

– And of course it would be completely inappropriate not to mention that all our thoughts and prayers are with that remarkable woman, Queen Elizabeth of England, and let us just hope that she pulls through. So, continuing now with that very dark history of Latvia and Estonia, I've put again on the map for you where you can see how, if you remember, there was the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact of August, 1939. And then in 1940, Latvia was under Russian rule. And then in June '41, of course the Nazis rolled in, and following the Nazis were the Einsatzgruppen, where they were ably abetted by Latvian fascists. But I want to start this as I finished, because there's an extraordinary quotation by a man called Lessing. He was a philosopher who died in 1933, and he said, "any damn fool can put a bullet through the most beautiful brain." And this certainly applies to Simon Dubnow, who was one of the great historians, and who tragically was murdered in Riga in July, 1941 when he was 81 years old. And this is what he wrote. And I think to try and understand, why was it that this hatred against the Jews came to the fore in Latvia? I think to start with, you have the old religious hatred. You also had a lot of social economic and political unease, plus, and I'm quoting now from Simon Dubnow. "We shall never be forgiven for the share that those Jewish speculators of the revolution have taken in the Bolshevist terror. The Jewish fellow workers of Lennon, the Trotskys, and Utritskys eclipse even him." And basically what he's pointing to, so many other historians have pointed to, that this, it was the role of Jews in communism.

Now we can speak until we're absolutely blue, purple and yellow in the face that it was never the majority response. Having said that, what is also true is that the leadership from country to country was Jewish. So in a time of political instability, plus of course, Latvia had only been newly created. There was a lot of nationalistic fervour. And because of the horror of the communist regime, the Latvians, many Latvians, welcomed the Germans as liberators. And also don't forget, there was a large number of Baltic Germans in Latvia. In fact, the great, I'm using the term advisably, one of the most important mentors of the Nazi party, a man called Rosenberg. He came from Riga and he gave his first speech in an absolutely beautiful building in Riga called the House of the Blackbeard. And honestly, we've already mentioned this, but it's really a place worth visiting. And next week I'm going to be talking about Isaiah Berlin, who came from the wonderful Art Nuvo section of Riga. Anyway, I'm going to repeat for you, because a lot of people ask me to, his incredible quote on Jewish destiny and on Jewish history. "Every generation in Israel carries within itself the remnants of worlds created and destroyed during the course of the previous history of the Jewish people. Each generation, in turn, builds and destroys worlds in its form and image, but in the long run continues to weave the thread that binds all the links of the nation into the chain of generations. Thus, each generation in Israel

is more the product of history than its creator. We, the people of Israel living today continue the long thread that stretches from the days of Hammurabi and Abraham to the modern period. We see further than during the course of thousands of years. The nations of the world have borrowed from our spiritual storehouse and added to their own without depleting our source. The Jewish people goes its own way, attracting and repelling, beating out for itself a unique path amongst the nations of the world." And I really do think that's Jewish destiny. And of course, now I'm talking about one of the darkest periods, but nevertheless, the Jewish destiny, there was an attempt to wipe the Jewish people off the face of the Earth. And of course, the suffering must never ever be minimised. But nevertheless, the people, as a people, do survive. So of course, what happens once the Germans come into power, and I've already mentioned to you, they work with a Latvian auxiliary group under Arajs, who I'm going to talk about more, that you have the situation where Jewish property is confiscated, all the terror is established, and the Jews are ordered into a ghetto. In the northern suburb of Riga, over 30,000 people sealed off. A Judenrat was established, a Jewish police was established. We've looked at how ghettos worked in other circumstances. Basically, despite the horror, they still managed to keep a library going. They still managed to have care for the sick. They also established a small ghetto. It was the small ghetto that was used for those who were fit enough to work. And then the unimaginable happened, because, on November the 30th, I mentioned last time that there had already been attacks on Jews. There had been shootings in synagogues, the burning in synagogues, mainly by the Latvian auxiliaries. And then on the night of November 30th, the Latvian auxiliaries and those working with the Einsatzgruppen herded all the Jews in the large ghetto into ordinary buses that had been seconded from Riga. And they were driven five miles into the forests surrounding Riga and tragically perpetrated the second largest massacre by shooting after Babi Yar. Between the 30th of November and the 8th of December, the whole population of the large ghetto was shot. Men, women, and children. And what the Nazis did, this dehumanising programme, unbelievable, no longer seeing people as people, they then repopulate the large ghetto with Jews, mainly from Germany, a few from Austria, and also from the Czech lands. And gradually they are being sent to the Riga ghetto, more and more are shot. And then in the end, the small ghetto itself is liquidated, even though those workers, they were working for the Reich. So no logic in that horror.

