The Role of Altruism in the Holocaust: A Curriculum Guide

Karen Reiser
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Rationale

The word Holocaust evokes many images. A train packed with people with an uncertain destination. The numerical figure of 6 million. A pile of shoes or eyeglasses. The Holocaust is perhaps the most horrifying event in Jewish History. It is no wonder then that each of these images is somehow related to death. The Holocaust is often studied in terms of how this atrocity could occur, the Jewish response to ghettos and concentration camps, or the incomprehensible masterminding on the part of Adolph Hitler. In short, we study how the Jewish people died. It is also possible, however, to study how some Jewish people managed to live through the Holocaust with the help of both individuals and countries. Their actions are described as altruistic behavior.

In order to understand how altruism manifested itself in the Holocaust, it is first important to understand what factors are involved in the development of an altruistic personality. Social scientists have extensively studied the conditions and developmental processes which motivate a person to help another human being without concern for their own well-being. Demography, developmental learning, and cognitive learning are some of the key factors that led to the emergence of altruistic behavior during the Holocaust. Altruism was demonstrated in numerous ways during this time period. Reports include non-Jewish individuals hiding and assisting Jews in major countries across Europe. In addition, numerous federal governments in Europe made an effort to support the Jewish people. This display of courage and humanity on the part of righteous gentiles saved the lives of thousands of Jews and strengthened the Jewish spirit for survival.

This curriculum is designed for high school age children (9^{th} and 10^{th} graders) in a synagogue confirmation class setting. By this age, students have already learned the

basic concepts and leading figures of the Holocaust. They have studied the motivations and logistics of the extermination of the Jewish people and they are fully aware of the incredible tragedy that was the Holocaust. Hence, it is an appropriate time to introduce our students to the people who transcended the tragedy. By studying these personalities, one gets a more textured view of the Holocaust by seeing that all non-Jews were not implicated in this tragedy. This allows for a more positive stance in regard to the non-Jews among whom we live. At this point in their lives, adolescents are beginning to seriously form their identities as Jews and as adults. Implementing this study can help develop their Jewish identity in a context other than victim or persecuted minority. By providing adolescents with real models of selfless behavior, we can suggest they apply the same behavior to their own lives.

Introduction

The study of Altruistic behavior in the Holocaust is an important and often overlooked part of history. Investigating the selfless actions of Non-Jews during the Holocaust illuminates the potential nature of human behavior and succeeds in illustrating the Holocaust through the perspective of an individual. As students begin to personally connect with each rescuer, they will internalize the moral courage exemplified by these righteous people and gain a deeper understanding of the Holocaust.

However, it would be irresponsible as both an educator and a Jew to introduce this curriculum without acknowledging a potential danger inherent in this course of study. The concepts and stories included in this curriculum guide are a tribute to the human spirit and invoke emotions including pride, gratitude, and hope. It is crucial to remember, though, the incredible tragedy and injustice from which a limited number of people emerged as righteous. By focusing solely on the humane response exhibited in the Holocaust, we run the risk of minimizing the overwhelming inhumane nature of this time period. Therefore, as a prelude to initiating this curriculum, I suggest that the teacher (and possibly the students) read "Keeping the Rescuers in Historical Perspective" by Alex Grobman, Ph.D., attached in the appendix. While it is important to expand our understanding of the events of the Holocaust, we must not forget the tragedy of it.

This curriculum guide is divided into four units. Unit I is designed to provide students with a general introduction to the concept of altruism and the factors which motivate a person to help another person. In addition, the unit focuses on citing Jewish texts as precedence for helping others. While these texts were not motivations for any of the rescuers, they may help students put the actions of the rescuers into a personal

perspective. That is, students may be able to incorporate these texts into their own motivations for helping others in the future.

In Unit II, students will have the opportunity to apply their understanding of helping behavior to actual testimony of individual rescuers. They will also begin to understand why some people chose to assist Jews and others did not. The significance of this part of the curriculum is that while each rescuer was an individual, the collective motivations of the rescuers can be generalized. That is, saving lives during the Holocaust was not a fluke occurrence but rather a pattern of human behavior.

In Unit III, students will see that altruistic behavior was exhibited by countries as well as individuals. While only one country completely supported the Jewish members of its population at this time period, other countries governments did attempt to assist the Jews, albeit too little and too late. By reviewing the historical setting and response of a few countries to the Nazis, students will have the opportunity to discuss what each country could have done differently to save more Jews while seeing one specific country as a model of unity.

In Unit IV, students will be introduced to a broad range of rescuers. Students will also continue to study the personal motivations of rescuers that prompted their altruistic behavior. This unit is designed to allow students an opportunity to apply the concepts and theories presented in the curriculum to individual cases of rescuers. After reviewing a spectrum of examples, students will choose an individual rescuer to study closer, thereby creating a personal connection to the material.

Unit I- What is Altruism

General Goals For Curriculum

1. To provide students with a broader, more textured view of the Holocaust.
2. To provide students the opportunity to make a personal connection to the Holocaust.
3. To encourage students to develop their Jewish identities in a context other than victim or persecuted minority.
4. To illustrate the value of altruism as model of selfless behavior which the students can apply to their own lives.
5. To discuss various cases of altruistic behavior as a way of emphasizing that not all non-Jews participated in the tragedy of the Holocaust.

Unit I Outline

Estimated Class Lessons: 3 fifty minute sessions

Unit I Goals

1. To define altruism as helping another person without concern for one's own well-being despite a high risk or sacrifice.
2. To explore examples of altruistic behavior which have occurred in students lives.
3. To provide a Jewish basis for exhibiting altruistic behavior.
4. To distinguish between altruistic behavior and that of a righteous gentile.
5. To explore the motivating factors which lead to the development of an altruistic personality.

Unit I Objectives

1. The students will be able to identify factors that are necessary in order to classify an act as altruistic.
2. The students will be able to distinguish between altruistic behavior and that of a righteous gentile.
3. The students will be able to utilize Jewish text in their discussion of altruism.
4. The students will be able to identify factors which motivate and inhibit altruistic behavior.

Unit I Enduring Understanding

1. Environmental limitations can prevent an individual from acting according to their morals and values.
2. Favorable environmental conditions can motivate an individual to act according to their morals and values.

Unit I Learning Activities

1. Altruistic vs. Righteous Behavior (Objectives 1&2)- A role playing and analysis activity

Divide students into small groups and give them a scenario to read and discuss. In each scenario, a person or group of people are presented with an opportunity to help another person or persons who are in need of assistance. Although each case ultimately concludes with a helping act, it is the group's assignment to decide if that act is a true

example of altruism based upon the factors necessary to classify a behavior as such or an example of righteous behavior. Guiding questions should be provided in order to help the group decide.

After discussion, each group should role play their scenario to the rest of the class followed by a summary of their group discussion by a member of the group. The summary should include their decision on whether the act portrayed is an example of altruism and an explanation for how they decided.

Possible Scenarios

1. David is sitting outside during recess at school when he sees a group of older boys picking on a small boy in his class. They are pushing him around, calling him names, and playing "keep-away" with the book he was reading. David doesn't really know the boy very well but he does know that what is happening is not fair. As David gets up to walk over and intervene, he thinks about how much bigger and stronger the group of boys are than him and he almost turns around to sit back down. However, he also remembers that his father taught him to always try and help people. David walks over to the group of boys, takes the book back, and tells them to pick on someone else.
   *David is exhibiting altruistic behavior because he is helping someone without regard for himself despite a high risk of getting hurt

2. Rachel has a big research paper due next week. She has put off doing most of the work and now needs to rush over to the library to get the books she has ignored for the last 2 months. When she gets there, the librarian tells her that a girl named Lauren has taken the books out that she needs and gives her Lauren's phone number. Maybe she will let Rachel borrow them for the weekend. Rachel calls Lauren and politely asks to use the books for the weekend. Agreeing, Lauren graciously brings the books to Rachel's house. After all, Lauren's paper isn't due for another month.
   *Lauren is not exhibiting altruistic behavior because although she is helping someone, there situation does not present a high risk

2. Altruism through Jewish Texts (Objective 3)
   The Jewish tradition prioritizes human life as an essential value. It is permitted to break almost any commandment and suspend any mitzvah in order to complete the mitzvah of saving a life. In this activity, students will explore various Jewish texts that promote the saving of a life.

   Divide students into groups. Each group should receive a text (in Hebrew and English). Ask students to read the text and discuss the situation which is being brought forth as an example of saving a life. Students should present the examples to the rest of the class. Be sure to teach the Hebrew term *Pikuach nefesh* as part of the lesson.

Texts

1. Genesis 18:22-33; Sodom & Gemorah (attached in appendix)
2. Mishnah, Tractate Yoma, Ch. 8, Mishnah 6 (attached in appendix)
3. Do not stand idly by while your neighbor's blood is spilled
4. If you destroy a single life, it is as if you have destroyed the world. If you save a single life, it is as if you have saved the world

3. The Kitty Genovese Case; why people help or don't help (Objective 4)
   This case is a great way to get students to think about why people help others in need or do not help them. There are many possible ways to do this activity. One way is to divide students into groups and have them read the case story (attached in appendix). The students can then brainstorm reasons why the victim's neighbors did not help Kitty. They can also brainstorm factors that could have influenced her neighbors to do something. Instruct the students to consider environmental as well as personal factors. Another option for this activity is to show a film on the case (available from the American Psychological Association) and then have the students do the brainstorming activity. Make a list of these factors to be used later in the curriculum.

Assessment

1. Students can explore an altruistic behavior that they observed or in which they participated in the form of a journal entry. They should include personal and environmental factors that motivated the behavior.

Notes to Teacher

1. All information concerning the definition of altruism and human behavior required for this unit can be found in the opening chapters of the primary and secondary sources for this curriculum guide.
2. This curriculum guide assumes that the students have a base knowledge of the history of the Holocaust. However, it may be necessary to give an orientation to the Holocaust. In that case, I have included some general Holocaust resources in the bibliography.

Unit II- Background Factors of Altruistic Behavior

General Goals For Curriculum

1. To provide students with a broader, more textured view of the Holocaust.
2. To provide students the opportunity to make a personal connection to the Holocaust.
3. To encourage students to develop their Jewish identities in a context other than victim or persecuted minority.
4. To illustrate the value of altruism as model of selfless behavior which the students can apply to their own lives.
5. To discuss various cases of altruistic behavior as a way of emphasizing that not all non-Jews participated in the tragedy of the Holocaust.

Unit II Outline

Estimated Class Lessons: 5 fifty minute sessions

Unit II Goals

1. To explore the environmental circumstances which influenced altruistic behavior in the Holocaust.
2. To explore the universal and personal values which prompted altruistic behavior in the Holocaust.
3. To illustrate that both environmental circumstances and universal values influenced the emergence of altruistic behavior in the Holocaust.

Unit II Objectives

1. The students will be able to identify circumstances that facilitated altruistic behavior in the Holocaust.
2. The students will be able to identify universal and personal values that prompted altruistic behavior in the Holocaust.

Unit II Enduring Understanding

1. The decision to help another person is a complex process that is determined by both environmental circumstances and individual values.

Unit II Learning Activities

1. Environmental Circumstances (Objective 1)

"I did nothing unusual; anyone would have done the same thing in my place"

(Oliner & Oliner, 1988, p.113)

In this activity, students will meet various rescuers that claim their altruistic behavior was a direct result of being in the right place at the right time. The students will meet these people through a process of discovery. This activity is a compilation of the stories of actual rescuers. Utilizing the testaments of many people, you will create four "rescuers" who each claim their behavior was a result of a specific environmental circumstance (i.e. knowledge of the killings, perception of risk of getting caught, availability of resources, being asked directly to help).

Divide the students into 4 groups. Each group receives a "diary" of their individual rescuer (it can be a shoebox filled with letters or simply a packet). Explain to

the students that they are reading the diaries of actual rescuers from the Holocaust. You may want to introduce the four people with background information (i.e. where each person lived, how many Jews they saved). Be creative! It is important, however, to maintain a level of seriousness. The students should feel that they are looking into the life of a real person.

A series of guiding questions should be included throughout each diary. The goal of these questions is to help students identify their rescuers motivating circumstance.

After allowing ample time to read and discuss the diaries in groups, each group should present their rescuers story. Write key words describing each particular circumstance on the board for each rescuer.

The stories can be compiled from rescuer accounts in chapter 5 (attached in the appendix) of The Altruistic Personality (Oliner & Oliner, 1988).

2. Universal and Personal Values (Objective 2)

In this activity, students will utilize the testimonies of various rescuers to identify the rescuers personal values that motivated them to save Jews. Individual statements are attached in the appendix. They are divided into categories of values (i.e. religious, caring and love for others, humanitarian, equality and justice). Choose five statements from each category and put each statement on a separate slip of paper (make multiple sets). Divide students into small groups (2 or 3 people). Give each group a set of statements and ask them to read them together. Tell the students that the statements are actual testimonies of rescuers. They are responses to the question, "Why did you help"? Their assignment is to organize the statements into common categories (* don't give them any guidelines for organization). They should name each of the categories they create.

When the groups are finished categorizing, ask them for the names of their categories and write them on the board. Focus in on one or two of the statements and explore how different groups labeled the same statements. Highlight the nature of the categories as values if it is not clear. If time allows, discuss how values are formed. Where do we learn values? (Home, School) From whom do we learn values? (Parents, Friends, Teachers)

3. Circumstances vs. Values- The Debate (Objective 3)
   Using the information from the above exercises, create a case study of a rescuer. Divide the class in half and instruct them to prepare a case as to why the rescuer was motivated by either external circumstances or internal values. The goal of the exercise is to show that both factors influence behavior.

Unit III- Countries Which Exhibited Altruistic Behavior

General Goals For Curriculum

1. To provide students with a broader, more textured view of the Holocaust.
2. To provide students the opportunity to make a personal connection to the Holocaust.
3. To encourage students to develop their Jewish identities in a context other than victim or persecuted minority.
4. To illustrate the value of altruism as model of selfless behavior which the students can apply to their own lives.
5. To discuss various cases of altruistic behavior as a way of emphasizing that not all non-Jews participated in the tragedy of the Holocaust.

Unit III Outline

Estimated Class Lessons: 5 fifty minute sessions

Unit III Goals

1. To explore the impact of the Holocaust and the altruistic responses within the countries of France, Italy, and the Netherlands.
2. To explore the rescue of the Jews of Denmark.

Unit III Objectives

1. The students will be able to discuss the rescue of the Jews of Denmark and identify the altruistic response of the Danish government.
2. The students will be able to identify effects of the Holocaust on the countries of France, Italy, and the Netherlands.
3. The students will be able to identify altruistic responses of the countries of France, Italy, and the Netherlands.

Unit III Enduring Understanding

1. Had governments of countries responded quicker to help their own people, many Jewish lives could have been saved as seen in Denmark.

Unit III Learning Activities

1. The rescue of the Jews of Denmark (Objective 1)
   a. Have students read "A Nation United", a short segment on this rescue effort (attached in the appendix) in small groups or as a class. Use the discussion questions at the end to illustrate the uniqueness of Denmark's effort as a country.
   *With regard to the personal account of the Goldbergers in this segment, ask students if they think neighbors in every German occupied country reacted to Jews in the same way that the Danes did?
   *Highlight Thomas Merton's statement about the Danish people, specifically how their moral standards are similar to those of a Jew (i.e. Love your neighbor as yourself)

b. Using the same story, have students make a list of the ways in which the Danish government and its people defied the German government and the Nazis. Use the list as a comparison guide when discussing the reactions of other countries.

c. There are numerous books written about the rescue effort in Denmark during the Holocaust. Have a student or students research the event in the library and report their findings back to the class.

d. Have students read "Rescue in Denmark" (attached in the appendix), a very brief explanation of the rescue effort which includes King Christian X's famous quote "We have no Jewish problem in our country. The Jews are a part of the Danish nation". In groups, have the students make up a play to reenact the Danish response to the Nazis. The play could include King Christians quote, the trip to Sweden, and the response of the Danish population when the Jews returned.

2. Could other countries have done more; the Netherlands, France, and Italy (Objectives 2&3)

Attached in the appendix is a synopsis of the impact of the Nazi regime on the countries of the Netherlands, France, and Italy and their individual responses with regards to their Jewish populations. While each country exhibited some altruistic behavior, no country completely dedicated themselves to the Jewish people as did Denmark. Each synopsis is taken from The Altruistic Personality by Oliner and Oliner. It may be necessary to revise the readings based on the ability of the class. I also suggest creating a question guide to assist the groups in comprehension. Each reading discusses;

a. Nazi control over the country
b. Government response to the Nazis
c. Anti-Semitic tensions and measures in the country both before and during the war
d. Response by the churches in each country
e. Response by the general population of each country

a. Divide the class into groups and assign each group a country. Have them read through their synopsis and list the ways in which their country (government or population) cooperated or did not cooperate with the Nazi regime and the order to not help Jews. As the groups present their lists to the class, discuss how they compare to the defiant behavior on the part of Denmark. Ask the class what each country could have done differently to prevent Jewish loss of life.

b. Using magazines, scrap paper, and markers, have students make a collage representing their countries response to the Nazis and the Jews.

c. As a class, create a "newspaper" (or a newsletter) at the end of W.W II (i.e. April 28, 1945) summarizing the response of each of these countries. The newspaper could include an article about Denmark. Perhaps the front-page title could be "Could we have done more?"

Unit IV- Personal Motivations of Rescuers and Case Studies

General Goals For Curriculum

1. To provide students with a broader, more textured view of the Holocaust.
2. To provide students the opportunity to make a personal connection to the Holocaust.
3. To encourage students to develop their Jewish identities in a context other than victim or persecuted minority.
4. To illustrate the value of altruism as model of selfless behavior which the students can apply to their own lives.
5. To discuss various cases of altruistic behavior as a way of emphasizing that not all non-Jews participated in the tragedy of the Holocaust.

Unit IV Outline

Estimated Class Lessons: 10 fifty minute sessions

Unit IV Goals

1. To explore the personal motivations of rescuers who exhibited altruistic behavior in the Holocaust.
2. To introduce a spectrum of individual rescuers.

Unit IV Objectives

1. Students will be able to categorize rescuers based on their personal motivations for helping Jews during the Holocaust.
2. Students will be able to identify the altruistic behavior exhibited by a range of rescuers.
3. Students will be able to analyze the personal motivation and background factors that prompted the altruistic behavior of each rescuer.
4. Students will be able to demonstrate a broad understanding and a personal connection to an individual rescuer.

Unit IV Learning Activities

1. Personal Motivations of Rescuers (Objective 1)
   In The Altruistic Personality, Oliner & Oliner identify 3 categories of rescuers based on their personal motivation for helping.

   Empathetic- Rescuers that responded in reaction to witnessing an external event that aroused their sense of compassion and empathy

   Normocentric- Rescuers that responded because they felt it was demanded by a social group with which they were identified (i.e. church, family members)

   Principle- Rescuers that responded in reaction to witnessing an external event that violated a personal moral code

   a. Set up 3 learning centers in the classroom, one center focusing on each motivation. Place an instruction sheet at each center along with various example rescuer accounts (attached in appendix) that illustrate the particular motivation.

The instruction sheet should ask the student to think about a personal situation to which they had an empathetic, normocentric, or principled reaction. It may be necessary to put a definition of each word on the appropriate instruction sheet.

The instruction sheet should also ask the student to read the personal accounts of the rescuers at each station.

b. Divide the class into small groups (2-3). Give each group a packet of the personal rescuer accounts. Instruct the groups to read the accounts and categorize them based on the factor that motivated the rescuer to help. Have the groups report on their categories. Label each of the categories with the appropriate term and explain the meaning. Ask for examples from the class of situations in which they have had these types of reactions.

c. As the class begins to discuss individual rescuers later in the unit, instruct them to consider the motivation category under which each would fall.

2. Meet the Rescuers (Objective 2 & 3)
Now that students have mastered the skills necessary to analyze the process by which individuals chose to help Jews during the Holocaust, they are ready to implement those skills in understanding the individual stories of the most well known rescuers.

a. Set up learning centers with each center focusing on a particular rescuer. Short rescuer summaries are attached in the appendix. Rescuers: Portraits of Moral Courage in the Holocaust (see bibliography) contains over 40 relatively brief summaries of Holocaust rescuers. In some cases, pictures are also available and could be placed at the appropriate center. Perhaps a map of Europe could be placed at each station indicating the country in which the rescue took place. I suggest creating a Rescuer Profile Guide to assist students in analyzing the stories. The guide could include:

Personal Information
Altruistic Factors (helped Jews, lack of concern for self, high risk)
Background Factors (favorable environment vs. moral conviction)
Motivation (Empathetic, Normocentric, Principle)

b. Show the movie "Courage to Care" (see bibliography), a documentary containing short segments on various rescuers. Use the Rescuer Profile Guide to assist the students as they watch the film.

c. Invite a rescuer (or a survivor who was sheltered by a rescuer) to speak to the class. Irene Gut Opdyke, a rescuer from Poland, lives in the United States and visits schools all over the country to tell her story. Students should be very careful about asking "analyzing" questions to a rescuer.

3. Individual Rescuer Project (Objective 4)
   It is important for students to form a connection with an individual rescuer. Ask students to choose a particular rescuer mentioned in class and research them in depth in the library.
   a. Each student tells the rescuers story in the 1st person.

   b. Create a rescuer "Hall of Fame" or booklet with summaries of each rescuer prepared by the students.

   c. Write a letter to the rescuer or their family (if deceased) telling them about the class and thanking them for their bravery and commitment. Letters can probably be forwarded to the individuals through the Holocaust Museum or Yad Vashem.

Curriculum Guide Bibliography

Topic: The Role of Altruism in the Holocaust

Major Work: Embracing the Other: Philosophical, Psychological, and Historical Perspectives on Altruism by Oliner, Oliner et al. New York: New York University Press. 1992.

Second Book: The Altruistic Personality: Rescuers of Jews in Nazi Europe by Samuel P. Oliner and Pearl M. Oliner. New York: The Free Press. 1988.

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c. *The Record: The Holocaust 1933-1945.* Teaching Newspaper. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. 1985.

d. Holocaust Social Studies Activity Book by George Lee. Lesson plans and activity book. Mark Twain Media. 1988.

e. Teacher Created Materials: Holocaust Thematic Unit. Lesoon plans and activity book. California: Teacher Created Materials. 1997.

f. Rescuers: Portraits of Moral Courage in the Holocaust by Block and Drucker. New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers Inc. 1992.

g. Rescue in Denmark by Harold Flender. New York: Holocaust Library, 1963.

h. Tell Them We Remember; The Story of the Holocaust by Susan Bachrach. New York: Little, Brown and Company. 1994.

i. Those Who Dared: Rescuers and Rescued. A Teaching Guide For Secondary Schools by Alex Grobman, Ph.D. Los Angeles: The Jewish Federation. 1995.

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טז וַיָּקֻמוּ מִשָּׁם הָאֲנָשִׁים וַיַּשְׁקִפוּ עַל־פְּנֵי סְדֹם וְאַבְרָהָם הֹלֵךְ עִמָּם לְשַׁלְּחָם:
יז וַיהוָה אָמָר הֲמְכַסֶּה אֲנִי מֵאַבְרָהָם אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי עֹשֶׂה:
יח וְאַבְרָהָם הָיוֹ יִהְיֶה לְגוֹי גָּדוֹל וְעָצוּם וְנִבְרְכוּ־בוֹ כֹּל
יט גּוֹיֵי הָאָרֶץ: כִּי יְדַעְתִּיו לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר יְצַוֶּה אֶת־בָּנָיו
וְאֶת־בֵּיתוֹ אַחֲרָיו וְשָׁמְרוּ דֶּרֶךְ יְהוָה לַעֲשׂוֹת צְדָקָה
וּמִשְׁפָּט לְמַעַן הָבִיא יְהוָה עַל־אַבְרָהָם אֵת אֲשֶׁר־
כ דִּבֶּר עָלָיו: וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה זַעֲקַת סְדֹם וַעֲמֹרָה כִּי־
כא רַבָּה וְחַטָּאתָם כִּי כָבְדָה מְאֹד: אֵרְדָה־נָּא וְאֶרְאֶה
הַכְּצַעֲקָתָהּ הַבָּאָה אֵלַי עָשׂוּ כָלָה וְאִם־לֹא אֵדָעָה:
כב וַיִּפְנוּ מִשָּׁם הָאֲנָשִׁים וַיֵּלְכוּ סְדֹמָה וְאַבְרָהָם עוֹדֶנּוּ

כג עֹמֵד לִפְנֵי יְהוָה: וַיִּגַּשׁ אַבְרָהָם וַיֹּאמַר הַאַף תִּסְפֶּה
כד צַדִּיק עִם־רָשָׁע: אוּלַי יֵשׁ חֲמִשִּׁים צַדִּיקִם בְּתוֹךְ
הָעִיר הַאַף תִּסְפֶּה וְלֹא־תִשָּׂא לַמָּקוֹם לְמַעַן חֲמִשִּׁים
כה הַצַּדִּיקִם אֲשֶׁר בְּקִרְבָּהּ: חָלִלָה לְךָ מֵעֲשֹׂת כַּדָּבָר
הַזֶּה לְהָמִית צַדִּיק עִם־רָשָׁע וְהָיָה כַצַּדִּיק כָּרָשָׁע
חָלִלָה לָּךְ הֲשֹׁפֵט כָּל־הָאָרֶץ לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה מִשְׁפָּט:
כו וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אִם־אֶמְצָא בִסְדֹם חֲמִשִּׁים צַדִּיקִם בְּתוֹךְ
כז הָעִיר וְנָשָׂאתִי לְכָל־הַמָּקוֹם בַּעֲבוּרָם: וַיַּעַן אַבְרָהָם
וַיֹּאמַר הִנֵּה־נָא הוֹאַלְתִּי לְדַבֵּר אֶל־אֲדֹנָי וְאָנֹכִי עָפָר
כח וָאֵפֶר: אוּלַי יַחְסְרוּן חֲמִשִּׁים הַצַּדִּיקִם חֲמִשָּׁה
הַתַּשְׁחֵת בַּחֲמִשָּׁה אֶת־כָּל־הָעִיר וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא אַשְׁחִית

16] The men set out from there and looked down toward Sodom, Abraham walking with them to see them off. **17]** Now the LORD had said, "Shall I hide from Abraham what I am about to do, **18]** since Abraham is to become a great and populous nation and all the nations of the earth are to bless themselves by him? **19]** For I have singled him out, that he may instruct his children and his posterity to keep the way of the LORD by doing what is just and right, in order that the LORD may bring about for Abraham what He has promised him." **20]** Then the LORD said, "The outrage of Sodom and Gomorrah is so great, and their sin so grave! **21]** I will go down to see whether they have acted altogether according to the outcry that has come to Me; if not, I will take note."

