

## Trudy Gold | Holocaust Memorial Day How Did the Holocaust Happen

- Do we want to start? [Wendy] Yeah, so good morning, everyone, or good afternoon or good evening in South Africa. Good to be back. And over to you, Trudy. And, Trudy, thank you for yesterday. The presentation was really fabulous. Superb.

- Thank you very much, Wendy. And-

- [Wendy] with the-

- Thank you.

- Great, okay.

*Slides are displayed throughout the lecture.*

- [Wendy] Right. Well, good afternoon, good evening, wherever you are. And today, of course, is a very difficult day. It's a very thoughtful day. Because, certainly, in Britain, and in most of Europe, it's Holocaust Memorial Day. Why are there different days in different parts of the world? It's because in Israel they chose to commemorate on the anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising, as they do in America. So that's why. And different countries, depending on what happened to them. But I would suggest something, because today is a thoughtful day. When we talk about the liberation of Auschwitz, that actually implies that a group of people set out to liberate some terribly emaciated, unhappy victims at the edge of, really, at the edge of their lives. Because what the Nazis had done, knowing that the Red Army was advancing, they sent the bulk of the victims on the death marches. So when that Ukrainian regiment, under a man called Petrenko, actually marched into Auschwitz, he wasn't looking for a camp. He stumbled across it as he was fighting the Germans.

And I think it's very important to that, because we have all these sorts of words. And, today, it's 76 years on. And there's so much muddle, and so much obfuscation about the Shoah. I mean, for example, if you look at the symbol of the Shoah of Auschwitz, I saw, along with the majority of you, those terrible scenes on Capitol Hill where you saw a young man emblazoned Camp Auschwitz. And, of course, that is a fascist thing to say. But even the most benign characters, somebody online talked about the use of words. Auschwitz is a symbol and it's everybody's symbol, even in terms of the horror of the Shoah. Is Auschwitz the symbol of what happened to the Jewish people? Is it the symbol of what happened to the Polish people?

It was on Polish soil, remember. Is it the symbol of what happened to humanity? And that's also a huge debate now. When we talk about the Holocaust, and we talk about many Holocausts, we are in danger of pushing it all into one story of horror. Mass murder goes back to the dawn of history. We are, as Einstein said, terrible monsters. We are wondrous monsters, in some ways.

We are capable of the most appalling acts. But what we do to use the Shoah, I prefer the word Shoah, because you know the word Holocaust is a wrong word. It means a sacrifice, a burnt offering. Comes from the Greek. They didn't want to be sacrificed. So even the word is a problem. But if you think about it, we talk about every genocide, we talk about the plane crash being a holocaust. The plane crash is appalling. When anyone, when one individual is murdered, that's appalling. But by putting it all together, we take away the real meaning. And before I actually get onto what I want to talk about today, and it's a very painful, difficult thing to give and to receive. Because I am a historian and because it is 76 years ago today, we can begin to put together the factors that made it happen.

It didn't happen on another planet from monsters. I'll never forget Leonard Cohen's poem when he was talking about Adolf Eichmann. He said, "Colour of hair, brown. Colour of eyes, brown. Build, medium. What did you expect? Horns and talons." It shows what people do to other people. Now, before I get onto the actual subject of the presentation today, and how can I call it a subject? But you know what I mean. I want to do this in memory of a one and a half year old boy. A very close friend of mine, six weeks before he died, received a box of his father's possessions. They had been in a loft in New York. And when he went through them, he found a postcard. He found a postcard of a very beautiful woman and a small little boy, boy of about a year and a half. And the postcard was to Uncle Jack, from Motty. Motty was the nephew. And of course, it just gives you a notion of the evil of Nazis.

And there was a post office in the Warsaw ghetto, right up until the great deportations of the summer, 1942. This boy must have been about one and a half years old, don't know his surname, because the mother married after her brother had gone to America. So, basically, he was one and a half years old. One and a half million children died in the Shoah. Today, he would've been 79, 80. And in normal circumstances, he would've had a family, he would've had a whole line of descent. So, Motty, today, I give you back your name. And, also, I want to remember all the incredible people that I've known, I've said this to you many times before, to teach in Hampstead, which was really the centre of Middle Europe. So many extraordinary survivors, so many people who'd come on the Kinder, et cetera, they came into my lives. And they were the guardians of memory. And now it's our job to be the guardians of memory. Now, I'm going to read to you various categories that made the Shoah happen.

And depending on where you are in your own views, because as I've said to you before, there is no such thing as objective history. You will give more weight to one than the other. So I'm going to go through them. And then I will enunciate them. Now, the first, which is certainly put forward by Robert Wistrich and Hiya MacAbee as the most important ingredient in the Shoah, is what Robert called the longest hatred. This 2000-year-old hatred in the Christian world, in the Western world. More about that later. The insecure nationalism and all the changes in Europe in the 19th Century. Chauvinist race theory in the 19th Century. But would any of it tumbled into the appalling catastrophe if it hadn't been for the cheapening of life in World War I? If the allies hadn't pushed the Germans' noses right into the dust? If there hadn't been political, economic and social collapse in Weimar, would a brutal dictator have come to the fore? If that brutal

dictator didn't have the best spin doctor in history, would he have come to the fore? And then you have a total war. But the two ingredients that chill my bones are modern technology and a willing bureaucracy. That is what makes the Shoah a modern crime. And at this stage, when we talk about the Shoah, today we remember the 6 million of our people who died, but never forget, others died with them. The Roma, that terribly persecuted people. Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals, Quakers. The mentally and physically handicapped. So now we have to think back, how on earth did it happen? And for me, areas that I find most difficult is that so many good people voted for Adolf Hitler. And not only that, the professions that had the highest membership of the Nazi Party were the teaching, medical and legal professions. When the final solution was finally written down at Wannsee, and I'll be talking about that later, two thirds of the people, there were 16 people sitting around that table.

