AN EXPLORATION OF RESILIENCE IN THE GENERATION AFTER THE HOLOCAUST: IMPLICATIONS FOR SECONDARY INHERITORS OF TRAUMA, DISPLACEMENT AND DISASTROUS EVENTS

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AN EXPLORATION OF RESILIENCE IN THE GENERATION AFTER THE HOLOCAUST: IMPLICATIONS FOR SECONDARY INHERITORS OF TRAUMA, DISPLACEMENT AND DISASTROUS EVENTS

BY

GITA (BAACK) ARJAN

BURDENED CHILDREN/ BELASTETE KINDER, PAUL KLEE, 1930

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO TAOS INSTITUTE AND TILBURG UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR A DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
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DEDICATION

This work is to memorialize my brother Henush Arjan who was murdered at age four under the authority of the Nazi régime.

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[1] Memorial pin: Yad Vashem - יד - Located on the Mount of Remembrance in Jerusalem, it is entrusted with preserving the memory of the Holocaust and passing on its legacy. A unique emblem was designed to symbolize Yad Vashem's message - ***Remembering the Past, Shaping the Future.*** The barbed wire stem recalls the pain and trauma of the Holocaust, while the leaves stemming from the wire symbolize the rebirth and hope that emerged in the wake of this unparalled tragedy.

This work is to honour and memorialize my sister Helena Arjan who was murdered at age 3 under the authority of the Nazi régime.

This work is is to honour and memorialize their, mother Hela Arjan, my father's first wife, who was murdered under the authority of the Nazi régime.

This work is to honour and memorialize my grandparents, Moishe and Shayna Alperowicz and Gitel Arjan as well as their parents, and all my lost relatives whose graves and life records are non-existant.

This work is dedicated to my indomitable mother, Leja/Laika Alperowicz-Arjan and my devoted father, Zalman/Zygmunt/Sam Arjan. They learned to speak six languages, played cards with zest and taught me to laugh and cry for no reason.

My brother, Moishe (Morrie) and me, my father and mother in Israel, after the war.

This work is also dedicated to Fela Burman-Wajcer, Holocaust survivor and my second, highly spirited mother, and co-author, with her son, Simon Wajcer of *"So You Can Tell: Prisoner 48378 Auschwitz"*.

A special dedication goes to my children, Alexander and Natalie Baack; my daughter in law, Hillary Baack; my grandchildren Finley and Nikolai (Niko) Baack, my future grandchildren; my brother Morrie Arian and his son and my nephew, Elias Arjan; and my cousin Moshe Schachter. I hope this discourse will help you to create forms of resilience of your own.

This is also a hopeful search for my grandfather's family. He traveled to the U.S. before the war. My father, Zygmunt Arjan and his mother did not join him as she did not think her mother, Beila Arjan, could survive the journey and, of course it was unthinkable then, to leave her mother. And so my father was raised under his mother's name. My grandfather's name was either Izik Herskovitz or Aaron Koretz (strange but unfortunately I don't know his name for sure). I am also looking for the family of my great aunt, Regina Seligman, in California and the children of her son Hymie Seligman.

A dedication goes out to my cohort of 600,000 children, born to the survivors of the Holocaust. I would like to say to this generation, we are now adults and living all

over the world; we may not know each other but we are intimately connected. We were given life and an obligation to bear witness. We were given a task to remind the world of the Holocaust in order to prevent hatred anywhere in the world. That is not to say that we don't have the right to live our own lives, free of the horrors of our past. Certainly, the task of freeing ourselves from the Holocaust is not an easy one; but we deserve it and the task will be easier with the help of others who can hear us.

"We are each of us angels with only one wing.
And we can only fly embracing each other."

Luciando De Crescenzo via Leo Buscaglia

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I have been offered a gift by Taos Institute/Tilburg University when I was given the venue to write a dissertation on the generation after the Holocaust.