Now, what I think is important to establish is what kind of people were they? Who were the perpetrators? And I'd like, now, if you don't mind, to actually, if we could come onto the next slide, if you don't mind. There you see a picture of the wonderful Simon Dubnow. He is, I admit, he is actually one of my heroes. But what I want to do now is look at those appalling individuals, the Nazis, who were responsible. Because what you need to see, of course, is the kind of people they were. They were ordinary folk. That's the point. They came from

ordinary walks of life. So can we please see some of them, if you don't mind. This is Hinrich Lohse. Hinrich Lohse was actually, he was the functionary who was actually in charge of everything. He's in charge of, he's actually in charge of the region. He is not the man responsible for the characters, but he is the man who implements the anti-Jewish laws. I'm going to give you a little bit of his background, because I think it's important to get into these characters. If we're ever going to make a difference, we have to rethink education. Now, Lohse came from a peasant background. He worked in a shipyard, he serves in World War I, and he's discharged 1923. Just think about what happened at the end of World War I, the humiliation of Germany. He joins the Nazi party, he progresses, he becomes a gauleiter at Schleswig-Holstein, and he creates many nationalist, is a good speaker, fervent German nationalist, violently anti-Semitic. And he leads many nationalist associations in northern Germany. In November, 1932, when the Nazi party emerges as the biggest party in Germany, he's elected to the Reichstag. And after their rise to power, he becomes the high president of Schleswig-Holstein and chairman of the Nordic Association. He'd also swallowed all the Nordic philosophy. And on the 25th of July, 1941, he's actually appointed the Rice Commissar for Osland. He is in charge of that whole region, but he also retains his former functions. So he goes between Riga and Keel. As I said, he is responsible for the Germanization programme, but he's not responsible for the shootings. But of course, he was well aware of them. What happened to him? He fled in the wake of the Soviet advance and he ruled in Schleswig-Holstein, 'cause of course, the Soviets got in in '44. What he did then, he remained in Schleswig-Holstein, in charge, until the end of the war. He was imprisoned by the British in 1948. Sorry, he was caught in '48. He went to trial in 1948. He was sentenced for 10 years. He was released in 1951 due to ill health and inquiries were launched against him, because he claimed a huge pension from the German state because he had been a president and he was fighting for it, but it was withdrawn. He died in 1964. This whole issue of crime and punishment is one that's going to come up time and time again.

Now, who was the one who was actually in charge of the Einsatzgruppen? Can we now see Franz Walter Stahlecker, if you don't mind? Yes, now a very, very different background. So the thing you have to ask yourselves, is he even more culpable? He came from a very wealthy family in Baden-Württemberg. He was the second of three sons. His father was a pastor, and he was actually, his father was the director of theological studies at the university. He served in the German army and he joined, after the war he joined a very strange organisation called Operation Consul. Those of you who've studied this will know that they were the characters who were responsible for the assassination of Rathenau. They were an incredibly nationalistic, anti-Semitic party, who blamed everyone for the abdication of the Kaiser and the defeat of Germany, particularly the Jews and the Communists. He was very, very involved with all the nationalist

organisations and was involved in these organisations. And their mission was actually political assassination. So this is the young man who studies law. He studies in four universities. He gets his doctorate in 1927. He marries, he has four children. He actually joins the Nazi party itself in May '32 and the SS in 1935. He was appointed director of the political office of Wittenberg. By 1937, he was head of the Gestapo in Breslau. And of course, Breslau was that fascinating town to the east of Germany, which of course had many famous Jewish families came from there. After the Anschluss, he becomes the head of the Gestapo in Vienna. And in the summer of '38, he's in charge of all the Gestapo in Austria, succeeding the head of the Gestapo, Müller. And on the 20th of August, 1938, he went to work for the Central Agency of Jewish Immigration in Vienna. Don't forget that the Nazis weren't just about destroying Jews, at this stage they were about robbing Jews. And Adolf Eichmann, who was the functionary under Hinrich, had been ordered to set up an immigration bureau in Vienna to facilitate Jewish immigration. So he goes to work with Eichmann, but he has differences with Hinrich. He moves the foreign office. And by mid October 1939, again he's working with Eichmann on the Nisko plan, which was a plan to deport Jews to the Lublin region of the general government. Poland has been conquered, remember it's divided up, and up until this stage, the Nazis are playing with different options. On the 27th of April, 1940, he's sent to Norway, but the 6th of February, 1941, he becomes head of Einsatzgruppen A, and they are the ones that of course are in charge of, after the invasion, operation Barbarossa, he is in charge of Einsatzgruppen A, a group of 750 men who are charged with, in the end, the murdering of the Jews of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. This functionary, in the winter of '41, he actually reported, and we have all these documents, he reports back to Berlin that they had murdered, these numbers are beyond imagination, 249,420 Jews. What happens to him was that he was actually fatally wounded by Russian Partisans. So he didn't, he died, he didn't pay for his crimes. Can we see the next slide, please? And I promise you, at the end of the presentation, I am going to talk about rescuers. Martin Sandberger. And now this is a really complicated story. He worked for Stahlecker. He was the commando of Sonderkommando A. He was the son of a director of IG Farben. And again, he'd studied law in Munich, Cologne, Freiberg, and Tübingen. Of those people who sat around the table at Nuremberg and wrote down the final solution, even though it was retroactive, two-thirds of them were lawyers. I can say this again until I go purple. An academic education is no bar to any kind of behaviour. What we have to work towards is a different kind of education. He himself, he joins the Nazi party in 1931. He's a student activist in Tübingen. And on the 8th of March, 1933, he raises the Nazi flag over the university. He takes his PhD in 1935, and he becomes the university inspector for the Nazi party. He's only 25 years old. By 1936, he's in the SS, he's in the SD by '38. And he becomes an assistant judge in the interior ministry of Wittenberg. And he was very much involved in Himmler's, he was very into Nazi race theory. He was involved in Himmler's plan to Aryanize and send the

