

STEALTH ALTRUISM

Forbidden Care as
Jewish Resistance
in the Holocaust

Arthur B. Shostak



Introduction

*To learn about the Holocaust is to learn about
life as well as about death.*

—Lawrence Sutin

Introduction

About 250,000 Jewish prisoners were briefly held at the Treblinka Death Camp during its eighteen months of operation, though less than fifty survived to liberation.¹ In his 2010 memoir Philip Bialowitz recalls fellow prisoners “were helped by heroic individuals or small groups of people whose consciences led them to risk their lives to save others. They must always be remembered as shining examples of the ability we each have to respond to humankind’s worse actions with both physical and spiritual resistance. We must remember not to forget.”²

To help us not to forget, five introductory questions are addressed below. First, what do American Jews now associate with the Holocaust, and what difference does this make? Second, what does such association neglect, why, and so what? Third, how frequent were acts of stealth altruism? Fourth, how does this book cover this complex subject? And finally, what are the book’s major limitations and how might they be regarded?

Holocaust Word Associations

In 2011 and 2012, a nonscientific sample of 164 Jewish-Americans provided, at my request, five words they associated with the Holocaust in general, and with concentration camps in particular.³ Cited ten or more times were five Horror Story words: *death*, *horrifying*, *inhuman*, *pain*, and *sad*. Cited three to nine times were *atrocious*, *barbaric*, *brutality*, *degrading*, *evil*, *family*, *fear*, *gas*, *genocide*, *Hitler*, *loss*, *Nazis*, *starvation*, *suffering*, *terrifying*, *torture*, *tragedy*, *tragic*, *unbelievable*,

unforgivable, and *unthinkable*. All of the words appear after the Introduction's close.

Not surprisingly, the list demonstrated “fear and despair, persecution and suffering.”⁴ The Holocaust was represented as “uniquely horrific and horrifyingly unique,” a dark image grounded in what in this book is called the Horror Story.⁵ The subject would seem to have become something of a “third rail” in modern Jewish thought—touch it and you burn.

As for what difference this “third rail” association makes, consider that a decade ago Professor Alvin H. Rosenfeld asked, “Who, after all, wants to stare into the abyss and discover only blackness? Few people have the nerves to sustain so dark a vision of life.”⁶ Arnost Lustig, a survivor of three camps, has warned that a stark emphasis on unspeakable atrocities and unforgivable suffering “cannot inspire. It only scares.”⁷

Many Jewish parents shield their children from mention of the subject until the teenage years, and even then insist teachers tread lightly.⁸ Accordingly, many teachers treat it with trepidation.⁹ Holocaust museums limit attendance to those aged twelve and over, and warn adults they are not responsible for a youngster's reaction to graphic exhibits. Many adult Jews confine their attention to once-a-year attendance at a *Yom HaShoah* commemoration (a Holocaust memorial event), and even more shy from that.

As long ago as 1985, survivor Werner Weinberg noted with rue a general indifference among the American Jewish public to survivor memoirs.¹⁰ In 2013 some 27 percent of American Jews did not think remembering the event was an essential part of what it means to be Jewish, as did also 40 percent of Jewish college students.¹¹ Guarded whispers continue to circulate about “Holocaust fatigue,” defined as a “sickening of imagination and curiosity and the draining of will . . . when we try to look squarely at the matter.”¹² For as Samuel G. Freedman, an expert in American Jewish realities, warns, “a community preoccupied with death and destruction [the focus of the Horror Story] is in danger of substituting a cult of martyrdom for the Torah's insistence instead on struggling to preserve life.”¹³

Survivor Linkages

Professor Nechema Tec, a scholar/survivor who interviewed hundreds of survivors over a long academic career, found that many had been involved with “humane acts on behalf of others . . . Unprecedented oppression led to equally unprecedented forms of resistance.”¹⁴ Such

behavior is hereafter called the Help Story, a mix of acts of compassionate care barely tolerated by the Third Reich and also acts of stealth altruism, care-giving fiercely prohibited by the Nazis, the latter being the focus of this book.

