History 323 The Holocaust in 20th Century Europe

Fall 2016

Prof. Wolf Gruner Time: Tu/Th 2-3.20pm

Email: gruner@usc.edu Room: <u>THH</u> 215 Phone: (213) 740-1668 Class #: 37064R

Office: SOS 262

Office hours: Tues 12.45-1.45 pm & by app't. Course is on Blackboard

The Holocaust is one of the most researched and nevertheless still most disputed events in Modern History. This course investigates the origins and the development of anti-Jewish persecution in the Third Reich, which finally ended in the systematic mass murder of Europe's Jews during World War II. Using both primary and secondary source material we will discuss the early efforts to isolate and marginalize German Jewry during the 1930s, changes in persecution strategy after the notorious pogrom of 1938 ("Cristal night") and the transition to mass murder during the War in the occupied European States. In contrast to common perspectives we will focus not only on the Nazi party or the SS, but on a broad range of German institutions and their personnel involved in the persecution of the Jews. We will discuss how much room to maneuver individuals in German institutions had at that time in order to examine individual responsibility of perpetrators and bystanders. The course will shed light on the living conditions of the Jewish population under oppression, and on the reactions and resistance of Jewish individuals as well as of Jewish institutions. During the course we will see how the Holocaust fit into the broader context of a Nazi "war of destruction" against Roma, Slaves, Soviet POW's, "Asocials," handicapped people and gays. We will explore the scholarly discussion after 1945 to understand which questions were discussed when and why.

Required books (at Bookstore or library)

- Christopher Browning, *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939-March 1942* (Lincoln, NE: Bison Books, 2007 paperback)
- Marion Kaplan, Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998 paperback)
- David Engel, *The Third Reich and the Jews* (New York: Pearson Education, sec. Edition 2013 paperback)
- Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews, vol. I 1933-1939* (New York: Harper Collins, 1998 paperback)
- Wolf Gruner, *Jewish Forced Labor under the Nazis: Economic Needs and Racial Aims,* 1938-1944 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008 paperback)
- Gerald Feldman/Wolfgang Seibel, *Networks of Nazi Persecution: Bureaucracy, Business and the Organization of the Holocaust* (New York: Berghahn Books 2006 paperback)

Articles and book chapters that are required have been all posted on Blackboard

Optional reading

Wendy Lower, Hitler's Furies. German Women in the Nazi killing fields, Boston 2013.

Alan Steinweis, Kristallnacht 1938, Cambridge 2009.

Saul Friedländer, *The Years of Extermination: Nazi Germany and the Jews, 1939-1945*, HarperCollins, 2007

Henry Friedlander, *The Origins of Nazi Genocide: From Euthanasia To The Final Solution*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995

Gross, Jan Tomasz, Neighbors: the Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland, Princeton 2001.

Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Yale University Press, 2003; originally published in 1961).

Raul Hilberg, Sources of Holocaust research: An analysis (Ivan R. Dee, Chicago, 2001).

Raul Hilberg, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish catastrophe, 1933-1945* (Aaron Asher Books, NY, 1992).

Atina Grossmann, Jews, Germans, and Allies. Close Encounters in Occupied Germany (Princeton, 2007, paperback 2009)

Jewish Responses to Persecution, Vol. 1: 1933-1938. (Lanham, Maryland, 2010).

Jewish Responses to Persecution, Vol. 2: 1938-1940. (Lanham, Maryland, 2011).

Peter Hayes/John Roth, The Oxford Handbook of Holocaust Studies, (New York 2010.)

Jan Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews. Betrayal and Murder in German-Occupied Poland* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013)

Christian Gerlach, *The Extermination of the European Jews*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2016.

Peter Longerich, *Holocaust: The Nazi Persecution and Murder of the Jews*, Oxford University Press 2010

Zenon Neumark, Hiding in the Open: A Young Fugitive in Nazi-Occupied Poland, 2006.

Bob Moore, Survivors. Jewish self- help and rescue in Nazi-occupied Western Europe, Oxford 2010.