22] The men went on from there to Sodom, while Abraham remained standing before the LORD. **23]** Abraham came forward and said, "Will You sweep away the innocent along with the guilty? **24]** What if there should be fifty innocent within the city; will You then wipe out the place and not forgive it for the sake of the innocent fifty who are in it? **25]** Far be it from You to do such a thing, to bring death upon the innocent as well as the guilty, so that innocent and guilty fare alike. Far be it from You! Shall not the Judge of all the earth deal justly?" **26]** And the LORD answered, "If I find within the city of Sodom fifty innocent ones, I will forgive the whole place for their sake." **27]** Abraham spoke up, saying, "Here I venture to speak to my LORD, I who am but dust and ashes: **28]** What if the fifty innocent should lack five? Will You destroy the whole city for want of the five?" And He answered, "I will not

18:17] *Shall I hide from Abraham what I am about to do?* God muses whether to share His thoughts with His chosen one. Perhaps He *wants* Abraham to argue the justice of the divine plan. Rashi writes: God has appointed Abraham as the "father of a multitude of nations" (Gen. 17:5), and hence the people of Sodom are his children, too. Should God not tell a father the fate of his children?

/Rashi's argument reflects the mishnaic discussion about Hebrew prayers to be recited by converts. The proof text in the argument is in Gen. 17:5, because there Abraham is called the "father of a multitude of nations," and hence all converts to Judaism are called sons of Abraham [1]./

22] *Abraham remained standing before the Lord.* Abraham begins the dialogue but God finishes it. In this verse "the men" are clearly distinguished from God.

כט אִם־אַמְצָא שָׁם אַרְבָּעִים וַחֲמִשָּׁה: וַיֹּסֶף עוֹד לְדַבֵּר
אֵלָיו וַיֹּאמֶר אוּלַי יִמָּצְאוּן שָׁם אַרְבָּעִים וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא
ל אֶעֱשֶׂה בַּעֲבוּר הָאַרְבָּעִים: וַיֹּאמֶר אַל־נָא יִחַר לַאדֹנָי
וַאֲדַבֵּרָה אוּלַי יִמָּצְאוּן שָׁם שְׁלֹשִׁים וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא אֶעֱשֶׂה
לא אִם־אֶמְצָא שָׁם שְׁלֹשִׁים: וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּה־נָא הוֹאַלְתִּי
לְדַבֵּר אֶל־אֲדֹנָי אוּלַי יִמָּצְאוּן שָׁם עֶשְׂרִים וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא
לב אַשְׁחִית בַּעֲבוּר הָעֲשָׂרִים: וַיֹּאמֶר אַל־נָא יִחַר לַאדֹנָי
וַאֲדַבְּרָה אַךְ־הַפָּעַם אוּלַי יִמָּצְאוּן שָׁם עֲשָׂרָה וַיֹּאמֶר
לג לֹא אַשְׁחִית בַּעֲבוּר הָעֲשָׂרָה: וַיֵּלֶךְ יְהוָה כַּאֲשֶׁר
כִּלָּה לְדַבֵּר אֶל־אַבְרָהָם וְאַבְרָהָם שָׁב לִמְקֹמוֹ:

א וַיָּבֹאוּ שְׁנֵי הַמַּלְאָכִים סְדֹמָה בָּעֶרֶב וְלוֹט יֹשֵׁב
בְּשַׁעַר־סְדֹם וַיַּרְא־לוֹט וַיָּקָם לִקְרָאתָם וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ אַפַּיִם
ב אָרְצָה: וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּה־נָא אֲדֹנַי סוּרוּ נָא אֶל־בֵּית
עַבְדְּכֶם וְלִינוּ וְרַחֲצוּ רַגְלֵיכֶם וְהִשְׁכַּמְתֶּם וַהֲלַכְתֶּם
ג לְדַרְכְּכֶם וַיֹּאמְרוּ לֹא כִּי בָרְחוֹב נָלִין: וַיִּפְצַר־בָּם
מְאֹד וַיָּסֻרוּ אֵלָיו וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶל־בֵּיתוֹ וַיַּעַשׂ לָהֶם מִשְׁתֶּה
ד וּמַצּוֹת אָפָה וַיֹּאכֵלוּ: טֶרֶם יִשְׁכָּבוּ וְאַנְשֵׁי הָעִיר
אַנְשֵׁי סְדֹם נָסַבּוּ עַל־הַבַּיִת מִנַּעַר וְעַד־זָקֵן כָּל־הָעָם
ה מִקָּצֶה: וַיִּקְרְאוּ אֶל־לוֹט וַיֹּאמְרוּ לוֹ אַיֵּה הָאֲנָשִׁים
אֲשֶׁר־בָּאוּ אֵלֶיךָ הַלָּיְלָה הוֹצִיאֵם אֵלֵינוּ וְנֵדָעָה אֹתָם:

destroy if I find forty-five there." 29] But he spoke to Him again, and said, "What if forty should be found there?" And He answered, "I will not do it, for the sake of the forty." 30] And he said, "Let not the LORD be angry if I go on: What if thirty should be found there?" And He answered, "I will not do it if I find thirty there." 31] And he said, "I venture again to speak to my LORD: What if twenty should be found there?" And He answered, "I will not destroy, for the sake of the twenty." 32] And he said, "Let not the LORD be angry if I speak but this last time: What if ten should be found there?" And He answered, "I will not destroy, for the sake of the ten."

33] When the LORD had finished speaking to Abraham, He departed; and Abraham returned to his place.

1] The two angels arrived in Sodom in the evening, as Lot was sitting in the gate of Sodom. When Lot saw them, he rose to greet them and, bowing low with his face to the ground, 2] he said, "Please, my lords, turn aside to your servant's house to spend the night, and bathe your feet; then you may be on your way early." But they said, "No, we will spend the night in the square." 3] But he urged them strongly, so they turned his way and entered his house. He prepared a feast for them and baked unleavened bread, and they ate.

4] They had not yet lain down, when the townspeople, the men of Sodom, young and old—all the people to the last man—gathered about the house. 5] And they shouted to Lot and said to him, "Where are the men who came to you tonight? Bring them out to us, that we may be

19:1] *The two angels.* Earlier, the Bible speaks of three men (Gen. 18:2), suggesting that there were two different sources for the story.

/Rashi's explanation: The third messenger who had spoken with Abraham had left after completing his announcement that Sarah would have a child./

Arrived in Sodom in the evening. The distance from Hebron and Mamre to Sodom could not be covered in an afternoon's journey. However, since the messengers are thought of as supernatural beings, this presents no problem to narrator or listener.

3] *Unleavened bread.* Which can be quickly baked.

4] *To the last man.* It is clear now that not a single righteous man dwelled in Sodom. (Lot was a sojourner, not a citizen.)

5] *That we may be intimate with them.* The Sodomites wanted the men for homosexual or other deviate practices (hence the term sodomy for unnatural sexual behavior).

.ough," for we know that "The heart knows its own bitterness" (Prov. 14:10) is a basic principle.

YOMA

CHAPTER 8

MISHNAH 6

מִי שֶׁאֲחָזוֹ בֻּלְמוֹס, מַאֲכִילִין אוֹתוֹ אֲפִלּוּ דְּבָרִים טְמֵאִים עַד שֶׁיֵּאוֹרוּ עֵינָיו. מִי שֶׁנְּשָׁכוֹ כֶּלֶב שׁוֹטֶה, אֵין מַאֲכִילִין אוֹתוֹ מֵחֲצַר כָּבֵד שֶׁלּוֹ; וְרַבִּי מַתְיָא בֶּן חָרָשׁ מַתִּיר. וְעוֹד אָמַר רַבִּי מַתְיָא בֶּן חָרָשׁ: הַחוֹשֵׁשׁ בִּגְרוֹנוֹ, מַטִּילִין לוֹ סַם בְּתוֹךְ פִּיו בַּשַּׁבָּת, מִפְּנֵי שֶׁהוּא סְפֵק נְפָשׁוֹת, וְכָל סְפֵק נְפָשׁוֹת דּוֹחֶה אֶת הַשַּׁבָּת.

If one is seized by *bulmos*, they may feed him — even with unclean things, until his eyes become clear. If one was bitten by a mad dog, they may not give him the lobe of its liver to eat, but Rabbi Matyah ben Ḥarash permits it. And Rabbi Matyah ben Ḥarash further stated, If a person has a sore throat, they may put medicine in his mouth on Shabbat, because there is a possibility of danger to human life, and in a case of such possibility, life overrides the Shabbat.

Kehati

Incidental to the preceding mishnah, this mishnah teaches the rule that if there is a danger to life, it is permitted to feed a person even with things which are normally prohibited.

מי שאחזו בולמוס If one is seized by bulmos — sickness and faintness caused by hunger, and which may endanger life, **they may feed him, even with unclean** — i.e., prohibited, **things** — such as meat from animals not ritually slaughtered, forbidden animals, and reptiles, if there are no permitted foods there, **until his eyes become clear** — for the illness of *bulmos* dims a person's sight; this mishnah teaches that one may not wait until permitted foods is found, but they feed him immediately, even with prohibited foods, until his mind is at ease.

מי שנשכו כלב If one was bitten by a mad dog — and this entails danger to life, **may not give him to eat the lobe of its liver to eat** — even though this was popu used as a remedy, it nevertheless is not a proven medicine, and it is forbidde feed him with prohibited food of doubtful medicinal qualities; **but Rabbi M ben Ḥarash permits it** — to feed him with the lobe of the dog's liver, for i opinion it is a proven remedy (*Rashi*). According to one opinion, *Rashi*'s s ment is to be interpreted as follows: "Since this is a popular practice, R Matyah ben Ḥarash holds that it is a proven remedy, for this will sooth phantasies which increase in this illness, of the person bitten . . . , and it is pos that he will thereby be cured, even though this is recognized as a remedy on popular custom" (Rabbi Ḥ. *Albek*, quoting *Si'aḥ Yitzḥak*).

ועוד אמר רבי מתיא And Rabbi Matyah ben Ḥarash further stated, If a person l sore throat — other versions read "a sore mouth" or "sore teeth" i.e., the fle the gums begins to rot, and it may spread to the throat and intestines, they **put medicine in his mouth on Shabbat** — and we are not concerned abou violation of the Shabbat (see *Tiferet Yisrael*), **because there is a possibili danger to human life** — for the sickness might spread and intensify, and bec dangerous, **and in a case of such possibility** — the saving of life **override Shabbat** — as it is written, "You shall therefore keep my statutes, and ordinances, which if a man do, he shall live by them" (Lev. 18:5), from whi was learned: he shall live by them, and not die by them. *Rashi* comments th shall perform the commandments by which he shall certainly live, and not t whose performance might lead to his death. Hence we know that the Shabb violated even in a case when it is doubtful whether there is danger to life

YOMA

CHAPTER 8

MISHNAH 7

שֶׁנָּפְלָה עָלָיו מַפֹּלֶת, סָפֵק הוּא שָׁם סָפֵק אֵינוֹ שָׁם, סָפֵק חַי סָפֵק סָפֵק נָכְרִי סָפֵק יִשְׂרָאֵל — מְפַקְּחִין עָלָיו אֶת הַגַּל. מְצָאוּהוּ חַי מְפַקְּחִין עָלָיו, וְאִם מֵת — יַנִּיחוּהוּ.

If debris fell on a person, and there is doubt whether he is there o is not there, or there is doubt whether he is alive or he is dead there is doubt whether he is a heathen or an Israelite — they o

NO WITNESSES

THE KITTY GENOVESE CASE

Catherine "Kitty" Genovese was 28 years old. One night she was returning home from work. She parked in her usual parking lot, turned off the lights of her car, locked the car door, and started to walk the one hundred feet to the entrance of her apartment house. The entrance is in the rear of the building. The front is rented out to retail stores. At night the neighborhood is quiet, somewhat dark. Kitty noticed a man standing at the other end of the parking lot beside a seven-story apartment house. She stopped and decided to head for a place where the police usually stand and where there is a call box to the police precinct.

She was under a street light in front of a bookstore when the man grabbed her. She screamed. Lights went on in the ten-story apartment house that faces the bookstore. Some people opened their windows. Kitty yelled, "Oh, my God, he stabbed me! Please help me!"

From one of the upper windows in the apartment house, a man called down: "Let that girl alone!" Kitty's attacker stared at him, shrugged, and walked away. Kitty struggled to her feet. But, as soon as the lights went out, the attacker returned and stabbed her again as she struggled to get away. She shrieked, "I'm dying! I'm dying!"

Windows opened again and lights went on in many apartments. The attacker walked to his car and drove away. Kitty staggered to her feet. A city bus went past her. Kitty had managed to crawl to the back of her own building, when the attacker returned. He tried the door and found it open. Inside, Kitty was sitting slumped against the stairs. He stabbed her a third time, wounding her fatally.

Nearly half an hour passed from the first attack until the police received their first call from a man who was a neighbor. In two minutes they were on the scene. The man who made the call, a seventy-year old woman, and another woman, were the only persons on the street. Nobody else came forward.

The man said he had called only after thinking about it for a long time. He had even called a friend of his asking for advice. "I didn't want to get involved," he explained.

CHAPTER 5

Saving Others: Was It Opportunity or Character?

"I did nothing unusual; anyone would have done the same thing in my place." With these words, a Dutchman who sheltered a Jewish family for two years answers the fundamental question, Why did rescuers do it? As he perceived it, his response was largely a matter of opportunity—of being in the right place at the right time. This rescuer is clearly modest, but if he is correct, rescue can largely be explained as a response to a propitious combination of external circumstances.

Among the circumstances that may have facilitated rescue were:

1. *Information about and comprehension of the need.* Without knowledge and comprehension, no response could be forthcoming. Did rescuers know and comprehend more than nonrescuers?
2. *Risk.* Risk encompasses the likelihood and probable consequences of discovery. Were rescuers less likely to be discovered?
3. *Material resources.* Did rescuers have more of the material resources required for rescue?
4. *A precipitating occasion.* Being asked for help is frequently cited as the critical factor in producing a rescue response. Were rescuers asked for help while others were not?

Information

At its simplest level, knowledge means receiving and registering information. Comprehension involves something more: It re-

quires internal processing of the information, understanding, and interpretation. While these are cognitive processes, they are unlikely to occur without some emotional willingness. Information that is of interest is more likely to be registered and processed than information perceived as irrelevant. Emotional factors also influence interpretation. Instances of observed brutality, for example, can be explained as deserved or undeserved, or reports of maltreatment can be believed or dismissed as exaggerations.

Having knowledge depends first on the opportunity to acquire it. Did rescuers have more opportunities to acquire knowledge of the plight of the Jews?

The Nazi occupiers exerted tight control over all forms of media. They characteristically masked their real intentions by a variety of subterfuges, including euphemistic or deceptive language. The full horror of the Final Solution was not apparent from the early measures against Jews. The severity of the restrictions increased gradually, usually beginning with social and residential segregation. Furthermore, even once the killings began, knowledge of them should have been more common in Eastern Europe, where most of the death camps were located, than elsewhere.

Among the conditions that facilitated acquisition of knowledge, the first was geographical proximity. Those who lived among Jews or worked with them would have the greatest opportunity to hear and observe. Those who had Jewish friends would be more likely to be interested in understanding what was going on. Rescuers were more favored with respect to such circumstances, but the differences appeared to some degree related to consciousness rather than objective circumstances.

Immediately before the war, Jews were living in the neighborhoods of the majority of rescuers and nonrescuers. Although there were significant differences between the two groups in terms of their physical proximity to Jews, awareness (or lack of it) was an important component of these differences. More rescuers (69 percent) lived among Jews than did nonrescuers (57 percent for all nonrescuers, 52 percent of bystanders),* but more nonrescuers (13 percent of all nonrescuers, 12 percent of bystanders) than rescuers (4 percent) did not know whether Jews lived in their neighborhoods.

*It will be recalled that nonrescuers included actives—people who report being members of resistance groups or helping Jews but whose accounts have not been authenticated—and bystanders—people who report neither engaging in resistance nor helping Jews.

Awareness was also an important component of the significant differences between rescuers and nonrescuers as to whether they or their spouses had Jewish coworkers. Only a minority of rescuers and nonrescuers worked with Jews immediately before the war, but again rescuers did so in larger percentages (34 percent, as against 17 percent of all nonrescuers and 15 percent of bystanders) and more nonrescuers said they did not know (13 percent of all nonrescuers and 8 percent of bystanders, as against 1 percent of rescuers). More rescuers said their spouses worked with Jews (28 percent, compared with 10 percent of all nonrescuers and 4 percent of bystanders) and more nonrescuers than rescuers did not know (41 percent of all nonrescuers, 32 percent of bystanders, and 19 percent of rescuers).

Awareness that people around them were Jewish may have reflected in part the greater tendency of rescuers to have Jewish friends. Significantly more of them had Jewish friends immediately before the war (59 percent of rescuers, 34 percent of all nonrescuers, and 25 percent of bystanders), and significantly more of their spouses had Jewish friends (46 percent, compared with 25 percent of all nonrescuers and 16 percent of bystanders). (See Table 5.1.) Such friendships were important potential sources of information.

Immediately before the war, then, the majority of rescuers and nonrescuers lived among Jews, but only a minority among all groups worked with them. Rescuers appear to have had more opportunities to acquire information by virtue of the physical proximity of Jews in their neighborhoods and workplaces. This difference, however, may have been more illusory than real, inasmuch as nonrescuers were apparently less conscious of whether Jews were present or not. Rescuers' greater awareness of Jews generally may have been partly due to their greater tendency to have personal friendships with Jews.

However, prewar geographical proximity was not essential to acquiring information. More than 30 percent of rescuers did not live among Jews, more than 40 percent had no Jewish friends, and more than 65 percent had no Jewish coworkers. At best, though prewar proximity and friendships offered some opportunities for gaining knowledge, they were not necessary or sufficient conditions.

In fact, despite differences between rescuers and nonrescuers in living or working with Jews and having Jewish friends, there was

little difference in their comprehension of the dire fate awaiting the Jews. Almost all rescuers (99 percent) and nonrescuers (93 percent) said they were either aware of Nazi intentions regarding Jews before the war started or learned about them during the war. While more rescuers than nonrescuers claimed knowing about Hitler's intentions before he came to power (23 percent for rescuers, 16 percent for all nonrescuers, and 15 percent for bystanders), the majority in all groups learned about them during the war itself (Table 5.2). Rescuers and nonrescuers acquired knowledge in similar ways.

German rescuers as well as German nonrescuers who knew about Hitler's intentions early had heard Nazis speak or had observed their behaviors:

> I heard a lecture by Nazis in Breslau in 1929. We knew the Nazis from our student days [German rescuer].
>
> I saw Jews clobbered in the street weeks before Hitler came to power [German nonrescuer].

Those who lived outside Germany learned about events through the media or from German Jewish refugees:

> We heard about Germany in the press. We had quite a number of Jewish refugees in Poland from Germany and from Czechoslovakia. The outlook was rather grim [Polish nonrescuer].
>
> We read the newspapers and knew about anti-Semitism in Germany. I remember *Kristallnacht.* It was general knowledge, known to anybody who read the newspapers [Dutch nonrescuer].
>
> I read about it in the papers constantly [Dutch nonrescuer].
>
> A lot of German Jews came to our country in the thirties [Dutch rescuer].
>
> When the Germans occupied Austria, a group of Jews were thrown out of Vienna. Mother wanted to help these people, so she found a refugee in Warsaw who could sew. This person told us what the situation was like in occupied Austria for Jews [Polish rescuer].

While such early information did not necessarily predict mass extermination, it did indicate to rescuers and nonrescuers that

something very special was intended for Jews. As one French rescuer explained: "I knew what was happening to Jews in Germany, but I did not know what this meant for Jews in France, at least until 1942." Many respondents say that no single event made them aware of the plight of Jews; it was rather a series of events.

Most respondents—approximately 76 percent in all groups—said they learned about Nazi intentions shortly after the Nazi takeover in their country. One of the earliest directly observed indications was Jews wearing the Star of David. More than 85 percent of rescuers and nonrescuers alike saw Jews wearing it; there were no statistical differences among groups. (Among the remainder who reported never having seen it, most lived in France; the measure was never extended to the Vichy zone.) The first time they saw this symbol, a small minority (8 percent of rescuers, 14 percent of all nonrescuers, and 18 percent of bystanders) regarded it as something of a curiosity or with indifference (Table 5.2):

> When I saw a Jew wearing a yellow Star of David, I sort of laughed about it. My girlfriend and her mother were wearing it—several people I never even knew were Jewish [Dutch rescuer].
>
> I thought the star was some kind of pass for them [French nonrescuer].
>
> When I saw Jews wearing the yellow Star of David, I thought perhaps they had committed some sort of crime. Our leaders never told us why they wore the star [Rumanian nonrescuer].
>
> It meant nothing to me. I was just not interested in Jews [Polish nonrescuer].

More than 80 percent of rescuers and all other groups (but significantly more rescuers than bystanders) perceived it as a tragedy for Jews:

> It was a disgrace. I felt embittered [German rescuer].
>
> Unjust! Inexplicable [French rescuer].
>
> Uneasiness, pain because of the solidarity I felt for the Jews [French nonrescuer].
>
> Terrible! Devastating! So cruel [Polish rescuer].

> Terrible, terrible! I felt so bad for everybody to see what they were—what it represented and how they must feel [Dutch nonrescuer].

Such feelings were sometimes accompanied by relief that it was not they who were forced to wear it:

> I was always glad I wasn't a Jew. They wore the star. Then they started disappearing. It became scary then [Dutch nonrescuer].

> I think there was a double feeling—a feeling of compassion for Jews and anger toward the Germans. There was also a feeling of distance from the Jews. There was a part of me that also identified with the aggressor—thank God it's not me. No! Identification with the aggressor is not the right idea. I felt threatened by what they did to Jews [Dutch nonrescuer].

For many Poles it meant that Jews could be murdered at will and also suggested to them their own fate:

> I heard that when Jews had to have the yellow Stars of David, then everybody could hit them, kill them, or hurt them in any way [rescuer].

> I was very upset. He was a marked man. Everybody could shoot him [nonrescuer].

> I was afraid it was going to happen to Poles too. [rescuer].

> I thought like everybody else that Jews, as well as Poles, were going to die [nonrescuer].

The particular meaning Poles attributed to the star was the result of the barbarities they had observed directly. Most saw Jews brutalized and killed; most saw the ghettos formed and many saw them burn:

> I saw them shoot Jews randomly on the market square in Krosno [nonrescuer].

> If they did not wear their yellow armband, they would be beaten mercilessly. I saw this with my own eyes and I will never forget [nonrescuer].

In 1940, as they transported Jews to the ghetto, I lived near the ghetto and saw people begging for bread. I saw them finished off [nonrescuer].

I witnessed mistreatment in the ghetto in Radomsko. We couldn't come too close; we couldn't give them anything to eat. The Jews stretched out their arms—they were hungry—and the Germans beat those arms [nonrescuer].

In 1940 the Germans caught a Jew who had escaped from the ghetto, and they told him to put smoking cigars inside his mouth. They were laughing at him. We could hear the Jew screaming. I was a witness to the liquidation of the ghetto. I saw everything from my window [nonrescuer].

I saw the building of the camps, the smoke from the crematorium [nonrescuer].

I saw in Krasnik how they shot Jews; the Jews dug the ditches and then the Germans shot them [rescuer].

I could smell the smoke from Majdanek; dogs barked; they used them to bite and nip people [rescuer].

I saw Jewish families being taken to be executed in Limanowa. Those Jews had to dig their own ditches—graves. It was horrible; the soil was moving after the execution [rescuer].

Outside Poland, however, respondents were less likely to observe brutal mistreatment of Jews directly. More often, they reported observing single instances of brutality toward Jews—a single shooting, a raid, or a transport or the special treatment of Jewish prisoners if they themselves were imprisoned or visited someone in prison. More rescuers than nonrescuers reported such incidents:

I always had to go to the hall, where I worked for the Central Committee, and that's where I had to go for food. I always got a little more there. I always had to go past there, and I always saw these groups of Jews there—the way they were herded together. They would be picked up later [German rescuer].

In Galicia, April 7, 1942, after my escape from prisoners' camp, I saw ten thousand people killed, Jews and others. I

first saw the Star of David when I was in the Ukraine. From April 13, 1942, to July 31, 1942, I was a prisoner of war at Rawa Ruska in the Ukraine. The Germans would kill hundreds of Jews each day—men, women, children. It was awful [French rescuer].

I did an autopsy on the first victim. There was no doctor or nurse, and the prefect designated me to do the autopsy. As superintendent of police, I knew right away what the Germans were going to do to the Jews [French rescuer].

In May 1943 I witnessed with my own eyes Jews being shipped to Westerbork in boxcars. I saw them. I saw it with my own eyes [Dutch rescuer].

I saw people being picked up. They were kicked and thrown around, then taken away. I happened to be there. They brought many Jews together in the concert hall in Amsterdam. Then they were taken away to the train. I was there when they took them out of the concert hall and put them on the train. It was pathetic, indescribable. People with suitcases—just driven like cattle [Dutch rescuer].

Rescuers and nonrescuers also saw other signs—the posted ones prohibiting Jews from using facilities, proclamations in the official press regarding Jews, the removal of belongings from vacated Jewish apartments, the disappearance of a neighbor, and, finally, the disappearance of those wearing the yellow star:

I saw the signs appear in public places that Jews were not allowed in swimming pools and restaurants, and they could not even use park benches [Dutch rescuer].

The only time I saw mistreatment of Jews was the day they raided my employer's apartment—loading the truck with all my boss' belongings. What was worse was that it was Frenchmen who were emptying the apartment—not Germans [French rescuer].

When Holland surrendered, one of the teachers was married to a Jew. She and her husband committed suicide. This stunned me. In my youthful eyes it was incomprehensible that somebody could do that just out of the fear of Germans invading. Then there were signs that

NONRESCUERS

was a clothing store. The incident was never in the paper. My mother thought it was a clothing store that belonged to Jews. My mother came home with that story and thought it was just terrible, but she didn't know whether or not to believe it [German].

