

History 323
The Holocaust in 20th Century Europe
Spring 2009

Prof. Wolf Gruner
Email: gruner@usc.edu
(213) 740-1668
Office: SOS 262
Office hours: *Tues/Thurs 12.45-1.45 pm & by app't.*

Time: Tu/Th 11-12.20
Room: VKC 155 Phone:
Class #: 37177-R
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, 2000 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)
- David Cesarani: *The Final Solution: Origins and Implementation* (Routledge 1996 Paperback)

Course requirements:

Class discussions: Participation in class discussions of the readings is vital to the learning process. I expect that you will attend all class meetings, complete assigned reading on time, and engage actively with the material in our weekly discussions. As a part of your discussion grade, we will schedule each student, probably in pairs, to take responsibility for leading discussion for one session. I will provide guidelines for ways of participating in and leading discussion. The breakdown of your grade is as follows: **daily participation, 5 %; leading discussion, 5%; discussion, 10%; for a total of 20%.**

Examinations:

Two essay exams will be given—a midterm in March and a final in May (per the *Schedule of Classes*) based on readings and discussions. Both examinations will have short response identifications and essay questions. **Midterm: 20%; Final: 30%.**

Research Paper:

You are required to write a research paper of 15-20 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. I will provide a separate handout explaining the paper requirement and suggesting topic areas for investigation.

Paper: 30%.

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 STU 301 and is open 8:30 a.m.–5:00 p.m., Monday through Friday. The phone number for DSP is (213) 740-0776.

Schedule:

1. Tue, Jan. 13: The Study of the Holocaust: Introduction

2. Thu, Jan. 15: Discussion of Terms, Sources and Interpretations

Primary sources

Definition of Genocide by Raphael Lemkin,
in David Engel, *The Third Reich and the Jews*, pp. 88-89.

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. 1-37, 81-87.

Film-footage: Charles Chaplin, The Great Dictator, 1940

3. Tues, Jan. 22: Anti-Semitism, Nationalism, and Racism

Primary sources

"Hitler speech 1920,"
in David Engel, *The Third Reich and the Jews*, pp. 89-90.

Secondary texts

Friedlander, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, vol. I, pp. 73-112.
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.

4. Thu, Jan. 24: 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 chapter on Weimar,
in idem, *The Wages of Destruction*.

Persecution in Nazi Germany 1933-37

5. Tue, Jan. 27: Developments

Primary sources

The Times, 3 April 1933
"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, Jan. 29: 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.

7. Tue, Febr.3: Reactions

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

Secondary texts

David Engel, *The Third Reich and the Jews*, pp. 38-49.

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

Persecution and Life in Greater Germany

8. Thu, Febr. 5: 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.

9. Tue, Febr. 10: Kristallnacht-Testimonies (visit of the Shoah Institute)

Due for this session: Independent Research on the Kristallnacht: history of the event and the term, available sources, literature

10. Thu, Febr. 12: Emigration (visit of the Lion Feuchtwanger special collection, tentative)

Secondary texts

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

"Desperate Departure,"

in Spitzer, *Hotel Bolivia*, pp. 3-46.

11. Tue, Febr. 17: Germany, 1938-1943

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.

**12. Thu, Febr. 19: The Annexed Czech Territories:
The Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia**

Secondary texts

Rothkirchen, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia*, pp. 98-137.

Gruner, *Jewish Forced Labor*, pp. 141-173.

**The War: 1939-1941
Persecution and Life in Occupied Poland**

13. Tue, Febr. 24: The Seizure

Primary sources

“A Polish Report on Conditions for Jews after the German Conquest,”
in David Engel, *The Third Reich and the Jews*, p. 95.

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.

Film-footage: The Pianist, Part I

14. Thu, Febr. 26: 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.

15. Tue, March 3: Mid-term Conclusions and Assessment, Open Questions

**16. Thu, March 5: Mid-term exam based on lectures, required reading up to this date
and class discussions**

The War, 1941-1945

17. Tue, March 10: 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.

Secondary texts

- Browning, *The Origins of the Final Solution*, pp. 111-168.
Gruner, *Jewish Forced Labor*, pp. 196-213.