Two thirds of them had doctorates in law from top German universities. When one comes to the Einsatzgruppen, 3000 SS officers, a volunteer unit, they were the ones who followed the invasion into Russia. And with the help of locals, with the help of the German Army, with the help of police regiments and SS from all sorts of other countries, they shot one and a half million people. Now, of the leadership, 900 of the, a German historian found 900 in their PhD thesis. I don't know what he thought he could do with it. But I think he hoped it would be some obscure aspect of science. Why he should have thought that, I don't know. But there were treatises on Goethe, on the Enlightenment. And one of the leaders was a pastor. So as someone who tries to think of myself as someone brought up in the tradition of the Enlightenment, to me, these are the horror stories. But let me begin with the first category, the ancient hatred. Now, Judaism plays a very, very strange role in the history of the West. Christianity sees Judaism as its parent and yet Christianity supersedes Judaism.

And one of the problems is a verse in St. Matthew's Gospel. When Pontius Pilate, the governor of Judea, and remember, this gospel is written about 80 years after Jesus' death. And there's no corroborating evidence. The story goes that Pilate, the governor, the Roman governor, who is an incredibly brutal man, he actually offers a prisoner to the crowd. Not true. As a historian, I would say it's not possible. However, according to the gospels, the crowd scream for Barabbas and they don't want Jesus. And Pilate washes his hands of it and the crowd scream, "Let his blood be upon us and upon our children." Hiya MacAbee goes as far as to say that is the warrant for genocide. In the first three centuries of the new religion, Christianity, and remember Paul divorces it from its Judaic origins by saying what matters is faith, not deeds. You no longer have to be an observer of the commandments, because Jesus is God. Jesus is divine. That is, he took the Jewish idea of Messiah and made it into a divine figure. And just, so for the first three centuries, there's rivalry. But don't forget, the rise of Christianity coincides with the Jews losing their country. So the church is seen as triumphant.

The Jews have been defeated. And on some mediaeval, in some mediaeval churches, particularly, I'm thinking of Strasbourg, you see the church triumphant, a beautiful woman looking at the sky and you see the synagogue blindfold and hunched. But let me read you just a couple from the church fathers, and from, this is from St. John's Gospel. "Jesus then said to the

Jews who had believed in him, you are of your father, the devil." And I can go on, this is from Revelation. "The Jews are but a synagogue of Satan." I could give you so many different quotations. You have this negative, this absolutely negative image of the Jew. Now, it wouldn't have meant anything, but Rome took on board Christianity. And from the fourth century onwards, the Jews who have dispersed throughout the Roman world are marginalised. And they move into what we call, really, I suppose, visible occupation patterns. They're not allowed to be part of guilds. They're not allowed to own land in the West. So they become the money lenders and the merchants of Europe. And this is, again, a problem because who likes the money lenders. So you've got the double negative stereotype.

Now, on one level, it taught the Jew to be resourceful. And I think one of the reasons, and this is something that Norman Lebrecht enunciated, this is one of the reasons I believe that you had that incredible success story in the 19th, 20th Century, because Jews had to think on their feet. They were a mobile people, they were illiterate people. But what I'd like to do is just give you an example of the image of the Jew in mediaeval art. Because what happens, even though the Roman Empire in the West falls, Christianity goes on the march. And the last country to be Christianized, this will interest our South African listeners, is of course Lithuania. So, Judy, can we see the first couple of, the first couple of, yes. Here you see Jews being burnt, Jews, can you imagine how terrible it can become? Look, the real onslaught of Christianity begins with the first crusade. There were eight crusades. What was their purpose? To win Jerusalem back from the evil infidels, the Muslims, another child of Judaism, inverted commas. And the negative stereotype. In 1144, during a civil war in England, Jews were accused of using the blood of Christian babies. Can we see the next slide please, Judy? Here you are, the murder of a Christian baby because the Jews need it for their Passover blood.

Next month, I'm going to be giving two lectures on this subject in detail, because I think it's very important that you see. So, today, I'm just giving you one or two illustrations. So as the church becomes more and more triumphant, you see the legend of the Wandering Jew, you see the desecration of the Host. For example, in 1415, 200 Jews were arrested in Vienna, and accused of going into St. Stephen's Cathedral and sticking pins in the host, the biscuit, basically. And they were hanged for it. Jews are seen as devils. They have committed the deicide. To kill a God, you need to have power. So, basically, accusations like the blood libel. In the Black Death, 1348 to 1354, Jews were accused of poisoning the wells. Can you imagine a pandemic with no notion of science? It's got to be some evil people doing it. And it led to terrible massacres. So the story of the Jew, from country to country in the Christian world, is the Jew as a money lender, the Jew as an outsider, the Jew as a merchant. And this negative stereotype being passed down through the art, through literature.

The "Oberammergau Passion Play", for example. There isn't a positive image of a Jew anywhere in European literature until 1749 when a figure of the German Enlightenment, Lessing, wrote a play called "The Jews". And it fails because no one can imagine a Jew having heroic propensities. It's not until Moses Mendelssohn and the Enlightenment that, when Lessing writes "Nathan the Wise", it has an audience. So you've got to understand this negative

stereotype that becomes so deep. And when the Protestant revolution occurred, there was a belief that Protestantism was more back to the sources. So just maybe, just maybe, it would be more lenient. And in the main it was, except in Germany, because of Martin Luther. Can we see Martin Luther, please, Judy? "If I had to baptise a Jew, I would take him to the bridge of Elbe, hang a stone around his neck and push him over the words. 'I baptise the in the name of Abraham.'" When Martin Luther had his revelation, he believed that the Jews would convert. When they didn't, he wrote this tractate, "The Jews and Their Lies". And let me just read you a couple of extracts. "What then should we Christians do with this damned rejected race of Jews? Since they live amongst us, and we know about their lying, and blasphemy and cursing, we cannot tolerate them," et cetera. "Firstly, their synagogues should be set on fire. Secondly, their homes should be broken down and destroyed.

