Detlef Garz and a group of sociologists and educational scientists applied a wider range of theoretical approaches to individual manuscripts. These ranged from exile studies to moral and recognition theory,<sup>17</sup> and, based on this work, they established a general foundation for the analysis of processes of de-recognition.<sup>18</sup> Less concerned with theory, historians have used the accounts in a more descriptive way, often quoting especially poignant examples to yield insights into personal aspects of the disintegration process, as seen through the eyes of the excluded.<sup>19</sup>

## EXPLAINING FADING FRIENDSHIPS – BELIEVING IN THE »DECENT« GERMAN

In the paragraphs that follow, I will approach the manuscripts from a different angle. I will focus initially on the way the contributors responded to one of the key requirements of the competition – relating, from personal experiences, impressions of the effects the National Socialist regime was having on the German people. The writers were not only encouraged to report on encounters with non-Jewish Germans, but were encouraged to interpret the behaviour of their former fellow citizens and assess their motivations. After presenting various recurring narratives and interpretations of non-Jewish behaviour, I will discuss the intentions the authors may have had in choosing to depict these incidents.

My central thesis is that, when the authors dwell on positive encounters with non-Jewish Germans and reflect on these, their perceptions and thoughts are an integral component of the explanations they strive to present – both to

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Garz and Lee (2003) »Mein Leben«, p. 164.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. M. Richarz (ed.) (1982) *Jüdisches Leben in Deutschland. Selbstzeugnisse zur Sozialgeschichte 1918–1945* (München: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. T. Dunlap (ed.) (2001) *Before the Holocaust: Three German-Jewish Lives, 1870–1939* (Philadelphia: Xlibris); K. Frankenthal, ed. K. M. Pearle (1981) *Der dreifache Fluch: Jüdin, Intellektuelle, Sozialistin* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus-Verlag); W. Gyßling, ed. L. E. Hill (2003) *Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach 1933 und der Anti-Nazi: Handbuch im Kampf gegen die NSDAP* (Bremen: Donat); K. Löwith (1986) *Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach 1933* (Stuttgart: Metzler); K. Vordtriede, ed. D. Garz (1999) »Es gibt Zeiten, in denen man welkt.« *Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach 1933* (Lengwil: Libelle); E. Wysbar, ed. D. Garz (2000) »Hinaus aus Deutschland, irgendwohin ...« *Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach 1933* (Lengwil: Libelle).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. M. Limberg and H. Rübsaat (eds) (1990) *Sie durften nicht mehr Deutsche sein. Jüdischer Alltag in Selbstzeugnissen 1933–1938* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag); U. Gerhard and T. Karlauf (eds) (2009) *Nie mehr zurück in dieses Land. Augenzeugen berichten über die Novemberpogrome 1938* (Berlin: Propyläen).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. S. Bartmann (2002) »Zwischen Autonomie und Heteronomie – Zwischen Individuum und Kollektiv. Biographische Erfahrungsaufzeichnungen von Emigranten im Nationalsozialismus« in S. Bartmann, K. Gille and S. Haunss (eds) *Kollektives Handeln. Politische Mobilisierung zwischen Struktur und Identität* (Düsseldorf: Der Setzkasten), pp. 191–208; U. Blömer (1999) »Dem Vaterland verpflichtet. Biographische Untersuchungen zu Lebensverläufen von emigrierten Pädagogen im Nationalsozialismus oder »über die Banalität der Entwicklung des Bösen«, *Pädagogische Rundschau*, No.53, 577–96; W. Lohfeld (1998) »Es waren die dunkelsten Tage in meinem Leben.« *Krisenprozess und moralische Entwicklung. Eine qualitative Biographieanalyse* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. U. Blömer (2004) »Im übrigen wurde es still um mich«. *Aberkennungsprozesse im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland* (Oldenburg: BIS-Verlag); U. Blömer and D. Garz (2003) »Aberkennungsverhältnisse und Aberkennungsprozesse. Über die Verfolgungs- und Konflikterfahrungen nicht-jüdischer Emigranten und Emigrantinnen zwischen 1871 und 1939« in G. Bierbrauer and M. Jaeger (eds) *Projektverbund Friedens- und Konfliktforschung. Ergebnisberichte aus Forschungsprojekten der Jahre 1998–2001* (Osnabrück: BIS-Verlag), pp. 127–73; D. Garz (2006) »Weder Solidarität noch Recht noch Liebe. Grundzüge einer Moral der Aberkennung. Aberkennungstrilogie, Teil I« in H. Drerup and W. Fölling (eds) *Gleichheit und Gerechtigkeit. Pädagogische Revisionen* (Dresden: TUDpress), pp. 51–69; W. Lohfeld (2007) »Aberkennung und historisches Bewusstsein. Das Beispiel Alice Bäwald«, *Zeitschrift für Qualitative Forschung* No. 8, 225–47.



themselves and to outsiders – for the situation in Nazi Germany. They use reminiscences of the »good German« as a strategy to make sense of the shift in the whole tone of German society that followed 1933. This strategy helped them uphold their own identification with Germany and with at least a portion of the German people. To understand the contributors' assessment and the interpretations made, the time when the manuscripts were written is important. Herein lies an additional peculiarity of the collection, since all of the autobiographical accounts were written well before the autumn of 1940. Dire experiences in Germany after 1933 and, all too often, nerve-racking wheeling and dealing to get out of the country had left their mark on the authors,<sup>20</sup> but they did not yet have any knowledge of deportations, death camps and the killing units of the *Einsatzgruppen*. In writings after 1945, knowledge of the sheer horror of the Holocaust necessarily coloured Jews' reassessments of their former lives in Germany.<sup>21</sup>

The accounts and reflections in the *My Life in Germany* collection, written between 1939 and 1940, may sometimes sound strangely innocent. However, untouched by hindsight, they let us see how contemporaries perceived historical processes as they unfolded. We can gain a better understanding of the motivations and expectations shaping people's lives at the time.