Hence, neither knowledge nor comprehension per se distinguished rescuers from nonrescuers, but rather the credibility and significance of such knowledge. Although rescuers and nonrescuers knew similar facts, at some point rescuers began to perceive them in a personal way. At some point information was no longer merely recorded or vaguely apprehended or communicated by supposedly unreliable third persons. At some point, for rescuers, awareness became attention, and attention became focused concentration on what was happening to particular people in specific contexts. But we might assume that, before making the move from comprehension to action, individuals would consider such factors as the potential risks to themselves and their families and their actual ability to help, especially in terms of financial resources and providing shelter.

Risks

To what degree did risk or the perception of risk influence the decision to rescue?

Objective risk varied considerably, depending on national and regional location, the number of Nazis available to search out defectors, the collaboration of indigeneous police forces and the local population, the vicissitudes of local policy, and the shifting movements of German troops as they advanced or retreated. At any moment a safer area could suddenly become very dangerous; conversely, an area once thick with Germans might become relatively safe.

In general, geographically isolated areas were of less strategic value to the Germans, resulting in fewer troops stationed there

and lighter patrols. Only a small percentage of rescuers (8 percent) said they lived on isolated farms during the war. But even fewer nonrescuers (less than 2 percent) reported living in such areas.

Geographical location may have shielded a few rescuers from Nazi patrols, but they were nonetheless subject to the potentially prying eyes of neighbors. Of course, neighbors could be a source of help or threat. Most rescuers perceived their neighbors as threatening. Frequently, the threat was very real:

> We started having difficulties with a guy across the street. He pestered my mother: "Mrs. W., this will end up with a hanging." Then we heard that he had been arrested and shot by the Gestapo. My mother said, "Don't you believe it! That son of a bitch will walk out of his grave to persecute us," and indeed, before the week was out, he was back, threatening us as usual with disclosure [Polish rescuer].

> Those houses nearby stood in a row, and there was a huge common yard. Among the lodgers there lived a concierge and his son. I shouldn't tell you this, because it is such a shame that Polish people could do what he did. But he got one woman, who promised him some gold, out of the ghetto. He took her home, and in a few days she was gone. I went to him to ask where she was. He replied, "I don't know. I got up in the morning and she was just not there—the apartment door was open." But somebody told me that after he got the gold, he led her out at night and killed her. And I could say nothing, for such a hoodlum could have done the same to me [Polish rescuer].

But in several cases, neighbors said after the war that they had known all along:

> It was a heavy burden. Imagine how my mother felt! Three meals every day—breakfast, dinner, and supper. Every time before summoning our guests from the hideout, one had to check whether the coast was clear—look from the terrace pretending that the purpose was to fix something or to fetch something from the cellar. Day in, day out! But our neighbor smelled a rat. He lived so close to our place. After the war he told me that he knew. We couldn't see him when he gave food to his pigs, but from there he saw everything [Polish rescuer].

And in fact, among the 65 percent of rescuers who told of their neighbors learning about their activities after the war, more than 70 percent said their neighbors approved. But because such sentiments could not be predicted in advance, safety was better ensured by the absence of neighbors.

Yet few rescuers enjoyed this luxury. More than 85 percent said they had "many neighbors" living nearby during the war, a similar percentage to that of nonrescuers. The majority of rescuers lived in areas of high population density during the war—60 percent in large or medium-size cities, 20 percent in cities with a million or more inhabitants.

One advantage city dwellers had was relative anonymity. Amid the bustle of many strangers, one's activities might not be noticed. This was not the case, however, in small villages, where unusual activities were more likely to be observed and subject to gossip. Yet a significantly larger percentage of rescuers (16 percent, compared with approximately 10 percent of nonrescuers) lived in small villages. When villages were communities sharing similar values regarding rescue, however, neighbors could provide a cover of safety. Le Chambon in France was one such community.[1] Several of the small-village dwellers in our sample lived in Friesland, a largely homogenous Dutch religious community with distinct views about the special favored status of Jews. While rescuers living in this community did not usually disclose their covert activities, several affirmed that their neighbors knew and were sympathetic. To the extent that rescuers benefited from their geographical location, it was not by virtue of isolation from or the absence of neighbors, but rather by virtue of the decency of the neighbors among whom some of them lived.

A household with few people reduced the risk of disclosure; those living alone would have been the safest. However, only 16 percent of rescuers lived alone at the time of their first helping activity. The remaining 84 percent lived in households ranging from one additional person to more than seven; a few in the latter group lived in religious orders and boarding schools. At the outbreak of the war, the distribution of all nonrescuers was similar: Approximately 21 percent lived alone and 79 percent in households ranging from one additional person to more than seven.

Households with children posed a particular threat. Children were more likely to reveal secrets; adults who might be willing to risk their own lives and the lives of other adults would be less

willing to jeopardize unknowing children. Yet 27 percent of rescuers lived in households with at least one child aged ten years or younger—a percentage similar to that of all nonrescuers (18 percent for all nonrescuers, 19 percent for bystanders). (See Table 5.3.) Thus, the number of people or children in a household does not explain why some became rescuers and others did not.

Never objectively certain, risk was frequently assessed subjectively—a personal calculus of the probability of disclosure and punishment perceived differently at times even by people engaged in similar activities in the same areas. The accounts of three Polish rescuers suggest how varied such perceptions could be. For one member of Zegota (the Polish group concerned with helping Jews), involvement with Jews was perceived as inviting the certainty of death:

> Nobody in Poland, no Army command, civil underground authorities, could order anyone or impose on anyone to take care of or help the Jews. That would mean sending him or her to death. And nobody sent people to death in Poland. You could be given an assignment with death as a possibility, but you couldn't be sentenced to it.

Another Pole however, was surprised to learn that others regarded saving Jews as more dangerous than general resistance activities:

> There were more Jews hiding in our place than persecuted Poles. Poles in the underground seldom came to us. As I learned only later, the underground regarded our house as not quite safe—they were afraid it might become a trap because of the Jews in it.

Yet another Pole perceived the risk in saving Jews as no more than that involved in having an illegal piece of meat:

> There were only two punishments in the GG [General Gouvernement]—the death penalty or a twenty zloty fine. So, you know, the punishment was the same either for a kilo of meat or for saving a hundred Jews.

Although their subjective perceptions varied, most rescuers nonetheless perceived helping Jews as very dangerous from the start. Only 18 percent said they felt no sense of personal risk the very first time they helped a Jew, and 23 percent perceived

the risk as moderate. But more than half (54 percent) felt that even the very first helping act was accompanied by extreme risk to themselves and to their families.

However, perceived risk was less a calculation of the probabilities of being caught than it was a perception of what would happen to them if they were. In this respect, rescuers had no less reason to be fearful than did nonrescuers. The majority of rescuers (88 percent) experienced no personal harassment at the hands of the Germans as a consequence of their first helping act; neither they nor anyone who helped them was arrested or even questioned. Most (70 percent) of them had never been personally mistreated by the Nazis before their first helping activity. The majority (65 percent), however, had directly observed Nazi mistreatment of others, exclusive of Jews. Hence, they understood that Nazi brutality was not confined to Jews alone and had legitimate fears regarding their own treatment should they be caught. Nonrescuers had no more reason to be fearful. The majority of them (75 percent) never experienced any personal mistreatment at the hands of the Nazis, nor had they witnessed anyone else, other than Jews, being mistreated by them (60 percent). Thus, their direct observation of Nazi brutality with respect to people like themselves was even less than that of rescuers. Therefore, by virtue of personal experience of mistreatment or the mistreatment of others, they had no more apparent reason to be fearful then did rescuers.

On the whole then, objective risk conditions were no less threatening for rescuers than nonrescuers. Indeed, the majority of rescuers perceived the risks—both to themselves and their families—as extreme from the start. What distinguished rescuers from others was their readiness to act despite perceived risks.

Resources

Without resources, however, rescuers could not have undertaken their task. They needed money, appropriate shelters, and help from others. Money was essential to the entire enterprise of rescue. It was needed to purchase food, shelters, forged papers, transportation, and all other basic needs; it was also needed for bribing and silencing blackmailers. Rescuers' and nonrescuers' relative financial situations are suggested by their employment status before and during the war.

Sixty-three percent of rescuers reported being employed im-

mediately before the war; of these, 2 percent were in the military and 9 percent were religious functionaries or intermittently employed (Table 5.4). Among all employed rescuers, 33 percent were at the upper end of the occupational scale; 13 percent were higher executives, proprietors of large concerns, and major professionals; 21 percent were business managers in large concerns, proprietors of medium-size businesses, or lesser professionals and administrators. Approximately 16 percent were at the bottom of the occupational scale; 6 percent were semiskilled workers, 10 percent unskilled (Table 5.5). Approximately half were in the middle levels of the occupational scale. Self-perceptions of their prewar economic status are largely congruent with this occupational distribution. Somewhat more than a fourth (26 percent) said they were either very well or quite well off, 22 percent quite or very poor, and the majority (52 percent) neither (Table 5.6a).

Prewar employment figures for bystanders were similar to those of rescuers. There were no significant differences in prewar occupational distributions between employed rescuers and nonrescuers (Table 5.5). But whereas self-perceptions of economic status were similar for rescuers and all nonrescuers, bystanders as a group did differ from rescuers. Whereas rescuers were represented along the entire continuum from very well off to very poor, bystanders were concentrated in the middle ranges; fewer were very well off, but fewer, also, were very poor (Table 5.6a).

The difference among groups sharpened during the war—this time, however, it was reflected in occupational distributions among the employed but not in self-perceptions of economic status. After the war began, the ranks of employed rescuers increased to 74 percent, primarily because more housewives and students entered the workforce (Table 5.7). There was some slight decrease among those at the top of the occupational ladder and some slight increase among those at the bottom (Table 5.8). Self-perceptions of economic status confirm some general downward mobility. The percentage who perceived themselves as quite or very poor increased to 32 percent (Table 5.6b).

Employment also increased among nonrescuers during the war. Whereas housewives and students entering the workforce accounted for some of the increase, more nonrescuers served with the German military forces (Table 5.7). Occupational distributions among nonrescuers also showed some downward mobility during the war; the ranks of the semiskilled increased substantially among

bystanders particularly (from 18 percent before the war to 33 percent during the war). Overall shifts favored employed rescuers. Fewer nonrescuers than rescuers were at the top of the occupational ladder during the war and more were at the bottom (Table 5.8).

But—because of the dominant illegal market and the expropriations of the occupiers—occupational status was less predictive of economic well-being during the war than before. Hence, it is not surprising that nonrescuers perceived their wartime economic status as similar to that of rescuers. Approximately a third of all groups perceived themselves as "quite poor" or "very poor" during the war; approximately half the members of all groups perceived themselves as "neither rich nor poor." There was no significant difference among any groups with respect to such self-ratings (Table 5.6b).

At best, prewar and wartime occupations and economic status favored a few rescuers. But the overall similarity in the range of occupation and economic status among rescuers and nonrescuers suggests that economic resources may have facilitated rescue, but were not a critical factor influencing the decision to rescue. In fact, rescuers included the very poor and the very rich as well as every level in between.

In addition to money, adequate shelters facilitated rescue. Those who owned their own homes would not have prying landlords about. Those who had access to attics and cellars would have better facilities for hiding people than those who did not. Those with larger domiciles could keep people there without major internal discomfort. However, there were no significant differences between rescuers and nonrescuers with respect to living in a house or apartment, owning or renting, or having access to an attic. Forty-eight percent of rescuers, 41 percent of nonrescuers, and 44 percent of bystanders reported living in a house. Approximately 45 percent of rescuers said they owned their house or apartment; 51 percent of all nonrescuers and 50 percent of bystanders made this claim. The majority of all groups had access to an attic: 80 percent of rescuers, 74 percent of all nonrescuers, and 80 percent of bystanders. Significantly more rescuers had access to a cellar (83 percent) than all nonrescuers (69 percent), but the percentage of bystanders having access to a cellar (81 percent) was almost identical to that of rescuers. Rescuers did, however, have a small but significant advantage over bystanders with respect to the num-

ber of rooms in their dwellings. Whereas only 40 percent of rescuers reported one to three rooms, 54 percent of bystanders did; whereas 19 percent of rescuers reported seven to nine rooms, only 5 percent of bystanders did. Thus, having a house with many rooms may have facilitated rescue, but it was not a critically determining factor. Rescuers included those with neither attic nor cellar, as well as those living in a single room. More rescuers than bystanders had larger domiciles; with respect to all other conditions, however, they were similar (Table 5.9).

Whereas economic and sheltering capabilities facilitated rescue, a supportive network was in most cases critical to it. Rescuers depended most heavily on informal networks rather than formal ones.

The formal networks were organized resistance groups whose objectives were determined by leaders. Relationships among the members were impersonal and defined by rules and regulations. Fewer than half of rescuers (44 percent) belonged to resistance groups (Table 5.10). Bystanders, by definition, did not belong to such groups. Among actives, by definition nonauthenticated helpers of Jews or participants in resistance, 70 percent belonged to resistance groups. Resistance groups whose objectives included helping Jews provided invaluable services; even those who were not officially concerned with Jews were sometimes helpful. But when the group's objectives did not include helping Jews, membership could also impede rescue since it might interfere with the group's primary objectives by deflecting human and material resources or by increasing the risks of participants. Arms provided to Jewish ghettos, for example, meant fewer arms for the planned Warsaw Uprising; shelters provided to Jews not only meant fewer shelters for fugitive members but also increased members risk. A sense of how rescue could conflict with resistance group activities is captured in this poignant story of an AK member and a Jewish child she found on the street:

> There was a little girl, dirty and in rags. The poor little one was walking. I felt so terribly sorry for her. I asked her, "Where are you from?" And she said, "From the ghetto." She was about eight or nine years old. And at that time we were all in hiding, my group and I. We hid at our printing house in Solna Street—we slept there, ate there, and everything. We had to change quarters constantly—we were

really homeless wanderers. So I brought her there and said that somehow we could help her, since she was blond haired. I said: "Boys, let's take care of her, and we'll manage somehow." And she stayed with us for a little while. We even taught her how to read. But then one of our mates said: "It's too risky. Do you know where she came from?" He kept on talking like this. So I finally agreed that she should leave, but I insisted that we not just abandon her but place her somewhere. So they found a place somewhere; I don't know where [Polish nonrescuer].

More important than formally organized resistance networks were the informal ones rescuers created out of their own contacts with families, friends, and others personally known to them. Relationships among informal networks were not governed by rules and regulations but were rather the product of emergent cooperative processes. Objectives in such groups were not determined by a remote leadership; rather, they emerged in the context of needs as participants defined them.

Nonrescuers had similar opportunities for creating informal networks. Similar percentages of nonrescuers were household heads (27 percent and 26 percent for all nonrescuers and bystanders respectively, 29 percent for rescuers), presumably able to command or convince their households to engage in rescue. Similar percentages report living with others (79 percent and 74 percent for all nonrescuers and bystanders respectively, 84 percent for rescuers). Similar proportions had neighbors nearby and family members living in the same community (53 percent and 55 percent for all nonrescuers and bystanders respectively, 45 percent for rescuers).

What apparently distinguished rescuers from nonrescuers was not access to, or potential for organizing, such informal networks, but rather the sentiments and behaviors of their networks—the types of people who comprised their most intimate contacts. More rescuers had reason to believe that their contacts would support them. More rescuers belonged to formal networks that shared their concerns about Jews. And more rescuers could assume that their families would help them if called on, because of their own activities. Sixty percent of rescuers' families had at least one member involved in rescue or resistance activities compared with 35 percent of nonrescuers' families—a statistically sig-

nificant difference that becomes even more dramatic when compared with bystanders' families, among whom only 20 percent included such people (Table 5.10).

Were They Asked?

Alert to all instances of human suffering, certain individuals actively seek out the needy and devise means to help them. These are the initiators. Far more commonly, however, a helping response is the result of a specific event or request that compels attention. An abstract awareness of need becomes immediate when someone is asked for help and more immediate still when the asker is the actual victim rather than an intermediary acting on his or her behalf. A specific identifiable human being compels attention, even if only for the moment. Consequences are no longer associated with a conveniently distant group but are now imagined in relation to *this* face, *this* voice, *this* presence. Most rescuers waited to be asked, but many initiated helping on their own.

Approximately one-third (32 percent) of rescuers said they began helping Jews on their own initiative. Initiating took several forms. In some cases it meant organizing a semiformal or formal network, acquiring resources, and seeking out Jews in need:

> I started all alone to find shelter for Jewish people arriving in the southern part of France. I took several of them over the border to Switzerland. To bring people to the border, I needed others. So I contacted people I already knew. At the border I tried to find places for shelter so that I could bring them to Switzerland in the middle of the night. I also had to find people on the other border to keep an eye on the Germans. Most of the Jews did not know me at first. They simply approached me for help. But later I went looking for people who needed help. Those I helped told others about me. I was always very careful to see that I had the right people in my organization—people I could trust. I had my own money and paid my own expenses. Some people in my groups were businesspeople. Some of the rescuers involved in the team were also Jews. Two of my closest associates were Jews. Some people were ready to accept people in their homes and hide them. There were

some young men and girls who were enthusiastic but did not have much money. They helped take people from one place to another [Dutch rescuer in France].

It began in 1941 when I went to Poitiers, where my father-in-law had just died. I rented a little apartment and was looking for work. It was then that I became aware that in the street there were children wearing the yellow star. They were from the concentration camp on the road to Limoges, where they spent every night locked up under the guardianship of the French police. During the day they were supposed to go to Jewish families in the city of Poitiers; these families were supposed to feed them and to be responsible for returning them to the German authorities. But the children were stealing everything they could find on the streets. Many of them came from foreign countries, could not speak French, and were not allowed to talk to anyone and could not find their way. In spite of the fact that it was forbidden, and in spite of the risks, I took ten of them each day into my house. I taught them French, fed them, and we prayed. Their mothers were locked up in the camp and their fathers were working at the Mur de l'Atlantique [German coastal defenses].

I decided to set up my own system. I prepared a plan that I managed to pull off. I went to Chateauroux and took two of the boys with me. A friend, Mr. H., made me aware of the UGIF and the OSE—I had known nothing about them until then. He also introduced me to the Jewish population of Chateauroux and to a variety of other people. When I told them about the Jewish children, they were amazed—they were simply unaware of the great danger. I met Germaine Ribière and convinced her and Dr. Gaston Lévy of the danger. Germaine Ribière contacted Monseigneur Gerlier, who was the bishop of Lyon. Through his work with Les Amitiés Chrétiennes, he gave me the title "social worker" and provided me with the necessary money for my travels and food for the Jewish children I was placing with non-Jewish families [French rescuer].

In some cases it meant the search for a group or individual involved in rescue:

All Germans must have known what was going on with the Jews. I was a mere housewife, but I had contact all the time with people who were against Hitler. They told me the most horrible things—transports, gas chambers, drownings, gassing in trains—I knew that a huge injustice was taking place. I felt tense; I couldn't sleep. I decided to go to the parish minister. I could tell from his sermons that he was on our side. So when he asked me whether I would help some hidden Jews, I agreed [German rescuer].

I had a deep friendship with my classmate, a Jewish girl, very exceptional. During my visit to Frankfurt in Germany, I had stayed with a Jewish family. I saw some horrible things. I saw some people coming back from the camps. I was at the train station at Frankfurt when these people were coming back. Some had very marked and bruised faces, swollen legs—hardly a human face anymore. I was very shocked by this. So, when the war started, I looked for a way to help. Through Protestant friends—being Protestant myself—I contacted La Cimade. I had already been doing some things alone. But I preferred to join an association, an organization to help people in danger [French rescuer].

As soon as Zegota, the Council for Aid to Jews, was formed, I contacted it. I was also in contact with the so-called Jewish Department as the Chief Command of the Home Army. It was my own initiative [Polish rescuer].

In several cases it meant offering help to a Jewish friend, acquaintance, or stranger without being asked:

In July 1942 we heard that they were going to start picking up Jewish boys aged sixteen and up. Mrs. V.'s sister had a boy of sixteen, and I was very worried about him. Before I was married I had worked for Dr. V. in Amsterdam as a dental assistant, and since we had become friends. On Sunday, July 11, we went to the V.'s to visit and asked them what Johnny was going to do. She said, "My brother-in-law says maybe it will be just work camps. Maybe it will be good for the boy." And I said, "How stupid can he get?! We know several people who said they are destroying them." So they said, "What can we do?" I said, "Well, we have a

home—a downstairs bedroom and bathroom. Why don't you all come over to our place?" We all thought it would be a matter of three weeks; instead it became nearly three years [Dutch rescuer].

When I first became aware in 1940 that they were persecuting the Jews, I contacted my friend, R. R. I said to her. "R., you can't become an outcast. I'll look after you. I'll register you at my place, and you'll stay with me." And so I did. I registered her, and I got her a *Kennkarte,* and she came to live with me [Polish rescuer].

Most rescuers (67 percent), however, waited to be asked, at least the first time. Sometimes it was the victim him- or herself who asked for help; most often, it was an intermediary acting on the victim's behalf. Only 27 percent of rescuers who began their helping activities in response to a request said the victim asked; more than 70 percent were asked by intermediaries. Intermediaries may have included parents:

Four Jews stayed with me from 1942. Two were friends from secondary school. They had been in touch with my mother. She arranged to get them out of the Czestochowa Ghetto and later handed them over to me [Polish rescuer].

A religious functionary:

It was initiated by the Bekennende Kirche [Lutheran Confessing Church]. One evening, the curate from another village asked if I would take some Jews for a while. I said, "Yes, they may come" [German rescuer].

A Jewish acquaintance acting on behalf of other Jews:

Through Leon Poliakov, we met André Bass, who was the commander of the Action Group Against Deportation. Bass asked him to save Jews—to go and get them from the Midi [Southern France]. My husband said, "All I can do for you, I will" [French rescuer].

A Jewish stranger similarily acting on behalf of others:

It was in the winter of 1942 or 1943. I had a visit from a young Jewish doctor. Someone must have spoken to him about me. He contacted me—I didn't ask who sent him. Really a very charming man. He asked for my help to

> rescue eighty Jewish children who were being taken to Vichy by the Germans. That's how it started [French rescuer].

A relative:

> A niece of mine said: "Tante, can you give some help for a little while? I have a little Jewish boy. We already have so many that we need a place for him." "Yes," I said, "for a while" [Dutch rescuer].

A resistance network contact:

> Jo came to our place. She came by bus. The mother of her sister's husband, who was Aryan, contacted a doctor in Friesland who was in the organization. They sent Jo to us [Dutch rescuer].

A teacher:

> A high school teacher came to see us one day. He said he had a German Jewish student who needed help [French rescuer].

A government official:

> A Belgian senator introduced me to Mr. L. S. [French rescuer].

Or a friend:

> My girlfriend came and said to me, "Thea, I have a little girl. Her father was shot to death, her mother fled with her brother, and she stuffed her in a closet to hide her." So I said, "Okay, bring her." She was a little Jewish girl, four years old [Dutch rescuer].

Once they agreed, rescuers found themselves experiencing the "foot in the door" phenomenon. Those they helped brought or sent others. Intermediaries who had received an affirmative answer once came again. Those who were asked would frequently initiate requests from others. Many rescuers were asked more than once; several were asked repeatedly.

Did rescuers ever say no? Approximately 15 percent said they did, on at least one occasion. The reasons varied. Sometimes they did not trust the person who was asking. A common ruse used by

Germans was to coerce or bribe others to seek out would-be rescuers by asking for help. Sometimes it was a matter of risk:

> I told them that I had to stop for a few months because it was too dangerous. The Gestapo was looking for me and I had to hide. I reorganized later and started up again with a friend [French rescuer].

Some simply put limits on their responsibilities:

> With every new person we accepted, those who were already there were threatened. The danger to my family would have been disproportionately great. We had taken on enough responsibilities already [German rescuer].

> My brother-in-law had married a Jewish girl, and he asked me to help his wife and her parents. I refused. It was his duty to help them—not mine. He would be having all the fun, while I would be having all the responsibility [Polish rescuer].

On rare occasions, it was an ideological issue:

> My friend asked me to help his friend's in-laws, who were in the ghetto. These were very rich people. I told him I was only helping the poor and advised him to go to the people who get paid for helping. The rich had ways of getting help the poor did not have. The poor were our members and party comrades; they were the ones who were primarily concerned with fighting for freedom [Polish rescuer].

But most commonly, it was lack of resources:

> A Jewish mother with a nine-year-old child came to rent a room, but all were taken. She left and poisoned her child and committed suicide out of desperation. Before she killed herself, she told people that I had given her humane treatment that made her last a few more days. I didn't have space for her. I didn't know that she was in such a tragic state [Polish rescuer].

> Our house was filled up. We had a small house and we couldn't have more [rescuer].

Nonrescuers, too, were asked for help, although significantly less frequently than rescuers. Approximately 25 percent of all non-

rescuers were asked to help, and approximately 20 percent responded to such requests. (Bystanders, by definition, did not respond to such requests.) What distinguished the responses of active respondents from most rescuers', however, was that their help tended to be brief and, in a few cases, was given for payment:

> The Jews were employed in this factory, and a girl whom I befriended then asked me to buy her a carp for a holiday feast. She wanted to spend this holiday with her parents, who were already old. I was afraid to carry it to the factory because the *Volksdeutsche* kept an eye on us, watching whether we brought in any food. One could not bring much at a time, but one could always pretend that one was carrying one's lunch. A young boy asked me to bring him meat, chops or something. My mother cooked, and I would bring it for him. He had nobody else to help him. They could not survive on their rations [Polish active nonrescuer].
>
> I had a Jewish friend who was attending first-aid courses with me. She came by to see me at dinnertime. She told me that she had just escaped. The news distressed me a bit; it is not comfortable to share one's bed with some other person. Perhaps one could manage one night but hardly any longer. I found her another place. When the Jews were thrown out of Otwock, a friend asked me to shelter a girl for one night. I agreed and next morning I left for work. I had to. The girl was very frightened. She asked whether she might draw the curtains. I said, "Do what you want." I had to leave her alone—I could not do otherwise. After hours, I escorted her to others [Polish active nonrescuer].
>
> A Jew stayed in my flat for three months. It was impossible to stretch it any longer. I was single then. I never knew his real name—we had never met before. He spent three months in my place, and then he went to stay with a colleague of mine, S. And that's the last I heard of him [Polish active nonrescuer].
>
> I had a friend who had a Jewish friend. I agreed to take his daughter to our house. She was ten years old, a beautiful girl. They brought her over. I had her for two weeks but she wanted to go back. About three days before the Jewish

> uprising, I called her father. The father was pleading with her to stay with me. But she went back [Polish active nonrescuer].
>
> We were very good friends with one Jewish couple—very close friends. I used to keep their baby overnight because they were afraid of being picked up by the Germans. They asked my husband to put the baby on the doorstep of some other good friends who had agreed to adopt it. We went out at night and did it. The couple went into hiding and almost made it; they were discovered a couple of months before the war ended. The baby, I think, made it [Dutch active nonrescuer].