Dr. John Rijsman, my thesis advisor, and past Dean of Social Studies, Tilburg University, offered me the freedom to be a creator of a discourse, who, like a visual artist, explores the layers within and creates a work of art for others to see their own layers within. He encouraged me to use the act of writing as an act of sense-making. It was his vision and deep understanding of what I needed in order to explore this personal subject, that led me to use this discourse as an instrument of reflection, emerging from my heart, mind, body and soul and from the spirit of my ancestors.

Marij Bouwmans, who served as a collaborative coach and part of my reflective choir, provided me with her gifts of wisdom, heart and artistic sensibility throughout. She pointed out that in the asking of the question: "*what is resilience*?" and in the act of this writing, as well as in the act of conversing with people about this question -- all of these -- are constructions of resilience. She encouraged me to embrace my creativity and to follow the provocative image of Paul Klee's drawing, *"Burdened Children"* which led me to unexpected and creative insights.

Mary Gergen started me off on this journey and showed me the path of Autoethnography, a methodology that so perfectly suited this scholarly and personal quest.

A special thanks to Quynh-Tram H. Nguyen, a fellow Ph.D. candidate, who has been a source of knowledge and a kindred spirit, and who always understood, validated and provided insight into the emotions elicited and the thoughts generated during this study.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation began with the motivation to help build an understanding of resilience as demonstrated by the second generation children of Holocaust survivors by exploring the question**:**

> ***How is it that the members of a generation that have been brought up under the shadow of the Holocaust and its losses, are able to not only to get on with their lives, but to be successful and helpful and compassionate with their fellow human beings"?***

Other questions emerged during the course of the research offering the possibility to universalize this discussion and give meaning to 2nd Geners who have inherited the guilt and sorrow from all sides of the Holocaust: the perpetrators; the bystanders; the collaborators; the resistors, the rescuers, or the partisans; as well as 2nd Generation children and adults affected by other devastating events: Native Americans; Korean, Dutch, Vietnamese, Lebanese, Palestinian, Iraqi, Egyptian people including Sephardic Jewish people (includes displaced Jewish people from Iraq, Morocco, Egypt, Iran, Africa, Yemen). This led to two additional questions:

> ***How can other 2nd Geners affected by the all sides all of the Holocaust, the perpetrators, collaborators, bystanders, neighbours give meaning to their legacy for the sake of their inheritors?***
>
> ***Globally, how can successive generations affected by trauma, displacement and devastation get on with their lives and be successful, helpful and compassionate?***

Finally, I had a deeply personal question and that was to explore a felt memory I have carried in my back since childhood that might explain how my siblings died under the Nazi régime**.** This led to a fourth question:

> ***Do we carry memory from one generation to another?***

In order to explore these questions, I chose to write with a generative perspective rather than a claim of '*what is the case or not the case*' given my need to discover the undefinable and '*discuss the undiscussable*'. My mode of discovery was through autoethnography, narrative and dialogue, under the epistemology of Social Constructionism. I applied a multimodal approach using text, documents, poetry, art, photographs, film and song to help me uncover layers of meaning not available to positivist, objective, and empirical modes of data gathering.

In particular, I drew on a 1940 drawing by Paul Klee, titled "*Burdened Children/Belastete Kinder*". The interplay of the lines and shapes within an undefined space not intended to be grasped, enabled me to discover multiple meanings in the ethnography of 2nd Geners.

I call the dissertation a discourse because it is a discourse that I and my fellow 2nd Geners entered into. The Reader too becomes part of this discourse, and is addressed as another participant in the narrative. I invite the Reader to use this discourse to edify their own pursuit towards resilience, explore the impact of their own past on their lives, and potentially, on the lives of their descendants.

Results

1. Created a new meaning of resilience and memory;

2. Developed a greater understanding of the ethnography of the 2nd Generation children of Holocaust survivors;

3. Explored new constructs of memory including: post-memory, trans-generational memory, absent memory, phantom memories and incorporation;

4. Created new theoretical and dialogical constructs on secondary inheritors of trauma, displacement and devastation -- including the generations who have inherited the guilt and sorrow from all sides of the Holocaust: the perpetrators; the bystanders; the collaborators; or the resistance fighters;

5. Planted the seeds for new theoretical and dialogical constructs on secondary inheritors of a number of other kinds of trauma, including: national, ecological, technological trauma, displacement, victimization and loss that can occur in all parts of the world; and

6. Posited some methodological considerations for holding group dialogues with secondary inheritors of trauma, displacement and disastrous events.