Baltic Germans from the Baltic and Soviet occupied Poland to West Poland. What they're trying to do is to, this is really the living space, to free the Baltic Germans from their slav oppressors. And remember, there was a large percentage of Baltic Germans in Latvia and Estonia, particularly in Latvia. And don't forget also that Aja, who led the Latvian brigade, was, in fact, his mother was a Baltic German. And so he's appointed chief of Sanderkommando A, and he travels with Stahlecker, and after he'd been involved under Himmler, he said, "my job is to destroy the enemies of the Reich." He also worked out business plans for the Gestapo. He also worked on syllabus for schools. He was fascinated by, how do you create the pure Aryan? So he's working on all these kind of things. So at his trial, now what happens is, at his trial, Sandberger is actually going to be tried. So what I'm going to do first is I'm going to give you a little bit more background on him. He's in Riga. He's one of the main people behind those terrible massacres in the forests. In early '41, early July '41, he was then sent to Estonia, which I'll be coming along to, to carry out the furor order there. And the furor order, of course, is murder. And he sends back this report. The arrest of all male Jews over 16 has nearly been finished, with the exception of doctors and elders of the Jews who are appointed by special commandos, executed by self-protection units under the control of detachment 1A. Self-protection units are of course the Latvian and then the Estonia fascists who worked with them. A camp is being constructed in Haku, in which all Estonian Jews are assembled so that Estonia will be Judenrein. And that is, of course, is what's going to happen. He was highly recommended for promotion in the essay. And this was the letter from his superior. "He is distinguished by his great industry and better than average intensity in his work." He's then, by the end of 1941, he's made the commander of the gestapo in Estonia. In September '43, he returns to Germany. He's then appointed head of gestapo in Verona, where he was in charge of the transport of Jews to their deaths in Auschwitz. And in January '44, he becomes head of the foreign intelligence service liaising with Himmler.

Now, I'm going to go into what happened to him after the war, because I think this is another area that we are not giving enough attention to. And I will be coming back to Latvia and Estonia. I mean, suffice to say when you're talking about Latvia and Estonia and the Jewish life, you know there was a rich Jewish life in Latvia. You know there was a rich Jewish life in Estonia. In Lithuania, which I talked about a few months ago, Vilna, which was called, it was considered the golden Jerusalem. So what can I say? These whole lines of dissent, a civilization, a culture destroyed. And this is one of the major perpetrators. And after the war, he's arrested by the British. He tried to avoid prosecution because he actually disclosed what he knows. And at this stage, nobody really had put the whole picture together of the Einsatzgruppen. Now, between 1946 and '49, there were 12 war crimes trials held by the US authorities in Nuremberg. These were before an American military court, and the Einsatz trial was the

ninth of the 12. Just those, many of you will know about this, but just to let you know, other trials were of the doctors, the doctors who murdered by lethal injection, Milch, the Luftwaffe, the trial of judges, the trial of Flick, the industrialist, IG farbin, the trial of the directors of IG Farbin, hostages, the 12 generals of the Balkans campaign, the trial of the racial cleansing officials, the crook trial, 12 directors of crook, the ministries trial, the high command trial. At this moment, he is brought up before as part of the Einsatzgruppen, of the Einsatzgruppen trial. Now, so he is on trial. Now, he's held before a military court. There's a lot of pressure now being put on the Americans. John J. McCloy, fascinating character. An American, he was an American lawyer, he was a banker, he was a diplomat, he was advisor to presidents. He was the Assistant Secretary of War. And after the war, he was the president of the World Bank. He's a serious character. He becomes the US High Commissioner for Germany. Now, as you all know, the real problem was quite simple, wasn't it? The real problem was communism is going to sweep through. Don't forget that General Patton wanted to turn the army against the Russians the minute the war was over. West Germany has to be bolstered up against the communists. He's also chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank, his chairman of the council on foreign relations. Later on, he was a member of the Warren commission, or the Kennedy Inquiry. He advised all presidents from Roosevelt to Reagan. He's a serious man. He was also a member of what's known the wise men. They were internationalists, they were pragmatists. Now he is under a lot of pressure.