18. Thu, March 12: The Invasion of the Soviet Union

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-Bolshevism,”
in Cesarani, *The Final Solution*, pp 103-118.

Spring break : March 16-21

19. Tue, March 24: The Final Solution 1: The Planning

Primary sources

- “Goering instructs Heydrich on the Final Solution, July 31. 1941,”
in David Engel, *The Third Reich and the Jews*, pp. 96.
“Protocol of the Wannsee Conference, January 20 1942,”
in Rita Steinhardt Botwinick, *A Holocaust Reader*, pp. 164-170.

Secondary texts

- Browning, *The Origins of the Final Solution*, pp. 36-110.
Friedlander, “Euthanasia and the Final Solution,”
in Cesarani, *The Final Solution*, pp. 51-61.

Film-footage Documentary: "the Wannsee conference", Heinz Schirk 1984

20. Thu, March 26: The Final solution 2:

Regional Developments versus Central Implementations

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, March 31: The Final Solution 3: Killing Fields and Death Camps

Primary sources

“Eye witness report on mass shooting, August 1941,”

“Report on the killing center Belzec,”

both in David Engel, *The Third Reich and the Jews*, pp. 98-100.

Gina Gotfryd, “Somehow Life Went On,”

in Scrase/Mieder, *The Holocaust Personal accounts*, pp.154-163.

“The March,”

in Steinhardt Botwinick, *A Holocaust Reader*, pp. 177-184.

Secondary texts

David Engel, *The Third Reich and the Jews*, pp. 50-61.

Browning, *The Origins of the Final Solution*, pp. 398-424.

22. Thu, April 2: The Final Solution 4: Perpetrators

Primary sources

“Himmler speech, October 10, 1943,”

in David Engel, *The Third Reich and the Jews*, pp. 110.

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.

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. 157-173.

23. Tue, April 7: The Final Solution and the Victims: Multiple voices

Secondary texts

Chapter 6: “Multiple Voices,”

in Berenbaum/Peck, *The Holocaust and History*, pp. 309-366.

Michael Zimmermann on “Gypsies,”

Herbert, *National-Socialist Extermination Policies*, pp. 186-209.

24. Thu, April 9: The Final Solution and the Victims: Response and Resistance

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. 62-80.

Yehuda Bauer, “Forms of Jewish Resistance,”

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

Yisrael Gutman, “The Response of Polish Jewry to the Final Solution,”

in Cesarani, *The Final Solution*, pp. 151-158.

25. Tue, April 14: Tentative Film-footage: *The Pianist, Part II*
(discussion art, memory and history)

26. Thu, April 16: The Final Solution and the Victims: Rescue and Abandonment

Primary sources

“Zegota Appeals for Funds to Rescue Polish Jews,”

in David Engel, *The Third Reich and the Jews*, pp. 109-110.

“A Jewish Underground Party Informs the Polish Government in Exile about the Plan to Murder all Jews,”

in David Engel, *The Third Reich and the Jews*, pp. 104-105.

Secondary texts

Doris Bergen, “The Ecclesiastical Final Solution,”

in Berenbaum/Peck, *The Holocaust and History*, pp. 566-584.

Jonathan Steinberg, “Types of Genocide? Croatians, Serbs and Jews 1941-1945,”

in Cesarani, *The Final Solution*, pp. 175-193.

David S. Wyman, “The Abandonment of the Jews,”

in Niewyk, *The Holocaust*, pp. 256-268.

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

27. Tue, April 21: The Aftermath: Survival and the Problem of Restitution

Primary sources

Gina Gotfryd, “Somehow Life Went On,”

in Scrase/Mieder, *The Holocaust Personal Accounts*, pp. 163-173.

Secondary texts

William Helmreich, “Against All Odds,”

in Berenbaum/Peck, *The Holocaust and History*, pp. 751-766.

Atina Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies. Close Encounters in Occupied Germany* (Princeton, 2007), pp. 88-130.

28. Thu, April 23: Film footage documentary: *The Nuremberg Trial, 1995*

29. Tue, April 28: 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, *Beyond Justice*, pp. 15-53.

30. Thur, April 30: The Assessment: Conclusions; Open Questions

May: Final exam based on lectures, required reading, and class discussions
(per *Schedule of Classes*)