Without doubt, the Horror Story belongs at the center of Holocaust consciousness, for it has had the greatest and most lasting impact on victims and, arguably, on perpetrators, bystanders, and upstanders as well.

At the same time, the Help Story merits a close second place. In some camps there were shooting walls and torture cells. But there were also Jewish prisoners who dared to prop up weak comrades during incredibly long assemblies, a violation of strict rules of conduct that could have cost all of them their lives.

There were merciless work assignments that stole life from exhausted prisoners. But there were also prisoners who, at risk of their own lives, would secretly substitute for others too ill to survive another day at their slave labor tasks.

There were men and women who were overwhelmed by the horror of it all and became *Muselmänner* (the walking dead) or threw themselves on electrified fences. But there were also men and women who aided one another through to liberation.

The authors of the 195 survivor memoirs I studied commonly shared *two* stories—one of Horror and another of Help.¹⁵ Indeed, unlike American Jewish respondents, the European Jewish survivors associated the Holocaust and concentration camps with such Help Story words as *aid, admiration, altruism, bravery, care, compassion, companion, commitment, dedication, devotion, devout, encouragement, enlightenment, emulation, faith, fellowship, fight, freedom, friend, future, help, hope, inspiration, love, loyalty, sharing, spirit, strength, support, and risk*.¹⁶

Stealth Altruism Statistics

As ghetto dwellers and camp prisoners had far higher priorities than to keep statistical records of their behavior, no statistical count exists of expressly forbidden acts of stealth altruism or of grudgingly permitted acts of compassionate care.

Subjective testimony from scholars shed some qualitative light. For example, Lyn Smith, former lead recorder of Holocaust survivor oral life histories for London's Imperial War Museum, has concluded that, "while the law of the jungle prevailed in the camps, many instances of mutual support, goodness, and little acts of reciprocity are recalled.

There are countless examples of how, even in the most deprived, degrading, and cruel circumstances, people held firm in their humanity and steadfastly clung to the values their parents and communities had bequeathed them.”¹⁷

Similarly, in 1948, scholar Hilde Bluhm studied twelve survivor memoirs written by men and women within a few years of their 1945 liberation. She found that “all the authors remember deeds which proved to them that kindness, courage, and consideration for others had not perished altogether . . . testimonies of a genuine humaneness were to be found in *all* camps, in members of *all* nations, in *all* groups of prisoners (italics added).”¹⁸

Likewise, scholar Bernard Rammerstorfer authored an exacting study in 2013 of the experiences of nine quite varied survivors, only three of whom were Jewish. Each of the nine answered the same hundred wide-ranging questions, one of which asked, “What did you do to relieve the suffering of others?” While one admitted to doing nothing, eight others of the nine prisoners either gave forbidden care to sufferers or received forbidden care from others.¹⁹

Accounts of participation in or observation of stealth altruism occurred in nearly all of the 195 memoirs by 178 survivors I studied. Typical is the report of Betty Rich, sixteen years old in 1939, who maintains in her memoir, “the extraordinary did occur in random acts of kindness, emotional and material generosity, and in the discovery of love and friendship . . . Jews both suffered and found compassion.”²⁰

In the spring of 2010 I reviewed sixty oral history transcripts chosen at random in a Holocaust library archive in San Francisco and found acts of stealth altruism in 85 percent of them.²¹ In May 2010, secret caring was cited in fifteen of the twenty oral histories I consulted in the Holocaust Collection at Gratz College.²² Also in 2010, my wife, Lynn Seng, assisted me in reviewing thirty-five randomly chosen videos from the over fifty-three thousand testimonies in the Visual History Archive of the Shoah Foundation. We found stealth altruism provided or received in many of them.²³

In 2014, Dan Falcone, a friend and high-school teacher, watched a random selection of ninety of the online “iWitness” Shoah Foundation audiovisual histories, thirty-two of which had clear evidence of stealth altruism, even as ambiguous hints of stealth altruism were noted in many others.²⁴