Thirdly, they ought to be deprived of their prayer books and Talmuds. Fourthly, their rabbis must be forbidden under threat of death to teach. Fifthly, passports and travelling privileges should be absolutely forbidden to the Jews. Sixthly, they ought to be stopped from usury. And the seventh notion, let the young and the strong be given the flail, the axe, the ho, the spade. Let them earn their bread by the sweat of their noses as enjoined upon Adam's children, for it is not proper that they should want us cursed going to work in the sweat for them. And in addition, they boast impiously that they have become masters of us Christians. We ought to drive this rascally lazy bones out of our country." And this is how he sums it up. "To sum up, dear princes and nobles, who have Jews in your domain, if this advice of mine does not suit you, then find a better one, that you may be free of this insufferable, devilish burden, the Jews." So in Germany, you're going to have both traditions. And I think it's important to remember, although there's been a lot of reconciliation today between Catholicism and Judaism, the Catholic church only forgave the Jews for the crime of deicide in 1963. And only, you see, there was a big argument, the notion was they should be forgiven for all time.

And, certainly, the American cardinals, it was the time of John, JFK. The American cardinals, a more liberal America wanted that Catholic, remember, Kennedy was a Catholic. It had been put in motion by that wonderful pope, Pope John XXIII, but he was dead by then. The conservative cardinals agreed that post the actual crucifixion of Jesus, the Jews should not be blamed, but they still blamed the Jews of that time. And that was in 1963. So it's important to remember that these attitudes are so deeply entrenched. And that is why historians like Wistrich and MacAbee say that they are the major planks that lead to the Shoah. But, of course, history moves on and the Jews are emancipated. It begins in France. They are emancipated under the ideas of the Enlightenment. And, of course, what you have is that extraordinary success story that we've talked about so often. You know, the Jews were a tiny minority from country, to country, to country. And in the West, not in Russia, but in the West, they tried so desperately to be Frenchmen of the Jewish religion, Germans of the Jewish religion, et cetera, et cetera. But there was a problem. They are emancipated in a century of huge change. And I would ask you, do many people actually like change? No, they do not.

Just imagine, and I've said this to you before, because I had a brilliant tutor of history. And she

always said, imagine you were born in 1800 and you died in 1900. What would you see in your life? The world exploded. Just think about communication, think about the post, think about the railways, think about urbanisation. London was the first city in the world to reach a million in the modern period. Kaifeng in China, in the year a thousand had a million. But in the modern period, London, Paris, Vienna. And, of course, the same is going to be true of New York. And the Jews are an urban people. And they took to modernity, they pioneered modernity. But a lot of people felt very unhappy, left behind. And if you take Germany, that isn't unified until 1871. If you take the Habsburg Empire, 15 different national groups, because in order to modernise you needed to educate. And, consequently, people are becoming better educated. Now, they begin to look at nationalism. Nationalism is the motif of the 19th Century.

And, consequently, in this great kind of swirl of discontent, you begin to see the growth of nationalism which overturns itself into racism. Charles Darwin's theories were taken by pseudo scientists and applied to various groups. My group, by blood, blood, blood, blood, is better able than yours to succeed. So a new word enters the lexicon, anti-Semitism. Make no bones about it. Theological Jew hatred you could get out of, if you converted. Could you really? Question mark. But, certainly, in terms of race hatred, you can't get out of it because you cannot change your blood. So, consequently, it didn't matter whether you converted, whether you were a Hasidic Rebbe. A Jew was a Jew, was a Jew. And the other point was Jews got involved in so many movements for change, particularly working-class movements. And I think it's fair to say that the majority of the, no, not majority, many of, look, revolution and socialism was never, it wasn't invented by the Jews.

And it was never the majority of Jews. But a disproportionate number of Jews became very important in left-wing movements. So if you were conservative, you hated the revolutionaries. If you were a socialist, you hated capitalism. And the problem, the two symbols in 19th Century Europe, the symbol of capitalism, the house of Rothschild, that family that is still considered to be masters of the world. I mean, conspiracy theories abound. Conspiracy theories come to the fore when there is fracture in society. And then you have Karl Marx. So you get this bizarre notion of the Rothschild/Marx axis, which explodes into Russia in "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion", that notorious forgery, which talks about the Jewish world plot to take over the world. Can we see a couple more of the slides, Judy? The first slide, that is of the Beilis family. In 1911, there was a blood libel trial in Czarist Russia. It failed. But Mendel Beilis was accused of using the blood of a Christian child for Passover. The next one are front covers of "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion". It spread like wildfire. It comes out of Russia.

It comes out of Rachkovsky, who was head of the Okhrana in Paris. It spreads particularly after the First World War. It has been translated into hundreds of languages. And here you see, and it's still doing very well, thank you very much, particularly in the Arab world. Anti-Semitism did not, really hit the Arab world from the world of Christianity. But that's another story, another time. But I could have shown you hundreds of those covers. And can we see the next slide, please? Now, in 1917, the first stages, of course, that appalling war. Remember, they went to war for glory. And millions and millions of people died because technology was harnessed to mass

murder. Revolution breaks out in Russia. Trotsky, the communist, opium of the masses, said Marx, the Jew. Trotsky believed it. He believed he was one of the people. Here you see Trotsky controlling. That is the image of Trotsky. And next to that is a fascinating image, because it's Trotsky who's commiciled for foreign affairs, is signing a peace deal with the German Army. So take on how you think the German Army, actually, those very tall, imposing officers, how do you think they felt about the Jew, Trotsky, commicile for foreign affairs?

And it really, it lit a fire under anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism was out of control at the end of the First World War. And then let's have a look at the next slide. Ah, there you have Clemenceau. This is the peace table at Versailles. Clemenceau to the Germans. And have a look at those chairs. "Take your seats, gentlemen!" The Kaiser abdicated and eventually a broad left government managed to destroy all the communist revolutions. And they went to the polls. This broad left government believed and hoped that the allies would treat fairly with them. The allies didn't. They demanded blood. Germany lost one and a half million of its citizens, mainly under Polish rule, a lot of territory. the "war guilt" clause. This proud militaristic nation was not allowed to re-arm. Its navy was curtailed, the number of ships it could build, the number of planes. And they had to pay huge reparations. So Germany is completely, if you, disempowered. And what it leads to is the most appalling economic catastrophe.