In a few cases, Jews were being sheltered by the active respondent's parents and help was enlisted from time to time. A Polish AK member whose parents were involved describes a most unusual form of help:

> During the first evacuation of the ghetto in 1942, the wife and two beautiful daughters of a dentist—a friend of my family—were deported to Treblinka. One of the girls had taught me French during the first year of the occupation. The dentist was of course very worried; he was told they were going to Palestine to be resettled. Outside the ghetto we suspected something different. We knew the trains were going somewhere near Treblinka. The dentist stayed in the ghetto. He wanted to know where the family went. Being a Boy Scout, I volunteered to trace the train. Nowadays, I consider this suicidal. I went to the railway station and asked for a round-trip ticket to Treblinka. They looked at me in disbelief. I actually took the train. I got out at the station and walked to some farmer's house. I can't believe today that I did this. I asked the farmer what was going on. I saw the trains passing by and backing up inside the camp. People in the trains were begging for water, and nobody could approach them because there were Germans with machine guns sitting on top of the trains. I knew I had bad news for the dentist and his son [Polish active nonrescuer].

Like rescuers, actives who were involved in helping Jews were either asked by Jews themselves or by intermediaries acting on their behalf. Although help was extended reluctantly in some of

the above cases, respondents did fulfill what was asked of them, entirely or in part. Several actives might even qualify as Yad Vashem rescuers with the appropriate documentation from those they helped. But what distinguishes most actives who did respond from most rescuers is the degree of responsibility assumed and the length of time they persisted at their tasks.

Approximately 10 percent of nonrescuers said they refused help when asked. The reasons they gave for their refusal to help ranged from lack of interest and involvement in other things to feelings of impotence and risk:

> I did not want to get involved in helping Jews. I wanted to help the Polish villagers [Polish nonrescuer].
>
> A Jewish woman asked me to carry something to another place for her. I couldn't do it because I was too busy [Polish nonrescuer].
>
> If they asked for help and I could do it, I would; but if I couldn't, I wouldn't. Sometimes people would ask me for something, and then I would say to them, "This is war." I just didn't have the right connections [Belgian nonrescuer].
>
> We were all busy with just surviving. There was so much misery around, and one just couldn't do anything [Dutch nonrescuer].
>
> I didn't want to jeopardize the lives of my family [Polish nonrescuer].
>
> A Jewish man asked me to help a girlfriend of his. I couldn't do it because my neighbor knew her. The Jew I knew because I sold him bricks. I didn't want to risk my family's lives. They would have been better off hiding in a safer place in the villages. I did suggest that to them [Polish nonrescuer].

In view of rescuers' formal and informal networks, which included larger percentages of people sympathetic to rescue activity, it seems understandable that they would be asked for help more frequently than others. In view of the fact, however, that the majority of nonrescuers lived among Jews immediately before the war, and that many of them had Jewish friends, it is not quite clear why more of them were not asked by Jews themselves. One plausible explanation is that they had already communicated, by word,

than eighty Jews was clearly a dangerous place to be. Although a fugitive himself, Johan could have asked his underground connections to place him elsewhere. Many Dutch families cooperated in hiding young Dutchmen like Johan. Asked why he chose to remain, Johan said:

> The main reason was because I was a patriot. I was for my country. I was for law and order. The Germans robbed people of their freedom. And when they started taking the Jewish people, that really lit my fire. They took them like sheep, throwing them into trains. I couldn't stand it anymore. I really became full of hate because they took innocent people—especially when they took little kids. That was the worst. They took innocent people and I wanted to help.

Patriotism, law and order were among the first reasons Johan gave for helping Jews—values invoked by numerous groups, including those who have destroyed freedom and persecuted minorities. For Johan, however, these words had special meaning. For Johan, they were associated with freedom, justice, a fierce egalitarianism, caring for others, and a particular sense of obligation toward the needy and helpless. The latter, barely implied in the reasons he gives for his impassioned hatred of Nazis, became sharply clear when he described the most important things he learned about life from his parents.

His mother, he said, taught him never to regard others as inferiors. "She would never look down on people. She would always appreciate what people were worth, and it didn't matter whether they were poor or whatever." And his father, whom he regarded as his close friend and the most important person in his life, communicated the same message even more strongly.

> He taught me never to forget where you came from; to always appreciate anything from anybody. He impressed on me never to forget that when you work for yourself and have people under you, don't look down on them. Be honest and straightforward. See other people as your friends. All people are people.

Egalitarianism and the basic universal similarity of all people also underlay his and his family's attitudes toward Jews. "Jews," he said, "were just people. We neither looked down on them nor did

we look up to them. We never felt they were any different." Johan's politics and those of his family reflected this outlook. Although neither he nor his parents were politically active, they considered themselves members of the Christian Democratic Union, a political group with democratic principles.

Christianity was also a very important part of Johan's life, but for him it meant primarily caring for the needy. Johan described his parents as very religious. As for himself, he went to church regularly in his youth and attended Bible classes, but he regarded these activities as largely duties. "I was not very religious when I was growing up," he said. "I had to go to church, and I learned the Bible in Bible class. But I thought it was a big drag learning the catechism. I believed in God, though." His grandfather epitomized his religious principles:

> My grandfather was the most religious man I knew. I had more respect for him than for the minister. He practiced what he preached. He visited the sick; he went to the church to get money for poor people. That's the kind of character he was.

In Johan's view, love of country, law and order, politics, and religion converged into fundamental ethical principles characterized by two strands: inclusiveness—a predisposition to regard all people as equals and to apply similar standards of right and wrong to them without regard to social status or ethnicity—and attachment—a belief in the value of personal relationships and caring for the needy. He credited both to his parental home.

As was true for Johan, the basic values and attitudes of rescuers and nonrescuers alike toward Nazis, Jews, religion, and politics anticipated and shaped their wartime activities and behavior toward Jews.

There was a direct connection between hating Nazis and helping Jews. As one rescuer explained it: "I helped Jews because I really hated the Nazis. The more revenge I could take, the better." Helping Jews was a way of resisting an oppressive regime. A few rescued survivors also believed their rescuers were essentially motivated by their hostility toward Nazis:

> He explained it to me in very simple words: "I decided to fight the Germans by saving those persecuted by them. Who were the most persecuted? The Jews."

Anna wanted to fight the hated Germans, and keeping Jews presented the way. She would have helped anyone—not especially Jews.

The overwhelming majority of rescuers and nonrescuers alike were hostile toward Nazis from the start. The dominant motifs among rescuers and nonrescuers to the Nazi takeovers of their countries were despair, impotence, and rage.

Despair was somewhat more characteristic of the French:

We are done for—we'll all be deported to Germany [rescuer].

Heavy heart—very upset [rescuer].

No hope [nonrescuer].

Greatest fright of my life [nonrescuer].

Anger was somewhat more characteristic of the Dutch:

I hated them—every bit of them [rescuer].

I would have loved to kill them all [rescuer].

Very angry, very rebellious [nonrescuer].

More convinced than others of their own invulnerability, many Poles were shocked:

I thought we would be able to stop them fast [rescuer].

I was fooled by our leaders—cheated. I thought we were well prepared and well armed [rescuer].

I thought we would beat them—like most of us [nonrescuer].

I was sure Poland would win [nonrescuer].

I was as stupid as I could be. I was so sure we would be the winners. My idiotic thought was wearing a uniform! First I didn't believe there would be a war. Then I believed strongly that Poland, in alliance with England and France, would be the winner. There was nothing in my mind to doubt the length of the war. It would be very short. We

may commit any wickedness, but not toward another Jew. This is written in their Bible, in their Talmud [German].

My mother had a good attitude toward Jews. I used to go to a Jewish store. But I was afraid when I saw Jews pray. A Jewish lady comforted me with some candy. But I had heard that when Jews bake matzos, they put children's blood in it [Polish].

And no rescuer suggested that Jews deserved their cruel fate, as this nonrescuer did:

There were practically no Jews in the town we lived in. My father didn't "discuss" Jews, but he had lots of contacts with them because he controlled the movie distribution. He would make some remarks—and they weren't always flattering towards Jews. I think they were always based on fact. I don't think there was much anti-Semitism in Holland. There were some remarks—and I still believe Jews do a lot of things to deserve those remarks—not the general population, but as individuals. Like I said, I have Jewish friends. But to some extent, they have brought the wrath of the world upon themselves, and still do [Dutch].

While most rescuers did not see Jews as a benighted group, neither did they regard them as exalted or uniquely worthy of help. As a few noted explicitly, "I did not help them because they were Jews." Yet, there are some exceptions. A handful of rescued survivors did see their rescuers as having a special feeling for Jews: "She did everything for the love of the Jewish people" said one, while another perceived it as his rescuer's desire to save the Jewish nation. For some Dutch Reformed rescuers, all Jews had special merit regardless of the behaviors or attributes of individuals, for it was bestowed by God himself:

When it came to the Jewish people, we were brought up by a tradition in which we had learned that the Jewish people were the people of the Lord.

The main reason is because we know that they are the chosen people of God. We had to save them. We thought we had to do it—and then you risk everything according to that.

> Like I told you, we always liked the Jewish people because the Jewish people are God's people.

The significance of religion in the decision to rescue was not confined to Dutch Reformed rescuers alone. Religion, God, or Christianity was cited by 15 percent of rescuers—Catholics and Protestants of different denominations—as at least one of their reasons for helping Jews. "I did it out of Christian duty," "I know God would have wanted me to," "I am an obedient Christian; the Lord wanted us to rescue those people and we did," are representative comments. An even larger percentage of rescued survivors (26 percent) perceived religion as a primary motive for their rescuers (Table 6.2):

> If they hadn't been religious, they wouldn't have rescued any Jews.

> My wife for a while was with a family in Friesland—very pious, observant Protestants who thought it was Jesus' command to help Jews.

> They were true Christians who took the risk of taking us in.

> They were performing a great deed without any ulterior motives, and their goodness was truly rare. I constantly had evidence of their kindness, and I know that it stemmed largely from their deep faith.

> Julian was a very good and decent man. He said that Judaism was the origin of all religions and that the Jews were chosen by God as the first people of the world.

> He did it because it was the right thing to do according to his religious beliefs.

For rescuers who cited religion as a least one of their reasons for helping, it appeared obvious that Christianity required them to do so. But in actuality interpretations of Christianity are as varied as human beings themselves. As Adorno and his associates found about forty years ago,[7] and others have confirmed since, one's identification with a religious body does not ensure that one will endorse values of tolerance and brotherhood. In fact, several studies suggest an inverse relationship: More intense religiosity is

> My background is Christian Reformed; Israel has a special meaning for me. We have warm feelings for Israel—but that means the whole human race. That is the main principal point.
>
> I have always considered all people regardless of their nationality, ethnic origins or race, religion, and so on, as members of one great family: mankind. This feeling has deep roots in Polish tradition, history, Christian teaching, and the attitudes of my parents and their predecessors.
>
> They taught me about God and respect for human beings—to respect others.
>
> They taught me ethics, being tolerant, honesty, and responsibility—everything that the Catholic religion taught.

Like religion, the meaning of patriotism has varied depending on individual interpretation. Conventional notions of patriotism had little to do with rescue. Only 8 percent of rescuers said that patriotism was even one of their reasons for helping Jews. Only 1 percent of rescued survivors thought patriotism was a motivating force for their rescuers (Table 6.2). In its more conventional sense, patriotism was understood to mean a direct engagement with the enemy. Many participants in general resistance ascribed their activities to patriotic motivations. Forty-four percent of actives said that patriotism was their major motivator (Table 6.2). Conventional patriotic notions thus appeared to be more associated with fighting the enemy than with rescuing Jews.

For a group of Polish rescuers and nonrescuers, patriotism was strongly associated with Polish culture and maintaining Poland's physical existence as a national entity. Some Poles, rescuers and nonrescuers alike, emphasized that they had learned these values in their parental homes:

> I learned to love my country—Poland and its people. When we were in Germany, he taught me Polish verses, the history of Poland, and geography [rescuer].
>
> I learned about patriotism and knowledge of Polish history [rescuer].

out of a sense of self-interest as well as the interests of others, care focuses on the interests of others. Equity is based on honesty, truthfulness, and respect; care, however, can require fraud and deceitfulness. In this sense, care goes beyond what can reasonably and fairly be expected of humans in society, beginning to approach the unreasonable and the unfair.

Overall, rescuers—in significantly higher percentages than nonrescuers (70 percent for rescuers, 56 percent for all nonrescuers, and 57 percent for bystanders)—emphasized learning ethical values and rescuers and nonrescuers alike spoke frequently of parental concerns with aspects of equity. The word *honesty* is highlighted above all others—sometimes with clear reference to property ("She taught me not to steal"; "He taught me never to take anything from anybody—to be very honest") and sometimes in relation to people ("She taught me to be straightforward"; "He taught me never to take advantage of anybody"). They also mention parental emphasis on "truthfulness," "respect," and "fairness." There is no significant difference between rescuers and nonrescuers with respect to parental equity values; approximately 45 percent of rescuers, all nonrescuers, and bystanders mentioned them.

But words and phrases characterizing care—the need to be helpful, hospitable, concerned, and loving—were voiced significantly more often by rescuers as they recalled the values they learned from their parents or other most influential person (44 percent of rescuers, 25 percent of all nonrescuers, and 21 percent of bystanders). Generosity and expansiveness, rather than fairness and reciprocity, were significantly more important to rescuers' than to nonrescuers' parents (Table 6.7):

> My mother was a model of Christian faith and love of neighbor.
>
> I learned to live honestly, to study well in school, to respect others, and to have compassion and generosity toward those who were less well treated by life.
>
> I learned generosity, to be open, to help people.
>
> I learned to be good to one's neighbor, honesty, scruples—to be responsible, concerned, and considerate. To work—and work hard. But also to help—to the point of leaving one's work to help one's neighbor.

To be good and caring, to love people. Mother always said to remember to do some good for someone at least once a day.

Equally important, rescuers were significantly more inclusive in noting the groups to whom they felt ethical obligations. In the following comments, more representative of nonrescuers, parental inclusiveness focused on family, friends, elders, church, and country but did not extend further:

She taught me to be honest, pray to God, and be respectful to parents and older people—not to tell lies and not to fight in school.

My father taught me to work hard and not to tell lies—to be neighborly and polite to elders—to go to church and to be a good Catholic—to be good to your family.

My mom taught me to get a good education, to pay attention in school because teachers can be a very great help and because education is vital to getting ahead in life; honesty, fairness, and loyalty to the family as well as friends and elders; and not to curse and to be loyal and supportive of the country.

Rescuers, however, in significantly higher percentages (39 percent compared with 15 percent of all nonrescuers and 13 percent of bystanders) emphasized that ethical values were to be applied universally, that they extended to all human beings (Table 6.7):

They taught me to respect all human beings.

He taught me to respect a man no matter what his origin.

He taught me to love my neighbor—to consider him my equal whatever his nationality or religion. He taught me especially to be tolerant.

I learned logical reasoning. I also learned to be tolerant—not to discriminate against people because of their beliefs or social class.

She taught me to be responsible, honest, to respect older people, to respect all people—not to tease or criticize

My father taught me to love God and my neighbor, regardless of their race or religion. He had always had something special for the Jewish people. To be more precise, my father taught me to love God, to love my neighbor, particularly the Jewish people.

What is striking about a large percentage of rescuers is the consistently universalistic orientation, exemplified not only in the values they recall learning from their parents but also in the reasons they give for rescuing Jews. Almost half of all rescuers mention a universalistic obligation as at least one of their reasons for rescue; 29 percent of rescued survivors said their helpers embraced a universalistic ethos often emphasizing care (Table 6.2).

Justice, equality, and respect are the characteristic equity values cited by rescuers in explaining their reasons for helping. The reasoning behind the universal equitable principle, cited by approximately 15 percent of rescuers, was essentially this: Justice demanded that only the guilty be punished. Persecution of the innocent could not be justified. The ethnic identity of the persecuted was irrelevant; what mattered was their innocence. Jews, like themselves and others, belonged to the universal class of humans, all of whom had the right to live and to be free from nonmerited persecution:

The reason is that every man is equal. We all have the right to live. It was plain murder, and I couldn't stand that. I would help a Mohammedan just as well as a Jew. We have got to live as humans and not as beasts. They were worse than beasts.

These people just had the right to live like other people—not just Christian people. Jewish people are the same—all people are the same.

I found it incomprehensible and inadmissible that for religious reasons or as a result of a religious choice, Jews would be persecuted. It's like saving somebody who is drowning. You don't ask them what God they pray to. You just go and save them.

It was unfair that I was safe simply because I was born a Protestant. That was the main reason for me. What I did was a question of justice. It was a very humble thing

because I was in a privileged situation compared with other people who didn't deserve their situation at all.

I could not comprehend that innocent persons should be persecuted just because of race. We all come from the same God.

Jewish people had as much right to live as I did.

Humane considerations—these people were innocent. I had ascertained that.

It just happened to be Jewish people who were persecuted—it could have been anyone.

All men are equal and are free and equal by right. Consequently I am against all dictatorial systems.

Survivors used essentially the same concepts of justice in describing their rescuers:

She believed that anti-Semitism was poisoning the souls of youth, causing social disorder, and destroying tolerance. [She was] a militant democrat.

She always said that you needed to be an active Christian. I think it was just this feeling of justice and honesty that prompted her.

They believed in humanity and were incredulous that people were being killed simply because of their Jewishness.

They are very noble, very fine people. They felt that people should not be hurt for no reason at all. When they saw injustice, they felt they should do something. To such a degree that had such feelings. Whether it was religion or their sense of justice—they didn't mind paying the price for this.

He did not distinguish between Jews and Gentiles. He felt it was necessary to save every human being other than Nazis. When he saw innocent people persecuted, he decided that it was his mission to help them regardless of the danger to himself and his property.

But for most rescuers and rescued survivors the language of care dominated. *Pity, compassion, concern, affection* made up the vocabulary 76 percent of rescuers and 67 percent of rescued survivors used at least once to express their reasons (Table 6.2):

I was just sorry for them.

I did it out of sympathy and kindness.

I did it out of a feeling of compassion for those who were weaker and who needed help.

We did not want her to get caught—we were sorry for her.

They were good friends—I liked them very much.

In a few cases, the emotional component was intense enough to prepare them not only to die but also to kill:

I liked her very much. When I learned they were exterminating Jews, I decided that even if I had to die, I would help.

Nobody was going to touch those children. I would have killed for them.

Care was not a spectator sport, it compelled action. It meant assuming personal responsibility, not because others required it, but because failure to act meant acquiescence in the consequences:

I could not stand idly by and observe the daily misery that was occurring.

It was unacceptable to watch idly while compatriots perished.

It was necessary. Somebody had to do it.

I knew they were taking them and they wouldn't come back. I didn't think I could live with that knowing that I could have done something.

I saw the Germans shooting people in the street, and I could not sit there doing nothing.

My husband told me that unless we helped, they would be killed. I could not stand that thought. I never would have forgiven myself.

This sense of internal compulsion was characteristically so strong that most rescuers reported rarely reflecting before acting. Asked how long it took them to make their first helping decision, more than 70 percent indicated "minutes." Asked if they consulted with anyone prior to making the decision, 80 percent responded "no one."

Sixteen percent of rescuers said they felt this particular caring obligation toward a lover or valued friend. Asked their reasons for rescue, they simply replied "I liked them"; "They were good people"; "I loved her." More than one-fourth (28 percent) of rescued survivors noted it as a special relationship to them (Table 6.2):

> She was fond of us—especially my sister.
>
> He was in love with me.
>
> We were like his two daughters.
>
> He was a good friend.

Yet, rescuers' commitment to caring for others extended well beyond friends or loved ones. Thirty-eight percent of rescuers perceived their caring obligations as universal in application. The suffering of a stranger was as much their responsibility as that of a friend (Table 6.2):

> When you see a need, you have to help. Our religion was part of us. We are our brother's keeper. It was very satisfying for us.
>
> Any kind of suffering must be alleviated.
>
> You need to turn to those who suffer and are in pain—direct reaching out to others.
>
> We had to give our help to these people in order to save them. Not because they were Jewish, but because every persecuted human needs some help, just as my father found help when the Turks killed the Armenians. They were our friends and brothers in God.
>
> If you can save somebody's life, that's your duty.
>
> My husband said right after the war started that we had to do something to help our people against the Nazis. It was

> that no Jews under their governance fell into German hands. . . . Not only would the Italian government—reflecting the popular attitude of the citizenry at large—resist deportation, its army and consuls undertook extraordinary efforts to rescue Jews in their zones of occupation. As an Axis partner, Italy's forces occupied a large sector of Greece, part of Yugoslavia, and eight sectors of southeastern France, including Nice.[41]

How do you account for the way Rabinowitz describes the stand the Italians took? In what sense was it like the one Schindler took? In what ways did it differ? You may wish to research the way other writers regard the position the Italians took.

➤➤Rena Finder was one of the individuals on "Schindler's List." Her testimony is available on video from the Facing History Resource Center and is described in *Elements of Time*, pages 25-29. A 15-minute vignette on Schindler, "The Making of a Hero," is also available.

READING 13

A Nation United

Oskar Schindler responded to the plight of European Jews as an individual. In Le Chambon, people responded as a community. In Denmark, they responded as a nation. The Germans conquered Denmark in the spring of 1940. Although Hitler allowed the prewar government to stay in power and kept only a token military force in the nation, the Danes deeply resented the occupation of their country and some struck back with acts of sabotage, riots, and strikes. In the summer of 1943, the Nazis decided to retaliate. They limited the power of King Christian X, forced the Danish government to resign, and disbanded the Danish army. They also ordered the arrest of a number of Christian and Jewish leaders.

The Danes were able to resist the cruel stupidity of Nazi anti-Semitism because this fundamental truth [thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself] was important to them.

Leo Goldberger's father, the chief cantor at Copenhagen's Great Synagogue, was among those the Nazis planned to arrest. They arrived at the family's apartment before dawn one morning. Goldberger recalls what happened next:

> My father came into my brother's and my room and whispered that the Germans were outside and that he would not under any circumstances open the door. For me, this was the most terror-filled moment I had ever experienced. The insistent knocks of rifle butts. Fearing that they would break down the door any minute, I implored my father to open it, but he was determined not to. Then in the nick of time, we heard our upstairs neighbor's voice telling the German

soldiers that we—the Goldbergers—were away for the summer, and that three o'clock in the morning was in any case no time to make such a racket![42]

Although the Germans posted a guard outside the building before they left, the family managed to escape. By the middle of September, the crisis seemed to be over and the family returned to Copenhagen. A few weeks later, the Goldbergers and other Jews in Denmark learned that the Germans were planning to round them all up for deportation. The news came from Georg Ferdinand Duckwitz, a German diplomat stationed in Norway. When he received secret orders to prepare four cargo ships for transporting Danish Jews, he passed on the information to leaders in the resistance. They, in turn, informed Copenhagen's Jewish community. The Jews were urged to hide and then prepare for evacuation to Sweden. Goldberger, who was just thirteen years old at the time, remembers:

> Where to hide? Our first night was spent as guests of a wealthy Jewish family who lived in Bedbaek, on the coast some 35 miles away. To our chagrin the family took off for Sweden during the night without even telling us or their Jewish refugee maid. Apparently my father had been asked by our host whether he wanted to chip in for a boat to take us all to Sweden but had been forced to decline. He simply did not have that kind of money. Near panic but determined to "get tough" and to find a way somehow, my father took a train back to the city; he needed to borrow money, perhaps get an advance on his salary and to see about contacts for passage on a fishing boat. As luck would have it, on the train a woman whom he knew only slightly recognized him and inquired about his obviously agitated facial expression. He confided our plight. Without a moment's hesitation the lady promised to take care of everything. She would meet my father at the main railroad station with all the information about the arrangements within a few hours. It was the least she could do, she said, in return for my father's participation some years back in a benefit concert for her organization—"The Women's League for Peace and Freedom."
>
> True to her word, she met my father later that day and indicated that all was arranged. The money would be forthcoming from a pastor, Henry Rasmussen. . . . The sum was a fairly large one—about 25,000 Danish crowns, 5,000 per person, a sum which was more than my father's annual salary. (Though it was ostensibly a loan, I should add that pastor Rasmussen refused repayment after the war.) The next step was to head for a certain address near the coast, less than an hour from Copenhagen. After hurriedly getting some things together from our apartment—a few clothes, some treasured papers and family photos, and, in my case, [a] newly acquired police flashlight—we were off by taxi to our unknown hosts for the night and our uncertain destiny.
>
> The following night we were standing, huddled in some low bushes along the beach near Dragur, an outskirt of Copenhagen's

island of Amager. It was a bitter cold October night. My youngest brother, barely three years old, had been given a sleeping pill to keep him quiet. My brave and stoic little mother was clutching her bag with socks and stockings to be mended which she had taken along for reasons difficult to fathom rationally. We were anxiously and eagerly waiting for the promised light signal. As we were poised to move toward the signal, I could not help but wonder *why* this was happening. What had we ever done to be in hiding, escaping like criminals? Where would it all end? And why in God's name did the signal not appear? Then finally the lights flashed. We were off. Wading straight into the sea, we walked out some 100 feet through icy water, in water that reached up to my chest. My father carried my two small brothers on his arm. My mother held on to her bag of socks. And I clutched my precious flashlight. My older brother tried valiantly to carry the suitcases but finally had to drop them in the water. We were hauled aboard the boat, directed in whispers to lie concealed in the cargo area, there to stretch out covered by smelly canvases; in the event the German patrols were to inspect the boat, we would be passed over as fish. There seemed to have been some 20 other Jews aboard. As we proceeded out toward open sea my father chanted a muted prayer from the Psalms.

A few hours later, bright lights and the pastoral scenery of Skane along the coast outline of Sweden appeared. Wonderful, peaceful Sweden. A welcoming haven, never to be forgotten, where we remained until our return to Denmark at the end of the war in 1945.[43]

Hundreds of other fishing boats carried nearly every Jew in Denmark—7,220 men, women, and children—to safety. It was a community effort—organized and paid for by hundreds of private citizens—Jews and Christians alike. The money was used to pay fishermen to transport the Jews to Sweden. Although a few offered their boats for nothing, many could not afford to lose a day's pay. The money also went for bribes. It was no accident that all German patrol ships were docked for repairs the night of the rescue.