When Albert Dreyfuss, a doctor from Franconia, gets to the day of Hitler's appointment as Reich Chancellor in his memoir, he is quick to point out that »not only the relatively small group of Jews but, at least equally, the great mass of communists, social democrats, commoners, [people in] ecclesiastical circles, especially the Catholics, and the nobility were deeply troubled.«<sup>22</sup> Harry Kaufman, who had been the manager of a shoe company in Essen, admits that a certain percentage of Germans were supporters of Hitler, but also stresses the fact that »a higher percentage are opponents [of the regime], although they don't make an appearance in public.«<sup>23</sup> These quite sweeping assertions bring out a point that recurs in the manuscripts, albeit with varying degrees of urgency: this point is that it was not only the Jews, but many non-Jewish Germans who found themselves adversely affected by the newly appointed Nazi government. Henriette Necheles-Magnus, who worked as a doctor in Hamburg, recalls a range of non-Jewish friends and acquaintances who were badly treated by the Nazi authorities. She includes them in her account because »the fate of Jewish families is well enough known. But not the devastating effects on the Christian intellectual who was not a party member at the time of the breakdown [of democratic rule].«<sup>24</sup> She cites examples of imprisonment, lay-offs and revocation of work permits. Non-Jewish Germans had to fear such reprisals as well as Jews.<sup>25</sup> Elaborating on this, the writers refer to a vast increase in surveillance as the most ubiquitous danger both Jews and non-Jews faced during the first years of National Socialism. The manuscripts describe in detail how next-door neighbours, the grocer, co-workers, or guests at the next table in a restaurant could turn out to be party informants. And it is repeatedly pointed out that, while Jews in Germany could at least speak their minds behind closed doors, even this level of privacy was often denied their non-Jewish friends and acquaintances. Mally Dienemann, wife of the rabbi of Offenbach, quotes friends who said: »You are better off: at least you can tell the truth among each other. We can't even speak an open word in our family. Our children, whom the Hitler Youth raises, are the best spies.«<sup>26</sup> A Catholic patient told Rafael Mibberlin, a doctor in Berlin, that she and her husband had decided to emigrate before completely losing their son to the National Socialist movement. The recurring narrative of devoted members of the Hitler Youth spying on their parents is usually linked to a more general insistence that non-Jews too were disadvantaged under the National Socialist government.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. D. Blasius (1991) »Zwischen Rechtsvertrauen und Rechtszerstörung. Deutsche Juden 1933–1935« in D. Blasius and D. Diner (eds) *Zerbrochene Geschichte. Leben und Selbstverständnis der Juden in Deutschland* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Verlag), pp. 121–37, especially 136–137; M. Kaplan (2010) »Changing Roles in Jewish Families« in F. R. Nicosia and D. Scrase (eds) *Jewish Life in Nazi Germany. Dilemmas and Responses* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books), pp. 15–46, especially 29–31 and 40–44; T. Maurer (2003) »Kunden, Patienten, Nachbarn und Freunde. Beziehungen zwischen Juden und Nichtjuden in Deutschland 1933–1938«, *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* No. 54, 154–66.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. W. Benz (ed.) (1994) *Das Exil der kleinen Leute. Alltagserfahrungen deutscher Juden in der Emigration* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuchverlag); W. Benz and M. Neiss (eds) (1997) *Die Erfahrung des Exils: Exemplarische Reflexionen* (Berlin: Metropol Verlag); W. Lohfeld (2004) »Aberkennung als Kategorie sozio-historischer Forschung. (Über)Lebensstrategien jüdischer Emigranten in Shanghai. Eine qualitative Biografiestudie (Projektmitteilung)«, *BIOS Zeitschrift für Biografieforschung, Oral History und Lebenslaufanalysen* No. 17, 280–4.

<sup>21</sup> For a general problematization of the alleged gap between contemporary experiences and memories based on hindsight, cf. W. Bergmann and J. Wetzel (1998) »Der Miterlebende weiß nichts« Alltagsantisemitismus als zeitgenössische Erfahrung und späte Erinnerung (1919–1933): in W. Benz (ed.) *Jüdisches Leben in der Weimarer Republik* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck), pp. 173–96.

<sup>22</sup> Albert Dreyfuss, Harvard, MS Ger 91, p. 13. Here, and elsewhere, the author has translated from the German.

<sup>23</sup> Harry Kaufman, MS Ger 91, pp. 7–8.

<sup>24</sup> Henriette Necheles-Magnus, MS Ger 91, p. 21.

<sup>25</sup> Pointing out the hardships non-Jewish Germans had to face, as well as Jews, was not a feature confined to private accounts. Jewish organizations did this to try to put the situation of German Jews into perspective. In 1935, one of the leading members of the Joint Distribution Committee questioned the need for Jewish emigration from Germany by emphasizing that other groups in Germany were suffering considerably more under the new regime. Cf. D. Michman (2015) »Handeln und Erfahrung: Bewältigungsstrategien im Kontext der jüdischen Geschichte« in F. Bajohr and A. Löw (eds) *Der Holocaust. Ergebnisse und neue Fragen der Forschung* (München: Fischer Verlag), pp. 255–277, especially pp. 263–4.

Why did the writers feel the need to record such stories? Reference to the situation of non-Jews may well be understood as simple compliance with the rules of the competition, since the entrants were explicitly asked to write about social conditions in Germany as a whole. But I would argue that describing the hardships and struggles of non-Jews fulfils an important function for the writers themselves. With these examples they are able to show that it was not only Jewish Germans who suffered under the new government. Even more significantly, the examples indicate that others were opposed to Nazism. Although there is no doubting that Jews were the main targets of Nazi policy, a large number of the writers are eager to point out that it is not they alone who had to fear the new regime. Such knowledge gives them some relief and reassurance – at least temporarily.

Furthermore, this sharing of a sense of victimhood provides the writers with some kind of explanation for the increasing disintegration of relationships between Jews and non-Jews. This spared them from having to depict themselves as passive outcasts. In the memoirs, writers often refer to incidents where the decision to put relationships on hold were made by themselves. Martin Freudenheim, who had been a lawyer in Berlin, used to enjoy spending time at his favourite café on Kurfürstendamm where »Aryans and Jews still played peacefully together.«<sup>28</sup> When Freudenheim, in his account, makes the decision not to go there any more, it is because of the way his leftist friends at the café speak out against the Nazi government. They do this quite openly. He does not want to cause them or himself potential trouble – trouble they »could not foresee in their light-hearted and outspoken way.«<sup>29</sup> Fritz Goldberg, another Jew who deals with this theme, worked for a publishing company. One of his clients had written a play, which was to be premiered in 1934. Goldberg describes how the playwright repeatedly invited him to share his box at the theatre. Goldberg kept saying he could not do this. Incredulously, he writes that his client »again and again repeated his invitation and would not realize that such a combination [the two of them seen together] could only have unpleasant consequences for both of us.«<sup>30</sup>

There are two notable points about these examples: First, a decision to terminate friendships – though certainly not easy – could also demonstrate a degree of self-determination; and this challenges the commonly held view of the crestfallen German Jew passively standing by as non-Jewish friends turn away. Secondly, the ending of friendships as a precaution hints at a certain advance premonition Jewish Germans had, in which, they seemed to be ahead of their non-Jewish friends and colleagues in realizing what the nature of the Third Reich really was. This premonition did not necessarily lead to a rush to get out of Germany or even to Jews considering such a move. It did, however, provide one explanation of why non-Jewish friends behaved as they did: they had not yet grasped the dimension of injustice the new regime represented – and probably would not do so in the immediate future.

A writer known only as »Aralk« – very likely an anagram of the name Klara – sums up what happened to non-Jewish acquaintances who thought they could protect their Jewish friends: »Some courageous people tried to ease the acts of terror by vouching for Jews with their own person. But they went the same way, were either imprisoned or beaten. There was nothing left than to draw back silently.«<sup>31</sup> Klara speaks for many of the chroniclers, who make a similar point. It is reasonable to ask if she makes this statement because she truly believed that non-Jews could do nothing against the persecution, or if she uses it merely to excuse the behaviour of German people. However, I wish to argue that it is not only impossible, but also not essentially necessary, to distinguish between »believe« and »excuse«. In almost every account, we find examples of non-Jews disagreeing with, suffering under, or underrating the new regime. The sheer quantity of these statements underlines the explanatory and justificatory meaning Jews drew from examples of fellow-suffering like the one Klara cites. The fact that their non-Jewish neighbours were – or could be – victims of Nazism, offered a psychologically acceptable explanation of why Jews could not rely on them for help. Although they were the main targets of the new regime, Jewish Germans were not the only ones to suffer.