Can we see the next slide, please, Judy? Now, this slide is a painting of Otto Dix's, because against the backdrop of appalling catastrophe, economic catastrophe, against the backdrop of a pandemic, which swept through Europe, you see a society in Berlin that if you are avant-garde, you would think was incredibly exciting. And if you are bourgeois, and if you want security and safety for your children, you are frightened of it. I think it was brilliantly summed up when Denison David showed us "Extraction Cabaret". Because here you see Otto Dix is cryptic. In the middle you see that cabaret scene, you see cross-dressing, women dressed as men. On the other side of the, do you see the panel where you see soldiers who have lost limbs coming back to hopelessness? There was no decisive battle in the West, was there? There was no decisive battle. They'd been stabbed in the back. That was the belief.

They come back and it's hopelessness. And on the other side you see the wealthy women and the prostitutes with the soldiers. So you have, I think Otto Dix is worth thousands of words, because if you, if I can just rest on that for a minute. The jazz, which was considered decadent, it was later banned by the Nazis. The, and if you think of Weimar cinema, there was no censorship, anything went. The first talkie, Fritz Lang's "M" is about a paedophile. Think of the "Blue Angel", "Degeneration". Any subject was allowed under Weimar. So if you were an avant-garde writer or if you were a creative type and you didn't want the conservative bourgeois life, it was fantastic. But it was against the backdrop of appalling inflation. Can we see the next slide, please, Judy? This is a very, very famous, this is a very, very famous picture.

A man is carrying a wheelbarrow of money to buy a loaf of bread. The figures are extraordinary. In February, 1923, a dollar bought you 18,000 marks. By the end of '23, it bought you 4 trillion. Take that on. It meant the collapse. Weimar managed to solve, tried to solve it by setting up

2000 printing presses. There was soup kitchens, there was hopelessness, humiliation, defeat, coming out of a pandemic, a most horrific situation. And it wasn't until the Americans stabilised it that there was hope. Between '24 and '28, it did get a little better. Now, the Weimar constitution was the most liberal constitution in the world. But there was a flaw, it had been drafted by the Jew, Hugo Preuss. Jews had many prominent positions in Weimar. In Berlin, 50% of the doctors and 50% of the lawyers were Jewish. And just think of "The Berlin File".

I don't have to go on, you all know the story. But one of the real problems was unemployment, soup kitchens, hopelessness. '24 to '28, there's a respite. But if you go back to the Early 'Twenties, it meant that all sorts of fringe parties came to the floor. And, oh, I was mentioning the floor in the Weimar Constitution. I've lost concentration, I apologise. It gave the president too much power. And, also, because it went for proportional representation, at one stage there were 30 parties in the Reichstag. So it was very difficult to have strong government. Anyway, and one of those parties was of course the Nazi Party. And how was it that this little corporal, who obviously had some sort of magic about him, managed to pull it off? He was totally swallowed, every kind of race theory that he'd picked up in Vienna and in Munich. When he, he's completely undemocratic. He goes for a violent putsch in Munich, Munich was the centre of the Nazi Party. It was the most right-wing government of the states in Germany, because it had undergone three revolutions, all by Jews. People of Jewish birth, I should say.

It doesn't matter though, if you don't like Jews, I could say to you 'til I'm blue in the face that I'm a Catholic. But if you know I'm a Jewish birth, I'm a Jew. So the fact that these communists have thrown away Jewishness and hated Zionism is irrelevant. And it's interesting because the papal nuncio in Bavaria at the time was the man who later became Pius XII, who had a great affection for Germany. So in Munich, in right-wing, conservative Munich, Hitler goes for a putsch, it fails. And when he is in Lenzburg Castle, in prison, he only, he gets a very short sentence for treason. And he, treason. And, in fact, he only serves nine months. He writes "Mein Kampf", which is imbued with "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion". You know, there is a Jewish plot to take over the world. This was really believed. And because of the horror of the 'Twenties and 'Thirties throughout Europe, actually, you see a huge upswing in prejudice, a prejudice in Europe against the Jews. Now, Nazi anti-Semitism and anti-Semitism is actually more dangerous than theological hatred, because you can always get out of theological hatred.

You convert. I'm not saying that's what you want to do, but with racial anti-Semitism you cannot convert out of your race. And Hitler goes to, having come out of Lenzburg prison, he decides he's going to do it through the ballot boxes. He said, it's going to be horrible, I'm going to have to hold my nose. The stench of democracy. But he's going to go for it, through the ballot box. And at first he doesn't do too well. But after 1929, he's going to do very well, because not only is he going to be a brilliant speaker, he had some sort of dark charisma. Can we see the next couple of slides, please? Here you see the man. He had the best spin doctor, I think in the history of the 20th Century. Joseph Goebbels. He made Hitler into an idol, what Wistrich called the evil Messiah. But look at the faces of the crowd.



He had it, what, people were looking for a leadership. Whenever there's a crisis in society, it does seem that the majority of people want to be told what to do. And Hitler came along and he said, it's not your fault, it's the fault of the others. You really are the master race. Follow me as a classless society and I will make you great again. Now, it didn't do too well until the Wall Street Crash, because the Americans withdraw all their loans. And, again, there were soup kitchens and unemployed. By this time, the Nazis had half a million people in uniform. They had a lot of support from wealthy individuals. They had their own newspapers and they were running soup kitchens. They were paternalistic, they were looking after people. So the next stage is, of course, Hitler becomes the leader of the largest party in the Reichstag. But his vote is beginning to go down, when there is a right-wing coup around President Hindenburg, backed by the big industrialists. Because, you know, 1929, what is possible? A communist revolution. Consequently, what we need to do, this little corporal will shore it up. He's popular. People love him. He's stage managing these rallies. He's seen as a modern man. When he goes on his electoral tours, he goes by plain Leni Riefenstahl, "Triumph of the Will".