It was a community effort—organized and paid for by hundreds of private citizens—Jews and Christians alike.

Not everyone managed to get out. Some were captured as they waited for a boat, while others were picked up at sea. But in the end, the Nazis were able to deport only 580 Jews. They were sent to Terezinstadt, the "model" concentration camp (Chapter 7, Reading 13). Still, no Dane was shipped to a death camp, in part because the Danish government constantly questioned the Nazis about their status.

CONNECTIONS

Were the Danes rescuers or resisters? Was their aim to save the Jews or to express their opposition to Nazi rule?

Compare the way the Goldbergers' neighbors responded when the Nazis banged on the family's door to the way people in earlier readings responded when the Nazis came for Communists and later Jews. What similarities to do you see? What differences seem most striking?

Thomas Merton, a theologian, said of the Danes:

> The Danes were able to do what they did because they were able to make decisions that were based on clear convictions about which they all agreed and which were in accord with the inner truth of man's own rational nature, as well as in accordance with the fundamental law of God in the Old Testament as well as in the Gospel: thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. The Danes were able to resist the cruel stupidity of Nazi anti-Semitism because this fundamental truth was important to them. And because they were willing, in unanimous and concerted action to stake their lives on this truth. In a word, such action becomes possible where fundamental truths are taken seriously.[44]

What "fundamental truth" did the Danes take seriously? What difference did that make in the way they responded to the Nazis?

Albert Camus argued "that strength of heart, intelligence and courage are enough to stop fate and sometimes reverse it." How do the Danes support his belief? Could others have done what they did?

READING 14

The Role of the Protestant Churches

As a leader in Germany's Confessing Church watched the Gestapo round up Jews for deportation, he asked "Should we live on as if nothing had happened?" It was a question that many religious leaders asked during the Holocaust, but they did not all answer it in the same way. When leaders in the Danish church learned of plans to deport the Jews, they sent a letter to German officials. On Sunday, October 3, 1943, that letter was read from every pulpit in the nation.

> Wherever Jews are persecuted because of their religion or race it is the duty of the Christian Church to protest against such persecution, because it is in conflict with the sense of justice inherent in the Danish people and inseparable from our Danish Christian culture through

town even had a pet pig named Adolf. Magda Trocme a town resident, recalled:

> Once when my husband [the Protestant minister of Le Chambon, Andre Trocme] was in Marseilles, he spoke to Burns Chalmers, who was responsible for many of the Quakers' activities on behalf of the inmates of the concentration camps in the south of France. . . . Chalmers said to him, ". . . what we do not have is a place, a village, a house, a place to put people who are hiding, people that we can save. We get people out of the camps, but nobody wants them. It is dangerous to take them. Is your village prepared to do such a thing?
>
> My husband came back to the village and he spoke to the council of the church, and they said, "OK, go ahead." Within minutes, they were willing to help. . . .
>
> Magda Trocme in Rittner & Myers, *Courage to Care*, p. 103.

She went on to explain the actions of the people of Le Chambon, saying:

> We were a bunch of people together. This is not a handicap, but a help. If you have to fight alone, it is more difficult. But we had the support of people we knew, of people who understood without knowing precisely all that they were doing or would be called to do. None of us thought that we were heroes. We were just people trying to do our best. When people read this story, I want them to know that I tried to open my door. I tried to tell people, "Come in, come in." In the end, I would like to say to people, "Remember that in your life there will be lots of circumstances that will need a kind of courage, a kind of decision of your own, not about other people but about yourself."
>
> Magda Trocme in Rittner & Myers, *Courage to Care*, p. 107.

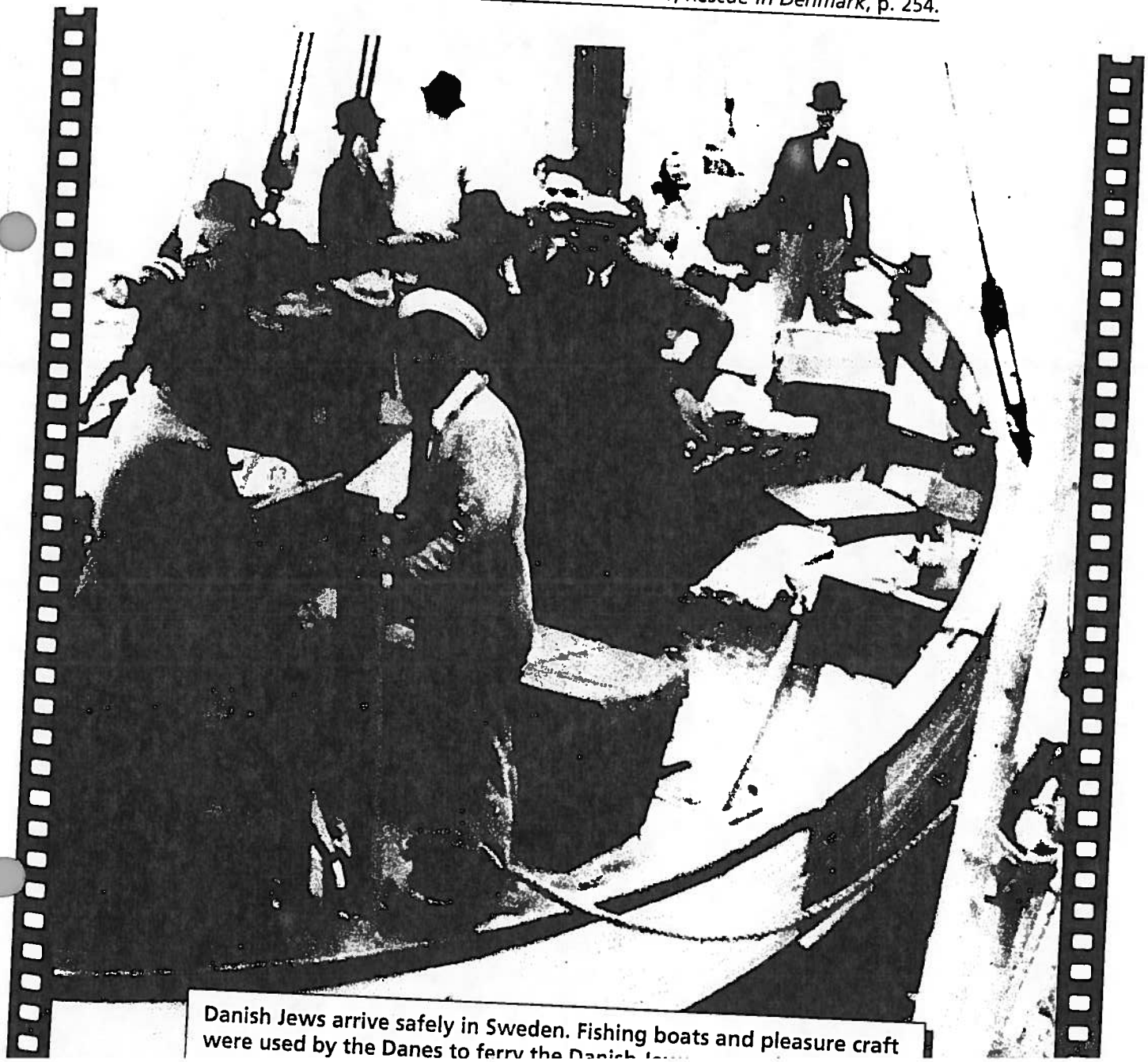
Rescue in Denmark

One of the most remarkable stories of non-Jewish courage is the tale of the rescue of the Jews of Denmark. Germany occupied Denmark in 1940. For two years they tried to force Denmark to adopt anti-Jewish laws. When a Nazi official spoke to King Christian X of Denmark about the "Jewish problem," the King replied, "We have no Jewish problem in our country. The Jews are a part of the Danish nation." In October 1943, the Nazis decided to round up Danish Jews and send them to the death camps. The Danes learned of the intended roundup and the government sent a protest to the Germans. Not waiting for a reply, the Danes made secret arrangements with Sweden and became a nation of rescuers.

Sweden agreed to accept the Jews of Denmark. The problem was how to get them to the shore and then across the 15-mile stretch of water between the two countries. Ignoring all personal risks, the Danes worked together to accomplish this task. Jews were hidden in neighbors' houses, then smuggled in small groups into fishing villages along the water's edge. Years before, the Nazis had seized all large boats, leaving only fishing boats. Now the fishing boats made trip after trip across the channel to Sweden. Over 7,000 Danish Jews—nearly all the Jews of Denmark—were

The Danes also refused to make a profit on Jewish property. Rabbi Marcus Melchior of the Copenhagen Synagogue remembered the day he returned to Denmark:

> The people of other countries have let their Jews go before, and, perhaps, they were happy to get rid of them, especially when Jewish homes, property and money were involved. . . . But when we returned, our fellow Danes did say "welcome back." And how they said it—emotionally, with open arms and hearts. Our homes, our businesses, our property and money had been taken care of and returned to us. In most cases we found our homes newly painted, and there were flowers on the table. You cannot imagine how happy it made us feel to be back home. The welcome we received from the King, from everybody, is the most important event in Danish-Jewish history.
>
> Marcus Melchior in Flender, *Rescue in Denmark*, p. 254.



Danish Jews arrive safely in Sweden. Fishing boats and pleasure craft were used by the Danes to ferry the Danish [illegible]

would be a wasteful diversion of scarce weapons to a group that had failed to manifest any overt resistance to the Germans up to that point. The Jewish Fighting Organization of Warsaw (ZOB) eventually obtained a few guns from the AK. More military supplies were sent only after the ZOB impressed the AK by staging an attack on German guards in January 1943. Even so, the ZOB's arsenal remained small and inadequate. When the ZOB mounted the Warsaw ghetto uprising in April 1943, the communist People's Guard and some AK units engaged in military support operations and subsequently helped Jews escape from the razed ghetto. The uprising, however, was the final act in the tragedy of the Warsaw Jews. The AK assistance to the Jews was a classic case of too little too late.[61]

The totality of German domination in Poland was undoubtedly the key factor that doomed the Polish Jews. Nevertheless, pro-Polish sources generally exaggerate Polish solidarity with the Jews and minimize Polish anti-Semitism as a cause for the relatively low numbers of rescued Jews, whereas pro-Jewish sources often commit the opposite errors. Although Nazi terror made it more difficult and dangerous to help Jews in Poland than anywhere else in Europe,[62] it still appears that many Poles did not feel obligated to protect the Jews, whom they either disliked or dismissed as aliens.[63]

The Netherlands

Despite the notable history of acceptance of Jews in the Netherlands and the concomitant weakness of anti-Semitism there, its 115,000 Jewish citizens and 25,000 Jewish refugees suffered a proportionally greater loss of lives (between 75 percent and 80 percent) than the Jews in any other occupied country in Western Europe.[64] The primary responsibility for this frightful toll lies with the Germans, who ruled the Netherlands with an iron fist as a protectorate (*Schutzstaat*) under the authority of a *Reichskommissar* and a security chief, directly accountable to Hitler and Himmler respectively. Though only a small minority of the population willingly assisted the Germans, the Dutch governmental bureaucracy and Jewish council engaged in what one historian has termed "reasonable collaboration" to stave off more onerous German reprisals and control.[65] This not only enabled the Nazis to liquidate most of Dutch Jewry with a minimal SS staff but also shrouded

ir sinister aims in a deceptive semblance of legitimacy and nor-
lity. Furthermore, Holland's location, population density, and
ain made escape, hiding, and resistance difficult and danger-
. Concerted Dutch efforts to defend the Jews came either too
maturely or belatedly to save the majority of them.

The near annihilation of the Jews in Holland constituted a
ical reversal of the country's long national heritage of religious
erance and civic equality. Allowed to settle and worship in
ny Dutch cities as early as the seventeenth century, Dutch Jews
er became the target of the sort of anti-Jewish riots that sporad-
lly erupted in other European countries. In the 140 years fol-
ing their emancipation by the invading French revolutionary
ny in 1796, they had gained entry into and acceptance by most
tors of Holland's economic and political life. Political anti-
nitism exerted little popular appeal among the Dutch in this
iod.[66] Honoring its tradition of providing sanctuary to the per-
uted, Holland admitted approximately 25,000 Jewish refugees
m Nazi Germany, Austria, and Poland between 1933 and 1940.
ce the domestic unemployment rate was high then, resentment
eloped against this influx of aliens and led to Holland's deci-
n in 1939 to intern indigent German Jewish refugees at a camp
Westerbork in the province of Drente rather than grant them
manent asylum.[67]

The rapid German victory over the Netherlands in 1940 trans-
med what had been a secure haven for Jews into a perilous hell.
lland's borders effectively barricaded most Jews from fleeing to
ces where they would be safe from Nazi persecution. Ferrying
oss the North Sea to England ceased to be an option once the
rmans seized control of Dutch ports and patrolled the coastal
ters.[68] Reaching occupied Belgium in the south was only the
t hurdle on a tortuous trail that went through occupied and
hy France to Spain or Switzerland. The Third Reich itself lay
ng the entire length of Holland's eastern frontier. Similarly, the
terrain, lack of heavy forestation, and high population density
erely handicapped the efforts of those trying to evade or resist
Nazis within the country. The intricate network of bridges,
als, and sluices in Holland could be blocked by the Germans
isolate communities and restrict travel. The residential concen-
tion of 60 percent of Dutch Jewry in Amsterdam facilitated the
forcement of Nazi anti-Semitic policies, especially deportations

ews. As Raul Hilberg has observed, "It was as though the Du
Jews had already been placed in a natural trap."[69]

After the German conquest of Holland, Hitler appointed SS General Artur Seyss-Inquart to the position of *Reichskommissar* of the occupied Netherlands. SS influence in Holland was reinforced by SS Commissioner-General of Security Hans Rauter, who took his orders directly from Himmler. This strong SS presence reflected Hitler's view of the Dutch as fellow Aryans whose homeland would someday be merged with Germany once Dutch society was purged of Jewish and other harmful elements. Moreover, Holland's control over the outlets of the Rhine and Maas rivers, its fertile farmlands, fine harbors, and North Sea coast made the country economically and strategically crucial to Germany's war effort.[70]

In contrast to Poland, the persecution of Jews in the Netherlands developed in subtle steps and initially relied more on ostensibly legal discriminatory measures rather than brute force. The Nazis did not want to shock Dutch sensibilities and provoke widespread resistance. Instead, they gradually disenfranchised, impoverished, and isolated the Jews in a period when German domination over Dutch gentiles was still relatively tolerable, thereby dissociating the latter as much as possible from Jewish suffering. At first Seyss-Inquart assured the Dutch that he would not impose an "alien ideology" on Holland. Another occupation official asserted that there was no Jewish problem in the Netherlands. After introducing several minor anti-Semitic laws in the summer of 1940, the Nazis prohibited Jews from holding government jobs and dismissed those already in such positions. Then civil servants were required to fill out forms indicating whether or not their grandparents were Jewish. Jewish businesses were identified for eventual transfer to German owners. This process culminated in the mandatory registration of Jews at the beginning of 1941, which made it easier to bar them during the remainder of that year from most public places, jobs, and social activities. The marking of the Jews was completed in April 1942, when they were compelled to wear a yellow star inscribed with *Jood* (Jew) on their outer clothing.[71]

All these measures to identify Jews and exclude them from Dutch society expedited their subsequent concentration and expulsion from Holland. The concentration process began in 1942

with an order that unemployed Jews report to labor camps and the simultaneous evacuation of Jews from the provinces to predominantly Jewish neighborhoods in Amsterdam. Preceding the deportations, groups of Jews were relocated to the main transit camps at Vugt and Westerbork. From there, the first trains loaded with Jews departed in mid-July for the extermination camps of Auschwitz and Sobibor. Within a year, 77,000 Jews had been deported. In the next fourteen months, 30,000 more Jews embarked on their fatal journey to the same camps or to Bergen-Belsen and Theresienstadt. Only 5,200 of the deported Jews survived. Another 8,000 Jews were arrested and executed by the Germans in Holland for trying to hide.[72]

Some of the blame for this catastrophe rests with the Dutch. After Holland's defeat, the fascistic National Socialist Movement of the Netherlands (Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging der Nederlanden, or NSB) endorsed and disseminated Nazi anti-Semitism. Its 80,000 members served the Germans by filling various political positions, intimidating Jews and informing on them, and assisting in roundups of Jews for deportation. The NSB formed its own version of the Nazi party storm troopers called the Defense Troop (*Weer-Afdeling*, or WA), which terrorized Jews and other political foes. It also created a Dutch branch of the SS (Nederlandse SS) whose recruits fought alongside their German counterparts in Eastern Europe and elsewhere. To most Dutch citizens, the NSB's blatant collaboration with the enemy was considered treason. After the war, the Netherlands convicted over 50,000 people of collaboration.[73]

Hitler, however, preferred to govern the occupied countries in Western Europe through existing governmental channels, and the Dutch civil service played right into his hands. The Secretaries-General, the senior Dutch officials who remained at their posts when the queen and cabinet went into exile, engaged in a form of tactical collaboration. Under the provisions of a 1937 government directive, they were supposed to cooperate with an occupying power if they believed that doing so benefited the general welfare of the Dutch population more than it harmed it. The directive's vagueness left the Secretaries a great deal of discretion in determining whether the overall punitive repercussions for not complying with Nazi orders would be worse than the effects of obeying them. When confronted with the escalating harshness of Nazi policies against the Jews, three key members of the Secretaries-

General often lodged formal protests but then agreed to administer these policies to avoid German reprisals and the further Nazification of Dutch government agencies. Thus, Dutch officials unwittingly lent legitimacy to anti-Semitic laws by tacitly condoning them and supplying native bureaucrats and police to help implement them. Though clearly performed under duress, Dutch participation in the Nazi campaign against the Jews spared the Germans from deploying costly numbers of their own scarce personnel to enforce it. The government-in-exile did not explicitly prohibit Dutch civil servants from carrying out German anti-Jewish decrees until May 1943, when Nazi rule in Holland was becoming unbearably oppressive for gentiles too.[74]

The Jewish council (*Joodsche Raad*) appointed by the Germans pursued a similar strategy of defensive acquiescence. Created by the Nazis in February 1941 to disarm Jews who had defended themselves against WA attacks, the council was led by Jews who had been prominent in the Jewish community before the occupation. These leaders argued that, at best, Jewish compliance with Nazi decrees might mitigate the severity of future German actions against the Jews, and, at worst, fellow Jews would not be as cruel as Germans or Dutch collaborators in administering Nazi policy. The Jewish council relayed each anti-Semitic regulation issued by the Germans to the Jewish community through its newspaper *The Jewish Weekly* (*Het Joodsche Weekblad*), enabling the Germans to communicate directly with the Jews without alarming the Dutch public.[75] The Jewish council inadvertently helped select which Jews were sent to Westerbork for deportation by determining who received exemption permits for the "indispensable" jobs they performed on behalf of the Jewish community. The Germans, however, progressively reduced the number of permits that the council could distribute from 35,000 in July 1942 to none by September 1943. Until then the chance of attaining such exemptions set Jew against Jew in the competitive scramble to gain immunity from deportation. It also preserved the illusion that the Germans would not expel all the Jews.[76] Selected by the Nazis to help administer Westerbork, a few German Jewish inmates diligently prepared transport lists from among the new Dutch Jewish arrivals after choosing which of them would be designated as essential workers.[77]

Not all Jews remained passive in the face of persecution. When WA troops randomly robbed and beat up poorer Jews in

Amsterdam in early 1941, these Jews organized Action Groups (*Knokploegen,* or KPs) to resist the marauders. In one such confrontation, a WA storm trooper was killed, prompting the Germans to retaliate by arresting 425 young Jewish men and banishing them to Mauthausen, where they were worked to death.[78] L. E. Visser, a Jewish judge whom the Germans removed from the presidency of Holland's Supreme Court, steadfastly protested against the Jewish council's conceding to any legal distinctions being made between Dutch gentiles and Jews and pleaded with the Secretaries-General to intercede on behalf of the Jews taken to the concentration camp at Mauthausen in Austria. Visser represented the Jewish Coordinating Committee, whose uncompromising stance against collaboration served as a counterweight to the position adopted by the Jewish council. Unfortunately, he died of coronary failure at the beginning of 1942, but the validity of his message grew more apparent as the reassuring predictions of the Jewish council repeatedly failed to materialize. Once the deportations began, almost 80 percent of the Jews notified to report to Westerbork refused, requiring the Germans to dispatch special pickup squads to capture Jews. Some Jews tried to leave Holland. The Hechalutz ran the most successful of the escape networks and smuggled hundreds of Jews through Belgium into France, Spain, or Switzerland. A few of those saved eventually reached Palestine.[79] Other Jews stayed in Holland and joined the Dutch resistance.[80]

The first overt demonstration of Dutch solidarity with the Jews came too early to actually help them. At the end of February 1941, communist-led workers in Amsterdam mounted a general strike to protest the brutal German raids that netted the Jewish men who were sent to Mauthausen. This manifestation of defiance ended with a German declaration of a state of siege, the killing of seven strikers, and the imprisonment of 100 of the strike leaders. The ruthless suppression of the strike dealt a severe blow to the communist resistance to the Nazis. Moreover, this precedent and the German practice of taking and frequently executing Dutch hostages deterred most of the Dutch from actively opposing Nazi policies over the next two years.[81]

Though the Dutch generally sympathized with the Jews, they remained relatively quiescent until they themselves felt the full brunt of Nazi oppression. Germany tightened its control over the Dutch in the first half of 1943 with detested policies like conscripting Dutch men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five for

labor service in Germany. This sparked Dutch strikes in April and May. The need to assist all those refusing to comply with the new Nazi orders enlarged and unified the fragmented local groups that had organized previously to aid hunted gentile and Jewish "divers" (*onderduikers,* which literally means "people who go underwater"), as such fugitives were called.[82] This entailed overcoming the deep class, political, and religious divisions that had characterized prewar Dutch society.[83] The National Organization for Assistance to Divers (Landelijker Organisatie voor Hulp aan Onderduikers, or LO) did not amalgamate all these groups into a national network until August 1943. By then about 80,000 Jews had been deported. National Action Groups (Landelijke Knokploegen) were formed soon thereafter to counterfeit or steal ration cards and identification papers for divers and those harboring them. The sparsely populated and remote province of Friesland proved to be one of the safest LO sanctuaries because German surveillance there was light. Of the 300,000 people hidden by the LO, 24,000 were Jews, and 16,000 of them survived the war undetected by the Germans. Yet even in the Netherlands the odds of a Jew finding a family willing to conceal him or her were significantly worse than those of a Dutch gentile. Although legally there was no mandatory death penalty for helping Jews, 1,100 members of the LO were executed for their activities.[84]

For the most part, Holland's major Christian churches were outspoken in their opposition to Nazism and intervened to protect the Jews in various ways. Even before the occupation, the Dutch Catholic church and the orthodox Calvinist Reformed churches (Gereformeerde Kerken) banned their members from joining the NSB. The mainstream schismatic orthodox Calvinist Dutch Reformed church (Nederlands Hervormde Kerk) initially appealed to Seyss-Inquart to rescind the racial criteria for civil service appointments and subsequently issued a pastoral epistle enjoining its adherents not to desert the Jews. Catholic and Calvinist churches jointly filed protests with the high commissioner over the impending deportation of Jews in July 1942. Confronted with a German threat to deport baptized Jews if public readings of these protests occurred at Sunday services, the Dutch Reformed church desisted from doing so, but the Catholic church went ahead with the reading, resulting in the arrest of Catholic Jews and the immediate deportation of 100 of them to Auschwitz. In 1943 and 1944, Protestant Jews were sent to Bergen-Belsen or There-

sienstadt. The LO originated in 1942 as a Calvinist movement and linked up with Catholic groups in southern Holland in August 1943. Indeed, members of the 8 percent of the population who belonged to the Reformed churches accounted for an estimated 25 percent of the rescues of Dutch Jews.[85]

Substantial numbers of Jews were saved in two other ways. Twelve thousand Jews were married to Dutch gentiles. Few of them severed their relationships with their Jewish mates as Germany encouraged them to do, because this would have doomed their spouses to deportation. Although the Reich interned intermarried Jews in work camps, it did not deport them because it wanted to avoid the outcry this would have provoked among their Dutch relatives.[86] Three thousand more Jews escaped persecution by applying for racial reclassification. Hans Georg Calmeyer, the German official who evaluated such petitions, was not a Nazi and certified many Jews as Aryans on quite flimsy evidence.[87]

Nonetheless, Nazi coercion and determination almost succeeded in making the Netherlands *Judenrein.* Perhaps more Jews could have survived if Dutch and Jewish agencies had complied less with Nazi orders. A fatal combination of circumstances doomed Dutch Jewry: "The Dutch-Jewish catastrophe was in part a consequence of the interactions among efficient and ruthless German implementors on the one hand and indifferent, if not cooperative, Dutch bystanders on the other, including government officials as well as the general public."[88]

France

Statistically, France appears to have been a relatively "safe" country for Jews, especially when compared to the Netherlands or Poland. Of the 350,000 Jews residing there in 1940, over 75,000 were deported, and 2,500 of these survived the war. This constitutes a victimization rate of about 21 percent. However, only 14 percent of the French-born Jewish community perished, while foreign Jews sustained twice that fatality rate.[89]

These figures graphically indicate how Vichy France, the indigenous French government established to negotiate an armistice with Germany in 1940, deliberately abandoned Jewish refugees to their German executioners while trying to protect native Jews from deportation. Although Vichy enjoyed a precarious autonomy between 1940 and 1942, which probably could have been used more effectively to obstruct German persecution of the Jews, it viewed the Jews as an expendable group whose fate could be expediently subordinated to futile attempts to strengthen its position with Germany. Thus, Vichy initiated its own anti-Semitic legislation, provided many of the personnel who herded Jews into transit camps for deportation, and voluntarily deported Jews from territory not occupied by the Germans. French cooperation with the Nazis and indifference toward the persecution of the Jews decreased as the strains of the German occupation and the prospects of Germany's ultimate defeat became greater in 1943 and 1944. This period also witnessed the growth of resistance organizations that sponsored or aided Jewish rescue networks. The dispersion of the Jews in Vichy France, its proximity to other havens from Nazism, and recurring shortages of SS manpower and train cars contributed as much to saving the majority of the Jews in France as did Vichy's reluctance to deport native Jews.[90]

Vichy's authoritarianism and anti-Semitism had firm roots in modern French history. The concurrent democratization and modernization of France during the Third Republic (1875–1940) regularly encountered opposition from traditional elites who had lost influence and power and from social groups displaced and disoriented by cultural and economic change. Conditions in the 1930s—high unemployment, labor strife, the fear of war with Nazi Germany, and the threat of domestic and Soviet communism—enhanced the appeal of authoritarian solutions for France's problems.[91] Anti-Semitism surfaced as a common leitmotiv in the programs of many of the republic's opponents, with Jewish equality and prosperity serving as convenient explanations for everything that reactionaries and fascists found wrong in French society. The Dreyfus affair of the 1890s, the Stavisky scandal of 1934, and the appointment of the Jewish socialist Léon Blum as premier in 1936 seemingly confirmed the Jewish conspiracy theories of right-wing demagogues.[92] Jews also bore part of the brunt of a general animosity toward foreigners in a France inundated by gentile and Jewish refugees fleeing from repressive regimes throughout Europe in the 1930s. Fearing these aliens as competitors for jobs, diluters of French culture, and security risks, France embarked on a program of mass internment of approximately twenty thousand refugees in 1939 and early 1940, thereby preparing more tolerant sectors of the French public for the subsequent betrayal of foreign Jews that Vichy would orchestrate.[93]

The stunning German victory over France in May and June 1940 further eroded the legitimacy of the Third Republic and catapulted its right-wing foes into power to negotiate the most lenient peace terms possible with Germany. The new government accepted German annexation of Alsace-Lorraine and military occupation of northwestern France in return for French control over the remainder of the country and administrative and legal powers in the occupied zone that did not contravene German military orders there. Because the SS security contingent stationed in the occupied zone was too small to conduct large-scale operations alone, the Nazis sorely needed the assistance of French officials in the implementation of civilian policies, especially those affecting Jews.[94] Vichy leaders justified their collaboration on the grounds that it prevented the entire country from being overrun and might eventually lead to the full restoration of French independence.[95]

Vichy's supporters disagreed among themselves about what shape their anti-Semitic program should take. Led by Marshal Henri Pétain, the conservatives favored discrimination against French Jews and the emigration of foreign Jews as a respectable alternative to Nazi racism; whereas the fascists echoed Nazi calls for the removal of all Jews from France.[96] Without German prodding in 1940, the Vichy "moderates" barred native Jews from the civil service and interned foreign Jews in such camps as Gurs and Rivesaltes. In the occupied zone, Vichy officials helped the Germans register Jews and their property and ran the camps at Beaune-la-Ronde, Drancy, and Pithiviers, where Jewish refugees and "troublesome" French Jews were confined. Three thousand inmates died in the camps under Vichy's jurisdiction. When the Germans pressured Vichy in 1941 to escalate its campaign against the Jews, the conservative minister Xavier Vallat conducted a census of all Jews in the unoccupied zone, "aryanized" their property, and imposed a Jewish Council, the UGIF (Union Générale des Israélites de France), on both zones.