Now, during Sandberger's trial, he's found guilty and he is sentenced to death. By 1951 his sentence has been commuted by the pet commission, which was an American Commission, to life imprisonment. And it's at this stage McCloy is lobbied by American Senator, William Langer, who's also a US lawyer and a senator for North Dakota. He had always been a staunch isolationist. He had ties with, he had a lot of German constituents in Dakota, and he'd already opposed American entry into the United Nations. He'd also proposed a bill to pay for the repatriation of African Americans. And he sends a letter to John McCloy. John McCloy, by the way, was in charge of the department that refused to bomb Auschwitz when they were begged. By 1944, both the British and the Americans were begged to bomb Auschwitz, and neither of them did. And it was actually McCoy. But this correspondence between this character and McCloy to grant a reprieve to Sandberger. And what happens is Samberger is actually released, he's only served 13 years in prison. Now, another point, Adenauer had had to put in power a lot of people who'd once been Nazis. Also, Sandberger's father was a retired production director at IG Farbin. And he used his connections with the West German president. The directors of IG Farbin, they served nominal sentences, you know, by 1958, nobody was still enjoined. And also what happens to Sandberger, who is this massive monster, this huge murderer, he comes out of jail, he becomes the legal counsel to the Lechler group. And he was caused as a witness

in further war crimes trials because he could never again, he himself could never be prosecuted. So that is what happened to Sandberger. And of course it also gives you a notion of what else is going on. How pragmatism, the Nazis, should we go on? Should we go on prosecuting Nazis? It's been estimated that perhaps as little as 10% of Nazi war criminals were brought to justice. And so when you think of the unbelievable horror, what that man did in Latvia by destroying, he was behind the Rumbula Forest. I've been there, I've seen the memorial, I've seen the bleakness and a vibrant community, the shooting just of one individual who happens to be a hero of mine, Simon Dubnow. Multiply that by a whole community and then you get a notion of what that man did. And that man had no justice in this world because, pragmatically it was decided, his father was an important functionary. John McCloy, can I say that he's an anti-semiter? Yes, I will say he's an anti-semiter. And basically refuses to bomb Auschwitz and then is instrumental in the release of many of these Nazi war criminals. As American friends of mine always say, go figure this. So I thought I wanted to bring this in at this stage because, to me, it is a very important issue. And I think also goes way to explaining the attitude that Israel sometimes exhibits, if I may state that. Anyway, shall we go on Judi, please. And this of course is the Riga ghetto. I visited the Riga ghetto and you can see, it's called the German ghetto. You see, after the shooting of those 30,000 people, the Germans are bought in. And it has to be said ironically, Jews are Jews are Jews. There was hostility between the two groups. But that is the Latvian ghetto. And you can still see, if you go to Riga, and of course, under communism, nothing like this was ever really pointed out, not as a Jewish tragedy. Because Stalin, and those who followed him, they had to forge nations. All these countries come under Russian rule. And look, a lot of Latvian fascists got out. Latvian fascists, Lithuanian fascists, Ukrainian fascists, many of them came west. Because in those days you weren't allowed in. I dunno if you remember your passports, if you were a member of the Communist Party, nobody asked if you were a member of the fascist party. But since the fall of communism, there is an attempt now to pay some kind of, I don't know, some kind of honour. But of course this in itself is relatively problematic. Why? Because, the person I'm going to come onto next. And that of course is Arajs. Viktors Arajs. And I started talking about Viktors Arajs last week, that incredibly good looking fanatic who was in charge of the Latvian brigade that was overzealous, that's the point. He was totally overzealous in his attitude towards the Jews. What do I do? In fact, the Germans were having to hold them back. They were responsible for Pogroms. He was brought to trial. And at his trial, he also was responsible for rape. He was an absolute beast of a man. I'm just going to stop a minute, Judi, is there any news?

- [Judi] No, there's no news yet.