He uses modern methods. He is a, he is almost a pinup boy. Goebbels designed the man. And consequent, you know, Goebbels was the one who said, if you tell a lie often enough it will be believed. And Hitler said, don't tell little lies, tell big lies. And it culminated in this coup around Hindenburg. So Hitler is made chancellor. But it's still not, he's still not completely in charge. The Reichstag burns down. And then in the elections of March '33, after the Reichstag burns down, the President, Hindenburg, the floor in the Constitution, he suspends all personal liberties. I suppose the same would happen if the Houses of Parliament broke down or if the Capitol had been stormed. You know, this is what governments do. All constitutional liberties, the Nazis then go to the poll again in March '33. They poll 44% of the vote. But with other right-wing parties, they take control. They send their opposition to the first concentration camp, Dachau, which is reported in the front pages of most newspapers.

And the next elections in Germany, there's only one party to vote for. So that is how he did it. He did it through the ballot box. And one of the questions was, why did so many decent Germans, inverted commas, vote for Hitler? Because he promised to make them great again. He promised to take away all the insecurities of their life. He promised to clean up Germany. He promised to throw the Treaty of Versailles back into the face of the allies. He promised them jobs, he promised them cleanliness. He was going to get rid of all the decadent art that was Jewish art. He was going to destroy, he was going to take away all the darkness. And they worshipped him. Look at the faces. And can we go on please, Judy? Here you have one of the most chilling scenes in history. And this is why I believe in total freedom of speech, except if it's, there are certain things that you should never say that would actually be incitement to race hatred, which should be governed by criminal offence.

But this is the burning of the books. 18,000 books were burnt on May the 10th, 1933. Here you have Goebbels. And never forget the words of Heinrich Heine, "Any society that burns books will one day burn people." So Hitler now has power. And out of the SA, he has built the SS. He does it through terror and seduction. For example, if you are a worker and your production line

did well, you get a holiday on the state. There is no more violence on the street corner if you are an Arian, you don't have to worry about anything anymore. Things get better. So what happens if your neighbor's taken away in the middle of the night? How much do you care? Hugo Gring said, what Nazism did was to reverse the Ten Commandments. If Einstein is right and man is a wonderful monster, we have the goodness, we have the evilness, when does self-interest stop? Interesting question that. But what we see, as far as the Jews are concerned, between 1933 and 1939, you have a policy, a judenrein right. What Hitler wants is to get the Jews out of Germany. Economically squeeze them. He wanted their money. They're economically squeezed, they're socially squeezed. The Nuremberg Laws of 1935 deprive them of citizenship. And gradually, gradually make it more, and more and more difficult.

The tragedy is, and this is where we come to the other part of the story, German and Austrian Jewry could have been saved in its entirety if there'd been somewhere for them to go. I would suggest to you that many Jews did stay behind in Germany, for all sorts of reasons. Sick parents, they don't know if they can earn a living. But after Kristallnacht, and I've had this conversation with so many of my friends who were in that position after Kristallnacht, November the 9th, 1938, the Pogrom, nobody wanted to stay. But by that time, the Evian Conference where the allies, the countries of the free world had come together to decide to do nothing, really. Hitler, Goebbels writes in his diary, "We are better than the so-called civilised world. We say what we're going to do." And that really gives Hitler the nod, because after that you see the ratcheting up of anti-Semitism. And then, of course, when Hitler goes for total war, the invasion of Poland, but he still hasn't made up his mind. What is he going to do with the Jews? There is a long debate amongst historians. They call it the intentionalist/functionalist debate. Did the Nazis always intend to murder the Jews or was it a byproduct of war?

Frankly, I can't bear those kind of arguments because, frankly, they are allowed out of Germany right up until the autumn of 1941. At first, in Poland, they are starved, they are ghettoised, they are terrorised and many, many die. But the final solution actually begins with the invasion of Russia, when the Einsatzgruppen follow the German Army into battle. And that's when you see the killing fields when one and a half million men, women, and children are shot. But it's not efficient enough. Some of those wonderful SS officers are getting drunk, although they have a huge amount of help from the local population. And that's when they change method. They were already using gas to murder the mentally and physically impaired Germans, the euthanasia programme. And that's when it's applied to the Jewish, what they call the Jewish problem. Can we see a couple more slides? Here you see the marches in Germany. You see, look at the faces of the people who are watching it. How did the ordinary folk deal?

It's a very interesting question. And why was it that so many thousands and millions went along with it all? Not just in Germany. There were SS divisions from practically every country in Europe, except Poland, ironically. Lithuania, huge SS division. Latvia, Finland. Holland had a big SS division. They were Arians, remember. Can you go on please, Judy? And here you see the German conquests in Europe. And it's when, back in August, 1939, the Stalin and Hitler had done a non-aggression pact. It horrified the world. And that's when Hitler moved west and took

Poland as well and he, beg your pardon, he took Poland. Then without defeating the British, he conquers much of Europe. But it's in the summer of 1941, he breaks the pact and marches into Russia, a huge attack. The Einsatzgruppen, A B C D, following the German Army into battle. Can we go on please, Judy? And then, Wannsee. Wannsee is a beautiful suburb of Berlin. Not a suburb, it's a little further out. It's where the wealthy had their villas. Max Liebermann, the great hero of German art had his villa there. And there's a beautiful lake. It was a sun spot. The Wannsee villa was a rest and recreation home for SS officers. The killing fields, I want you to think about how many people were actually involved in the murders. These people would've come home for holidays. They would've been with their girlfriends, their wives, they would've talked. People knew. This whole notion of silence is so crazy.

But it's at the Wannsee villa that Heydrich, in terms of the murder of the Jews, it's Himmler, head of the SS, then Heydrich, and then his functionary, Adolph Eichmann. Eichmann convenes for his master, a meeting at Wannsee. Like any of you with businesses, you've got a problem, so you call together every department. And that's what happened at Wannsee. And I'll be dealing with it in much more detail the month after next. They sit down and they write out the final solution of the Jewish question. They decide who is a Mischlinge, quarter Jewish, half Jewish. They decide on what they're going to do. And, of course, it's retroactive because the killings are already going on. But this is when they begin the use of gas. When did the dehumanisation actually happen? And who was dehumanised? So this is how it begins. And if we could see the next slide, please, Judy. Auschwitz was a Polish prison of war camp. Gas companies, electric companies, architects. Why was Auschwitz the biggest of the camps chosen?