Course requirements:

Class attendance and discussions: Active participation in class discussions of the readings is vital to the learning process. I expect that you will attend all class meetings, complete assigned readings before class starts (you find the assigned reading in the syllabus below the topic heading of each day)., and engage actively with the material in our weekly discussions. If you will miss class, you have to inform me as soon as possible via email. In cases of illness you have to provide me with a certificate by the USC Health office. Unexcused absences lower your grade. If you miss more than 5 classes, I won't accept a research paper, which will significantly lower the grade. The breakdown of your grade is as follows: daily attendance, 10 %; active participation in class discussion, 20%; for a total of 30%.

Examinations:

One exam will be given—a midterm in March (per the *Schedule of Classes*) based on readings and discussions. The examination will have several questions. **Midterm: 30%.**

Research Paper:

You are required to write a research paper of 14-16 pages on a topic of your choice related to one of the central areas under consideration in this class. This paper will be grounded in the historiography of the chosen area, but the heart of the effort will involve research in the voluminous primary source material available on the Holocaust, including, of course, the rich material housed in the USC Shoah Foundation Institute and the Holocaust book collection at Doheny.

Please start early to think about a possible subject and discuss first ideas with me. After the mid-term you need to provide a one page description of the subject with your research question and ideas plus a list of the already identified literature (books and scholarly articles, no webpages) of use for the paper. On those ground you will give a short 5 minutes presentation about your topic in class. Feel free to discuss anything about preparing or writing the paper with me by email or during my office hours. I will provide a separate handout explaining the formal paper requirements and the research process. **Paper: 40%.**

Academic Integrity

USC seeks to maintain an optimal learning environment. General principles of academic honesty include the concept of respect for the intellectual property of others, the expectation that individual work will be submitted unless otherwise allowed by an instructor, and the obligations both to protect one's own academic work from misuse by others as well as to avoid using another's work as one's own. All students are expected to understand and abide by these principles. *SCampus*, the Student Guidebook, contains the Student Conduct Code in Section 11.00, while the recommended sanctions are located in Appendix A: http://www.usc.edu/dept/publications/SCAMPUS/gov/. Students will be referred to the Office of Student Judicial Affairs and Community Standards for further review, should there be any suspicion of academic dishonesty. The review process can be found at: http://www.usc.edu/student-affairs/SJACS/.

Students with Disabilities

Any student requesting academic accommodations based on a disability is required to register with Disability Services and Programs (DSP) each semester. A letter of verification

for approved accommodations can be obtained from DSP. Please be sure the letter is delivered to me as early in the semester as possible. DSP is located in 3601 Watts Way, Grace Ford Salvatori Hall 120 and is open 8:30 a.m.–5:00 p.m., Monday through Friday. The phone number for DSP is (213) 740-0776, email: ability@usc.edu.

Use of electronic Devices

The use of laptops or other electronic devices, incl. phones, can be distracting for you and other students and is thus not allowed during class.

Class Notes Policy

Notes taken by students in this class based on lectures or discussion sections may only be made for the purposes of individual or group study. Permission to make recordings falls within the discretion of the instructor and as informed by instructional purposes, classroom order, property interests, and other reasonable considerations arising in the academic context. Notes and recordings of this class may not be exchanged or distributed for any commercial purpose, for compensation, or for any purpose other than your personal study. Unless authorized by the University in advance and explicitly and in writing permitted by me, commercial or any non-personal use of class notes or recordings constitutes an unauthorized commercial activity in violation of the Student Conduct Code, and students who violate this policy are subject to University discipline. As the instructor in this course, I retain intellectual property rights in the lecture material pursuant to U.S. copyright law and California Civil Code 980(a)(1). Misuse of course notes or recordings derived from lecture material may also subject you to legal proceedings.

Schedule:

1. Tue, Aug. 23: The Study of the Holocaust: Introduction

2. Thu, Aug. 25: Discussion of Terms, Sources and Interpretations

Primary sources

Definition of Genocide by Raphael Lemkin,

in David Engel, *The Third Reich and the Jews*, pp. 100-101.