- Okay, and I'm sure those of you know what I'm talking about, because evidently there is going to be an announcement about her majesty and

we felt that it would be totally inappropriate not, so Judi, perhaps if you don't mind, you could break in if anything happens. If you don't mind. Let me just, I'm trying to find, excuse me just a minute. I need to find an extract on this moment. I already mentioned to you how he'd been asked to set up the special commando, and it was him who was overzealous. And what happens is that at the end of the war the Russians arrive. At the end of the war he leaves, he goes to Germany, he changes his name, he actually changes his name. And let me just find, it is so important that I find that quote. Otherwise I'll go quite crazy. Oh yes, what happens to him? He was really, he was considered to be quite a star by the British. And in 1944 he went to a special school for the Wehrmacht, for high ranking officers. And because of his service in the Latvian SS, he goes from being the commander of the Arajs brigade to the Latvian SS. And what happens at the end of the war, he ends up in a British internment camp. He's held until 1949. That's what I wanted to check. He was not held, sent for trial. He changed his name and he fled to Germany where he worked for a printing firm in Frankfurt. He had children, he married, and by 1979, remember by the sixties and seventies, the Eichmann trial was a watershed. And even in Germany where so many of the Nazis were hiding in plain sight, many of the ghastly ones, the worst of them, had actually fled to South America. But what happens with Arajs, he's working there in a printing firm. But, because of the work of liberal Germans, including an extraordinary Jew called Fritz Bauer, who was a public prosecutor, finally, many of these characters were brought to trial. And he was brought to trial finally in 1979 in Hamburg for his part in the massacre in the forest in Rumbula. He was found guilty in assisting in the murder of 13,000 people. He was sentenced to life imprisonment. And he actually died in prison. He had a number two, a man called Herbert Cukurs. Can we turn to him next, please? He was one of the most important figures in the Arajs command. And he had taken part in the Latvian War of Independence. He was a real staunch right wing Latvian. He was also a hero. He was the, if you'd like, he was the Lindbergh of Latvia. He was a pioneering long-distance pilot. He'd won international acclaim. He'd made these solo flights in the thirties. He was one of these reckless daredevil characters. He'd flown from Latvia to Gambia, from Riga to Tokyo. He was really the Latvian national hero. And he built aircraft to his own design. They were powered by DeHavilland jets. And he becomes the number two to Arajs. And this is from a Latvian historian called Andrew Ezergailis, who is actually, in a way, he's one of those historians who plays it down a bit. And he writes that Cukurs, "played a leading role in the atrocities in Riga ghetto and the Rumbula massacre." And there were eyewitnesses who report how he was guilty of mass shootings. This is an eyewitness. "The Latvian murderer Cukurs got out of his car wearing a pistol in a leather holster at his side. He went to the Latvian guards to give the various instructions. He'd been informed about the great catastrophe that awaited us." Ezergailis later retracted this. But, you see the issue in Latvia now, post fall of Soviets, Latvian independence. These characters are seen by some Latvians as heroes.

Time Magazine wrote an article about him in 1965. It's not just, obviously he's a monster. But the Latvian who writes about him is also a very controversial character, this historian. And many Latvian historians, it's a real problem, because these characters are anti-Soviet. Think of the enmity towards the Soviets. And they're Latvian heroes. And this is what Time Magazine wrote in '65. "His crimes involved the Riga Synagogue fire." Remember I talked about that last week? "The drowning of 1,200 Jews in the lake and the participation in murder of 10,600 people in a forest near Riga. And he was responsible taking children from mother's arms and shooting them." Now what happened to him is even more appalling. He made it on the rat line to Brazil with his wife and three children. He set up a business in San Paulo running scenic flights. He gave interviews to papers. He became quite a figure. And of course, in South America, in San Paulo, in Argentina and in Brazil, there were many cadres of ex Nazis. They sung the Nazi songs, they had their heroes. And it's at this stage that Mossad intervenes. A Mossad agent, one of those involved in the capture of Eichmann, sent, remember, he's running scenic flights. He lures him saying that he has a very important client for him. So he lures him to Uruguay. And what happens is he's executed by Mossad. And Mossad leave behind several documents about his involvement in the Holocaust. The fact that he was not prosecuted though meant that the Latvian right today still make him a hero. And the prosecutor's office in Latvia has twice rejected attempts to exonerate him. They're holding firm, but there's a large body of opinion in Latvia that sees him as a hero. And in October, 2014, a musical on his life was actually premiered in the town he was born in. And the idea was that the audience would judge. And a performance was set for March the 17th, which was the day after the Remembrance Day for the Latvian Legionnaires who, of course, were these kind of characters. And it had to be postponed because of fears of disruption. Now, what did Putin have to say? Think about what Putin wants in this area of the world. A vivid example of open manifestations of neo-Nazism, which have become routine in Latvia and other Baltic countries. The Latvian Minister of Foreign Affairs, though, he said the production should not have happened, but he did defend the producer's right to freedom of speech. Now what's to say the Latvian community is finished? Yes, we talk about the resurgence of Jewish life in Eastern Europe, but you can never, ever recapture that which was lost. Yes, if you go back to Simon Dubnow, it does reconstitute. It does, if you like, reconstitute itself in different places and different times. But I think one of the issues that I find very, very problematic is how so many of the major perpetrators were not brought to justice. And then of course, the execution of Cukurs. It's interesting, I was talking to Anita Lasker-Wallfisch, who is one of the few people who I think has the right to give her opinions on these matters. And this is the woman who was in Auschwitz for a year and a half, and then in Belsen. And she said, "Trudy, the taking of a life is always wrong." I'm just throwing that out to you because I think it's something that you might want to think about. Now, I want to continue with the Jews of Estonia with a little

bit of background. If there is no news, Judi.