The German incarceration and shooting of a number of respected French Jews in December 1941 went beyond Vallat's aim of reducing native Jews to second-class citizens. His protest over this incident and opposition to Nazi proposals for tougher measures against the Jews caused him to be fired and replaced by a more rabid anti-Semite in February 1942. Though Vichy apologists contend that French persecution of the Jews might have preempted Germany from introducing harsher policies, it is questionable whether the Nazis could have accomplished so much against the Jews without the steps taken by Vichy.[97]

Although the first transport of Jews left for Auschwitz early in 1942, a shortage of trains halted further deportations until summer. In the interim, Himmler transferred the command of the German police in France from the military to the SS. In June all Jews in the occupied zone were required to wear Jewish stars, a measure Vichy refused to enact because no distinction was made between foreign and native Jews. Nevertheless, SS officials soon learned that Vichy leader Pierre Laval did not object to ridding France of foreign Jews in both zones and would provide French police for this vast undertaking. Descending on Paris in mid-July, French police arrested 13,000 foreign Jews and brutally packed them into a sports arena before moving them to transit camps for eventual deportation.[98] A month later Vichy delivered 7,000 Jews from its zone to Drancy for deportation. By the end of the year, 42,500 Jews from France had been sent to Auschwitz. From then on, for several reasons, the numbers of Jews deported dropped progressively from 22,000 in 1943 to 12,500 in 1944. French support for Vichy ebbed in reaction to the deportations, Germany's occupation of the "free" zone in November 1942, and the conscription of French labor for service in Germany in 1943. Correspondingly, French police cooperation diminished, and organized resistance increased as German rule became more oppressive. Thus, the Nazis now turned to fascist groups like the paramilitary *Milice* (militia) and the anti-Jewish police, the SEC (Sections d'Enquête et Contrôle), to capture and deport French and foreign Jews alike. Finally, 35,000 Jews evaded the Germans by fleeing to the French provinces occupied by Italy in November 1942.[99]

Vichy's initial policy of allowing foreign Jews to emigrate did save some Jewish lives, but far more could have been spared if Vichy had treated emigration as a priority. The south of France provided access to a number of viable land and sea escape routes to Africa, Italy, Palestine, Portugal, Spain, and Switzerland. Vichy delegated the administrative and fiscal responsibility for promoting Jewish emigration to the Jewish refugee assistance organization, HICEM. HICEM's funds and staffing were stretched too thin to handle the paperwork and expenses involved in getting official permission for Jewish refugees to leave France and enter other countries and in arranging and paying for increasingly scarce and costly transportation. Though HICEM helped 24,000 Jews emi-

grate to safer places, Vichy neither supported it financially nor reduced the amount of red tape required to obtain a French exit visa. Similarly, despite his offer to let Jewish children go to the United States in the fall of 1942, Laval then set difficult preconditions for their release and sabotaged the whole deal in early November when Vichy stopped issuing exit visas in order to stem the depletion of its reservoir of foreign Jews for meeting German deportation quotas.[100]

The reaction of the French Catholic clergy to the persecution of the Jews varied over the course of the war. Since France is a predominantly Catholic country, staunch church opposition to Vichy's treatment of the Jews might have encouraged widespread support for Jewish rescue efforts. Most priests and bishops, however, appreciated Vichy's support of Catholicism and its crusade against traditional church enemies like communists and Jews. Vichy solicited the Vatican's sanction for its anti-Semitic legislation and received assurances that such discrimination against Jews was permissible so long as it was applied justly and mercifully and did not interfere with the sacramental rite of marriage. Yet the roundups in July 1942 shocked and outraged many Catholics and spawned a spate of impassioned denunciations from prominent clergymen. Opposition to the labor conscription further mobilized Catholics to aid fugitives from Vichy.[101] A few Catholic groups like L'Amitié Chrétienne (Christian Friendship) and Father Marie-Bénoit's rescue network in Marseilles distinguished themselves by their tireless efforts to protect thousands of Jews.[102]

The opposition of French Protestant churches to Vichy's Jewish policies was more consistent than that of the Catholic hierarchy. As a small minority with a history of persecution in France, French Protestants were sensitive to the consequences of prejudice and fearful that Vichy might exclude them from public life too. The Protestant CIMADE (Comité d'Inter-Mouvements Auprès des Evacués), which had been established before the war to aid refugees, threw itself into Jewish relief work during the occupation. It criticized poor conditions in the camps, resettled internees in rural areas, smuggled Jews into Switzerland, and hid Jews in safe houses in the Haute-Loire.[103] This rugged and remote region was the site of the village of Le Chambon-sur-Lignon, which was transformed into a haven for five thousand Jews by its spiritual leader Pastor Trocmé and his Huguenot congregants. French Protestant organizations also joined ecumenical efforts to shield Jews from the Germans and their Vichy accomplices.[104]

French secular resistance movements also perceived that Vichy's anti-Semitic program was an attack on the republican or egalitarian values that they represented. Consequently, they, like most underground organizations in Western Europe, condemned the persecution of the Jews in their publications and participated in Jewish rescue operations as one of their clandestine activities. They also welcomed Jews into their ranks, affording them opportunities to help their compatriots and fight their tormentors. Aside from having a common enemy, many of the French and foreign Jews shared the political ideologies of the anti-German nationalists, republicans, socialists, and communists who formed the main resistance organizations. It has been estimated that Jews constituted 20 percent of the membership of such groups as Combat, Franc-Tireur, France Combattante, Libération, and Liberté, even though only 1 percent of the French population was Jewish.[105] The French communists sponsored separate resistance groups for Jewish refugees and printed a Yiddish newspaper to alert foreign Jews to the dangers they faced in Vichy France. Such endeavors on behalf of the Jews followed the same pattern as the resistance itself, becoming more widespread as the disaffection with Vichy grew from mid-1942 until the liberation of France.[106]

Jews in France played a significant role in promoting their own survival. Even the UGIF, the French Jewish Council, functioned primarily as a welfare agency. In this capacity it ran orphanages, concealed Jewish children in safe houses, and even smuggled some of them out of the country in cooperation with officially sanctioned Jewish organizations like the OSE (Organisation de Secours d'Enfants), Jewish Scouts (Éclaireurs Israélites de France), and the Joint Distribution Committee. Some UGIF documents and facilities carelessly fell into enemy hands when the Germans occupied Vichy.[107] In reaction to the summer deportations of 1942, Jewish resistance proliferated and stiffened with the merger of the Toulouse Jewish Army (Armée Juive), the Jewish Scouts, and Zionist youth groups into the Jewish Fighting Organization (Organisation Juive de Combat). The OJC recruited two thousand members who conducted military and espionage missions and hid endangered Jewish children. According to one estimate, such rescue networks saved as many as fifteen thousand children from deportation and death.[108]

Overall, Vichy's collaboration delayed the deportations of French Jews, kept the south of France free of Germans, and allowed emigration from there until late 1942. Yet these opportunities usually translated into actual rescues of Jews primarily because of Germany's logistical problems in carrying out its policies or because of the resolve and resources of French and Jewish relief and resistance groups. Furthermore, Vichy enacted and enforced many of the ordinances that made the Jews in France so vulnerable to the Final Solution. Foreign Jews and French Jews to a lesser extent were the losers in the game of strategic compliance played by Vichy France.[109]

Italy

Of all the countries examined in our study, Italy has the best record of shielding Jews from Nazi Germany. Though Mussolini voluntarily introduced anti-Semitic legislation before the outbreak of the war, he did so for pragmatic reasons and never made the Jewish issue a high priority for his regime. Since the persecution of the Jews alienated most Italians, the enforcement of anti-Jewish measures was inefficient and lax. As an independent ally of the Reich, Italy refused to yield to German requests for the deportation of Jews inside its borders or occupation zones. Indeed, it refused to strike the invidious compromise of delivering foreign Jews to the Nazis for deportation to spare native Jews as Bulgaria and Vichy France had done. When Fascist Italy collapsed in 1943, German troops entered the country and spearheaded a drive to eradicate the Jews with the assistance of Mussolini's resuscitated regime. Seven thousand Jews were killed by the war's end. The 38,000 Jews (85 percent) in Italy who survived owed much to Italian efforts to protect them. Thousands more managed to evade the Germans because of the respite they found in Italian occupation zones. Thus, Italy ranked second only to Denmark in saving Jews during the Holocaust.[110]

Rather than stemming from indigenous feelings of racial hatred, Mussolini's Fascism appealed to Italian desires for territorial expansion, economic recovery, and a strong government capable of ending the social strife that racked Italy after World War I.[111] Since the emancipation of Italian Jewry in 1870, Jewish acculturation and achievement had promoted the acceptance of Jews in Italian society, which, in turn, limited the political viability of anti-

Semitism. Although there was an anti-Semitic fringe in the Fascist Party, its influence was not significant enough to deter a considerable number of Italian Jews from joining the party.[112] Prior to 1938, Mussolini's views on Jews vacillated according to the demands of the moment. He condemned Zionism as unpatriotic but briefly aided the Revisionist Zionists, who shared his aim of driving Great Britain out of the Middle East. While he naturally condemned Jewish involvement in opposition movements like communism and socialism, he praised Jewish support for his regime and the valuable contributions Jews had made to Italy.[113] Though critical of Nazi racism, Mussolini trotted out his anti-Semitism when he wanted to curry favor with Hitler. Impressed with Hitler's diplomatic successes following the formation of the German–Italian Axis in 1936, Mussolini introduced his own anti-Jewish laws in November 1938 to enhance Italy's prestige with Germany in the expectation that it would then back Italian territorial claims that had not been met in the settlement of World War I.[114]

Until 1943 the persecution of the Jews in Italy was less severe than almost anywhere else in Nazi-dominated Europe. Mussolini's ordinances barred Jews from the civil service, military, and Fascist Party, and restricted their ownership of property and types of businesses. Moreover, Jews naturalized after 1918 were stripped of their citizenship, and all foreign Jews were ordered to leave Italy by March 1939. Yet the legal criteria for classifying someone as Jewish were relatively narrow, and special categories of Jews, who eventually numbered close to 2,500, were exempted from the economic and occupational liabilities imposed on their coreligionists. Sympathetic church officials often falsified records, encouraging some 6,000 Italian Jews to convert to Catholicism and benefit from a loophole that spared Jews baptized before October 1938. Another 6,000 availed themselves of opportunities to flee safely from Italy between 1938 and 1941. Lacking enthusiasm for Mussolini's highly unpopular anti-Semitic program, the officials responsible for implementing it often did so in a slipshod manner. This laxity was glaringly apparent in the execution of the order to expel the 10,000 foreign Jews residing in Italy in 1938. Two years after Mussolini's original deadline, 7,000 Jewish refugees, 3,000 of whom were recent arrivals, remained in Italy. These foreigners, however, were subject to internment or enforced confinement in rural villages. Similarly, the conscription of Italian Jews for forced labor in 1942 and 1943 was not rigorously enforced.[115]

As the Final Solution commenced in other Western European countries in 1942, Germany grew impatient with the slow pace and leniency of Italy's campaign against the Jews. Not wanting to offend their most important ally, Nazi officials at first broached this topic gingerly. By early 1943, however, they demanded that Italy adopt the German model for dealing with the Jews in Italy and Italian occupation zones.[116] Aware of the atrocities Germany was committing against the Jews,[117] Mussolini cound not afford the adverse public reaction that introducing the Final Solution into Italy would have provoked. His resistance to German pressure arose from three sources: (1) his personal preference for legal discrimination over violent persecution; (2) deference to the sympathy Italians had for the Jews; and (3) recognition that Germany had become an unpopular ally among most Italians. Italians resented their country's subordinate status in the Axis and were growing weary of the sacrifices they made fighting on Germany's side. The longer the war dragged on, the more they detested the Nazi reign of terror elsewhere and the insulting claim of Nordic supremacy on which it was based. Therefore, refusing to cater to German demands for more ruthless treatment of the Jews became a matter of pride and independence for Italy.[118]

Nowhere was Italian recalcitrance on this issue more evident than in the Italian occupation zones. When Italian troops stationed in the southwestern half of Croatia witnessed the massacres of Serbs and Jews perpetrated by the Croatian *Ustase* police in the summer of 1941, they spontaneously intervened to protect the victims. What started as unauthorized actions on the part of individual Italian soldiers soon became the offical policy of the Italian Foreign Ministry, the Army command in the region, and the Italian civilian government in neighboring Dalmatia. Representatives of these bodies consistently refused German demands in the summer of 1942 to turn the thousands of Jews who had fled into the Italian zone over to Croatia for deportation to German death camps. Even when Mussolini agreed to hand over Croatian Jews living in the zone, the Italian authorities in the area devised means to avert or delay the transfer. Significantly, Mussolini did not reprimand them for thwarting the German plans. Similar subversion of Nazi attempts to deport Jews occurred in the Italian zones of France and Greece.[119]

However, the relative security of Italian Jews came to an end in September 1943, when German troops advanced into Italy, taking control of the northern half of the country, where most of the Jewish population lived. On October 16, German police and military regiments swooped down on the Jews of Rome, arresting over 1,000 of them. Two days later most of these captives were shipped to Auschwitz.[120] Similar raids occurred in other occupied Italian cities that autumn. Renegade fascist militias aided the Germans in these roundups. Mussolini's puppet government at Salò, on Lake Garda, ordered the internment of all Jews as "enemy foreigners" in late 1943. While Mussolini might have calculated that this would keep the Jews under Italian jurisdiction and prevent their deportation, the Germans soon replaced the Italian administration of the concentration camp at Fossoli di Carpi, near Modena, and converted the facility into the main point of departure for transports to the death camps. Italian security forces consisting of the most extreme and opportunistic elements drawn to the Fascist movement assisted the Germans in tracking down and capturing Jews and political enemies. A total of 6,800 Jews were deported to Auschwitz, Bergen-Belsen, and Mauthausen during the German occupation of Italy. Hundreds more perished in executions or from the brutal mistreatment they received in camps and prisons in Italy.[121]

For all its casualties and horrors, the Nazi hunt for Jews in Italy ferreted out only a fraction of its Jewish prey for several reasons. The occupation period in Italy was comparatively short. The Allies liberated central Italy less than a year after Germany entered it. The Nazis were driven out of northern Italy eight months later. Furthermore, Italian Jews were highly assimilated and consequently indistinguishable from Italian gentiles. They had extensive personal and public contacts with the latter, to whom they readily turned when they needed help. Finally, the proximity of the Allied armies in the south and Switzerland in the north provided Jews in Italy with escape routes. Though the Swiss government denied admission to all but designated categories of Jewish refugees until December 1943, it relaxed the enforcement of such regulations after the Salò Republic announced its policy of mass internment for Jews. As many as six thousand Jews found refuge in Switzerland during the German occupation of Italy.[122]

The primary explanation for the survival of most Jews in Italy, however, lies in the widespread aid extended to Jews by many Italians. For example, the Germans expected to catch eight thousand Jews in the "Black Sabbath" raid on Rome, but fell far short of this

goal because seven thousand found hiding places among sympathetic Italians. Despite Pope Pius XII's failure to issue an explicit denunciation of the raid, let alone of the Final Solution, the Catholic church concealed hundreds of Jews in the Vatican complex and several thousand more in Roman monasteries and convents during this emergency. Other rescue rings relied heavily on clerical involvement. After Germany occupied the Italian sector of France, the irrepressible Father Marie-Bénoit changed his name to Benedetto and resumed his activities in Rome, where he joined forces with the Jewish relief agency for refugees, DELASEM. From this union sprang a factory for fabricating identity and food-ration cards and a network for distributing them to Jews in hiding. The Benedetto operation ultimately helped 1,500 foreign Jews and 2,500 Italian Jews.[123] Likewise, Padre Ruffino Niccacci sheltered 300 Jewish fugitives in Assisi's religious shrines, convinced a local printer to counterfeit documents for them, and shepherded a group of Jews to safety on the Allied side of the Italian front.[124] Italians and Jews alike flocked to partisan movements in reaction to the German occupation. The Monte San Martino group, led by a Jew, Haim Vito Volterra, liberated the concentration camp at Servigliano in May 1944, saving several hundred Jews interned there.[125]

The Italian experience demonstrated that a country allied to Nazi Germany possessed the freedom to abstain from collaboration in the mass murder of European Jewry. Mussolini passed anti-Semitic laws to please his senior partner, but he originally tempered them according to limits set by his own ambiguous prejudice toward Jews and by what the Italian public and officials would reasonably tolerate. By comparison, Vichy used the latitude it had in formulating Jewish policy and in responding to German demands much more submissively. German coercion and the utter dependence of Mussolini's regime on Germany after its occupation of Italy caused the Holocaust that did occur there. But Italian opposition to the Final Solution, compassion, and active courage saved many Italian Jews who would otherwise have fallen victim to it.

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CHAPTER 3

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The Acts of Heroism

Aron and his family were herded into the Cracow Ghetto, after which their parents and sister were sent to Auschwitz and he and his brother to a labor camp at Czchow, because they were young and could work. There the Jews were employed in constructing a road. One day the two of them got a pass—probably for their good conduct—and they came to our village, where I saw them again after many years. It was already 1943, and it was clear they would be killed . . . I asked them if it wasn't time to escape, but they said, "Not yet." But then they overheard two Germans making preparations for deportation and they escaped. They crossed the river to the forest, and from there they contacted me. It was the summer of 1943.[1]

They came to my place in the evening. My sister had some milk soup and bread ready for them. I gave them some underwear, not new but clean, and some clothes. I also got them new shoes; theirs were completely worn out. They went back to the forest and stayed there until autumn. We helped them with food, and I would bring them our underground newspaper to encourage their hopes for survival. In the winter I arranged a shelter in our barn for Aron—a hole in the ground we clawed out together and in which he stayed all winter long. His brother went to stay somewhere else. From time to time, I would arrange a bath for him; he was covered with lice, and we could do nothing to prevent it. In April or May, when the weather warmed up; he went back to the forest with his brother. They stayed there throughout the next winter because I was afraid to take him in again since I had reasons to fear that people in the village would inform on us. We kept in touch, of course; I kept them informed about events, told them where they might steal something to eat or something to warm themselves, and advised them how to avoid the Germans. That's how they managed to survive until the seventeenth of January 1945, when the Russian Army entered our village. (Stefan, Poland)*

From day to day, the activities of most of the rescuers were more mundane than glamorously heroic. For each dramatic act of rescuing a Jew from incarceration there were months and years of ongoing activities to feed, shelter, and clothe him or her. Many rescuers

*Pseudonym.

commitment to principle. As the illustrative profiles of individual rescuers and their situations reveal, the altruistic act of rescue was not a radical departure from previous ways of responding but an extension of characteristic forms of relating to others.

An empathic orientation is centered on the needs of another, on that individual's possible fate. It emerges out of a direct connection with the distressed other. Compassion, sympathy, and pity are its characteristic expressions. The reactions may be emotional or cognitive; frequently they contain elements of both. An empathic reaction aroused more than a third (37 percent) of rescuers to their first helping act.

The impact of a direct encounter with a distressed Jew was sometimes overpowering. Consider, for example, the following episode related by a Polish woman, then approximately thirty-five years of age:

> In 1942, I was on my way home from town and was almost near home when M. came out of the bushes. I looked at him, in striped camp clothing, his head bare, shod in clogs. He might have been about thirty or thirty-two years old. And he begged me, his hands joined like for a prayer—that he had escaped from Majdanek and could I help him? He joined his hands in this way, knelt down in front of me, and said: "You are like the Virgin Mary." It still make me cry. "If I get through and reach Warsaw, I will never forget you."
>
> Well, how could one not have helped such a man? So I took him home, and I fed him because he was hungry. I heated the water so that he could have a bath. Maybe I should not mention this, but I brushed him, rinsed him, gave him a towel to dry himself. Then I dressed him in my husband's underwear, a shirt, and a tie. I had to do it for him because I wasn't sure if he could do it himself. He was shivering, poor soul, and I was shivering too, with emotion. I am very sensitive and emotional.

Despite the striped clothes and the shaven head, the stranger emerged as a human being, the vital connection perhaps being made by his prayerlike gesture. Overcoming what may have been some feelings of aversion and modesty, the respondent took him

home to take care of his most basic needs. The interaction terminated quickly. The rescuer gave the man about ten zloty (less than a dollar), and he went on his way.

In the above case, the empathic response was a reaction to a compelling physical display of distress and plea for help from the victim. But cues need not be so visually apparent or forcefully conveyed to arouse an empathic response. The simple recognition of another's danger may prompt an empathic response even when the victim makes no explicit request. A Polish male, thirty-five years of age, responded in an entirely unexpected fashion when he was faced with a strange woman he knew was in danger simply because she looked Jewish:

> In November 1942, I placed an ad in the paper because I was looking for a maid. The third woman I interviewed had a really Jewish appearance. I do not remember our conversation now, but I knew I could not let her out in the street because she would get caught immediately. I checked some references for her because I wanted to make sure she was not involved in any political activity—that was my main concern. I thought to myself, "I am married, have a child, am in trouble myself. I live here unregistered, I trade illegally, I am a reserve officer. How can I let that woman go?" My conscience was telling me that she was sentenced to death because of her appearance. It was the only reason I helped; I couldn't let it happen. If somebody had told me before the interviews that I was going to take a Jewish woman as my maid, I would have said he was a madman.

In both of these episodes, the behavior was impulsive, an immediate reaction to the victim's condition.

Sometimes, however, an empathic motivation took longer to develop. One German rescuer was aroused to action only after he had made some assessment of the social background of the victims:

> In the spring of 1942 I was assigned to Tunisia as a paratrooper. We were to support the safe retreat of Rommel's African troops because the war in Libya was being lost. SS men were gathering up Jews, not to send them away from the area, such as to concentration camps, but for field work at the front.

We had taken a position, facing the Americans, forty kilometers south of Tunis. The Americans, provoked by our troops, made a paratroop attack. Many prisoners were taken. An Italian came to us with a report of spies hidden on a farm between the lines; he claimed that the spies had disclosed our positions to the Americans. I was assigned to direct the assault on the farm. We captured five young Jews; the Italian told us they were Jews. Two were sons of a physician in Tunis. All five were friends—their ages between sixteen and twenty.

The Jews were interrogated; they were very scared. We were monsters to them. They were afraid of anyone wearing a German uniform. The interrogation was conducted by an SS captain. He had been assigned to our unit as it was already customary at that time to assign Nazi Party members to military units. The decision was that these Jews were to be shot because they had been found in the front lines. I was in a leading position (*Regiments-gefechtsführer*), and they were assigned to me.

They were imprisoned in a railroad station. A report was sent to the division but was delayed by enemy action, and so the Jews were put to work digging trenches. A noncomissioned officer from the Hitler Youth came to supervise them during the daytime. They dug graves. The officer held a pistol to the temple of one and threatened to shoot.

In the evening when they came back, quite by chance I entered into a conversation with one of the physician's sons. He spoke German. His father had studied in Germany; they grew up in Sicily but had gone to a German school there. I was told of the threats by the noncommissioned officer. As I had all the documents, I knew that these five men had only come into the present situation by chance, and I knew they were to be shot merely because they had been found in enemy territory. I decided to help them somehow. I told them that I would release them from custody and help them to flee. They were very scared, suspecting we would shoot them during their escape. But I convinced them that I would help them. I provided them with food supplies and gave them a map, explaining the military frontier and how they needed to

pass through the lines. I also gave them a pistol. I sent the prison guard away for a while and let them out of the prison. They began their flight in the dark of the evening.

In the instance above, empathy was largely a response to identification with certain surface characteristics—sufficient to lead the rescuer to assume at least some time-limited responsibility for the victims.