Key Words

Second Generation Children of Holocaust Survivors
Second Generation Syndrome
Individuation/Separation
Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
Post Traumatic Growth
*Transgenerational Transmission of Trauma/*Transmitted Trauma Syndrome
Dialogue
Resilience
Absent Memory
Presence of Absence
Post-Memory
Transgenerational Memory
Phantom Memories
Phantom Haunting
Preservative Repression
Pain Body
Incorporation
Aberrated Mourning
Moral Outrage
Validation

New Words Created in the Dissertation

Secondary Inheritors of Trauma, Displacement and Devastation
Phantom Trauma
Speaking Not-Speaking
Knowing Not-Knowing
Inner Diasporic Void
Re-Storying
Re-Pair
Re-Placement
Unresolvable Grief

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE

"Everything suppressed in one generation will inevitably explode in the next."
Mary, H. Rothschild

I will be referring to this dissertation as a discourse as it is about peoples' shared narratives, mine and others and because it is written in a discursive style so that the reader too, can be part of the conversation.

This discourse has provided me with the opportunity to explore the continued and necessary reckoning, six decades after the Holocaust, for my cohort generally called, *'Children of Holocaust Survivors'*. The writing of this text became a way for me to come to terms with what is essentially an existential issue for me.

> I began this journey when I found myself at a point in life where I felt compelled to discern what it has meant to have come into being in relation to the Holocaust, after a lifetime of *'knowing and not-knowing'*, a concept I will explore. The question, with which I began this exploration, was what I considered to be a new, constructive question, focused on the meaning of 'resilience' after trauma or tragedy:
>
> ***How is it that the members of a generation that have been brought up under the shadow of the Holocaust and its losses, are able to not only to get on with their lives, but to be successful and helpful and compassionate with their fellow human beings?***

The question came from what I observed growing up as a child. I saw the efforts of myself; my brother and the children of my parents' friends from '*the war*' adjust to a new country, a new language, a new culture all the time also serving the needs of their parents who had gone through so much tragedy and loss. I watched them in their adolescence, silently unable to share their own real and imagined Holocaust. I watched them as they grew up, some highly successful and some barely managing. And I wondered. I wondered -- where did some people, both survivor parents and their children -- get the resilience to get on with their lives after the horror of the Holocaust, while others had difficulty adapting to life's challenges.

I thought I was going to explore the answer to this question but much sadness and emotion came quickly with this pursuit. I had long ago accepted and embraced the sadness, so when someone asked me if I was undertaking this research as a way of healing, I decided to reflect on my true motivations as I went through this journey. I have since come to call my journey a process of excavation, rather than a journey of healing. Because I believe in the *process* of a journey, the in-between of the journey,

the excavating and reconstructing, the curiosity and the consolidation, the folding in and folding out; healing does not capture all the magic that happens when we are in *process*. Moreover, I am not interested in formulaic, short-lived, black and white *'healing'* answers so prevalent in to-day's sound-bite world. Healing also implies that there is something that is broken in me, something that needs to be fixed. This corrective process is founded in a pathological paradigm, making the person that needs to be fixed non-influential and ineffectual. Within the Social Constructionist paradigm, one that I ascribe to, this process is considered unproductive. And so, rather than make this journey about healing, I am making it about moving forward in a way that works for me.

I had begun thinking about this topic and my dissertation when I visited the Tate Gallery in London and came across a Paul Klee drawing, titled "*Burdened Children*". He created the drawing in 1930 after the First World War. I was dumbstruck at how perfectly this image captured what it is to be a child after a war, or perhaps a child of parents who had survived a war!