- [Judi] No news yet. I'll let you know, Trudy.

- Thank you very much. I'm sorry about this, but you can imagine everybody in England is very antsy at the moment. So could we please turn to the next slide? This, by the way, is the thing from Time. This is the newspaper, Taking into, sorry, this is what the Israelis put in the newspapers. "Taking into consideration the gravity of the charge levelled against the accused, namely that he personally supervised the killing of more than 30,000 men, women, and children. And considering the extreme display of cruelty which he showed when carrying out his task, the accused, Herbert Cukurs, is hereby sentenced to death. The accused was executed by those who can never forget." And there you have it, that was Mossad sending a note to the newspapers. Quite extraordinary.

Now, let's turn to Estonia. Now remember, Estonia was part of the Russian empire. And there you see the main settlements, Tallinn, the capital, Tartu. Now, who were the first Jews of Estonia? By the way, Estonia is a very, very small country. The first, it was outside the pale of settlement, but it becomes part of the Russian empire. And who were the first Jews allowed to settle in Estonia? The Cantonists. Now those of you who know your Jewish history will know that these were people who had been forced into the Russian army from the reign of Nicholas The First onwards. If you remember, a Canton is a Russian camp, Jewish boys were taken for 31 years. And the horror of the Cantonist system was that, the first six years was ratification. The first meal they were given was trave. And the villages and towns themselves just had to decide which of the boys went. So you can imagine what that did to the communities. And about 70,000 young Jewish boys had to serve in the army.

Now, the first Jews who were allowed to settle in Estonia were those Cantonists who survived. If you survived, you were then allowed to settle out of the pale. And by 1897, which is ironically, of course, 125 years ago, the year of the First Zionist Congress. There were about 4,000 Jews in Estonia, 1,200 in Tallinn, and about, no, sorry, about about 1,200 in Tallinn, which was then called Revel. And there was another in Tartu, which was the centre of the university. Now, when Estonia became independent, there's a very small percentage of Jews, and it had a much higher tolerance towards its minorities than did the other countries of the Baltic. There was gymnasium in Tallinn, there were cultural associations. There was a literature society about, and where it was called the Bialic Society. There was a drama circle. Remember, it's only a small population. There's a Maccabean Sports Club. And one of the great heroes of Estonian sport was a Jewish woman called Sarah Teitelbaum. There were already about a hundred Jews at the University of Tartu. This is after independence. 44 of them were in law, 18 in medicine. And in 1934, a chair of

Judaica was established. In Tartu there were five Jewish societies. It was very much the centre, around the university, another centre of cultural life. There were also Zionist organisations, everything raining from Hashomer Hazair to Beitar. You know, it's interesting, how many Jews do you need before you've got five political parties? And later on, some of them did go to Israel, or Palestine, some of the founders of Kibbutz Kfar Blum and also Ein Gedi were Estonian Jews. And of course, Estonians, Kfar Blum was established in honour of Leon Blum. Now on the 12th of February, 1925, the Estonians gave cultural autonomy for minorities and a Jewish board of of culture was established. And the community was given complete control of education. And in 1926, Hebrew began to replace Russian in Jewish public schools in Tallinn. And in 1927 in Palestine, the Golden book of Jerusalem actually praised the Estonian's policy. Now can we have a look at the next slide please? Now this is actually a Jewish Chronicle article on Estonia. "Estonia is the only country in Eastern Europe where neither the government nor the people practise any discrimination against Jews and where Jews are left in peace. The cultural autonomy granted to Estonian Jews 10 years ago holds good and Jews are allowed to live a free and unmolested lead and fashion it in accord with their national and cultural principles."