In some cases, the character of the empathic response changed. In the following episode the initial response was based on an almost reflexive empathy for a doomed homeless child. Within a short time, however, the rescuer's feeling was transformed into a deeper and more stable empathy, and he began to attend to the child's internal needs—not only present needs but future ones as well.

I think it all started right in the beginning of the war. The Germans bombed Rotterdam pretty badly, and children were sent out. We ended up with a boy about my daughter's age; he was with us for a long time. He was not Jewish. In 1942 a woman came to see us. She said she had heard we had a boy from Rotterdam and asked if we would mind having another. My wife agreed, but then the woman said that the boy was Jewish, and so my wife said she would have to talk it over with me first. When I came home at midnight, we talked about it and I agreed. The little boy, three years old, had asthma and wet the bed. My wife kept saying, "I am so glad we got this boy and not someone else." And then the little boy kept talking about his sister. So I began to snoop around and found out where she was. She was only a year and a half old. I decided that these kids should not be apart, and I brought her home as well.

When the little boy was five years old, someone came from the church to press us to send the boy to Sunday school. We talked about it and decided we had the obligation to save those children, not convert them—we did not have that right. Besides, we would have confused them. This way, they could go back to their mother with their own beliefs and own religion.

The rescuer understood the child's needs for rootedness in continuing relationships, with his sister then and with his mother in the future. He was able to see the world through the eyes and

feelings of the child, even though the child himself was unable to articulate this view. The episode is also noteworthy because it did not begin as a result of a direct encounter with the child himself but rather with someone acting on his behalf. The woman making the request did not appear to be a particularly significant figure to the rescuer. She is described neither as a relative nor as a representative of some authoritative group, nor does she provide many details about the child. In this case, direct visible cues were absent, and information alone was sufficient to arouse the rescuer's empathy.[2]

In the case of "Stanislaus" empathic motivations were central and consistent.

Stanislaus was born in 1920 to a poor Polish Roman Catholic family. His mother had come to Warsaw from the countryside, where she worked as a domestic and part-time midwife. His father, who had some high school education, was disabled by an accident when Stanislaus was eight years old and lived on a pension thereafter. He had one brother, four years older than himself. He graduated from high school in 1939 but was unable to resume his studies until after the war, when he completed a degree in the diplomatic-consular department of the Academy of Political Science. During the war, he and his family lived near the Warsaw Ghetto. His helping activities continued over several years:

> The gallery of people changed all the time—it comprised several tens of people. Some obtained help in the form of a bowl of soup, others came for temporary shelter during the roundups. Still others, whom I had never met before, came and stayed with us until some other hideout was found.

The first incident he recalled involved Isidor, a "formerly rich merchant from Gdansk":

> He told me several times how the SS men had drowned his son. He settled in the ghetto and used to visit us at night. The ghetto was situated in Krochmalna Street, and we lived on Chlodna Street, so that between our house and the ghetto there was a kind of *Niemandsland* (no-man's-land). At night it was possible to bring that Jew in, and we treated him very cordially. Commercial transactions began between us. He used to come and say, "Stanislaus, listen" [he had a funny way of speaking], "could you buy that? Might you

bring something else we could sell and make some money?" I remember that whenever he came at night with his socks on (he had his socks on regardless of the temperature), he always checked the pots to see if there was anything to eat. Naturally, he sat down and ate because he was simply hungry.

This contact, however, did not last long; Stanislaus says that he and his mother were almost the witnesses of Isidor's death:

My mother tried to help in every possible way. I still remember how we stood by the barbed wire on the corner of Krochmalna and Ciepla Streets—the wire ran in the middle of the street. On one side of the wire was that unfortunate Isidor, pale as death—and on the other side was my mother and me, my mother holding a loaf of bread with tears in her eyes. She threw the loaf over the wire, but others took it. These were our last moments, the last contact.

The daughter of a well-known Jewish antiquarian also used to come to see them and stay overnight:

With her, however, we had no trade relationship. Her father was unfit for any trade, and so was she. In that case, it was purely and solely providing help. She came to us, stayed overnight. Very often she went out in the street with my mother, and later with me.

But she too suffered a tragic end:

Their fate was a terrible one. The ghetto border limits were changed in the meantime, and we had to move. One day she came with her friend whom we did not know—quite slim and very pretty, with very Semitic facial features. They told us a terrible thing. The Germans had come at night, collected all the families, and driven them to the Umschlagsplatz* to have them liquidated. The girls hid somewhere and later in the evening crossed the barbed wire in order to get to us. On the way they were accosted by two or three Polish males who pulled them into their place, raped them, and threw them out into the street.

*A large temporary concentration point from which people were then sent to their deaths.

They stayed with us for about one month, and later on they left one day and never returned; there is no doubt that they perished.

His mother and he were responsible for the entire household:

My mother did not work, and my father was in the hospital several times during the occupation. He was a complete invalid—a living creature, but unable to help with anything. My brother had moved out; he could not stand the psychological pressure of living with all those people, under threat of death twenty-four hours a day. He was unable to sleep or eat. So there were two people to run the house—my mother and me.

A total of twenty individuals stayed at Stanislaus's place or at places he had managed to arrange for them for periods ranging from several days to several years—an elderly married couple, two sisters, a young man who had escaped from a concentration camp, among others.

I made hideouts—not only in my own place but also in some other places in Warsaw. There were double walls that were made of bricks at that time, or of material called Heraklit (cement-and-flax-board). It was three to four centimeters thick and properly treated. Then it was covered or painted or wallpaper was put on it—over some hidden entrance. I made such hideouts in our home and then in several other places. My first hideouts were very awkward because I knew nothing about masonry. I laid the bricks wrong and the whole wall collapsed. But then I got professional advice from a bricklayer and learned how to do it right.

He managed to supply food for them out of his own resources and those of one of the Jews he was keeping:

First of all, the living standard was much lower then. Staple food was based on groats or the like. My mother did the shopping, buying in small quantities. Some of the people we helped were poor as mice; I don't know how they supported themselves. Professor T. was involved in

> he got money and that he distributed among those he was in charge of. He contributed, and so when peas or beans were boiled, my mother cooked for all. I worked for an accounting office and made as much as an average Pole earned then; I got an allowance in kind. I contributed my share; sometimes I got an allowance, some peas or the like. But it was partly the professor who supplied the money.

It was not by chance that so many people came to him. Stanislaus had many Jewish friends and acquaintances before the war, and he went to the ghetto often, even after the ghetto walls were sealed. Asked why he went there, he said:

> I had my friends there. Besides, when you went to the ghetto, everybody was buying and selling so that they could sustain themselves. Those people were sentenced to death even more than we were—of simple starvation. If somebody had colossal reserves of cash (I did not know such people), then he might be able to survive. But a workingman, like the man who worked in the slaughterhouse, had to do something to get a piece of bread.

One of the most noteworthy clues to Stanislaus' motivation is his recollection of details regarding almost all the individuals he helped—details not only of their physical appearance but also their psychological condition. He remembers, for example, what Isidor did before the war, how he spoke, what he wore, and what he looked like as he stood on the opposite side of the barbed wire. He remembers his mother with "tears in her eyes." He tells us not only the fate of the two girls before they arrived at his house but is also concerned with what happened to them afterwards. He is mindful of the advantages of the Jew with resources compared with the "workingman" Jew. He tells us about his invalid father and about his brother, who could neither eat nor sleep. He makes few references to himself; sentences that begin with "I" quickly change to focus on others. "I had my friends" in the ghetto, he says, and then begins to describe what life in the ghetto was like from the point of view of those who were there. Stanislaus thus appears particularly capable of centering on others' needs.

Understanding others, taking their perspective, and anticipating their futures may have left Stanislaus little psychological room

to consider his own needs. He speaks little of his own wartime deprivations or even his mother's. His understanding of how others felt left him with the feeling of "no choice" regarding his response:

> Can you see it? Two young girls come, one sixteen or seventeen, and they tell you a story that their parents were killed and they were pulled in and raped. What are you supposed to tell them—"Sorry, we are all full already"?

It is reflected in the reasons he gives for his rescue decision:

> Human compassion. When someone comes and says "I escaped from the camp," what is the alternative? One alternative is to push him out and close the door—the other is to pull him into the house and say, "Sit down, relax, wash up. You will be as hungry as we are because we have only this bread."

Attachment to others—his mother particularly and his friends—was very important for Stanislaus. Friendships transcended ethnicity, religion, or social class, and once formed, they were enduring. He was born and brought up in a district inhabited by many Jews, and "the street on which we lived was 80 percent Jewish." Thus, he had lived among Jews, gone to school with them and had many Jewish friends before the war. "I was so involved with Jews," he said, "that I had even learned to speak Yiddish." His Jewish friends and acquaintances included the rich and poor, those of high and low social standing, the assimilated as well as those who were not.

Although Stanislaus described himself as "very independent" while growing up, he does not appear to have high self-esteem. (He scored more than one standard deviation lower than the mean on the Self Esteem scale.) He also revealed a somewhat fatalistic orientation toward life—a sense that external forces control his life (he scored almost one standard deviation lower than the mean on the Internal/External Locus of Control Scale). There is no indication that Stanislaus believed that any external power would protect or even help him; he describes both himself and his parents as not very religious. Although he was a member of the underground, there is no evidence that his activity was in any way connected to

plied: "I would tell them two things—about being tolerant and about human relationships, the relationship of one man to another." Asked to describe the people he most admired during the war, he characterized one as "having knowledge and being wise," the other as being of "good heart, open-hearted, honest, powerful, and a person of strong beliefs." He remains a helpful person today, regularly extending himself on behalf of the ill and the disabled. One of the people he is currently very involved with is a Jew: "He is an old and disabled person who lives by himself. I shop for him and I visit him—I take care of his problems. I help him clean his apartment, wash windows, and so on."

Although Stanislaus feels most similar to Catholics and poor people, Jews continue to have a special place in his life. In addition to the fact that he lived in a predominantly Jewish neighborhood in his youth and had many Jewish friends, his grandmother was born Jewish. As told by his mother, his grandmother gave up her religion and her very wealthy family out of love for his poor Polish Catholic grandfather. Sacrificing all on behalf of people one cares about is something Stanislaus understands, even if the other is an "outsider." Although it is not clear whether he ever knew his grandmother, her values were faithfully transmitted by her daughter to her son.

Unlike an empathic reaction, a normocentric reaction is not rooted in a direct connection with the victim, but rather in a feeling of obligation to a social reference group with whom the actor identifies and whose explicit and implicit rules he feels obliged to obey. The social group, rather than the victim him- or herself, motivates the behavior. The actor perceives the social group as imposing norms for behavior, and for these rescuers, inaction was considered a violation of the group's code of proper conduct. Feelings of obligation or duty are frequently coupled with anticipation of guilt or shame if one fails to act.[3] For their first helping act, the majority of rescuers (52 percent) responded to a normocentric expectation.

In some cases, a normocentric response was activated when a person of authority representing the salient social group simply asked the rescuer to help. In the following episode, a very religious German woman, the wife of a parish minister, himself a member of the Bekennende Kirche, responded to a joint request by her husband and a prestigious intermediary:

> I was called to the parish office by my husband. I was then expecting my eighth child. The wife of Professor T. was there and said she had come on account of two Jews who appeared to her as poor animals escaping from the hunt. Could they come that very afternoon to stay with me? I said yes, but with a heavy heart because of the expected child. K. came at midday—she was a bundle of nerves. They stayed for three weeks. I was afraid.

Asked for the main reasons why she became involved, she said: "One cannot refuse someone who is concerned about the fate of others." The "someone" she was concerned about was not the Jews but her husband and the professor's wife.

Requests came from various authoritative sources whom rescuers felt obliged to obey: political groups, family members or friends. Frequently, they came from resistance groups. For example, a Polish member of PLAN (Polska Ludowa Akcja Niepodleglosciowa, Polish National Independence Action) found himself cooperating with Jewish resistance organizations. Asked why he did it, he responded:

> It was not a personal, individual activity—I had orders from the organization. In helping these people, I was helping myself since it weakened the Germans. It was an act of cooperation, military cooperation.

In several cases, expectations were tacit rather than explicit; the person knew that others with whom he was closely associated were helping. Young people living in the parental household were particularly susceptible to implicit expectations. A Frenchman who was eighteen years old at the time simply said, "My mother started . . . I'm not really sure she asked me . . . she told me about it."

Similar acquiescence to the direction of others also motivated the actions of "Ilse," a normocentrically motivated German woman who kept a Jewish couple for four days.

Ilse was born in 1907, the daughter of a German Lutheran minister. Her mother died when she was eight years old, and she and her younger sister were then sent to a missionary school in Basel, Switzerland. When Ilse was twenty-five years old she married a Lutheran minister with whom she lived in a small German town in a rented parsonage with six rooms and two attics. During

the war, her husband served with the German military, and she along with her three children were living in two rooms in the parsonage. Other renters in the parsonage included a relative and a family with five children.

In the fall of 1944, the young minister of her district asked her to take care of a Jewish couple who were being moved from house to house:

> There would be no food stamps for them. Because a district school of the NSDAP [Nazional Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei—the official name of the Nazi party] was in the town, and our parsonage was being observed, I had some concerns. My husband was in the service in Italy, and I was alone with the children. He had been harassed before he became a soldier. When I told the minister of my concerns, he said, "Please keep them at least for a few days." The large, deep cellar of our parsonage was used as an air raid shelter. I wondered what the neighbors would say when they came to the air raid shelter.

Ilse kept the family for four days, and then they left. Although the help was brief, it was nonetheless highly risky. Ilse was German, so she acted not against an external oppressor, as did rescuers from other countries, but against her own national authorities. Hence, the question of why she helped should be preceded by the question of what made her reject those authorities.

Ilse speaks negatively of Nazis. When asked if she felt any similarity to them, she said "not at all." Asked about groups of people toward whom she had strong positive or negative feelings, she repeated "Nazis—negative—rejection." But in fact she supported the Nazis in the beginning "because of their strong opposition to the Communists." What accounts for Ilse's change?

Ilse based her fundamental evaluations on what was happening to her own reference group—her husband and her church. "My husband," she said, "suffered on account of the Nazis and I was there with him." Her rejection of Communists was based on the same type of reason: "My husband suffered on account of the Communists, too," she said. Strongly embedded in her religious community, the daughter and wife of Lutheran ministers, she perceived the NSDAP as "persecuting the church."

Alienation from the larger political system and rejection of

havior assumed more of a voluntary and independent character. Sometimes, norms were so strongly internalized that the behavior appeared to be highly independent from any specific authority. The normative "compass," as it were, existed within the self, and the obligation to act derived from this self-concept. Approximately a fifth (19 percent) of rescuers were aroused to action by an internalized norm.

Such an internalized normocentric orientation characterized a Danish rescuer who began his activities in this way:

> In 1943, on the twenty-ninth of August, we heard that the Nazis were going to make a *razzia* and put Danish Jews into German concentration camps. Together with friends from the police department, we organized a refugee organization —it had no name. We ferried by taxi, and even by police cars, down to the commercial fishing harbor and arranged for people to go over to Sweden. The harbors were controlled partly by the German Navy but also by the Coast Police—a special department of the Danish police force. We had to be rather careful to do our "shipment" from places where controllers would not stop fishing boats and where we knew German Navy patrol boats would not be present. After a week's time, we managed to get all people of Jewish extraction out of the country—7,000 of them.

The rescuer did not await a request or approval from an identified authority, but rather independently, albeit in conjunction with others, organized a ferrying group. Nonetheless, he believed that Danish society approved the act and his participation stemmed from a strong identification with the Danish community and what he believed this community represented:

> The basic morality in this little homogeneous country is such that we have been told for generations to be nice to your neighbor, be polite, and treat people well. It came through during the war. You didn't want anything to happen to your neighbors or friends—so you fought for them. Denmark is a very lawful society and has law-abiding people. People would stop others from doing illegal things; even during blackouts, there was no theft. When the Jewish people came back to Denmark, they found all their property intact; nothing was missing. The Germans didn't

take it, and their neighbors and friends took care of it. They came back to find their apartments just as they had left them. It was the only country in which this happened.

His animosity toward Germans was also rooted in this identity:

As a small nation, we always had pressure from Germans who had tried to advance northward for more than one thousand years. My grandfather and great-grandfather told me that we must hate the Germans because someday they would try to take over. We had an anti-German feeling—not person to person but nation to nation.

Being Danish meant helping all one's countrymen:

The main reason I did it was because I didn't want anybody to hurt my friends, my neighbors, my fellow countrymen, without cause. It was based on good morals and good traditions.

In general, normocentric motivations were more conducive to group actions than to strictly individual undertakings. Although such motivations could lead to extraordinary sacrifices, they were usually less likely to result in close personal relationships with the victims. For rescuers like "Dirk," an internalized normocentrically motivated Dutch rescuer, help was more often perceived as a matter of "duty" rather than sympathy or affection.

Dirk was born in 1911 to a wealthy Dutch Christian Reformed family, the third oldest of ten children. He graduated from a technical school where he studied engineering. Before the war he worked as a technical manager in a cotton printing plant and continued working there during the war. In 1936 he married an elementary school teacher with whom he had four children: a daughter born in 1937 and a son in 1938, and two additional children born during the war, in 1940 and 1943. His family lived in a one-story house consisting of five rooms with neither loft nor basement. His wife's parents came to live with them during the war. Dirk joined the Dutch resistance, whose aims he described as "to sabotage any rule that the Germans issued that did not lead to open revolt."

In 1942, Dirk's brother-in-law, Ger, came to see him with a rather unusual problem. Ger, a black market dealer, had been trading with a Jewish family:

> He said to me, "These people [the Jews] will be picked up very soon if they stay where they are. I am afraid that they will be put under pressure to tell with whom they dealt and they will reveal my name. I want them to leave town."

Dirk recalls thinking that it was a "weird request" inasmuch as Ger showed no concern about the Jewish family but only himself. Nonetheless, Dirk promised to do what he could and went to see the Jewish family and said the following:

> I am the brother-in-law of so and so. He wants you to get lost. If you ask me, I think he's damned right because if you keep sitting here, they will pick you up and ship you off to Westerbork and wherever the hell else they send you to.

Dirk had already seen how Jews were shipped in boxcars to Germany, allegedly "to work," but as he said, "I knew if you packed eighty people in small boxcars, it was not to work." The couple, however, was unconvinced, and he returned two more times repeating much the same thing on each visit. They finally agreed to leave if Dirk would take their fourteen-year-old daughter; they themselves would go to De Peel in search of shelter.

Dirk agreed and Sara, the daughter, came to stay with them. Dirk warned the parents, however, that they were to "close their mouths and say nothing." When Dirk's fourth child was born, however, the burden became too heavy, and he sought another place for Sara with a Christian Reformed family. The family insisted, however, that Sara's parents were not to be informed where she was, so as to avoid increasing the risk. If the parents learned of her whereabouts, Sara would be returned immediately. On learning of the new arrangement, however, Sara's father became very upset, went looking for her, and finally found her. The result was just as Dirk expected: " . . . that was the end of it. We had her back right away. They sent Sara back to us and we were back at square one."

For a while everything was fine, but then disaster nearly occurred:

> It was Friday before Pentecost 1943. It was bedtime, seven o'clock, and my wife and I were looking out the window for our children to summon them inside. We saw a woman coming. We couldn't see too well because the street was

> It's not because I have an altruistic personality. It's because I am an obedient Christian. I know that is the reason why I did it. I know it. The Lord wants you to do good work. What good is it to say you love your neighbor if you don't help them. There was never any question about it. The Lord wanted us to rescue those people and we did it. We could not let those people go to their doom.

Religious faith recurs repeatedly throughout his narrative; a faith that not only relied on God as the source of behavioral norms but also as the protector for those who obeyed them. That faith is evident in the following episode.

The family engaged in nightly Bible readings. During the very evening when Mrs. Roth arrived with the two girls, Dirk and his wife interpreted the reading for the night as God's message to them:

> We read from the Bible the story of Elisha. When the Syrians were coming to take Elisha, his servant was very afraid and said to Elisha, "My lord, how are we going to survive? They are going to get you." But Elisha said no, and the Lord opened the boy's eyes, and he saw all the Syrians were dead. My wife said, "The Lord sickened his enemies with blindness then and he will do so again." I didn't believe her, but that's what happened. Those girls—the daughters of the local Nazi boss who escorted Mrs. Roth to our house—were also "stricken with blindness." They saw nothing strange in what was happening and never understood what was going on. I know the Lord protected us.

In this view, God wants his servants to help the needy, and in return he protects the just. Obedience to God offered protection if one but succumbed to his will. "I gave it up to the Lord," Dirk said. "It was in God's hands." As his father had taught him, "Trust the Lord."

Dirk had internalized the norms of his religion. "Love thy neighbor" had become so well integrated into his sense of obligations that he was able to act independently in the absence of external pressure, request, or even support from any group with the exception of his family. He felt this obligation even though Sara's parents violated the conditions of their agreement. Strongly em-

moderate sense of independence, self-esteem, and social responsibility that extended to others different from himself—appeared to motivate and sustain him in his rescue activities.

A principled motivation, like a normative one, is rooted in an indirect connection with the victim. The indirect connection, however, does not come about through a social group with whom the actor identifies but is rather mediated by a set of overarching axioms, largely autonomously derived. People with this orientation interpreted the persecution of Jews as a violation of moral precepts, and the main goal of their rescue behavior was to reaffirm and act on their principles. Even when their actions might prove futile, individuals tended to believe that the principles were kept alive as long as there were people who reaffirmed them by their deeds. Somewhat more than a tenth (11 percent) of rescuers were aroused to action by principles.

Rescuers, like most people, had multiple values, any one of which might assume supremacy at a given moment. For some rescuers, however, certain values became central principles around which they characteristically interpreted events and organized their lives. For these people, their principles were fundamental canons of belief whose violation was accompanied by strong moral indignation. They felt compelled to act more out of a sense of these principles than empathy for the victims.

These rescuers most frequently highlighted two kinds of moral principles—the principle of justice (the right of innocent people to be free from persecution) and the principle of care (the obligation to help the needy). Those motivated by the principle of justice tended to exhibit different emotional characteristics than did those who were motivated by the principle of care. They usually had more impersonal relationships with those they assisted and reserved strong emotions (anger and hate) for those who violated the principle of justice they held dear. Rescuers motivated primarily by care, on the other hand, usually focused on the subjective states and reactions of the victims. Kindness toward the victim was the dominant theme, while hate and indignation toward the violators were more transitory. In some cases the rescuer was even ready to extend help to the enemy if he was in pain or danger.

High independence from external opinions and evaluations is the major characteristic of people who share this orientation.

tive. If other people are involved, it is mostly for instrumental reasons rather than for psychological support or guidance.

The capacity for such independent action has also been noted in individuals characterized by internalized norms. But principles differ in their origins from internalized norms. While internalized norms can be traced directly back to particular authoritative social groups, those who have a principled motivation appear to a great extent to develop their principles on the basis of their own intellectual and moral efforts. Normocentrically motivated persons refer repeatedly to certain groups or categories of people who espouse the same norms: religious groups, professional groups, friends, or family. Such references are rarely made by people with a principled motivation. To the extent that relationships are mentioned, they are presented as deliberately chosen on the basis of support for the principles to which the subject was previously committed. Adherence to the principles appears to play the primary role in determining the association. Among normocentrically oriented persons, it is the other way around—the reference group with which one is associated appears to be the source of values. As one representative of rescuers who had a principled motivation, we offer "Suzanne," who emphasizes principles of justice.

Suzanne was born in 1909 in Paris to a moderately religious Protestant Calvinist family. Her father was an engineer, her mother a housewife. She had one brother twelve years older than herself. Suzanne completed a university degree in mathematics in 1933. She never married. After her mother's death and her brother's departure from home, she lived with her father in a rented three-room apartment. She worked as a secondary school mathematics teacher in a small town, continuing to work at the same post after the war broke out.

> . . . when Marshal Pétain came to power, it was evident that a dictatorship had begun. I knew that one of the first measures would be an indictment against the Jews. I did not react to the first indictment, but when the second statute was published [Xavier Vallat, commissariat general for Jewish Affairs in Vichy, in *La Dépêche de Toulouse* in May 1941], I decided to get involved. I wrote a letter to the three rabbis in my region, and as I remember what I wrote, it said:
>
> Sirs:
> I am very upset that in my country, in the twentieth

> matter. Three days later a delegation of students informed me that they too wanted to help. I then organized a corresponding agency between the incarcerated youngsters and my students. Unfortunately that activity did not last too long. All the Jews who were in the French camps were taken to Germany. They disappeared.

Suzanne spent little time, however, mourning failures. She was already busy assisting people detained at a "camp for foreign workers" at Châteauneuf-les-Bains. Again, she took the initiative, writing to the committee in charge to put her in touch with any families who might need help. She was referred to a Jewish family from Rotterdam who apprised her of the situation:

> The daughter of this family informed me by letter that all the men in the camp had been deported to Germany, and that now it would be the women's turn. In order to help the women, I wrote to the Cantal Prefecture asking them to furnish me with a list of all the Help Wanted personnel for domestic work, agricultural work, and so on. The only requirement for being placed was to give a local address, which was not hard for me to get. I then proceeded to place as many people as I could.

Nothing appeared too hard for Suzanne to do. In November 1942 she was asked by one R. V., who was in charge of the Clermont-Ferrand consistory, to accept the responsibility of saving as many children as possible. She was able to place many of them, but wasted little energy describing how she managed to accomplish this complex task:

> I placed the girls fourteen years and over in my school, the boys in the boys' school. The ones who were not able to keep up with the program were put on farms to tend the livestock. The smallest children were placed in boarding school. The parents of most of these children were arrested and taken to concentration camps in Germany.

Suzanne's actions were apparently not responses to direct contact with brutality or suffering; she describes no experiences in which she witnessed mistreatment of Jews or any other people. Her narrative does not center on the psychological states of the

contrary. I wanted to counterbalance that as much as I could.

But nowhere else does she refer again to religion—nor does she make any single spontaneous comment about God.

The characteristics of the interview cannot comfortably be categorized as those of either empathic or normocentric motivation. A central comment that suggests that the motivation here was principled in character emerges from a conversation she reports between herself and her mother:

> My mother said, "I don't think you have the right to do this. Your responsibility is for the safety of your own children." I said to her that it was more important for our children to have parents who have done what they felt they had to do, even if it costs us our lives. It will be better for them—even if we don't make it. They will know we did what we felt we had to do. This is better than if we think first of our own safety.