When the Berlin-based professor and lawyer Max Kronenberg – who writes under the pseudonym Clemens Berg – informed his non-Jewish friends that he would emigrate, they responded, he says, with envy. Kronenberg is aware that these reactions were not to be taken »a hundred per cent seriously«, since non-Jews could emigrate too.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless he includes this information to show that his acquaintances loathed the new National Socialist government just as he did, and hoped for a quick ending to Hitler's regime. Referring to such specific incidents, Kronenberg explains that the overall feeling in Germany under National Socialist rule – for Jews and non-Jews alike – was fear.

<sup>26</sup> Mally Dienemann, MS Ger 91, p. 21.

<sup>27</sup> Rafael Mibberlin, MS Ger 91, p. 69.

<sup>28</sup> Martin Freudenheim, MS Ger 91, p. 72.

<sup>29</sup> Freudenheim, MS Ger 91, p. 72.

<sup>30</sup> Fritz Goldberg, MS Ger 91, pp. 43–44.

<sup>31</sup> »Aralk«, MS Ger 91, p. 42.

<sup>32</sup> Max Kronenberg, MS Ger 91, p. 20.

<sup>33</sup> Kaplan (1998) *Between Dignity and Despair*, p. 39.

The knowledge that non-Jewish Germans feared the Nazis and the consequences they would have to face if they did not toe the line had another consequence for Jewish Germans. While it lowered expectations of what their non-Jewish friends could still do, it did make them more appreciative of »[s]urprising acts of simple ... decency«, as Kaplan calls them.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, in the manuscripts, the vague term »decency« is used to describe people's behaviour in a quite broad variety of encounters. Leo Grünbaum, for example, applies the adjective not only to non-Jewish friends and acquaintances but also to members of the Gestapo and the guards at the Brauweiler Prison, where he was taken after the November Pogrom.<sup>34</sup> In Grünbaum's way of looking at things, one has to wonder if German decency knew any limits. Nevertheless, the belief enables him to process his experiences in Germany after 1933 without having to change his view on the German people.

However, the realization that people's behaviour and Jews' acceptance of certain situations and expectations – such as »decency« – could alter quite rapidly could have a disturbing effect. When Wolf Elkan, a doctor working near Heidelberg, needed to talk to a staff member at the university, he was relieved that the conversation went so politely, though his counterpart knew he was Jewish. Only afterwards, did Elkan question his relief at the »friendliness« this man showed: »Why on earth should he not be friendly!! Why should I be pleased that he was friendly!! Had I already accepted the fact that I should be treated worse for being a Jew?«<sup>35</sup> In his manuscript, Elkan describes his realization that »decency« was now considered surprising, instead of being something to take for granted; and this was the crucial moment when he finally decided to leave Germany.<sup>36</sup>

Anecdotes about the German's »decency« are often closely connected with stories of non-Jews expressing shame over what was happening to their Jewish friends, acquaintances and neighbours. These »shameful encounters« often occurred during or after major antisemitic incidents that flared across the nation – incidents like the April Boycott and the November Pogrom. It is notable that there are fewer mentions of surreptitious solidarity of this kind after the declaration of the Nuremberg Laws. This may indicate that non-Jews could feel ashamed at the actions of what they saw as an antisemitic mob, but found it harder to apologize for laws legally enforced by the government.<sup>37</sup>

After the night of 9 November 1938 (the November Pogrom which has come to be known as »Kristallnacht«), Mally Dienemann from Offenbach tried all the appeals she could to get her husband, Rabbi Dienemann, out of prison and, later, out of the concentration camp to which he was deported. While she hurried round the different immigration, police and Gestapo offices, her housekeeper, Mrs. Schäfer and her husband, whose »devotion and shamefulness knew no bound[s]«, busied themselves cleaning up the mess the SA had left in the Dienemann's apartment. Mrs. Schäfer also brought Mally Dienemann food when Jewish families were not allowed to buy from the stores, a time which lasted several days after the pogrom. In Dienemann's recollection, the Schäfers' kindness was typical of a number of non-Jews: »Many Jewish families must have had such Schäfers in one way or the other because otherwise we all would have had to starve in those days.«<sup>38</sup> About to leave Germany for good, the Dienemanns said their farewells to the Schäfers, who pleaded with them to remember that not all Germans were bad and reminded them repeatedly of their personal innocence.<sup>39</sup>

All of the accounts I have quoted offer manifold examples of the daily struggle and the hardship Jewish women, men, and children had to endure under the uncompromisingly antisemitic regime. But they include the narratives I have singled out as essential elements. The writers wanted to describe the non-Jewish German who was – or easily could be

<sup>34</sup> Leo Grünbaum, MS Ger 91, p. 42.

<sup>35</sup> Wolf Elkan, MS Ger 91, p. 95.

<sup>36</sup> Elkan, MS Ger 91, p. 96. For general considerations on the meaning and significance of a »Nazi morale«, cf. R. Gross (2010) *Anständig geblieben. Nationalsozialistische Moral* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Verlag), especially pp. 7–20; C. Koonz (2003) *The Nazi Conscience* (Cambridge and London: Belknap Press).

<sup>37</sup> These results tally with the argument that Germans accepted – and to some extent eagerly anticipated – the implementation of a »lawful« and »orderly« antisemitism, cf. P. Longerich (2007) »*Davon haben wir nichts gewusst!*« *Die Deutschen und die Judenverfolgung 1933–1945* (München: Pantheon), pp. 96–100, especially pp. 97–98; Koonz (2003) *The Nazi Conscience*, especially pp. 182–189.

<sup>38</sup> All quotes: Dienemann, MS Ger 91, p. 34.

<sup>39</sup> Dienemann, MS Ger 91, p. 38.

<sup>40</sup> Especially in the autobiographical accounts written by German Jews who emigrated to Palestine, there is a strong tendency to mention as little as possible about (positive) relationships with non-Jews. Cf. G. Miron (2004) »Ein Blick zurück. Judentum und traditionell-jüdische Erinnerungsmuster deutschstämmiger Juden in Palästina/Israel« in Y. Hotam *Populäre Konstruktion von Erinnerung im deutschen Judentum und nach der Emigration* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht), pp. 197–224, especially p. 200.

<sup>41</sup> C. Hamburger (n. d.) »Die Familie und das Leben des Hans Hamburger 1854–1953«, ME 1504, Leo Baeck Institute Archives, p. 33, also quoted in Kaplan (1998) *Between Dignity and Despair*, p. 67.

<sup>42</sup> Dreyfuss, Harvard, MS Ger 91, p. 40.

– a victim of Nazism; who was unable to grasp the implications of Hitler's »racially purified« Germany; who expressed shame at what was happening, acted with »decency«, and might try to help Jewish friends in limited ways. I suggest that these examples were intended as arguments to show readers that Germany had not turned antisemitic overnight, and – equally important – to convince the authors themselves that this had not been the case. Experiencing, describing, and believing in »decent« behaviour amongst their non-Jewish neighbours offered Jewish Germans the chance to retain a feeling of connection with Germany and with the German people. It was a useful coping strategy to help them come to terms with what had happened in their home country.