Secondary texts

Raul Hilberg, "Sources and their Uses,"

In Berenbaum/Peck, *The Holocaust and History*, pp. 5-12.

David Engel, *The Third Reich and the Jews*, pp. 1-43, 90-97.

3. Tues, Aug. 30: Anti-Semitism, Nationalism, and Racism

Primary sources

"Hitler speech 1920,"

in David Engel, *The Third Reich and the Jews*, pp. 101-102.

Secondary texts

Friedlander, Nazi Germany and the Jews, vol. I, pp. 77-104.

Stefan Kühl, "The Cooperation of German Racial Hygienists and

American Eugenicists before and after 1933," in Berenbaum/Peck, *The Holocaust and History*, pp. 134-152.

Shulamith Volkov, The Written Matter and the Spoken Word. On the Gap Between Pre-1914 and Nazi-Antisemitism, in: Francois Furet (ed.): Unanswered Questions. Nazi Germany and the Genocide of the Jews, Schocken books: New York 1989, pp. 33-53.

4. Thu, Sept. 1: Germany, 1918-1933

Primary sources

"Speech of the German delegation in Versailles 1919," in Steinhardt Botwinick, *A Holocaust Reader*, pp. 50-51.

Secondary texts

Schleunes, The Twisted Road to Auschwitz, pp. 36-61.

Adam Tooze: introduction,

in idem, The Wages of Destruction.

Persecution in Nazi Germany 1933-37

5. Tue, Sep. 6: Developments

Primary sources

The Times, 3 April 1933

Memorandum CV head office, 16 July 1935, in: *Jewish Responses to Persecution, Vol. 1: 1933-1938*. (Lanham, Maryland, 2010), pp. 164-165.

"Nuremberg Laws 1935,"

in Steinhardt Botwinick, A Holocaust Reader, p. 121-123.

Secondary texts

Kaplan, Between Dignity and Despair, pp. 17-49.

Friedländer, Nazi Germany and the Jews, vol. I, 9-40, 113-173.

6. Thu, Sep. 8: Visit of the Holocaust and Genocide studies collection

!! Attention different location: Basement of Doheny library, Visit in two groups

7. Tue, Sep. 13: no class due to:

Sept. 11-14 International conference: Genocide and resistance in Guatemala. See program at www. cagr.usc.edu

8. Thu, Sep. 15: Institutions

Secondary texts

Gruner, "Local Initiatives, Central Coordination: German Municipal Administration and the Holocaust," in: Feldman/Seibel, *Networks of Persecutions*, pp. 269-294

Dierker, "The SS Security Service and the Gestapo,"

In: Feldman/Seibel, *Networks of Persecutions*, pp. 20-43.

Kenkmann, "Looting of Jewish Property and the German Financial Administration," In: Feldman/Seibel, *Networks of Persecutions*, pp. 148-167.

Doris Bergen, "The Ecclesiastical Final Solution," In: Berenbaum/Peck, *The Holocaust and History*, pp. 566-584.

9. Tue, Sep. 20: Reactions in Germany and abroad

Primary sources

Robert Weltsch, "Wear It With Pride ...1933,"

in Steinhardt Botwinick, A Holocaust Reader, pp. 112-113

The New York Times, 27 March 1933

The New York Times, 12 June 1933

Letter by Adolf Adler to CV head office, 9 July 1934, in: *Jewish Responses to Persecution, Vol. 1*, pp. 112-114.

"Wanted" ad by Jewish Community Sandersleben, July 1934, in: Ibid, pp. 115.

Secondary texts

David Engel, *The Third Reich and the Jews*, pp. 44-53.

Kaplan, Between Dignity and Despair, pp. 50-62.

Wolf Gruner, Indifference? Participation and Protest as Individual Responses to the Persecution of the Jews as Revealed in Berlin Police Logs and Trial Records, 1933-45, in: Alan Steinweis/Susanna Schrafstetter (eds.), *The Germans and the Holocaust. Popular Responses to the Persecution and Murder of the Jews*, New York: Berghahn 2016, pp. 59-83.