This drawing will accompany me and you, my welcome reader, as we move in the *'in-between'* to excavate the experience of the 2nd Generation after the Holocaust and its universal relevance. The interplay of it's' lines and shapes within an undefined space is not to be grasped and therefore enables exploration of multiple meanings. The drawing will not only help me excavate the constructs, but it is fitting to the writing style and extensive use of visual and literary images and references that I use to help me mine the history, ethnography, emotions, ideas of the Generation after the Holocaust. I have a sense that Klee might have been a kindred spirit in a lateral way. He was a German, not a Jew, and left for Switzerland after being accused of being Jewish. He needed to separate from his parents who did not approve of his choice to be an artist. The need to flee, the need to separate from his parents, the sense of burden has resonance with the 2nd Generation Jewish experience as we shall see.

Klee's drawing, then will serve as a guide on my journey, its forward movement inspiring me to move forward through this difficult exploration with its' many paths, not unlike what Klee might have been feeling as he took his line for a walk.

The walk at times became rather compulsive, as I was creating and recreating the meanings that emerged. I started to see myself as the protagonist played by Richard Dreyfus in the film "*Close Encounters of the Third Kind*", who felt compelled to build a

form that looked much like a mountain but he had no idea what it meant, why he was building it, or where it would lead. He used mashed potatoes, shaving cream, garden dirt, whatever he could get his hands on to build this structure that was in the recesses of his mind.

Yet another purpose emerged with the writing of the dissertation. I found myself talking to 2nd Generation adult children of Europeans also affected by the Holocaust and I asked myself:

> ***How can other 2nd Geners affected by the all sides all of the Holocaust, the perpetrators, collaborators, bystanders, neighbours give meaning to their legacy for the sake of their inheritors?***

With this question, we have the possibility to universalize this discussion and give meaning to those generations who have inherited the guilt and sorrow from all sides of the Holocaust: the perpetrators; the bystanders; the collaborators; the resistors, the rescuers, or the partisans.

As often happens when one begins a journey, I also found myself meeting kindred spirits, 2nd Generation adult children affected by the impact of trauma, displacement and other devastations: Native Americans; Korean, Dutch, Vietnamese, Lebanese, Palestinian, Iraqi, Egyptian, Sephardic Jewish people (displaced from Iraq, Morocco, Egypt, Iran, Africa, Yemen) and I posed a further question, indeed a global question:

> ***Globally, how can successive generations affected by trauma, displacement and devastation get on with their lives and be successful, helpful and compassionate?***

At the same time as I was researching the topic of resilience, I also felt it was time to carry out the painstaking task of finding out whatever I could about the death of my siblings and grandparents and my parents' story. It is generally not known what an onerous task this is. The double tragedy of losing so much and then coming up against legal, bureaucratic and technical obstacles of finding information added to the pain. I discovered I am not alone. There are many of us 2nd Geners who, like me, are diligently recreating their past.

Along with gathering family data, I had a deep need to find out about a felt memory I carried in my back since I was a child, regarding the murder of my siblings under the Nazi régime. This led me to pose the question:

> ***Do we carry memories from one generation to another?***

This question led me to concepts of phantom memory, post-memory and aberrated mourning.

In recognition that inheritors of tragedy in many forms exist today around the globe, I hope that this discourse finds relevance to anyone who has witnessed, directly or has inherited, the experience of war, displacement, social catastrophe, grief, devastating loss, or victimization.

I also recognize that the urgency I feel in undertaking this research originates from the counsel of Alice Miller (1997), Rothschild (2000) and First Nations oral wisdom, who warn us that we will perpetuate the burden to the next generation and the generation after that, if we do not find our individual processes for seeing beyond inherited losses and injustices.