Admittedly, this was a strategy with an expiration date. While the term »decent« continued to be used by non-Jewish Germans before and after 1945 to justify their own actions, there is rarely any mention of the »decent German« in Jewish accounts written after 1945.<sup>40</sup> If they do occur, it is often in an attempt to explain in hindsight why Jewish Germans underestimated the full threat the National Socialist regime posed. Charlotte Hamburger, for example, states in her memoir, written well after 1945, that in the early thirties, »everyone knew a German with a »decent« disposition«.<sup>41</sup>

In the closing remarks to his manuscript, Albert Dreyfuss picks up on a saying that circulated in Germany during the mid-thirties: »If the German people [were] as antisemitic as their government, no Jew would be left alive anymore.«<sup>42</sup> Against the monstrosities of the Holocaust, the acts of kindness and »decency« portrayed in the accounts seem almost insignificant. But there was a time when these acts were received by Jewish Germans with a certain amount of relief and gratitude. Amid an increasingly menacing atmosphere, Jewish Germans imbued them with special meaning and used the sense of support they felt as a strategy to cope with their isolation.



## GERMAN RESPONSES TO THE PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS AS REFLECTED IN THREE COLLECTIONS OF SECRET REPORTS\*

FRANK BAJOHR

If we wish to get some idea about public opinion in democratic states, there are a variety of available sources: in particular, pluralistic media and opinion surveys, as well as voting behavior as the expression of moods and views in the population. However, none of these sources are available for the National Socialist dictatorship in Germany, and the existing state-controlled media yield few useful data. The Nazi state lacked a key element of democratic societies, namely an autonomous public sphere. Especially in the media, which were run and shaped by state and Nazi party propaganda, the broad spectrum of public opinion in Nazi Germany was reflected only in a highly rudimentary form.

Precisely for that reason, the Nazi regime had a very keen interest in finding out something about popular opinion in the country, for example regarding the persecution of the Jews. Therefore, it ordered numerous institutions to put together so-called situation reports to that end. Most of these *Lageberichte* stem from the Gestapo, the Security Service of the SS, the judicial authorities as well as local and regional administrations.<sup>1</sup> All of these were required from 1933 on to keep Jewish organizations under surveillance, on the one hand, but also had another task: under the heading of »Jews« or »Judaism,« to report confidentially on measures against Jews, problems that had arisen in implementing anti-Jewish policy, reactions to individual events as well as the prevailing attitude and behavior of the broad population. These topics remained of abiding central importance in the situation reports, so that beginning in 1933, we have an almost unbroken dense chain of such reports and messages.

According to official instruction issued, the Nazi regime expected to obtain »unvarnished reports.« Nevertheless many of those reporting were convinced Nazis whose discourse was regulated by regime-internal provisions on what was acceptable in discourse, so-called *Sprachregelungen*. For that reason, they also tended to embellish, cover over and veil certain facts. Thus, violent individual operations and single actions against Jews, so-called *Einzelaktionen*, which as a rule were forbidden, represented a special problem for those reporting; for that reason, often they did not specifically name those persons who were involved. Thus, for example, functionaries of the Hitler Youth were innocuously referred to as »young people.« And very often there were expressions like the »antisemitic wave,«<sup>2</sup> as though the anti-Jewish persecution were some sort of natural phenomenon. Neither the Holocaust was named as such nor the internal expression »final solution« was used, but rather given a cryptic paraphrase like the »resettlement« or »evacuation of the Jews.«<sup>3</sup> However, this strategy of euphemistic embellishment had its limits. It is thus striking that almost no reporter termed the November 1938 pogroms »spontaneous popular anger,« the expression in the official propaganda version, but rather openly referred to the highly organized character of these pogroms by utilizing the word »Judenaktion,« literally »operation against the Jews.«<sup>4</sup>

A second characteristic feature clearly limits the analytical value of the regime-internal situation reports in regard to our main question. These reports were largely situational, often circling around local incidents happening at a particular time, yet the reporters were not allowed to make any general observations on anti-Jewish policy, the significance of antisemitism or the role of Hitler in the Nazi persecution of the Jews. Nor could they speculate on future developments or give advice to their superior agencies.

This lack of reflection distinguished the regime-internal situation reports from two other groups of sources that likewise shed light on the practice of National Socialist rule in general and the persecution of the Jews in particular. First

\* Originally published in: Susannah Schrafstetter/Alan Steinweis (eds.), *The Germans and the Holocaust. Popular Responses to the Persecution and Murder of the Jews*, New York/Oxford 2016, p. 41–57.

<sup>1</sup> Leo Kulka, Dov, and Jäckel, Eberhard, eds., *The Jews in the Secret Nazi Reports on Popular Opinion in Germany, 1933–1945* (New Haven, 2010).

<sup>2</sup> See for example Stapostelle Police District Berlin, General Overview, Berlin, 13 June 1935, in: Kulka and Jäckel, eds., *The Jews*, p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> Compare District Governor Lower and Central Franconia, Report for April 1942, Ansbach 5 May 1942, or District Governor Swabia, Report for April 1942, Augsburg 9 May 1942, in: Kulka and Jäckel, eds., *The Jews*, p. 584.

<sup>4</sup> County Commissioner Höxter, Operation Against the Jews, Höxter, 18 November 1938, in: Kulka and Jäckel, eds., *The Jews*, p. 352.

<sup>5</sup> Frank Bajohr, and Christoph Strupp, eds., *Fremde Blicke auf das »Dritte Reich«. Berichte ausländischer Diplomaten über Herrschaft und Gesellschaft in Deutschland 1933–1945* (Göttingen, 2011), (in the following: *Fremde Blicke*).

here of interest are the very numerous, more than 100,000 reports, which foreign consuls and diplomats wrote in Nazi Germany and sent on to their respective embassies or foreign ministries.<sup>5</sup> These reports were part of the duties of such diplomats and were meant to inform their superiors in an open and unvarnished way about important internal developments within the National Socialist state and its practice of rule. In contrast with the regime-internal situation reports, the diplomatic reports were written by observers who were not National Socialists, and who in addition were looking at events in Germany with foreign eyes, as outsiders. While the reports from within the Nazi regime contained no general reflections on the situation or even prognoses about the persecution of the Jews, this was precisely what foreign governments expected from the reports by the diplomatic observers. These not only gave substantial space in their reports to the persecution of the Jews because they were directly confronted with the consequences of this in connection with the issuing of visas. They also speculated about possible future developments and already in 1933, pointed to the particularly radical character of National Socialist anti-Jewish policy. For that reason, most of these diplomats quickly realized that this policy was not designed to simply accord the Jews a reduced legal status inside the German majority society. Already in March 1933, the American consul general in Berlin, George Messersmith, spoke of »instances of a brutality and a directness of action which have not been excelled in the history of modern times.«<sup>6</sup> The Nazis would be aiming at the »practically unrestricted persecution of a race.« His French counterpart in Munich in 1935 stated that in respect to the Jews, National Socialism's goal was none other than their »simple naked elimination.«<sup>7</sup> In 1935 the French observer did not predict a Holocaust but referred to the policy of economic destruction and the expulsion of the Jewish minority. Nevertheless a murderous solution of the »Jewish question« could not be ruled out, as the French ambassador indicated, quoting radical antisemites: »The Jews must »croak« or disappear.«<sup>8</sup> The considerable abilities to forecast what might transpire often did not result in any concrete practical action on behalf of the persecuted Jews. Although the Jewish persecution generated feelings of sympathy and compassion among most diplomatic observers, there were also fears of an imminent large wave of immigrants landing on their doorstep. The result was that most though not all consuls tended to be restrictive in dealing with issuing of visas. In this of course they were in keeping with the expectations and regulations of their respective governments.