Historian Zygmunt Bauman speaks directly to the challenge posed here by statistical inadequacy: “It does not matter how many people

chose moral duty over the rationality of self-preservation—what does matter is that some did.”²⁵ Similarly, Pierre Sauvage, a “Hidden Child” survivor, asks in turn, “What criteria do we have by which to decide what is few and many in the midst of such an unprecedented hell?”²⁶

The last word in the matter can appropriately go to Ruth Kluger, who, as was made clear in the Preface, knows she owes her life to such altruistic behavior: “I don’t know how often it was consummated. Surely not often. Surely not only in my case. But it existed. I am a witness.”²⁷

Book Content

Attention in Part I goes to the question of what could possibly motivate high-risk forbidden caring? Chapter 1 introduces the Altruistic Impulse, while chapter 2 goes into detail regarding the deep-set influence of Judaic altruistic tenets.

Part II focuses on the experience European Jewry had with stealth altruism before being shipped in cattle cars to the Nazi camps. Chapter 3 discusses overt and covert care sharing for several centuries in pre-Hitler Germany, and then after 1933 in Nazi Germany. Chapter 4 looks at forbidden care efforts in twenty-four countries in Occupied Europe after the 1939 start of the war.

In Part III attention is paid to life and death in the Nazi camps. Chapter 5 distinguishes among four major types of camp (transit, death, concentration, slave labor) and highlights a prime example of acts of stealth altruism in each of them. The first of the book’s four profiles follows: this one of Theresienstadt, a unique transit camp whose Jewish prisoners drew strength from both the arts and forbidden caring.

Chapter 6 explores six deterrents in camp to stealth altruism, three of which originated with the Nazis (starvation, terror, uncertainty) and three others with Jewish prisoners themselves (factionalism, low self-esteem, callousness). Chapter 7 identifies six types of Jewish prisoners who posed a threat to the well-being of fellow Jews—collaborators, criminals, informers, thieves, independents, and *Muselmänner*, and thereby aided the Nazis in undermining acts of stealth altruism.

In Part IV, attention goes in chapter 8 to forbidden care inside camp barracks and out of sight of the guards, such as sharing food stolen from the Third Reich, punishing informers and thieves, and so on. Chapter 9 discusses high-risk caring behaviors that could have been seen by the guards, such as substituting at work for a sick friend or furtively holding up a weak prisoner during lengthy *appells* (roll calls).

A profile written by Betty Bleicher follows that shares what one adult child of survivors has learned about stealth altruism, inside and outside, and what we might learn from her experience.

Part V puts the spotlight on Jewish prisoners who were *menschen* (people with integrity and honor). Chapter 10 distinguishes among four types, that is, companions, comrades, militants, and observants, and explores the relationship of each to stealth altruism. It is followed by a profile of remarkable women prisoners who managed to keep 149 youngsters alive to liberation in the Bergen-Belsen Concentration Camp.

Chapter 11 goes into depth concerning five personality traits of Carers —sociability, adaptability, resiliency, ethicality, and self-esteem. Examples are provided of the utility of each trait.

Chapter 12 focuses on female prisoners, as their world both overlapped with, and yet also differed in significant ways from, that of males. The chapter is followed by a profile of Magda Herzberger, an exemplary female Carer. Chapter 13 focuses on four categories of supportive Gentiles with whom Jewish victims interacted: civilians, coworkers, coprisoners, and German military members.

Part VI explores both the questions of why the Help Story has been neglected and what might be done to correct this. Chapter 14 describes an almost “perfect storm” of varied sources of neglect, and chapter 15 recommends reforms for them and offers a brief rebuttal to opponents of reforms. Chapter 16 highlights futuristic aids for advancing the Help Story and closes the book advocating a new Horror-and-Help Narrative.

Book Limitations

Note was taken in the Preface of a personal limitation: my status as an outsider. Here I call related attention to impersonal matters worth knowing about at the book’s outset.