Persecution and Life in Greater Germany

10. Thu, Sep. 22: The Annexed Austria, 1938-1943

Primary sources

Gedye, Fallen Bastions, London 1939, pp. 300-311.

Secondary texts

Friedländer, Nazi Germany and the Jews, vol. I, pp. 241-268.

Gruner, Jewish Forced Labor, pp. 105-140.

Sunday, Sep. 25, Extra credit opportunity Symposium in honor of David Cesarani

11. Tue, Sep. 27: Emigration

!!! Attention different location !!!

Visit of the Lion Feuchtwanger special collection, USC Doheny libary

Please conduct additional individual research online about Jewish emigration from Germany. Be prepared to discuss numbers of emigrants, destinations and problems

Primary sources

Letter Amalie Malsch to her son in the US, April 1939, in: *Jewish Responses to Persecution*, Vol. 2, pp. 41-44.

Letter by Susanne Behr, Febr, 1939, in: Ibid, pp. 45-47.

Letter from Shanghai, 28 April 1939, in: Ibid, pp. 58-61.

Secondary texts

Kaplan, Between Dignity and Despair, pp. 62-73.

"Desperate Departure," in Spitzer, Hotel Bolivia, pp. 3-46.

12. Thu, Sep. 29: Kristallnacht

!!! Attention different location at Leavey Library

Introduction of the Visual History Archive of the USC Shoah Foundation Institute.

Please conduct independent Research on the Kristallnacht online: be prepared for a discussion of the different available numbers of victims, number of destroyed synagoges, shops and homes, and number of arrests.

Primary source

Diary entry about deportation of Poles, 1 November 1938, in: *Jewish Responses to Persecution, Vol. 1*, pp. 343-344.

Letter by Josef Broniatowski, (early November1938), in: *Jewish Responses to Persecution, Vol. 1*, pp. 345-347.

Diary entrees Luise Solmitz, 10 and 12 November 1938, in: *Jewish Responses to Persecution, Vol. 1*, pp. 352-353.

Suicide note, Hedwig Jastrow, 29 November 1938, in: *Jewish Responses to Persecution, Vol. 1*, p. 369.

Secondary literature

Steinweis, Kristallnacht, pp. 27-98.

13. Tue, Oct. 4: Mid-term Assessment, Open Questions

Watch one video testimony which covers the Kristallnacht from the Visual History Archive of the USC Shoah foundation and send the instructor per email the name and interview code and the segment numbers plus 4 bullet points about its content.

14. Thu, Oct. 6: Mid-term exam based on lectures, required reading up to this date and class discussions

The War: 1939-1941

15. Tue, Oct. 11: The Seizure of Poland

Due on Tuesday: abstract of research paper topic with list of literature (2 pages, hard copy plus e-copy) in class

Primary sources

Testimony (ca. 1941), in: *Jewish Responses to Persecution, Vol. 2: 1938-1940*, (Lanham, Maryland: AltaMira Press, 2011, pp. 177-178.

Testimony (1940), in: Jewish Responses to Persecution, Vol. 2, pp. 140-142.

"A Polish Report on Conditions for Jews after the German Conquest," in David Engel, *The Third Reich and the Jews*, p. 112-113.

Secondary texts

Yisrael Gutman, "Polish Anti-Semitism,"

in Rita Steinhardt Botwinick, A Holocaust Reader, pp. 37-40.

Browning, *The Origins of the Final Solution*, pp. 12-35.

16. Thu, Oct. 13: Germany, 1938-1943

Short oral presentation in class of every student about research paper topic and literature

Secondary texts

Friedländer, Nazi Germany and the Jews, vol. I, pp. 269-305.

Gruner, Jewish Forced Labor, pp. 3-31.

Kaplan, Between Dignity and Despair, pp. 145-172.

17. Tue, Oct. 18: Poland, Forced Labor

Secondary texts

Gruner, Jewish Forced Labor, pp. 230-295.