Comparable reflections on the persecution of the Jews were also contained in a third group of sources, the so-called »Germany Reports,« which from 1934 to 1940 were published by the party executive in exile of the German Social Democratic Party, the SPD, initially in Prague, and from 1938 on in London.<sup>9</sup> The Social Democratic reports were based on messages and observations on developments in Nazi Germany by former members of the SPD, and thus anti-Nazis, which were then clandestinely smuggled abroad via so-called border secretariats. Some of these reports were written by Jewish members of the SPD, in which they reported very vividly and impressively about their own personal situation. However, in contrast with the regime-internal situation reports and reports by diplomats, the persecution of the Jews initially played only a minor role in these Social Democratic reports. This changed gradually from 1935 on, yet reports on persecution of the Jews in the Social Democratic Reports still were always placed under the general heading of »Terror.« Not until 1939 did they appear for the first time in a separate new column entitled »Persecution of the Jews.«

This was due in part to the fact that at the beginning of the Third Reich, the Social Democrats had clearly been more persecuted than the German Jews. When the SPD party was officially banned in June 1933, many thousands of its members were already under arrest in concentration camps. Another reason for treating the persecution of the Jews more marginally was Social Democratic analysis of Nazism: they viewed the Nazi regime as a dictatorship by capitalist power elites aiming in particular at the suppression of the working class. Accordingly, they saw the persecution of the Jews as a secondary phenomenon oriented in functionalist aims.<sup>10</sup> The Social Democratic analysis was that the Jews had been singled out to serve largely as a scapegoat. In addition, they believed that persecuting the Jews was engineered to deflect interest from the internal difficulties the Nazi regime was encountering. The Social Democrats did not revise this position until 1938, when it became clear to them that the Nazis were pursuing the total expulsion and even annihilation of the German Jews, and were not intending to keep them in the country as some sort of scapegoat community. Now the Social Democrats appealed to their European partners, especially the sister parties in Scandinavia, to become active in a more generous policy of admitting Jewish refugees to their countries. In early 1939, the Social Democratic reports stated very clearly:

<sup>6</sup> George S. Messersmith, Consul General, With Further Reference to the Manifold Aspects of the Anti-Jewish Movement in Germany, Berlin, 31 March 1933, in: Bajohr and Strupp, eds., *Fremde Blicke*, p. 363.

<sup>7</sup> Bourdeille, French Vice Consul, Report from Munich, 8 October 1935, in: Bajohr and Strupp, eds., *Fremde Blicke*, pp. 437–438.

<sup>8</sup> André Francois-Poncet, French Ambassador, Campaign against the Jews, Report No. 1566 to the »Direction politique et commerciale Europe«, 30 October 1935, in: Bajohr and Strupp, eds., *Fremde Blicke*, p. 438.

<sup>9</sup> *Deutschland-Berichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (Sopade), 1934–1940*, (in the following: *Deutschland-Berichte*) 7 vols. (reprint, Frankfurt am Main, 1980).

<sup>10</sup> See also David Bankier, »German Social Democrats and the Jewish Question«, in: *Probing the Depths of German Antisemitism: German Society and the Persecution of the Jews, 1933–1941*, ed. David Bankier (New York and Oxford, 2000), pp. 511–532.

»In Germany at the moment, what is taking place is the complete extermination of a minority using the brutal means of murder, torture to the point of lunacy, theft, attack and starvation. What the Armenians suffered during the war in Turkey is being carried out against the Jews in the Third Reich, more slowly and according to plan.«<sup>11</sup>

If one compares the dominant narrative structure or basal perspectives in the regime-internal, diplomatic and Social Democratic reports, there is a striking difference. The regime-internal reports distinguish mainly between Germans and Jews, while the diplomatic and Social Democratic reports present a more complex structure in that they differentiate between Germans, National Socialists and Jews. Interestingly, however, the dominant narrative repeatedly had to be set aside or at least modified in all three kinds of reports. The result is that the reports, whose authors clearly differed in terms of political convictions, origin and motivation, in the final analysis frequently display an astonishing convergence.

With their fundamental distinction between Germans and Jews, the regime-internal reports excluded the Jews from the »national community« (Volksgemeinschaft), while endeavoring at the same time to maintain the fiction of a unity of the German people and National Socialism. However, especially in local reports, this narrative was repeatedly breached if the practice of anti-Jewish persecution led to local conflict and a majority of the local residents objected to specific anti-Jewish measures. Thus, the Hitler Youth in Hechingen, a small town south of Stuttgart, had disrupted an event of the Jewish Community on 26 June 1935 there by assembling in front of the synagogue with noisy fanfare and the chanting of slogans. The local Gestapo reported:

»This operation displeased large segments of the local population of Hechingen, especially the workers employed in the Jewish workshops and factories [...] and who fear the loss of their jobs should these firms close. The workers have threatened to resign from the German Labor Front if their [Jewish] employers are not given satisfaction. That naturally is impossible. Now the workers are being given an oral explanation by the director of the German Labor Front, emphasizing that such incidents should in future be eliminated.«<sup>12</sup>

The report indicated that the non-Jewish population especially was opposed to such anti-Jewish operations if these came into conflict with their own interests: in this case, retaining their own jobs. For the same reasons, boycott actions against Jewish firms and shops at which the customers were often photographed and later denounced in public were unpopular, since they clashed with the interest of the population as consumers. Ordinary Germans appreciated the often lower prices in the Jewish shops and the possibility to buy on installment, while in the countryside many farmers liked to deal with Jewish cattle merchants because they paid more than the market price.

According to the regime's situation reports, the population also rejected anti-Jewish measures, particularly if these had a negative impact on public order or were associated with the use of violence. In June 1935, the District President in Trier noted that the majority of the population was »quite uncomprehending« when it came to violent attacks on Jews or desecration of synagogues and cemeteries. In this connection, he stressed that people had little understanding for the striking involvement of youth and teenagers in these actions, and were especially outraged by this. The same District President openly stated: »I also think the manner in which children are taking part in antisemitic propaganda was regrettable.«<sup>13</sup> Some in the population were even circulating jokes about the anti-Jewish propaganda, in which they made a caricature of the propaganda, not the Jews. Thus, a situation report from the Minden District for September 1935 included one of these typical jokes:

»A lion has broken out of his cage in some city. Everyone runs away when he appears in the street. But one small Jew goes right up to the lion, grabs the creature by the mane, and hauls him back to his cage. The next morning the newspaper carries the story: »Jewish Insolence – a Jewish lout had the gall to pull so hard at the mane of a poor defenseless lion in the street that the lion was forced to follow him. It is high time that some limit be set to the outrageous brazenness of the pack of Jews.«<sup>14</sup>

The regime-internal secret reports saw the adversaries of the persecution of the Jews as situated principally in the ranks of their political opponents and in Christian circles. Yet caution is required here, since both groups were in any case counted among the ideological adversaries about whom the authors of the situation reports had to regularly report. Thus, for example, the regular surveillance of sermons and church gatherings indicated that Roman Catholics criticized the methods of persecuting the Jews, but did not criticize the anti-Jewish policy as such. In the stenogra-

<sup>11</sup> *Deutschland-Berichte*, vol. 1939, pp. 201–202.