Now this is the Jewish Chronicle from London saying that it's rather special there. So by 1934, they are a tiny percentage of a small population. There are 4,381 Jews in Estonia. Half of them are in Tallinn. And another third of them are in Tartu. They go into diverse occupations. Some of them are wealthy, they have leather factories, they're in the forestry business. Just think where Estonia and Latvia are. Some of them, so it's factories for leather, it's forestry, it's furriers, and also there's a society for the less well off, for the tradesmen. So life is stratified. There was a very large number of doctors, a disproportionate percentage of the population, something like 40% of the doctors were Jewish, 16 of the pharmacists. They had their own social welfare set up. Because remember, this is now cultural autonomy. So the law was actually confirmed in parliament, this law on cultural minorities. And it's important that you know who the other minorities were. The Russians, the Germans, the Swedes, and the Jews. Ironically, only about 75% of Estonian Jews actually registered with the Jewish minority. The rest of them registered with the Russians. So obviously they were very, very left wing. And the first cultural council actually prized of 12 Zionist reps, nine Yiddish, six independents. Again, what is the story of the Jew? What is the story of a Jew in a country which is giving more and more freedom? We have cultural autonomy, should it be Hebrew? Should we look to Palestine? Should it be Yiddish? And by 1939, the Zionists are winning through. Probably reflected in the appalling situation in the rest of Europe. Of the 27 seats on the Jewish Council, 20 went to the Zionists. And it was a struggle, but in the end it was decided that Hebrew should be the language of instruction in all the Jewish schools. And many of the schools were actually affiliated to Tarbut or

also to the American joint. And a chair in Hebrew and Jewish studies was actually established at the University of Tartu. So, because it's still a small number, there's a lot of dialogue, particularly with the Yiddishists, with the Jews of Lithuania and the Jews of Latvia.

Now, on the negative side, a fascist organisation was founded in Estonia. There was an anti-Semitic campaign. And because of the concern over this rise of anti-Semitism, particularly amongst Baltic Germans, Nazism was actually outlawed by the Estonian government. They said it was contrary to public order. The German cultural council was disbanded and Nazi members of the Baltic German party, because they also had representatives in parliament, had to resign. And all materials with anything to do with Nazis, and the fascist magazine called God, "Valda", was banned. And so you have a situation where the small country of Estonia, the Estonian government is very much trying to hold it in. And as a response also to the rise of anti-Semitism, the vice president of the Jewish community, Heinrich Gutkin was appointed by presidential decree to the Estonian upper parliament. So the Estonian government is trying all it can to hold things. And it has to be said, towards the end there's a real flowering of Jewish cultural life. And then of course, in July, 1940 all the cultural associations are liquidated. These are the Russians. Because, to the communists, as it happened in Latvia, differences have to disappear. So all Jewish cultural associations, along with everybody else's cultural associations, religious life, it all has to be stopped under the Russians. And ironically, on the 14th of June, 1941, four hundred and fifty prominent Jews, mainly important industrialists, are deported into camps by the Soviets. And some of them survive. And it also has to be said that when the Nazis invaded, bearing in mind it's not a large population, over 75% of them managed to escape, of Estonian Jews escaped into the Soviet Union. But tragically, as I've already pointed out, Sandberger was sent into Estonia. The country was treated very brutally. Yes, there were a few collaborators, not on the scale of Latvia, but there was such horror under communism. I'm not making excuses, I'm just trying to be as objective as possible. But tragically about a thousand, we don't even have the numbers. When I say about a thousand, what on earth does that mean? That's a line of dissent. Including the only rabbi and a professor of Jewish studies at the University of Tartu were murdered. About a dozen Jews actually managed to survive the war in Estonia. And it was Stahlecker and Sandberger who ran it all. And, what can I say, the advance of the red, and what happens is, in Estonia camps were then set up where Jews from other parts of the Reich are deported. There was a terrible camp at a place called Kluger. And as the Red Army advanced, it led to a death march of over 10,000 people along the battle lines. And in September, finally, September the 22nd, 1944, Estonia is liberated. But I'm not going to stop without talking about an extraordinary individual, because we have to always have hope.

Can we see Uku Masing, please? Can we go on, Jude? Rudolf Lange? Yes,

I should mention Rudolf Lange, I suppose. He was one of the Einsatzgruppen chiefs, and he was actually at Wannsee. And he was the man who was able to report to Hitler that Estonia, in the Wannsee Document, Estonia is free of Jews. Should we go on? Because I want to talk about Uku Masing. He was an extraordinary Estonian honoured by Yad Vashem. Now he was an absolutely brilliant character. He was a professor of theology at the University of Tartu. He could evidently speak 40 languages. He was a poet. He was the centre of cultural literary life. He was at the centre, he was a polymath. And in 1939, he was a great friend of the Jews, he was invited to lecture at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The war stops that happening. But he lectured in theology and in Semitic languages. And after the Nazi invasion, he and his wife did everything they could to protect Jewish religious items and cultural items. And he was very close to a man called Isidor Levin, who was an Estonian Jew at the university. And he was a folklorist and he was also a theologian.