Because it was near the Vienna Krakow railway lines. It's a modern crime. Railway lines. People tendered for it. There were secretaries who took minutes. These are the plans of, the architect's plans for Auschwitz. And that's and then of course, the iconic picture of Auschwitz. Can we see the next slide please, Judy? Thank you. That slide that everybody knows. In a way, why Auschwitz? Because there were six, there were thousands of camps all over Nazi-occupied Europe. But there were six death camps in Poland, Nazi death camps in Poland. Not Polish death camps, Nazi death camps in Poland. And this is where the majority of Jews died, either in Auschwitz, Treblinka, Sobibor, Chelmno, Belzec. I've been to these camps. And, Belzec, I went there on the communism. Belzec was in a car park. There's the stone. Treblinka, Rob talked about that last night. It's the end of the world. Sobibor, the inmates actually rebelled. They broke out. Sobibor was destroyed but, you know, it's a quarter a mile, it's in a forest. It's beautiful, beautiful scenery. It's by a holiday camp. As the Americans would say, go figure.

So, in the end, the dehumanisation process. And when you looked at the Wannsee slide, I hope you noticed the figures. That was the number of Jews in Europe. And it listed the countries, not just the countries occupied. There's one or two very chilling extracts, Estonia, free of Jews, they'd all been murdered. But it lists the num, Eichmann was a bureaucrat. Listed the number of Jews, country, by country, by country. Also the Jews who were allied, in the countries allied to Germany. And the Jews who were in countries still at war, like Britain. The Jews of Britain were numbered down as well. So it was 11 million. By the end, the cruelty, the dehumanisation, in the

end, a third of all Jews were murdered. And apart from some extraordinary people, where it comes from, that's what we ought to work on. Where that, there were incredible people who risked everything to save Jews. And there's no common denominator.

35,000 honoured in Yad Vashem. But I'm going to finish this presentation, I was thinking, how on earth do I finish this presentation? And I want to finish it with a slide. Can we see it, Judy? There you have the menorah outside the Knesset, because on one level the Jewish people are eternal. And out of the ashes, three years later, the state of Israel was proclaimed. And anyone who doesn't understand the connection between the Shoah and Israel has no reading of history. And I find it's, again, you're back to the Bar Kokhba, ben Zakkai. Abba Kovner, who I'll be talking about in a couple of months, an extraordinary man, he led the uprising in the Vilna Ghetto. He said, "We will never again go like sheep to the slaughter." They didn't actually. The whole issue of resistance is a very complicated one and we spend a lot of time on it. But the point is, it's Bar Kokhba, ben Zakkai. It changed the Jewish world forever. It changed perhaps the world forever. You know, Adorno said after Auschwitz, maybe no more poetry, using it as a symbol. Maybe there should be silence. But there isn't silence. And I think the biggest problem is the fact that in a way we are devaluing that horrific experience by our misuse of words. Remember what Karl Popper said, the 20th Century is about the use of words.

I want to say, very strongly, and I think some of you will agree, some will disagree with me. I don't believe the Holocaust should be included with Rwanda or any other horror. That doesn't mean that Rwanda isn't as important. It doesn't mean that any horror, slavery, but by lumping them together, we will never understand. And we have to, we have to try and understand what is so devaluing of the human condition. What can happen with a brutal dictatorship who tells you black is white and you believe it, because there was a perfect storm. It was the perfect storm that led to the Shoah. Now, some of you will say, well, the majority of people voted for Hitler because of the economic horror. It's about economics. Others would say it's about a hatred that's so deep that it's still not eradicated. Because if you had a brain in your head, you would say, with the liberation of the camps, except I shouldn't use that word, you would understand the powerlessness of the Jew. And yet today the protocols is rearing its ugly head from country, to country, to country. So what do you do with this kind of information?

Is it left again to the people of the book to pioneer? But I want to also finish on two wonderful quotations. This is from Brecht. "Therefore, learn how to see and not to gape. To act instead of talking all day long. The world was almost lost to such an ape! The nation's put him where his kind belong. But don't rejoice too long at the end of pain. The bitch that bore him is on heat again." Now, my last quotation is the wonderful Vasily Grossman. Vasily Grossman was a Russian Jew who was a journalist writing for the Red Army magazine. And he was with them at Babi Yar. He saw many of the horrors. And this is from his book, "Forever Flowing". "Don't you remember how you once answered a question of mine? Me? I shall never forget your words. These words of yours opened my eyes. They brought me the light of day. I asked you how the Germans could send Jewish children to die in the gas chambers. How, I asked, could they live with themselves after that?

Was there really no judgement passed on them by man or God? And you said only one judgement is passed on the executioner, he ceases to be a human being. Through looking on his victim as less than human, he becomes his own executioner. He executes the human being inside himself. But the victim, no matter what the executioner does to him, remains a human being forever." Thank you very much. Let's see the questions. I'm sorry, I had to put my hand up. It's at the top.

Q&A and Comments:

Yes, this is Marilyn. "The Poles were the first people who were sent and killed in Auschwitz." Yes, Slavs were totally expendable. You've got to understand that. That's what, you know, this is Nazi race theory, you know, the Arian. That's one of the reasons Hitler didn't want war with the British, they were Arian. Don't use logic when you're dealing with Nazism. "The Jews were the largest group killed at Auschwitz." The Jews were the only people where birth was sentence of death. Even the Roma. If the Roma were pure, they weren't killed. It's if they dared to mix their blood with other peoples. Yes, this is from Catherine. "My father is a P O O from a work camp being marched under guard, in Kampfgruppe of Auschwitz survivors on a death march." Yes, Catherine, I believe I've been correspondence with your husband over this. He read Trude Levi's memoirs. Yes, the Nazis, look, towards the end of the war, killing Jews became more important than anything. They put resources, just think about it. The Russian army is advancing and they sent Jews back on the death march.