To begin with, no master list exists of the estimated ten thousand or more survivor memoirs currently available in English (the number grows slowly annually). I was therefore unable to draw a scientific random sample of the genre, and had to employ a sample of convenience.²⁸

I make use only of survivor memoirs published in English, albeit many had originally appeared in another language. Likewise, I conducted my interviews with survivors in English, aided often by their friends or relatives.

Of the 178 memoirists on whose 195 memoirs I draw, most had been raised in Western Europe and educated in conventional ways. As cosmopolitan nonobservant Jews, many had been persecuted for their commonly left-oriented political views or their opposition to Nazism. In contrast, a majority of Jewish prisoners were raised in East Europe, had received traditional Old World schooling, were often Observant, and had a limited grasp of worldly politics. Unfortunately, hardly any such individuals wrote memoirs available in English-language editions, thereby limiting the generalizability of my findings.²⁹

No one can know what percentage of Jewish victims, or of the subset of post-1945 survivors, were male or female. My sample of convenience happens to include eighty-four memoirs authored by Jewish women, or 47 percent, a portion that may or may not be true of the universe of prisoners.³⁰ Nor are there reliable data about the percentage of Jewish prisoners held at the major camps, though a plurality were held at one time or another at Auschwitz-Birkenau Death Camp, the largest of all four types of camp . . . and not surprisingly, the one therefore most discussed in the survivor literature.

Finally, as it lacks independent verification, the after-the-fact representation of the past in memoirs or videotaped interviews does not rise to the level of scientific evidence. First-person writing or testimony, particularly if done decades after events, has many pitfalls, for example, it is vulnerable to denial, distortion, repression, and other forms of misdirection, to say nothing of the opacity of human motives.³¹ Questions persist about perceptions preconditioned by standardized images, along with pitfalls that lurk in memoirs *per se*.³² Accordingly, I kept in mind the Yiddish adage, “For instance is not proof,” and the related wry contention, “The line of any story is likely to be crooked.”³³

Little wonder a historian warns that “Work in memory necessarily defies statistical analysis.”³⁴

Conclusion

The Holocaust included “the most savage events of human history,” and in bringing about a rupture in history, it “permanently collapsed the distance between the unthinkable and the actual.”³⁵ Consistent with this, Primo Levi has warned us to never forget the camps are “an alarm system for the present.”³⁶ Elie Wiesel, in turn, would have us understand, “the only thing that can save mankind would be a real awareness of the Holocaust. I don’t believe anything else has the moral power.”³⁷

If we are to ever achieve “real awareness” we must first correct an imbalance in the Narrative that has the Horror Story overwhelm all else. We must place the Horror Story *and* the Help Story in a reformulated, far more accurate account of the European Jewish experience.³⁸

This overdue reform can help us correct history and memory, enrich our understanding of human nature, and lift our confidence in the survivability not only of Jewry, but of our species . . . the better to keep Primo Levi’s “alarm system for the present” from ever going off.

List of Word Associations

The underlined words have three or more citations:

Amoral, anger, annihilation, antisemitism, apathy, atrocious, atrocitiy, Auschwitz, awful, barbaric, barbarous, betrayal, bones, brutality, bugs, catastrophe, cattle cars, chaos, cold, collaborators, complicity, confinement, cruelty, dark, death, degrading, dehumanizing, deportation, deprivation, dereliction, despair, desperation, destruction, devastating, devastation, dirty, disgusting, disregardful, disrespectful, dissimulate, emaciated, emptiness, extermination, extinction, extreme, evil, falsehoods, fear, ferocity, fiendish, filth, frightening, furnaces, futility, gas, gas chambers, genocide, Germany, G-less, grotesque, guilt, guns, hair, hate, hateful, heart-breaking, Hell, helplessness, hide, Hitler, hopeless, horror, horrific, horrifying, hostage, humiliation, hunger, incomprehensible, incredible, inhuman, inhumane, inhumane, injustice, insanity, killers, Kristallnacht, lies, liars, loss, madness, maniacal, massacre, mass graves, merciless, misery, monstrous, murder, mutilate, Nazi(s), nightmare, numbing, obscene, oppression, oven, pain, painful, pathetic, persecution, pitiful, pogroms, politics, preventable, prison, rape, reprehensible, repugnant, retaliation, ruthless, sacrilegious, sad, sadism, sadness, shame, shocking, shoes, showers, sickness, sickening, skeletons, slaughter, smells, smoke, sorrow, starvation, stupid, suffering, tattoos, tears, telling, terror, terrifying, tolerated, torment, torture, totalitarianism, tragedy, trains, trauma, tremble, unacceptable, unbelievable, unfair, unfathomable, unforgettable, unforgiving, unspeakable, unthinkable, vicious, violence, waste, wickedness, and Zyklon-B.