Now, what happened to him is that Uku Masing managed to hide him and his family throughout the whole of the war. They hid him first through the Soviet invasion and then through the Nazi invasion. He was fed, he was clothed, and Uku Masing and his wife saved his life. Now what happens, interestingly, to him, is he goes into Russia under the Soviets. And again, he becomes a professor at the university in Leningrad. So he's saved in Estonia by this extraordinary character, Uku Masing, and both of them were honoured by Yad Vashem. And after the war in Estonia, under Soviet rule, he participated in a commission to investigate war crimes. So here is a man of huge sensitivity, a poet, a thinker, and he risked his life to save a colleague. So the good, the bad, and the ugly. Thank you very much.

Q & A and Comments

And this is from Tanya, "The Bear Next Door: Five Cultural Figures From the Front Line of Russia's Borders." "Lithuania, Finland, Moldova, Latvia and Estonia, explore their national psyche in uncertain times." That's "The Bear Next Door," BBC Radio four. Thank you Tanya.

Sorry, Trudy, it's the Germans who rolled in. First the Russians, then the Germans. If there had been rights for Jews in Russia, so many wouldn't have become communists.

Sure, Shelly. I mean the situation of Jews in the Soviet Union, but it's not just in Russia. The problem was Jews were leading, the people of Jewish birth, let's be careful, were leading these parties from country to country.

Q: Can I speak about the Jews from Corland who considered themselves an elite?

A: Now Corland, Latvia, and of course Robert, that's a big question. What we are trying to do at the moment, unfortunately we are having to make decisions.

Now this is for Faith. I have a colleague who's an expert on that. I'll talk to them. I think it's fair to mention the Nazi genocide with its extension of the theory of eugenics and how Americans were in the vanguard of promoting this pseudoscientific symposia. They built a, there was a famous conference in London on the subject, attended by luminaries such as Winston Churchill, the president of Harvard. I suppose it takes more than a village to raise this awful crime against humanity. It is a problem. Yes, of course eugenics is a very, very awful problem. And I'll tell you something else that's led to, nobody would talk about genetics anymore, which is a problem, actually. Because we know that a lot of diseases are genetically traced. So in many ways, of course eugenics that talks about the superiority of one group against another is horrific.

Now, when do we need to feel superior, Faith? That's what we have to think about. What are the factors that make us need a scapegoat to make us feel superior? The inferior, superior. You know, this is where Wendy and I often say, you have to leave history to psychology.

This is from Myrna. My late father-in-law had the original printing of Dubnow's book, which I had and misplaced, but luckily there's a press in Pennsylvania that's reprinted it. Wonderful.

Q: Did the Baltic Germans never mix or intermarry with Latvians and Estonians?

A: Oh yes, of course they did. Arajs' mother was a Baltic German. Yes, of course they did. But they had many nationalist associations, and anyone who's on the fringe of a society, many of them were even more zealous for Nazism than were the Germans themselves. And you could also say the same about the Austrians. If you think about Hitler himself, Carlton, Brunner, Eichmann, they were Austrian Germans.

You talk about nationalism, was there xenophobia amongst the people of Estonia, Latvia, and the fear of the other? Yes, there always is though, isn't there? What I'm saying is it wasn't at the same degree in Estonia as it was in Latvia. Was it because you happened to have some very strong liberals in parliament? Was it because of a tradition? Was it because they believed strongly in minority treatise? Was it because there weren't that many Jews there?

Harriet says, "it's intriguing how non-Aryan in appearance these hyper Aryan's are."

This is Danny. I've just returned last night from a trip to the three

Baltic countries. What very much troubled me was how few memorials there are in the three countries to their Jews, not only in terms of their murder in the Holocaust, but in terms of their considerable contribution to three countries when they were independent before the war. Yes, Danny, this is one of the problems. Because many of these organisations, unfortunately, were, after the fall of communism, and they were treated badly. They became incredibly right wing.

Oh, ladies and gentlemen, I have to stop here. Unfortunately, we have just heard that her majesty has passed away. So I'd very much like those of you who are online, if we could just have a minute silence in memory of an extraordinary woman who had a huge sense of duty. And I believe, as an English woman, we're never going to see her like again. So please all of you who are online, Judi, if you don't mind, let's have a minute silence in her memory. And I'm sure that next week we will have a programme to honour her. So thank you. And may she rest in peace. Yeah, so what can one say? The second longest reign in history? An extraordinary, extraordinary story of a woman of huge duty. And I'm sure there will be so many programmes. And a woman whose first prime minister was Winston Churchill and who gave the baton two days ago, because it was her duty to do so, to her 15th prime Minister. So I wish you all well. This is a moment in history. This is a real moment in history that none of us will forget.

- [Judi] Thank you, Trudy.

- [Trudy] Thank you all very much.

- [Judi] Thank you everybody. See you again soon, bye-bye.