Q: Yes, this is the "Holocaust by Bullets". Yes, we're, how many Jews died in bullets? How many Jews died in the concentration camps?

A: I think, Edith, it's a complicated question because we're not quite sure about that.

Q: "You mentioned many reasons for the Holocaust. How about human greed?"

A: Yes, of course. A very good point, Livia. The, look, getting rid of Jews was also business. And there haven't been reparations paid to this day, proper reparations. So, yes, I mean, in 1938, Eichmann set up a bureau, an immigration bureau in Vienna and in Berlin. Money, money, money. They wanted Jewish money. Of course they did.

Q: How important do I think Evian was in convincing the Nazis that the West had washed their hands of the Jews?

A: Well, quite important, Barry, because Goebbels actually writes about it in his diary. He says, the West, we're better than the so-called civilised world, we say what we're going to do. And after Evian, Hitler sent 18,000 Eastern European Jews to the Polish border. That was a promise he'd made in the German Workers' Party manifesto. And that is when Herschel Grynszpan, one of his, the family there was the Grynszpan family. And the son Herschel in Paris, he shoots Vom

Rath. And that's why you have Kristallnacht. So, yes, that's important. "Re World War I".

Q: "Talking about Namibian genocide of 1904, when between 24,000 and a hundred thousand killed. Was this a precedent for German culture?"

A: Leonard, that's a very, very complicated and very deep question. I don't want to answer it on the hoof. Suffice to say, I think this is something that William has dealt with in his lectures. Indigenous populations, look how they were wiped out. And, of course, the Germans were very cruel in Africa but so were the Belgians, so were the British. The British set up the first concentration camps, remember? So human nature, we are wonderful monsters.

"Both of the first two woodcuts are from the Nuremberg Chronicles." Thank you, Howard. Yes. "Darwin had Jewish descendants," that I didn't know. This is from Simon, "Echoes of the blood libel today, all accusing Israel of not vaccinating Palestinians." Oh, that is, yeah, yeah, of course. You see, this is the problem. Remember what Jonathan Sacks said, first they hated our religion, then our race, then our nation. I want to be careful here. You have absolutely every right to criticise the government of the state of Israel. You, when, it's that line between legitimate criticism and going too far. There's been some very, very ugly articles about this in the Western press. "This is not the blood libel." I don't understand that. "Please discuss 'Holocaust by Bullets.'" Yes, I will. I will, Anna. But I can't do that until I get to, actually, we're going to spend two months on the Shoah. And that's when we will be looking at it. And of course, many of your families, those of you who came from Ukraine, from Lithuania, and Latvia and Estonia, you were, that's how those families were murdered. Yes, in the pits.

Rob Rinder talked about it last night. And, of course, we will spend a lot of time. And this is, "May the memory of all the murdered innocents be a blessing and may we honour their memory by being righteous." That's lovely, Anna. This is from Paige and Bernard. "Destroying anti-Judaism is like destroying a hydra." "Last night, I read Myna Scholes' poem, 'Lithuania', which echoes the murder of my family in Crac. Thank you for using Shoah, rather than Holocaust." Holocaust is a wrong word. It's just the word that is used. Why am I so,

Q: "Would you mind explaining why you are so against the Holocaust Memorial in London?"

A: Okay. Many reasons. Number one, I looked at the plans and there's a small room on anti-Semitism, there's a small room on Rwanda. There's, number one, it's a universalization. Number two, it's in a park, which is going to cause a lot of upset for a lot of people. There is a statue to slavery that was actually, that people were very, yeah, so we're offending other communities. I don't believe, I'm going to say something really shocking. I am not yet convinced, there are 300 Holocaust memorials throughout the world.

Q: Has anti-Semitism lessened?

A: When I was in Stockholm for the first ever conference the ITF, now IHRA, one of the

purposes set down in the Stockholm Declaration, not only to, I'm going to read it to you. "The Holocaust challenged the foundations of civilization." Basically, there is a clause which says one of the purposes, not just to remember, is to wipe off anti-Semitism. If I believed it would work, I'd be in favour of it. I think at a time of financial crisis to set up a memorial, which will need guarding in that site when I don't think they thought through what education means, I'm not sure that I believe in Holocaust memorials anymore. That might be a very strange thing to say but I'd like a proper debate on that later on in the course. So, and also, I should tell you, many of my friends who are survivors, like Anita Lasker-Wallfisch and Joanna Millan, who is speaking tomorrow, are so against it.

And, also, can you imagine guarding a Holocaust memorial? If you look at the memorial in Berlin, for example, the steely, people just sit on it and have picnics. We've got to think much more. And the fact that it's next to parliament, what sort of message does it show, send to other ethnic communities? Doesn't it just reinforce the Jews are special, they get special treatment? I'm asking. So I've got a lot, and I think it hasn't been thought through. I think it's been bamboozled and I think it's been bulldozed. There has not been proper consultation. The majority of people I know are actually actively against it.

Guerin's father was involved in the genocide in Namibia. That's fascinating. Yes, Time Magazine ran a cover of the Star of David after the Sabra Shatila. Bernice, if you want post-Israel anti-Judaism, anti-Semitism, there are rooms, unfortunately or fortunately, my closest friend was Robert Wistrich, who headed up "The study of Anti-Semitism" in Jerusalem. Weekly. he would send me this kind of stuff. There are all sorts of reasons why it happened. And I would be looking at that in much more depth later on.

Q: Do I think anti-Semitism is starting to run rampant?

A: Yes, I do. But I also think every kind of racism is up.