<sup>12</sup> Stapostelle Government District Sigmaringen, Report for June 1935, Sigmaringen, 12 July 1935, in: Kulka and Jäckel, eds., *The Jews*, p. 135.

<sup>13</sup> District Governor Trier, Report for April and May 1935, Trier 6 June 1935, in: Kulka and Jäckel, eds., *The Jews*, p. 128.

<sup>14</sup> Government District Minden, State Lippe and District Hameln-Pyrmont, Report for September 1935, in: Kulka and Jäckel, eds., *The Jews*, p. 159.

phically recorded statements of Catholic clergy, criticism of the persecution of the Jews and antisemitic stereotypes were often mixed in a characteristic blend. Thus, a chaplain at a meeting of the Catholic Men's Association St. Matthew in Berlin in October 1935 remarked: »The Jewish Question must be regulated using permitted means and must not be allowed to decline into acts of persecution.«<sup>15</sup> Yet it was equally unacceptable, he added, »that Jews should dominate everything,« and the chaplain described their persecution at the same time as a form of Divine retribution: »Only because they crucified Christ is His blood upon them and their children.« Although the clergyman expressed his pity for the persecuted Jews, he nonetheless classified them as »Christ murderers« and was convinced that a »Jewish Question« certainly existed.

For that reason, only very rarely did the regime's situation reports note a total rejection of all anti-Jewish policies, and they pointed repeatedly to the fact that in particular, legal measures aimed at the Jews met with broad popular acceptance. According to the reports, the antisemitic Nuremberg laws were viewed with »substantial satisfaction« and enjoyed »full recognition.«<sup>16</sup> In addition, they were »perceived as a very clever solution by Adolf Hitler,«<sup>17</sup> and had thus increased Hitler's positive image in the population. On the one hand, the regime-internal situation reports had to repeatedly modify the narrative of a dichotomy between Germans and Jews, and point to the special part specifically played by National Socialist activists in the persecution of the Jews, and certain criticism coming from the population. However, at the same time, the narrative of a fundamental dichotomy was never repudiated totally, particularly since legal measures against the Jews enjoyed a quite broad basis of social consensus within the non-Jewish population.

This ambivalence was also evident in the reports on the November 1938 pogrom, which on the one hand a majority of the population strongly rejected. The regime's secret situation reports certainly did not try to conceal the widespread objections in the population. A mayor in eastern Westphalia estimated that »at least 60%« of the population was clearly against the pogrom.<sup>18</sup> According to reports, Christian circles had particularly criticized the destruction of synagogues, while workers had objected to the destruction of material assets and property. Violent attacks, acts of looting and the participation of youths younger than 18 in the pogrom were likewise criticized, and there was an expression of pity after the mass arrest of Jewish men. However, there was little mention of openly voiced criticism; rather what was noted was an »embarrassed silence«: »People are ashamed.«<sup>19</sup>

Yet most authors of the secret situation reports stressed at the same time that the majority in the population basically raised no objections against anti-Jewish measures, and accepted even a stringent approach – though without open violence. It was certainly in agreement with »less drastic means,«<sup>20</sup> as a report formulated it. For that reason, the subsequent ordinances for the »Aryanization« of the German economy were not rejected at all. On the contrary: they were welcomed with »satisfaction«, as the District President of Upper Bavaria noted in a report in December 1938.<sup>21</sup>

Were these tendencies that marked the regime-internal secret reports also reflected in the diplomatic and Social Democratic reports? As already mentioned, their basic narrative was grounded on the distinction between National Socialists, Germans and Jews. Both diplomats and Social Democrats saw the initiative for anti-Jewish measures as always clearly stemming from the Nazi government, the NSDAP and other National Socialist organizations, while the reports generally accorded the population only a reactive role. The U.S. consul general Douglas Jenkins remarked in November 1935 that antisemitism was »deep-rooted in the National Socialist Party.«<sup>22</sup> A few days after that, his counterpart in Berlin, Raymond Geist, presented a noteworthy analysis of the forces driving Nazi anti-Jewish policy. In the main, Geist stressed the function of antisemitism for the internal integration of the Nazi party and its place in the overall system of rule. He wrote:

»In the Party itself antisemitism is the common tie which unites the various groups and factions which manifest otherwise entirely different political tendencies, and binds them strongly because they all know that on this point Adolf Hitler will

<sup>15</sup> For this and the following quotations see Stapostelle State Police District Berlin, Report for October 1935, Berlin, in: Kulka and Jäckel, eds., *The Jews*, p. 165.

<sup>16</sup> Stapostelle Government District Arnsberg, Report for September 1935, Dortmund, in: Kulka and Jäckel, eds., *The Jews*, p. 154.

<sup>17</sup> Government District Minden, State Lippe and District Hameln-Pyrmont, Report for September 1935, in: Kulka and Jäckel, eds., *The Jews*, p. 159.

<sup>18</sup> Mayor of Amt Borgentreich, Operation Against the Jews on 10 November 1938, Borgentreich, 17 November 1938, in: Kulka and Jäckel, eds., *The Jews*, p. 358.

<sup>19</sup> District Governor Minden, Secret Order of 28 November 1938, Minden, 5 December 1938, in: Kulka and Jäckel, eds., *The Jews*, p. 365.

<sup>20</sup> District Governor Upper Bavaria, Report for December 1938, Munich, 9 January 1939, in: Kulka and Jäckel, eds., *The Jews*, p. 389.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Douglas Jenkins, US Consul General, Political and Economic Trends in Germany During the Past Twelve Months, Berlin, 4 November 1935, in: Bajohr and Strupp, eds., *Fremde Blicke*, p. 440.



not compromise. Antisemitism provides a channel for all the explosive forces in the Party – an exhaust which continues to function successfully. [...] The Party as the determining living factor must be in a constant state of aggression and must endeavor to maintain the offensive and consequently must have an ever present object of attack.<sup>23</sup> Like the Social Democrats, many diplomats preferred a more functionalistic interpretation of anti-Jewish policy. This view did not interpret that policy primarily as a product of an ideology, but rather looked especially at its function in mobilizing the Nazi movement; the view always tried to integrate the anti-Jewish policies into a more comprehensive framework of Nazi politics and policy. From this perspective, the Third Reich was not an ideologically grounded dictatorship but a dictatorship of mobilization. The first time antisemitic ideology ascribed a fundamental importance was in the memoirs some diplomats published after 1945. In these memoirs antisemitic ideology served as an integrating factor that extended from Hitler's *Mein Kampf* to the gas chambers of Auschwitz.<sup>24</sup> But there was little of this in the contemporary reports authored by diplomats. Thus, it was on the whole quite significant when the American consul general Leon Dominian, who presented the Department of State with an analysis of *Mein Kampf* in May 1933, chose to interpret the book as a blueprint for a German grab for world power. In his view, the book articulated a »German intention to dominate Europe by violence« which was only the »prelude to plans of world control.«<sup>25</sup> The antisemitism was evident to Dominian, but at the time he believed it had a mere nationalistic mobilizing function.