Goldhagen, "Jewish 'Work' is Annihilation," in idem, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, pp. 283-326.

18. Thu, Oct. 20: Poland, Ghettos

Primary sources

"Report by Uebelhoer on the Establishment of the Ghetto in Lodz, Dec. 10 1939," in Rita Steinhardt Botwinick, *A Holocaust Reader*, pp. 148-150.

Gina Gotfryd, "Somehow Life Went On,"

in Scrase/Mieder, The Holocaust Personal accounts, pp.143-154.

Optional: Rutka's Notebook. A Voice from the Holocaust, pp. 10-54.

Secondary texts

Browning, *The Origins of the Final Solution*, pp. 111-168.

Gruner, Jewish Forced Labor, pp. 196-213.

The Final Solution 1941-1945

19. Tue, Oct. 25: The Invasion of the Soviet Union

Due on Tue in class, hard copy two pages *outline* of your research paper plus list of annotated primary and secondary sources, also electronic copy via email

Primary source

"Eye witness report on mass shooting, August 1941,"

in David Engel, *The Third Reich and the Jews*, pp. 116-117.

Secondary texts

Jürgen Matthäus, "Operation Barbarossa and the Onset of the Holocaust," in Browning, *The Origins of the Final Solution*, pp. 244-308.

Streit, "Wehrmacht, Einsatzgruppen, Soviet POWS and Anti-Bolshewishm," in Cesarani, *The Final Solution*, pp 103-118.

20. Thu, Oct. 27: The Final solution 1: Regional versus Central Developments Secondary texts

Christian Gerlach on Belorussia

Christoph Dieckmann on Lithuania

in Herbert, *National-Socialist Extermination Policies*, Berghahn Books 2000, pp. 210-275.

Wendy Lower on Ukraine

in Feldman/Seibel, Networks of Persecutions, pp. 236-256.

21. Tue, Nov. 1: The Final Solution 2: The Central Planning and Death Camps *Primary sources*

"Goering instructs Heydrich on the Final Solution, July 31. 1941,"

in David Engel, The Third Reich and the Jews, pp. 113-114.

"Protocol of the Wannsee Conference, January 20 1942,"

in Rita Steinhardt Botwinick, A Holocaust Reader, pp. 164-170.

"Report on the killing center Belzec,"

both in David Engel, *The Third Reich and the Jews*, pp. 117-118.

Secondary texts

Browning, *The Origins of the Final Solution*, pp. 309-373, 398-414.

Friedlander, "Euthanasia and the Final Solution,"

in Cesarani, *The Final Solution*, pp. 51-61.

David Engel, *The Third Reich and the Jews*, pp. 56-70.

Browning, *The Origins of the Final Solution*, pp. 352-373, 416-424.

22. Thu, Nov. 3: no class

Due to International Holocaust Conference Nov. 3-6th Lessons and Legacies at Claremont McKenna

23. Tue, Nov. 8: The Final Solution and the Perpetrators

Primary sources

"Himmler speech, October 10, 1943,"

in David Engel, *The Third Reich and the Jews*, pp. 133.

Secondary texts

Christopher Browning, "Ordinary Men,"

In: Niewyk, *The Holocaust*, pp. 168-184.

Daniel Goldhagen, "Hitler's Willing Executioners,"

In: Niewyk, *The Holocaust*, pp. 184-197.

Wendy Lower, Hitler's Furies, pp. 120-144.

Christopher Browning, "Bureaucracy and Mass Murder,"

In: Mitchel/Mitchell, *The Holocaust*, pp. 119-132.

Peter Hayes, "Profits and Persecution,"

In: Mitchel/Mitchell, *The Holocaust*, pp. 157-165.

24. Thu, Nov. 10: The Final Solution and the Victims. Other victim groups Secondary texts

Michael Zimmermann on "Gypsies," in: Herbert, *National-Socialist Extermination Policies*, pp. 186-209.

Wolf Gruner on "Jewish Mischlinge", in: Jewish Forced Labor, pp. 83-102.