"No decisive battle." Well, look, let's be careful about this, Antony. The story is quite simple. The British said, the British general said to the German general, you were stabbed in the back. There was no great battle, that's the point. Of course, Germany had run out of supplies. It was going to be over, but that wasn't the story that those war wounded was told. They came back. Many were blinded, they'd lost limbs. There's no social welfare. They're poor. What world do they come to? They came back to a humiliating defeat. "In Niall Ferguson's book on the Warburgs he said how there were 5,000 Jews in Germany who did support Hitler." Yes, I know that. But, no, they weren't allowed to be part of it. It's, they were ultra-nationalists. Don't forget that the man who created, who was responsible for gassings in the First World War was Fritz Haber, who was a German Jew. He converted. You know, it's interesting, in 1934, just before he died, the only place where he could go to, he was a great scientist, was Weizman in Rehovot Einstein said to him, "You hugged the blonde beast to class." "People from Zimbabwe will be able to understand inflation." Yes.

Again, you are talking about "Holocaust by Bullets", Father Patrick Desbois. Yes, I know Patrick Desbois. I've debated with him. He's a very, very interesting man. Yes. He thinks that the actual shootings were, if you like, a precedent for so many of the other genocides we see throughout the world today. "What turned Germany and Hitler to hate communists?" Well, look, there was a huge communist and left-wing party in Germany. The working classes in Germany never deserted the left. Hitler hated communism. He believed it was Jewish and international. He was a staunch German nationalist. So that's why. Germany, of course, they made peace with the communists. Look, it was the German Army, it was the Germans who sent Lenin back into Russia, because they knew that if the Bolsheviks could take over Russia, think of the communist manifesto. Workers of the world, you have nothing to lose but your chains. That's what happened. So the German Army, they made a peace deal. Of course they did. It was in their interest.

Yes, this is Rochelle. "Holocaust education is taught in year nine." Yeah. Look, the problem with Holocaust education, and this is the other story, and I should have mentioned this when I talked about the Holocaust Memorial. They've ripped it out of Jewish history. That's the real problem. And Holocaust studies is ripped out of Jewish history. You know, there are, the ultra religious commemorate on the Ninth of Av. They see it as a continuum. What else have we got. The "World of Yesterday" by Stefan Zweig. One of the greatest books, for me, written. It's wonderful. Stefan Zweig, the wonderful humanitarian, Viennese writer. He committed suicide in South America, because his world was destroyed. He was a wonderful, wonderful man. I'm going to tell you something personal now. His home piano is in the home of Anita Lasker-Wallfisch. And the highlight of my grandson's life is he's allowed to play it occasionally. It's out of tune, but it doesn't matter. Oh, there's so many questions about the war.

Q: "Who created the swastika?"

A" I did know. I can't remember. It's a Hindu good luck symbol, but I think it was reversed.

What was the date? It was January the 20th, 1942. That was Wannsee. But it was already retroactive, because the killings had started. Wannsee is quite a place to visit, yes. I'm, yes, there's lots and lots of, yes. This is from Ben Ferencz, who's amazing. He was the chief, he was prosecutor. He's still alive, I believe. He's an American, an amazing man. He said good people can become mass murderers in wartime. That's an incredible question. I got to think about some of these questions. I think we should probably stop here. Wait a minute. "This is the Johannesburg Centre. It has the Holocaust and genocide in Rwanda." You see, it's complicated.

Which other genocide are you going to choose? I believe you have to study everything in its own entirety. Of course, there are parallels and lessons. The parallel is human nature. That's the parallel, when we stop seeing others as human beings with rights. "How do we convey this story in simple terms to our grandchildren?" "When Hitler Stole Pink Rabbit."

Q: "If holocaust is the wrong word, how has it stuck?"



A: What I'm going to do, and I promise, when we look at the Shoah, I'm going to look at the meaning of words with you.

Q: This is from Howard Epstein. Do I agree with the Israeli view that the Shoah was not just the justification of the creation of Israel, rather it was the catalyst?

A: That is a huge question, Howard, and a wonderful question, and it's going to take me an hour to answer it, which I will be doing later in the course. Yes, ghetto is also interesting. I mean, the word comes from iron foundry. It was the, in Venice. Yes, more about devaluation of words.

Q: Why not use the word liberated in?

A: I'll tell you why, because the Red Army, they didn't intend to liberate, that's what I'm saying, they bumped into it. Liberation gives me the, again, meaning of words, it gives me the impression they deliberately set out to save. I mean, the man, the head of the Ukrainian regiment, he was horrified when he was interviewed. I had the pleasure of meeting him many years ago and it changed his life. Yeah, Pam, I'm not saying that we don't recognise other genocides. I'm saying don't lump them all together. You know, it was George Steiner who said we, that Jews hug their children too close because of all the children who were lost. And the quote, "The bitch is on heat again," I'm using it from Brecht.

Q: "How has Israel changed Jewish existence?"

A: That is a very profound and interesting question. I'm definitely not going to try and answer it now. You are quite a group. You give me questions that would take me hours to answer. And this is from Rob. A lot of you are telling me your family memories. I think we probably should stop there. We should stop there, Judy, or is Wendy still there? I know she had a meeting.

- [Judy] Well, she's gone to her meeting now, Trudy. So if you want to end it there, that's-

- I think so because there are so many questions. And it is Holocaust Memorial Day. Can I just tell you that tonight, those of you who live in England, on BBC4 at nine o'clock, there is the story of the Windermere Children, which is of course in, it's the story of Rob Rinder's grandfather. But it's also, Joanna Millan, who's going to be interviewed by David Pina tomorrow, she was the, Bella in the film and she's going to be interviewed at 10:30. So if you have the opportunity, watch it. And I wish you well on this dark day. But another reason I'm against Holocaust Memorial Day, this is the kind of thing we should think about all the time, not just to dwell on the horror, because the survivors wouldn't want us to do that, but to think about the future. It changed so many things. There are some English philosophers and American philosophers who actually think it's the nadir of Western civilization.

And you know why? There's a reason, because Germany was the most cultured, educated nation in the world. And if it can happen there, where it? And the other point I want to make

though, so that we don't go off into this darkness, never forget that we're an incredible amount of wonderful people who saved. And we will spend at least two sessions on rescue and resistance. So thank you all very much and all of you keep safe. God bless.