In the diplomatic reports, the German population appeared principally as observers to events, who on occasion became outraged and indignant. In September 1935, a British consul reported: «There are great numbers of Germans of all classes to whom this Jewish persecution is abhorrent.»<sup>26</sup> The open use of violence was disgusting to many Germans, as reactions to the November pogrom showed. Far more than in the regime's situation reports, the consular reports stressed that many Germans were displeased with the pogrom, indeed openly indignant: »Many people, in fact, are banging their heads with shame,«<sup>27</sup> the U.S. consul general Honacker reported from Stuttgart. The Italian diplomat Guido Romano, who represented a country allied with Berlin, called the mood in the population »deeply enraged.«<sup>28</sup> His colleague Francesco Pittalis reported on voices of rejection even from the ranks of Nazi party members. He noted that the »idea of personal violence« was generally perceived »as inappropriate« for solving the so-called »Jewish Problem.«<sup>29</sup>

However, a closer look reveals that many reports contain references that speak against assuming a strict antagonism between party and population in regard to the persecution of the Jews. Consul Honacker in Stuttgart estimated that at least 20 percent of the population had been explicitly satisfied with the November pogrom. This is very much in keeping with the regime's situation reports, which had reported a rejection rate of »at least 60 percent.« In the university town of Heidelberg, for example, students had also participated in the house searches after the November pogrom. The Argentine ambassador Edouardo Labougle commented that »many persons« had made use of the situation in order to help loot the destroyed Jewish businesses.<sup>30</sup>

In addition, the diplomats noticed that the rejection of open violence did not at all mean that people rejected the anti-Jewish policy as such. A memo of the British consulate general in Hamburg, commenting on the attitude of the younger generation, stated in the spring of 1939:

»The attitude of the German youth to the Jewish question is not much different from that of the nation as a whole. They regret the recent excesses and the barbarous methods of carrying out antisemitic principles, but are nonetheless firmly convinced of the necessity for ridding Germany of the last Jew. The women are perhaps even more intolerant on this last point.«<sup>31</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Raymond H. Geist, US Consul, *The German Economic Situation with Particular Reference to the Political Outlook*, Berlin, 12 November 1935, in: Bajohr and Strupp, eds., *Fremde Blicke*, p. 441.

<sup>24</sup> See for example the memoirs of the French ambassador André Francois-Poncet, *Als Botschafter in Berlin, 1931-1938* (Mainz, 1947).

<sup>25</sup> Leon Dominian, *Evidences of German Preparation of Aggression*, Stuttgart, 19.5.1933, National Archives, College Park, MD, Record Group 59: United States Department of State, Central Decimal File 1930-39, 862.20/611 (microfilm edition, roll 17).

<sup>26</sup> Robert Smallbones, British Consul General, to B.C. Newton, British Embassy, Frankfurt, 4 September 1935, in: Bajohr and Strupp, eds., *Fremde Blicke*, p. 432.

<sup>27</sup> Samuel W. Honaker, US Consul General, *Antisemitic Persecution in the Stuttgart Consular District*, Stuttgart, 12 November 1938, in: Bajohr and Strupp, eds., *Fremde Blicke*, p. 505.

<sup>28</sup> Guido Romano, Italian Consul General, *Political Situation*, Innsbruck, 12 November 1938, in: Bajohr and Strupp, eds., *Fremde Blicke*, p. 509.

<sup>29</sup> Francesco Pittalis, Italian Consul General, *Further Effects of the Recent Antisemitic Manifestations*, Munich, 19 November 1938, in: Bajohr and Strupp, eds., *Fremde Blicke*, p. 518.

<sup>30</sup> Edouardo Labougle, Envoy of Argentina, to Foreign Minister José María Cantilo, Berlin, 14 November 1938, in: Bajohr and Strupp, eds., *Fremde Blicke*, p. 514.

<sup>31</sup> British Consulate General in Hamburg to Neville M. Henderson, *Memorandum on the General Attitude of the Young Generation*, Hamburg, 5 July 1939, in: Bajohr and Strupp, eds., *Fremde Blicke*, p. 534.

In other words: although the Germans criticized the violent practices employed in the persecution of the Jews, the diplomats also noted the presence of an anti-Jewish consensus which had crystallized after six years of National Socialist rule. This consensus meant that Jews were no longer viewed as Germans, and in keeping with this, no objections were raised to their expulsion. Despite differing starting conditions, diplomatic and regime-internal situation reports were agreed on this point in an astonishing way.

This tendency – a general anti-Jewish consensus while especially rejecting the use of violence in anti-Jewish practices – was reflected even more pointedly in the Social Democratic reports. In the beginning, these had assumed that the population totally rejected the antisemitic practices. In 1935, a report reflecting a typical tendency in Social Democratic reporting at that time noted that the actions of the Nazis »found no favor among the population.«<sup>32</sup> A report from the city of Lübeck stated that antisemitism had not sunk »deeper roots,« but at the same time the report involuntarily pointed to anti-Jewish tendencies in the population: »The general expression in Lübeck is: »The Jews« are not the bad ones, it's the white Jews who are!«<sup>33</sup> The concept of the »white Jew« referred to non-Jews whose behavior was considered problematic. That term was quite widespread at the time in the German population. The National Socialists used the expression »white Jews« to refer especially to so-called »friends of Jews,« while among Social Democratic workers it was employed as a synonym for a non-Jewish capitalist exploiter. However, as a whole, the concept of »white Jew« points up an underlying antisemitism, since it implicitly attributed presumed »typically Jewish« problematic characteristics to Jews, even if it was not used to refer to Jews themselves.

There was a clear change in the tenor of Social Democratic reporting on the behavior of the Germans in 1936. It stated that although a majority in the population still rejected »Streicher's methods,« anti-Jewish propaganda was having an ever greater impact. A report noted: »It is now a generally held view that a »Jewish Question« exists.«<sup>34</sup> A Social Democrat from Saxony even espoused the view that a »substantial proportion of the population today is already convinced of the correctness of the National Socialist racial doctrines.«<sup>35</sup> He underscored that antisemitism had »taken root in broad circles of the people.« Moreover he stressed that many Germans »no longer wanted to have anything to do with the Jews,« and that even their own former SPD party members were by no means totally immune to antisemitic influences:

»There are quite a few who, although not National Socialists, nonetheless within certain limits endorse the view that civil rights for the German Jews should be curtailed and they should be separated from the German people. Many socialists also espouse this standpoint. It is true that they don't agree with the harsh methods the Nazis employ, but they nonetheless say: »it doesn't harm the greater majority of the Jews!«<sup>36</sup>

Such statements also gave clear expression to the social distance separating the Social Democratic largely blue-collar workers from the German Jews, the majority of whom were more prosperous and middle class.

The reports in subsequent years precisely followed the ambivalence already alluded to: on the one hand, the population clearly criticized certain anti-Jewish practices, such as the violent events of the November pogrom, which according to the Social Democrats had in particular triggered feelings of shame »that such things were at all possible in Germany.« The Social Democratic Executive tried in London at the end of 1938 to build on this sense of outrage in developing an anti-National Socialist propaganda campaign. However, at the very same time, many reports noted that the National Socialists had actually succeeded in »deepening the chasm between the German people and the Jews.«<sup>37</sup>

On the whole, in 1938/39 the regime-internal, diplomatic and Social Democratic reports arrived at a very similar conclusion – this despite the different views of their authors and the likewise differing narratives – in statements 1938/39. They referred to continuing criticism especially of violent anti-Jewish practices, but at the same time discerned an anti-Jewish consensus that raised no objections to the exclusion of the German Jews.