Geoffrey Giles, The Persecution of Gay men and lesbians during the Third Reich, in: Friedman, *The Routledge History of the Holocaust*, pp. 385-396.

25. Tue, Nov. 15: The Final Solution and the Victims: Jewish Women Secondary texts

Leonore Weitzmann, Women, in: Hayes/Roth, *The Oxford Handbook of Holocaust Studies*, pp. 203-217.

Anatoly Podolsky, The tragic Fate of Ukrainian Women under Occupation 1941-1944, in: Sonja M. Hedgepeth/Rochell G. Saidel (eds.), *Sexual Violence against Jewish Women during the Holocaust*, Brandeis UP: Waltham/Ma. 2010, pp. 94-123.

Zoe Waxmann, Rape and sexual abuse in hiding, in: ibid, 143-153.

26. Thu, Nov. 17: The Final Solution and the Victims: Protest and Resistance

(Tentative survivor in class)

Primary sources

"Call for resistance in the Warsaw ghetto, January 1943,"

in Steinhardt Botwinick, A Holocaust Reader, pp. 190-191.

"The last letter from Mordecai Anielewicz,"

in Steinhardt Botwinick, A Holocaust Reader, pp. 191-192.

Secondary texts

David Engel, *The Third Reich and the Jews*, pp. 71-89.

Yehuda Bauer, "Forms of Jewish Resistance,"

in Niewyk, *The Holocaust*, pp. 116-132.

Wolf Gruner, "The Germans should expel the Foreigner Hitler". Protest and other Forms of Jewish Defiance in Nazi Germany, in: Yad Vashem Studies, 39 (2011), no. 2, pp. 13-53.

Yisrael Gutman, "The Response of Polish Jewry to the Final Solution," in: Cesarani, *The Final Solution*, pp. 151-158.

27. Tue, Nov. 22: The Final Solution and the Victims: Rescue and Abandonment *Primary sources*

"Zegota Appeals for Funds to Rescue Polish Jews,"

in Engel, The Third Reich and the Jews, pp. 131-132.

"A Jewish Underground Party Informs the Polish Government in Exile about the Plan to Murder all Jews," in Engel, *The Third Reich and the Jews*, pp. 125-126.

Secondary texts

Deborah Dwork, Rescuers, in: Hayes/Roth, *The Oxford Handbook of Holocaust Studies*, pp. 170-184.

David S. Wyman, "The Abandonment of the Jews," in Niewyk, *The Holocaust*, pp. 256-268.

Peter Novick, The Holocaust in American Life, Boston-New York 1999, pp. 19-29, 47-59.

Kaplan, Between Dignity and Despair, pp. 201-228.

28. Thu, Nov. 24: Thanksgiving

29. Tue, Nov. 29: The Aftermath: Trials and Denials

Primary sources

"Extract from Evidence Given at the Nuremberg Trials on Auschwitz," in Rita Steinhardt Botwinick, *A Holocaust Reader*, pp. 184-186.

"Judgment Nuremberg Trial: The Persecution of the Jews,"

in Michael R. Marrus, *The Nuremberg War Crimes Trial*, pp. 234-235.

Hermann Göring, "Testimony on Nazi Policy toward the Jews 1946,"

in Michael R. Marrus, *The Nuremberg War Crimes Trial*, pp. 207-211.

Albert Speer, "Final Statement,"

in Michael R. Marrus, *The Nuremberg War Crimes Trial*, pp. 224-228.

Secondary texts

Rebecca Wittman, Punishment, in: Hayes/Roth, *The Oxford Handbook of Holocaust Studies*, pp. 525-539.

Peter Hayes, Plunder and Restitution, in: ibid., pp. 540-559.

Deborah E. Lipstadt, Denial, in: ibid., pp. 560-574.

Tentative screening clip from: Nazis facing their crimes The Nuremberg Trial, 2006

30. Thu, Dec. 1: Conclusion

Research Paper due on Thursday, hard copy last day of class, e-copy via turnitin

Short oral presentation in class of every student about research results

Summary of the Class, Open Questions, Assessment