Notes

The epigraph is from Sutin, Lawrence. 1995. *Jack and Rochelle: A Holocaust Story of Love and Resistance*, p. 9.

1. See in this connection www.history1900s.about.com/od/holocaust. See also Kuperhand, Miriam and Saul. 1998. *Shadows of Treblinka*.

2. Bialowitz, Philip "Fiszel" (with Joseph Bialowitz). 2010. *A Promise at Sobibor: A Jewish Boy's Story of Revolt and Survival in Nazi-Occupied Poland*, p. 186. See also Blatt, Thomas Toivi. 1997. *From the Ashes of Sobibor: A Story of Survival*, p. 235, *passim*.
3. In 2010 I asked this question of twenty-five American Jews of varying age, most of who lived as I did at the time in the Greater Philadelphia area. Later in 2010 and in early 2011 I used the Internet to get lists from ninety-six widely scattered Jewish adults, and a friend secured responses from thirteen Jewish males in a nearby federal correctional institution. In April 2011, thirty adults in the Osher Lifelong Learning Institute at Temple University (Philadelphia, PA) each sent me five words before I gave a guest lecture on this subject.
4. Benner, Patricia, Ehel Roskies, and Richard S. Lazarus. 1980. "Stress and Coping Under Extreme Conditions." In Dimsdale, Joel E. *Survivors, Victims, and Perpetrators*, p. 221.
5. Markle, Gerald E. 1995. *Meditations of a Holocaust Traveler*, p. 26. See also the call to replace simplistic representations with ". . . the complexity of discrete historical events, the ambiguity of human behavior, and the indeterminacy of wider social processes . . ." Friedlander, Saul, as cited in Pfeiffer, Michael. 2011. "Guest Foreword: Mapping Out the Mountain." In Lowe, Camila. *The Memory of Pain: Women's Testimonies of the Holocaust*, p. xviii.
6. Rosenfeld, Alvin H. 1995. *The Americanization of the Holocaust*, p. 13. In 2011 Professor Rosenfeld noted "ample grounds to support Weinberg's sad assessment of what will be lost with the passing of his generation of survivors." Rosenfeld, Alvin H. 2011. *The End of the Holocaust*, p. 239.
7. Lustig, Arnost. "Interview." In Cargas, Harry James, ed. 1993. *Voices from the Holocaust*, p. 27.
8. Doneson, Judith. 2002. *The Holocaust in American Film*, p. 3. Writing in 2006 Elie Wiesel recalls that forty-six years earlier "there were always people ready to complain that it was senseless to 'burden our children with the tragedies of the Jewish past.'" Wiesel, Elie. 2006 ed. *Reflections on the Holocaust*, p. xiv. See also Rosenberg, David, ed. 1989. *Testimony: Contemporary Writers Make the Holocaust Personal*.
9. See in this connection, Fallace, Thomas D. 2008. *The Emergence of Holocaust Education in American Schools*.
10. Weinberg, Werner. 1985. *Self-Portrait of a Holocaust Survivor*, pp. 14–15.
11. Pew Foundation. October, 2013. "A Portrait of Jewish Americans." www.pewforum.org/2013/10/01/jewish-american-beliefs-attitudes-culture-survey/. Large majorities of US Jews say that remembering the Holocaust (73%) is what being Jewish means. I draw here also on <http://mosaicmagazine.com/picks/2013/10/this-is-Jewish-America>. The college student data are from Schriber, Zachary. September 22, 2014. "Jewish College Student Survey: Israel is Most 'Crucial Issue' for Young Jews Today." JEWICY News. <http://www.jewicy.com/jewish-news/jewish-college-student-survey-results>. As cited in Rudoren, Jodi. October 17, 2014. "In Exodus from Israel to Berlin, Young Nation's Fissures Show." *New York Times*, p. A-4 (A-4-A-9). Other Israelis I know strongly reject this notion, and insist the mood is just the opposite; they see pride and strength as dominate.