A comparative perspective is no longer possible when it comes to the war years and the Holocaust. This is because the Social Democratic reports largely ceased publication in 1940, and diplomatic reporting grew ever more sparse after the outbreak of the war, since most countries no longer maintained a diplomatic representation in Germany. Down to the beginning of the war, however, it was clear to all those reporting that the German population raised no objections

<sup>32</sup> *Deutschland-Berichte*, vol. 1935, p. 812.

<sup>33</sup> *Deutschland-Berichte*, vol. 1935, p. 814.

<sup>34</sup> *Deutschland-Berichte*, vol. 1936, p. 24.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> *Deutschland-Berichte*, vol. 1936, p. 26.

<sup>37</sup> *Deutschland-Berichte*, vol. 1936, p. 24.



to the systematic exclusion and expulsion of the Jews. Yet at the same time, the aversion of many Germans to the use of open violence did not suggest that there was a social consensus for the systematic mass murder of the Jews. This is implied not just in the diplomatic reports of the early war years, such as those by American diplomats, but also by the numerous critical voices raised when the wearing of the »yellow star« was introduced for all Jews in September 1941 or at the beginning of deportations in October the same year.<sup>38</sup> It was not anti-Jewish policy as such that marked a point of rupture in social consensus, but rather the mass murder.

In 1941, at the time of the deportations, the regime-internal secret reports reflected at least in part the presence of objections and compassion for the victims. According to internal situation reports compiled by the regime, »the politically educated segment of the population« endorsed the deportations – along with »national comrades [Volksgenossen] who are firm in their National Socialist outlook« and »national comrades who are well informed about the Jewish Question«.<sup>39</sup> Objections were raised primarily by older Germans as well as conscious Christians and individuals from the middle class. In July 1942, the Security Service office in Lemgo commented on critical statements regarding the deportation that »many of the older national comrades criticized«:

»Some said the Jews were doomed to die out in Germany anyhow, and that this measure, which was for the Jews especially severe, was thus superfluous. Even those national comrades who earlier on every occasion, suitable and unsuitable, had emphasized their National Socialist Outlook, in this respect expressed their support for the interest of the Jews, or national comrades who are connected with the church. Within the circles connected with the church, people said: »We only hope that one day the German people will not have to face the punishment of the Lord.«<sup>40</sup>

Particularly in the reports in 1943 and 1944, it became clear that many Germans were speaking about the treatment of the Jews in a kind of melange of bad conscience fears about future retribution, and projections of guilt. For example, the Allied bombing war was interpreted specifically as punishment for the persecution of the Jews, and people were making a direct association between the destruction of churches in the bombing raids and the burning of the synagogues in the November 1938 pogrom. For example, after the air raids of »Operation Gomorrha« against Hamburg in July and August 1943, pastors noted a »sense of guilt« was spreading in the population. The East Asian import-export merchant in Hamburg, Lothar de la Camp, wrote in this regard to his friends:

»Despite all the anger against the British and the Americans for the inhuman way they are conducting the war, you have to note very objectively that the common people, the middle class and the other circles repeatedly make statements privately among themselves, and even in a larger group, to the effect that the attacks are a reprisal for the way we treated the Jews.«<sup>41</sup>

Other Security Service offices reported numerous statements by people who had been bombed out of their homes, asserting, for example as commented in Würzburg, that »this was the retaliation for our action in November 1938 against the Jews«.<sup>42</sup> The Security Service in Schweinfurt reported a comment that »if we had not treated the Jews so badly, we would not have to suffer so much from terror attacks«,<sup>43</sup> while the SD in Halle noted the opinion that »it was irresponsible on the part of the government and the NSDAP to engage in such measures toward the Jews«.<sup>44</sup>

Consequently, the mass murder and Holocaust cannot simplistically be derived from a general consensus on murder of the Jews in the population, as Goldhagen alluded to with his thesis of the »eliminationist antisemitism« of the German population as a uniquely German attitude pervading German society.<sup>45</sup> Instead, among the upsetting findings of the confidential situation reports was that there was no need whatsoever for such a consensus about murder in popular opinion. The anti-Jewish consensus mentioned was completely sufficient for the purpose.

<sup>38</sup> See for example Leland B. Morris, US Embassy, Telegram, Berlin, 30 September 1941, in: Bajohr and Strupp, eds., *Fremde Blicke*, p. 562.

<sup>39</sup> Stapostelle Bremen, Report, Bremen, 11 November 1941; SD District Office Detmold, Deportation of the Jews, Detmold, 31 July 1942; SD District Office Minden, Attitude of The Population to the Evacuation of the Jews, Minden, 6 December 1941, in: Kulka and Jäckel, eds., *The Jews*, pp. 557, 599, 563.

<sup>40</sup> SD District Office Detmold, Deportation of the Jews, Detmold, 31 July 1942, in: Kulka and Jäckel, eds., *The Jews*, p. 599.

<sup>41</sup> Quotation from Renate Hauschild-Thiessen, ed., *Die Hamburger Katastrophe vom Sommer 1943 in Augenzeugenberichten*, (Hamburg, 1993), p. 230.

<sup>42</sup> SD District Main Office Würzburg III A4, General Mood and Situation, Würzburg, 7 September 1943, in: Kulka and Jäckel, eds., *The Jews*, p. 635.

<sup>43</sup> SD District Office Schweinfurt, Report, n.d. (1944), in: Kulka and Jäckel, eds., *The Jews*, p. 643.

<sup>44</sup> SD Regional Division Halle/S. III C4, General Guidance of the Press, Halle, 22 May 1943, in: Kulka and Jäckel, eds., *The Jews*, p. 622.

<sup>45</sup> Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners. Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York, 1997).

# IMPRESSUM

## Herausgeber:

Zentrum für Holocaust-Studien  
am Institut für Zeitgeschichte  
München–Berlin  
Prof. Dr. Andreas Wirsching, Prof. Dr. Frank Bajohr

## Redaktion:

Frank Bajohr, Giles Bennett, Katarina Kezeric, Andrea Löw,  
Andreas Rentz, Anna Ullrich

## Lektorat:

Angelika Reizle

## Bildnachweise:

Institut für Zeitgeschichte: Titel, Rückseite, S. 4, 5, 6, 11, 36,  
45 (unten), 54, 56, 57, 58 (rechts), 60  
Frank Bajohr: S. 7, 51  
Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung/Bildkraftwerk/Zöhre  
Kurz: S. 8, 10, 12, 13 (alle drei), 16, 42 (beide), 45 (beide)  
Anna Ullrich: S. 14, 32, 33  
Bundesarchiv: S. 34 (Mitte)  
EHRI/Maarten Nauw: S. 34 (oben und unten)  
EHRI/Marko Priske: S. 35 (oben links)  
Ján Hlavinka: S. 35 (oben rechts)  
Center for Urban History of East Central Europe: S. 35 (unten)  
Giles Bennett: S. 39, 43, 62  
Dokumentation Obersalzberg: S. 40  
Winson Chu: S. 46  
Reisser Design: S. 50  
Charlotte Schallié: S. 58 (links)  
Villa ten Hompel: S. 59  
United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: S. 74 (beide), 80  
Privatbesitz Bernd Haase: S. 79

## Gestaltung:

Reisserdesign, München

## Druck:

PRINTEC OFFSET Medienhaus, Kassel

München, Oktober 2023