What, we may ask, could be more important for children than the lives of their parents? What appears to be at stake here is some fundamental principle—difficult to articulate but nonetheless worth dying for and important enough to leave as a heritage for one's children.

This principle, best described as an ethic of care, is a dominating sense of obligation to help all people out of a spirit of generosity and concern for their welfare. While focus on others' needs is also characteristic of an empathic motivation, the ethic of care is more inclusive. An empathic motivation focuses on specific individuals whose needs assume paramount importance over others. While the ethic of care also emerges out of concrete situations and involvement with others, it is best captured by what Gilligan describes as a concern with minimizing overall harm to all to as large an extent as possible.[4] The interests of individuals may be subordinated to the greater good, as demonstrated in the following incident, when Louisa put her son at risk out of the greater concern for all in her charge:

> We saw a big car in front and knew it was the Germans. It was a big official Ford. Everyone ran out the back door and into the tunnel and disappeared with my husband. But our

THROUGH THEIR EYES

RAOUL WALLENBERG: A LEGEND OF HEROISM

Could one individual actually have made a difference and rescued thousands of people from certain death at the hands of the Nazis? The answer is "yes." That individual's name is Raoul Wallenberg.

Who was he? Where did he come from? How did he do it? What happened to him? These are the usual questions asked by anyone who has ever heard the unusual story of the "lost hero," Raoul Wallenberg, who saved tens of thousands of Jews in Hungary in 1944.

Raoul Wallenberg was the son of a Swedish naval officer. He attended the finest military schools and even studied architecture in the United States, at the University of Michigan. After working in South Africa and in Israel, Raoul returned to Sweden, where he became more and more concerned about the plight of the Jews in Europe. Established as a successful businessman in Sweden, a neutral country during the war, Wallenberg was offered the opportunity of helping the Hungarian Jews and he readily accepted the challenge.

The year 1944 was a turning point for the Jews in Hungary. The Nazi government demanded the Hungarian government turn over for deportation the remaining 800,000 Jews living in Hungary. Despite the efforts of the puppet government in Hungary led by Admiral Nicolas Horthy, 435,000 Jews from the provinces were sent to their deaths at Auschwitz. In the meantime, Adolf Eichmann set in motion plans to deport the remaining 230,000 Jews living in Budapest, the capital city of Hungary.

Into this arena of death came Raoul Wallenberg, named special envoy with diplomatic protection. Armed with little more than sheer determination and fortified with courage, Wallenberg set up his own headquarters at the Swedish Embassy and created special passports with the Swedish seal, granting immunity to those who held them. Although these passports had no real validity, they looked authentic enough to the German and Hungarian officials, whose attention was diverted to the German losses in the war and who were worried about postwar reprisals. Volunteer Jews worked relentlessly around the clock producing more and more of these counterfeit passports. In addition to distributing as many passports as possible, Wallenberg established shelters and "safe houses" where Jews could live under Swedish protection.

The successful efforts to rescue the Jews of Hungary and resist Nazi domination made Adolf Eichmann even more determined to destroy the remaining Jews in Budapest. He established the Arrow Cross Government and replaced Admiral Horthy with Ferenc Szalasi. With the Arrow Cross in power, the documents Wallenberg distributed were not recognized. Jews began disappearing and a new reign of terror began in force. Wallenberg intervened by appealing to the wife of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, threatening to expose her Jewish heritage and reminding her that German defeat was imminent. Once more, the almost 20,000 Jews holding documents found protection. However, more than 200,000 Jews were still without papers and Eichmann decided it was time to round up these remaining Jews for a death march.

In freezing rain, 27,000 people were marched from Budapest to trains bound for death camps. They marched 20–25 miles a day. In the midst of this horror, Wallenberg appeared at the side of the Jews, riding up and down, distributing food, medicine, and clothing, and filling in blank passports for people whose release he later demanded. In this manner alone, he saved an additional 2,000 men, women, and children.

In December 1944, the Russians entered Hungary. But Wallenberg was nowhere to be found—he had disappeared into the night. Survivors searched for him, wishing to communicate their gratitude, but to no avail. Rumor placed him in Russia and there were reports that he was being held as an ally of the Germans. Wallenberg's fate has never been verified, but in 1957, a Russian report said that he died in prison there in 1947. To this day, rumors circulate that he is alive, imprisoned somewhere in Russia.

At the end of the war, over 144,000 Jews had survived in Budapest. While half of Hungary's Jews had been killed, those who survived owe their lives, in large measure, to the efforts of one man—Raoul Wallenberg.

Reaching Beyond

1. What dangers did Wallenberg encounter in his work to rescue the Jews of Hungary? Be specific.
2. If Wallenberg were discovered alive today, what do you think he would say about his incredible mission in Hungary and his accomplishments?
3. How would you respond to the question "But what can only one person do?"
4. If you would like to learn more about Raoul Wallenberg and his work to rescue the Jews, read Elenore Lester's *Wallenberg: The Man in the Iron Web* (Prentice-Hall, 1982) or John Bierman's *Righteous Gentile: The Story of Raoul Wallenberg, Missing Hero of the Holocaust* (Viking, 1981).

SEMPO SUGIHARA, WHO DARED TO SAVE LIVES

Mordecai Paldiel, Ph.D.
Director, Department for the Righteous
Yad Vashem, Jerusalem

In recent years, a full half century after World War II, a growing number of people in Japan have become interested in, indeed almost hypnotized by, the story of Sempo Sugihara, the only Japanese to be honored with Yad Vashem's title "Righteous Among the Nations." Who was he and why this sudden delayed interest in him by the men and women of his own country?

A diplomat by profession, Sugihara was assigned by his Foreign Ministry in the fall of 1939 to open a Japanese consulate (office) in Kaunas, the then capital of independent Lithuania. Upon arrival at his new post, Sugihara learned the true purpose of his placement in that distant city; to report on German troop movements across the border, in anticipation of an expected German invasion of the Soviet Union.

Knowing the approximate invasion date would help military planning in Japan and allow troops to be shuffled to areas considered favorable by the military, especially in the southern Pacific region, which was Japan's main sphere of interest.

One year later, in summer 1940, Sugihara and all other foreign representatives in Kaunas were ordered to close their legations (offices) on orders of the new Soviet masters who had taken control of the country in the summer of that year. Obeying these instructions, Sugihara left Kaunas for Germany on the August 31 deadline and was reassigned, first to the Japanese legation in Koenigsberg, then to Romania, where he remained for the duration of the war. But before he left Kaunas, an unexpected incident changed the lives of several thousand stranded Jews and strongly affected Sugihara's self-assessment as a good-will messenger.

It happened one morning in the early part of August 1940. As he was busy packing and winding up operations in Kaunas, Sugihara was surprised by an unexpected commotion outside the Japanese legation. He sent his Polish-speaking secretary to find out what the people outside wanted. He returned with the following message, orally presented to him: "We are Jews. We have lived in

Poland, but we will be killed if we are caught by Nazi Germany. However, we don't have any visas [travel permits] to escape. We want you to issue Japanese visas."

Until that moment, Sugihara had been unaware of the dangerous position of the Jews in the unfolding European conflict and did not pay much attention to the frenzied antisemitism which gripped Germany, the country allied to his. His interest was limited to the conduct of the war and his concern that Japan gain the most advantage from this new global contest as it had done during the First World War. Yet a human cord awakened in him at this confrontation with these helpless people. Something deep inside him told him he could not dismiss their plea out of hand. To get a clearer picture of their demands, he agreed to meet a delegation. As he described it later, he was moved by the pleas of these people who, with tears in their eyes, begged for Japanese transit visas in order to be able to proceed to other destinations via Japan. Most hoped eventually to reach Latin American countries, the United States (Japan was then not yet at war), and perhaps the Promised Land of Israel.

As later told by Dr. Zerach Warhaftig, who eventually served as a Minister in the Israeli government, seeing the Japanese consul-general was an important and fateful event for thousands of Jews. Many were rabbinical students who had fled Poland during the German invasion of September 1939 and were now stranded in Lithuania. Uncomfortably boxed in between two superpowers bracing their armies for an eventual confrontation with each other, Lithuania seemed at best only a brief asylum for these people. They were concerned that the host country would soon be overrun in a war between Germany and Russia. The country's independence was at best uncertain and by the summer of 1940 had come under the full sway of the Soviets. The Germans, most suspected, had designs on that Baltic country, and the rise of pro-German and antisemitic sentiments among large segments of the population was not a good sign for the Jewish community. It was high time to look for a way out before the storm broke.

Quite by chance, two rabbinical students from Holland, who had come to Poland to complete their studies and were now stranded in Lithuania, learned during a visit to the Dutch consulate, that no visa was required for entry to Curaçao, one of the Dutch-controlled Caribbean islands. They were told that the Dutch island governor had the authority to decide when a person landed whether to allow the person to stay on or not. In other words, an individual could seek asylum on that distant island, without having an entry visa beforehand, an unheard-of privilege in those days, since a decision on a person's stay would be decided ex post facto—after the person's arrival. Moreover, the Dutch consul in Kaunas was prepared to confirm this procedure by writing it in the form of an official statement with the Dutch seal added, which could serve as a substitute visa.

When Warhaftig and his friends (ever on the lookout for exit loopholes) learned of this opportunity, they decided to study it further by exploring the possibility of getting transit visas through countries lying along the route to that faraway island no one knew much about. German

control of most of Europe in August 1940 ruled out any travel in that direction. The only possible way was through the Soviet Union by heading either south to Turkey or eastward toward Japan and China.

The Soviet authorities in Lithuania, however, declined to grant transit visas through their territory unless the refugees could produce additional visas for countries bordering the USSR. This added Soviet condition and another glance at the map led Warhaftig and his friends to the Japanese consulate. They gambled on being able to sway the Japanese consul general to grant them a Japanese transit visa, as a means of getting a similar Soviet one- thanks to which they would be able to get away from Lithuania.

As Warhaftig matter-of-factly relates, he spread out a map and told the surprised Sugihara: "You see, we have a visa to Curaçao.... We must reach Curaçao via Japan and sail on a Japanese boat .... Give us a transit visa to travel through Japan."

The career diplomat Sugihara was frankly upset by this highly irregular request, but a hidden humanitarian streak in his soul mysteriously drew him to these defenseless people. At the end of the meeting, he asked them to return in a few days to give him time to check the matter with his superiors in Tokyo. Leaving, Warhaftig had no idea whether Curaçao scheme would pay off.

Sugihara immediately set to work. A brief check with the local Soviet authorities confirmed what Warhaftig said about the additional transit visa requirement for travel through Soviet territory. Sugihara then cabled Tokyo a brief message: "Is it all right to issue visas to Jews?" After receiving a negative response, he sent another cable but received no answer. When a third cable remained unanswered, Sugihara decided to wait no longer. There were only a few days left until his forced departure from Kaunas, and Sugihara felt he had to act quickly if he were to be of help to the stranded refugees.

Recalling these dramatic August days years later, Sugihara reveals something of the extremely painful sleepless nights which tormented his mind:

> I really had a hard time, being unable to sleep for two nights. I thought as follows: I can issue transit visas... by virtue of my authority as consul. I cannot allow these people to die, people who have come to me for help with death staring them in the eyes. Whatever punishment may be imposed upon me (for disobeying government instructions), I know I should follow my conscience.

Sugihara then decided to act:

> Approximately on August 10th, I decided there was no further point to continue negotiating with Tokyo. The following day I began, on my own accord and with full responsibility on my part, to issue Japanese transit visas to the refugees without regard whether so-and-so had the necessary documents or not.

When the Japanese Foreign Ministry learned that Sugihara had not followed orders, they cabled him new instructions to stop issuing visas, "but I fully disregarded these cables," Sugihara proudly recalls, adding that he was acting out of purely humanitarian considerations. "I had no doubt that one day I would be fired from my work in the Foreign Ministry .... I continued to issue Japanese transit visas to Polish(Jewish) refugees until I left Kaunas on August 31st."

Sugihara estimates he issued some 3,500 transit visas(Warhaftig believes it was closer to the 1,600 mark). In order to achieve this (with time running out), he worked without letup for 12 straight days and even enlisted the help of several rabbinical students to put the Japanese seal on many passports and documents. According to one source, Sugihara even issued visas from the compartment of the train which was about to take him out of the country.

Those who accepted Sugihara's aid were spared the savage destruction of the Holocaust which came upon Lithuania like a thunderstorm in June 1941, with the German invasion of Russia. Curiously, none of them ever reached Curaçao. After a brief stay in Japan, most were able to continue to Shanghai and then to the United States, Canada, and Palestine. [1]

Two year's after the war's end, Sugihara returned to Tokyo, to be handled a dismissal notice by the new Minister of Foreign Affairs. Foreign Ministry officials referred to Sugihara's "neglect of instructions" in the Jewish refugees affairs' seven years previously as the underlying reason for his dismissal. The armchair officials in Tokyo, still at their jobs in spite of Japan's defeat, had not forgotten, nor forgiven.

After his dismissal, Sugihara found odd jobs. Moving from job to job, he managed to eke out a living to support his family. For a time, he worked as a purchasing agent for the Untied States Army; then, as a translator for the Japanese Broadcasting Authority and for private companies. In 1961, he established himself in Moscow as a sales representative for a Japanese exporting firm. As the years wore on, the story of his courageous war-time deed gained wider audiences, but mostly outside his own country.

In 1985, while he was bedridden, his wife represented him in a ceremony hosted by the Israeli ambassador in Tokyo and widely reported in the Japanese press in which he was awarded Yad Vashem's Righteous medal and a certificate of honor bearing his name. Several months latter, a

tree in Sugihara's name was added to those in the Garden of the Righteous at Yad Vashem, Jerusalem. He died peacefully that same year.

More recently, a memorial bearing Sugihara's name was erected in his home town Yaotsu, on a cliff renamed "Hill of Humanity." In Israel, the Jewish National Fund named a forest after him near Bet Shemesh. A growing number of Japanese have taken a belated interest in the man. Books and articles have appeared hailing the sole Japanese humanitarian honored by Israel; and educators, using Sugihara's example, are now pondering the difficult question of a civil servant's disobedience to his government when its action run counter to human rules of conduct and morality. It seems that Sugihara's story has touched a sensitive chord in a country where society's rules and norms(not the individual's) are still considered the final authority in questions of moral conduct. Time will tell what effect this man will have on his country. In the meantime, his popularity is on the rise in Japan. [2]

ENDNOTES

[1] In a 1965 meeting between the former Dutch governor of Curaçao and Minister Warhaftig, the governor provided an interesting, if somewhat chilling insight of the insensitivity's of Western leaders to the plight of the Jews. To Warhaftig's inquiry whether he would have allowed the refugees to remain on the island, the former governor replied: "Not at all! I would have expelled the boat out to the sea as the U.S.A. and Cuba did to the ship St. Louis."

[2] File 2861, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem; Department for the Righteous

perhaps two." "Thank you," again just the voice—the little man could not have been much taller than the railings—thanking me, in heaven's name, for two miserable days of grace. I loathed myself utterly as I went back to the house to fetch the cellar key.[26]

CONNECTIONS

Is there a difference between rescuing someone you know and saving a stranger? Is there a difference between refusing to rescue someone you know and refusing to save a stranger?

How did Christabel Bielenberg define her "universe of obligation"? What were the consequences of that definition? How did they contribute to her feeling that "I loathed myself utterly?" What other options did she have? How were they different from the choices she could have made earlier?

READING 8

Goodness, like evil, often begins in small steps. Heroes evolve; they aren't born.

Choosing to Rescue

In Germany, the government imprisoned anyone caught sheltering a Jew. In Poland, the penalty was death. Yet, about 2 percent of the Polish Christian population chose to hide Jews. They did so in a nation with a long history of antisemitism. After the war, sociologist Nechama Tec interviewed a number of the rescuers. One factory worker told her sadly that she had done very little during the war. She had saved only one Jew and she had rescued that person only by chance. As her story unfolded, Tec discovered that Stefa Dworek had gone to incredible lengths to save a stranger.

It all began in the summer of 1942, when Stefa's husband, Jerezy, brought home a young Jewish woman named Irena. A policeman involved in the Polish underground had asked him to hide her for a few days. The woman looked too "Jewish" to pass for a Christian. So the couple decided to keep her concealed in the one-room apartment they shared with their infant child. To shield her from unexpected visitors, the Dworeks pushed a freestanding wardrobe a few inches from the wall. The space between the wall and the wardrobe became the woman's hiding place.

A "few days" stretched to a week and the week, in turn, became a month and still the unexpected guest remained. The policeman was unable to find another hiding place for her. After several months, Jerezy Dworek demanded that Irena leave. His wife Stefa, however, insisted that the woman stay. The quarrel ended with Jerezy stomping out of the apartment and vowing to denounce both Irena and his wife. What did Stefa do?

> I called Laminski [the policeman]. . . [and] he went to talk to my husband. He told him, "Here is my pistol; if you will denounce them you will not live more than five minutes longer. The first bullet will go into your head." After that my husband stopped coming. . . . This ended my marriage. But Ryszard Laminski continued to come, helping us, warning us about danger. He never abandoned us.

Was Stefa aware of the danger to herself and her baby?

> Sure I knew. Everybody knew what could happen to someone who kept Jews. . . . Sometimes when it got dangerous, Irena herself would say, "I am such a burden to you, I will leave." But I said, "Listen, until now you were here and we succeeded, so maybe now all will succeed. How can you give yourself up?" I knew that I could not let her go. The longer she was there the closer we became.[27]

Then in 1944, the people of Warsaw rebelled against the Germans. As the fighting spread, it became too dangerous to stay in the apartment. So Irena bandaged her face and Stefa introduced her to neighbors as a cousin who had just arrived in the city. When the Germans finally put down the uprising, a new threat developed. Irena later described it to a commission:

> Before the end of the war there was a tragic moment. . . . We learned that the Germans were about to evacuate all civilians. My appearance on the streets even with my bandaged face could end tragically. Stefa decided to take a bold step which I will remember as long as I live. She gave me her baby to protect me. [The Germans did not evacuate mothers with young children.] As she was leaving me with her child, she told me that the child would save me and that after the war I would give him back to her. But in case of her death she was convinced that I would take good care of him. . . . Eventually we both stayed.[28]

What motivated Stefa Dworek? "I knew I could not let her go. What could I do? Even a dog you get used to and especially to a fine person like she was. I could not act any other way. . . . I would have helped anyone. It did not matter who she was. After all I did not know her at first, but I helped and could not send her away. I always try to help as best as I can."[29]

CONNECTIONS

How does the dictionary define the word *altruism*? What does the word mean to you? Was Stefa Dworek altruistic?

In his study of rescuers, Ervin Staub states, "Goodness, like evil, often begins in small steps. Heroes evolve; they aren't born. Very often the rescuers make only a small commitment at the start—to hide someone for a day or two. But once they had taken that step, they began to see themselves differently, as someone who helps. What starts as mere willingness becomes intense involvement."[30] Write a working definition of the word *hero*. Was Stefa Dworek a hero?

IRENE GUT OPDYKE

Irene Gut Opdyke as a nursing student at the age of eighteen.

Irene Gut Opdyke was once an interior decorator, and her stylish townhouse in Yorba Linda, California, reflects her attention to her surroundings. Her attractive appearance, Zsa Zsa Gabor accent, and sense of drama make her a popular and compelling speaker about the Holocaust. Furthermore, her story of rescue in Warsaw would make a riveting film, and the ending, where she saved all eighteen Jews, is one of success. Unlike some rescuers, she is not shy about talking about her deeds, feeling it is her responsibility to tell children about the price of hate and the courage of a few.

I never talked about what I did during the war, and I still wouldn't be talking about it if I hadn't read that article in the newspaper in the early seventies that said the Holocaust didn't happen. That started my Polish blood cooking and I said, "Well, I have to speak out." And that's the reason I put my time, my heart, and my feelings into speaking about the war, to so many groups, all over the country.

If someone would say I had to go back to do the same things to be able to help people, I'd do it without question. I was born in Poland in 1922. My family was Catholic, and my mother was such a strong influence. She didn't have much schooling but she was smart, and she never turned away anyone from her doorstep. We five girls were always bringing in animals which needed help!

I always wanted to be a nurse, to help people. In 1939, when I was seventeen years old, I was 200 miles from home in central Poland in nursing school. I joined the Polish army with other nurses. One night we were cap-

tured by Russian soldiers who had also invaded Poland. The soldiers beat me and the next thing I knew I was on a truck to a Russian hospital. Later I was able to return to Poland on an exchange between Russia and Germany, and I began working in a munitions factory that supplied the German front. One day, because of the fumes, I fainted at the feet of a German major. I looked German because I was blond and blue-eyed, but when he asked me if I was German, I said I wasn't. He liked that I was honest, so he gave me a job serving meals to German officers.

One day I was running an errand and I found myself in the ghetto. There were all kinds of people, pregnant women, children screaming "Mama, Mama!" Then I saw a woman with an infant in her arms. With one movement of his hand, the SS man pulled the baby away and threw it to the ground. I could not understand. But later on I realized that God gave us free will to be good or bad. So I asked God for forgiveness and said if the opportunity arrived I would help these people.

Soon the German major was transferred to another Polish town, Ternapol, and he took me with him. There I met twelve Jewish people who worked in the Gestapo laundry room. We became friends. They had been people of means, businessmen and women, a medical student, a lawyer, a nurse. I thought we were all the same: we were all in trouble and the Germans were our enemy. One night when I was serving dinner I heard the German officers making plans to raid the ghetto. The Gestapo man said, "Herr Major, Thursday or Friday don't count on the Jews to come to work." I realized that was the day they would make the raid on the barracks. I started getting the message to the laundry room and they got the word around. Many people were able to escape.

Then one day I heard them making plans to wipe out the whole ghetto in Ternapol, and I knew this meant my friends in the laundry room would be killed. I didn't know what to do. Then a miracle happened. About three days later the major called me and said, "I have a villa and I want you to be my housekeeper." I knew then that could be the place I would hide the Jews.

They stayed in the attic when the major was downstairs and in the cellar when he was upstairs. Then we had a real problem to deal with. One couple was expecting a baby and we knew the child would cry and make too much noise. They said they'd give up the child, but I said, "Ida, please, wait, don't do anything. We'll see—you'll be free." Then one day in the middle of the marketplace they hanged a Polish couple with their two children and a Jewish couple with their little child. They forced us to stay and watch to see what happened because there were signs on every street corner saying they would do that if you helped Jews. I ran home to my friends. Three of my friends were in the kitchen and I was so shaken that I forgot to leave my key

in the lock after I locked the door. This was the way I would protect us from the major coming in unexpectedly. We were talking and all of a sudden the major was standing in the kitchen. He was looking from one to another, trembling, and he didn't say one word. He went to his library.

I ran out after him and he was screaming at me, "I trusted you. How could you do this behind my back, in my own house? How? Why?" I cried. I said, "They are my friends." I was kissing his hands, holding his knees. He said, "No! I am an old man. I have to go now. I'll give you my decision when I return." After a few hours he returned and said he'd help me for a price. He would keep my secret but I had to be his—and willingly, too. There was no other way. I won't tell you it was easy. Not only because he was an old man, but I still remembered the Russians raping me. But I knew there were twelve lives depending on me. This went on for several months until the Germans started losing.

Everyone left the villa and we fled into the forest. We had a radio and we knew the front was coming. Then the Russians came and we were all free. And on May 4, 1944, a little boy was born in freedom! That was my payment for whatever hell I went through—seeing that little boy. His name was Roman Heller.

After the war I joined the Polish Partisans hoping to find my family, but instead I was arrested by the Russians. Some Jewish friends helped me escape to Germany. I went to a Jewish displaced-persons camp with all the Jews who were homeless after the war. From that camp they helped people settle in Allied countries. A group of men came from the United Nations to the camp. One was American and he interviewed me and said America would be proud to have me. So I came here in 1949, to the United States, alone. I didn't know a word of English. I worked in a union shop, sewing, and then I met a Polish-Jewish woman who gave me a job, and we've been friends ever since. One day in New York, a man came up to me on the street and he said, "Irene, you don't remember me, but you brought me shoes in the forest." There were so many of these people I didn't really know.

So for five years I lived alone, working. Then one day I went to the U.N. to have lunch in the cafeteria and I started talking with a man and all of a sudden I realized he was the man who had interviewed me. At that time he was a widower. He asked me to go out to dinner, six weeks later we were married, and two years later, in 1957, we had a daughter.

I was busy working as an interior designer, and raising my daughter, and traveling a lot with my husband, but I still missed my family in Poland. One night my husband brought a woman home for dinner and she stayed for fourteen years. Her name was Vivian Bennett. She was a wonderful lady and she was going blind. She had no one to help her through eye surgery so I told

her she could stay with me. She spent her last $1,500 on the surgery, and from then on I took care of her. She was so intelligent; there wasn't a subject she didn't know about. She was like my mother. I learned so much from her. Yes, she needed me, but I needed her, too. She helped me start my book. I never told her anything about what I did until I returned from Israel in 1982, and then she helped me write speeches. But she didn't finish the book. I could see at the end she was clinging to life so she could finish it. She was in such agony. Finally I told her, "Vivian, you don't owe me anything. Please, rest in peace." And she died that day. I still miss her.

But I always thought of my family in Poland. What had happened to them? In 1982 I was honored by Yad Vashem. I went to Israel and planted my tree on the Avenue of the Righteous. There was a lot of publicity, and my family in Poland found out that I was still alive. In 1985 I went back to Poland to see my sisters. We went to Auschwitz, and even after so many years there is still a smell of death. I never saw the ovens at Auschwitz. I was like a mother hen sitting on her eggs all during the war. But I was so ashamed for the human nation that genocide of this proportion could happen.

In 1975 I heard a neo-Nazi say that the Holocaust was a hoax, and I decided I had to start talking. I think another Holocaust could happen if we don't mingle together to try to understand one another and not be ignorant. It's my duty to tell the truth about what I saw. So for the last ten years I've been telling my experiences to many groups all over the country, and now I do it so much that I'm only at home about five days each month. My favorite groups are the children. They give me standing ovations, and then the big, macho boys come and give me a big hug and kiss. This is the most important thing for me now, to reach the young people. I tell them, "You can do what I did! Right now! Stand up when you hear name-calling, when you see skinheads. You are the future of the nation." I don't tell them what to do; I tell them I believe in them, that they can do it. They're the last generation that will hear firsthand accounts of the Holocaust. They are the future. We all have to reach out to know we're not alone in the world. You have to give not just money, but you must give of yourself.