12. Clendinnen, Inga. 1999. *Reading the Holocaust*, p. 4. Regarding Holocaust fatigue, see also Schweber, Simone, 2006. "Holocaust Fatigue: Teaching It Today." *Social Education*, 70, 1, pp. 48–55; Engelking, Barbara. 2001. *Holocaust and Memory: The Experience of the Holocaust and Its Consequences: An Investigation based on Personal Narratives* (translated by Emma Harris; edited by Gunnar S. Paulsson).
13. Freedman, Samuel G. 2000. *Jew vs. Jew: The Struggle for the Soul of American Jewry*, p. 344. See also Goldberg, Michael. 1995. *Why Should the Jews Survive: Looking Past the Holocaust toward a Jewish Future*.
14. Tec, Nechama. 2013. *Resistance: Jews and Christians Who Defied the Nazi Terror*, pp. 6, 15.
15. Halberstram, Yetta, and Judith Leventhal. 2008. "Introduction." *Small Miracles of the Holocaust: Extraordinary Coincidences of Faith, Hope, and Survival*, p. xiii. Carers are men and women "who supply images of 'light,' 'hope,' 'affirmation,' and 'goodness.'" Rosenfeld, Alvin H. 1995. *The Americanization of the Holocaust*. Op. Cit., p. 27, Passim. This matter of proportionality merits full-blown exploration. See, for example, Fogelman, Eva. 1994. *Conscience and Courage: Rescue of Jews During the Holocaust*; Snyder, Timothy. May 19/20, 2012. "Their Sense of Belonging." *Wall Street Journal*, pp. C-5, 6. (Book Review: Antony Polonsky's three-volume history, *The Jews in Poland and Russia*).
16. Remarkably enough, a scholar has characterized five of the positive terms above—*faith, freedom, future, hope, and spirit*—as conceptual "gifts from the Jews" to civilization. Cahill, Thomas. 1998. *The Gift of the Jews: How a Tribe of Desert Nomads Changed the Way Everyone Thinks and Feels*, p. 241
17. Smith, Lyn, 2005. *Remembering: Voices of the Holocaust*. Op. Cit., pp. xiii, 184. A 1976 analysis of many memoirs had a researcher note that "acts of care and decency seem so out of place in the camps that survivors themselves are perplexed [about what to make of them]" Des Pres, Terrence. 1976. *The Survivor*, p. 99. Another Holocaust scholar noted in 2008, "even in the personal accounts of survivors themselves, there is a surprising lack of emphasis on helping activities, on caring and mutual support among the inmates of the concentration camps." Davidson, Susanna. 2008. *The Holocaust*, p. 557.
18. Bluhm, Hilde O. 1948. "How Did They Survive? Mechanisms of Defense in Nazi Concentration Camps." *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, 2, p. 21.
19. Rammerstorfer, Bernard. 2013. *Taking the Stand: We Have More to Say*. Four of the nine respondents were Jehovah's Witnesses, three of whom gave care. Of the other five, three gave care (one of whom was Jewish), and two received it (both of whom were Jewish).
20. Lassner, Phyllis. "Introduction." In Rich, Betty. 2012. *Little Girl Lost*, pp. xxiv–xxv.
21. I am indebted to Judith Janec, archivist at the Holocaust Center of Northern California (then at 121 Stuart St., San Francisco), who made this research possible.
22. Small tallies are valued in the Jewish religious tradition, for example, God gave Moses only Ten Commandments. Had just ten righteous persons been found God would have spared Sodom and Gomorrah. See Schulweis, Rabbi

- Harold M. 1994. *For Those Who Can't Believe: Overcoming the Obstacles to Faith. passim.*
23. Researchers are needed to listen to the fifty-two thousand-plus oral history tapes now digitalized in the Shoah Foundation archives, and the hundreds now digitalized in the Fortunoff Collection at Yale University. See also Kirshner, Sheldon; November 16, 2012; "Holocaust Heroism Took Various Forms: Historian." *New York Times*. www.cjnews/index.php?q=node/97416.
 24. The survey guide used over several years for Shoah Foundation's fifty-two thousand taped interviews has no mention of altruism, and the subject therefore only came up haphazardly, a major limitation of its use where forbidden care is concerned. [Http://jasss.soc.surry.ac.uk/16/3/7.html](http://jasss.soc.surry.ac.uk/16/3/7.html)
 25. As cited in Deak, Istvan. September 8, 1989. "The Incomprehensible Holocaust." *The New York Review*, p. 72. (Book Review: 15 books).
 26. The quotation is from Sauvage, Pierre, 1989, "Learning Hope from the Holocaust." In Bauer, Yehuda, *et al.*, eds., *Remembering for the Future: Jews and Christians During and After the Holocaust*, p. 528.
 27. Kluger, Ruth. 2001 ed. *Still Alive: A Holocaust Girlhood Remembered* (translated by Weiter Leben), p. 109. There is no way of knowing how many of the over 90 percent of all Jewish prisoners who died before liberation were involved with secret efforts to help others.
 28. Kirshner, Sheldon; November 16, 2012; "Holocaust Heroism Took Various Forms: Historian." *New York Times*. www.cjnews/index.php?q=node/97416. Fortunately I also had help from interviews generously provided by leading Holocaust scholars (Yehuda Bauer, Mordecai Paldiel, Rochelle G. Saidel, etc.).
 29. A similar gap involves Jewish collaborators, criminals, or informers, none of whom, understandably, seem to have written about their Holocaust lives. Regrettably, nor it would seem have any Jewish rescuers come forward. See <http://www.holocaustchild.org>, "Jews Rescue Jews" and the annual issue of *The Hidden Child*, a publication of the Anti-Defamation League.
 30. Women made up 52 percent of the death march contingent that on January 18, 1945, left from the largest camp of them all, Auschwitz. Rittner, Carol and John K. Roth, eds. 1993. *Different Voices: Women and the Holocaust*, p. 14.
 31. See in this connection, Schiff, Benjamin, et al. 2011. "Collected Stories in the Life Narratives of Holocaust Survivors." *Native Inquiry*, 11, 1, pp. 151–94; Kushner, Tony. 2006. "Holocaust Testimony, Ethics, and the Problem of Representation." *Poetics Today*, 27, pp. 275–95.
 32. See Matthaues, Jurgen. 2010. *Approaching a Holocaust Survivor: Holocaust Testimony and Its Transformations*.
 33. Stephens, Bret, July 5, 2011, "The DSK Lesson," *Wall Street Journal*, p. A-13.
 34. Waddell, William, December, 2012. Book Review: Hazareesingh, Sudhir. 2012. *In the Shadow of the General: Modern France and the Myth of De Gaulle*. www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=36448
 35. The first quotation is from Browning, Christopher R., "Foreword," in Blatt, Thomas Toivi. 1997. *From the Ashes of Sobibor: A Story of Survival. Op. Cit.*, p. xiii. The second is from Scott, A.O. October 15, 2014. "Paris Wasn't Burning: A Look at Why Not." *New York Times*, p. C-4. (Movie Review: "Diplomacy").

36. Levi, Primo. 1993. *Survival in Auschwitz*, p. 9.
37. Wiesel, Elie. Spring, 1981. "The Art of Fiction: Interview by John S. Friedman." *Paris Review*, p. 170.
38. See in this connection, *Beautiful Souls: The Courage and Conscience of Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times*, by Eyal Press.