To summarize, my purpose in this exploration is multi-faceted:

1. To create a provocative image and provocative language that engages the heart and brain at the rational, conscious and metaphorical, unconscious levels;

2. To help second generation children of traumatic events to understand themselves and their inherited context by exploring two questions. The first question is the one I began with; the second emerged during the course of the research:

    i. ***How is it that the members of a generation which has been brought up under the shadow of the Holocaust, are able not only to get on with their lives, but to be successful and helpful and compassionate with their fellow human beings?***

    ii. ***How can successive generations affected by trauma, displacement and devastation get on with their lives and be successful, helpful and compassionate and not perpetuate the guilt and sorrow?***

By exploring these questions, I hope to:

1. Create a new meaning of resilience;

2. Develop a greater understanding of the ethnography of the 2nd Generation children of Holocaust survivors;

3. Explore a new construct of memory and trans-generational memory;

4. Create new theoretical and dialogical constructs on secondary inheritors of trauma, displacement and devastation -- including the generations who have inherited the guilt and sorrow from all sides of the Holocaust: the perpetrators; the bystanders; the collaborators; or the resistance fighters;

5. Plant the seeds for new theoretical and dialogical constructs on secondary inheritors of a number of other kinds of trauma, including: national, ecological, technological trauma, displacement, victimization and loss that can occur in all parts of the world; and

6. Posit some methodological considerations for holding group dialogues with secondary inheritors of trauma, displacement and disastrous events.

It is in the spirit of Social Construction, a spirit of curiosity, an attitude of abundance and making meaning through and with others, that I invite you, the reader, to use this discourse to edify your own pursuit towards resilience, the impact of your past on your life and potentially on your descendants or to help you look at the difficult events that have impacted you directly or indirectly. As you read this discourse, perhaps you can begin your own discourse on what are the unspoken topics in your family? How can you begin discussing the un-discussable?

Beyond our ideas of right-doing and wrong-doing,
there is a field. I'll meet you there.
When the soul lies down in that grass,
the world is too full to talk about.
Ideas, language, even the phrase 'each other'
doesn't make sense any more.

~ Rumi

And so, let us begin the journey, inspired by the forward movement depicted by the children in Klee's drawing, prepared for the many lines of inquiry that we will encounter.

CHAPTER 2: STRUCTURE, APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY, THEORETICAL GROUNDING, LITERATURE REVIEW

"I am interested in re-searching the unfinished business
in my soul and the unsaid weight of history that waits to be said."
Robert Romanyshyn

2.1 STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

This paper is structured much like the Klee drawing, wherein the background, the historical context and the family narrative creates the figures in the foreground, the people that we become. This drawing has a similar situational context, as the children depicted in the drawing are children post World War I; while the children in this discourse belong to a narrative set by their history of World War II and the Holocaust.

The background takes up Chapters Two to Four. Chapter Two tells the theoretical and methodological story as well as what the literature has told us to date about resilience and about 2nd Geners (as I will call the adult children of Holocaust/Shoah survivors). Chapter Three underlines the important -- and sometimes contradictory -- ethical considerations that frame this writing. Chapter Four poses and replies to the question of why the Second Geners are still reckoning with the Holocaust, 60 years later. I also begin to set out the implications on non-Jewish secondary victims of the Holocaust, who too, have not completed a reckoning of the Holocaust (children of perpetrators, collaborators, bystanders/neighbours or resistors). This theme is further developed in subsequent chapters.

Chapters Five and Six provide the background of my story and the possible traits of resilience of my parents that have influenced my own resilience.

It takes fully six chapters to set the background before we can move forward. We do so, as do the children in the Klee drawing -- with purpose, curiosity and hopefulness,

sometimes with heavy lines, heavy steps through the difficult parts, and other times with lighter lines, more whimsical and ironic steps.

Chapter Seven finds a '*re-storying*' of the 2nd Generation cultural description from that of a definitive "syndrome" to a non-defined description of the 2nd Generation story, with a variety of shades and nuances that varies with the micro-cultural contexts that various groups experience.

What was most challenging was tackling the sadness and the inherited burdens that came with being born into a Holocaust background, certainly a terrifying legacy.

What are Klee's children carrying on their backs? He calls them"*Burdened Children*". What kind of burden is it? To find out what this burden means, I begin an exploration in Chapter Seven which led to a '*re-storying*' of the 2nd Generation experience. A discussion in Chapter Eight, explores what I call '*missing links*'. The missing links that I explore includes the problem of silence -- looked at from both a global and individual perspective -- and trans-generational memory, an epistemological frontier that we will undoubtedly grow in the coming years.

In Chapter Nine, I continue to explore possibilities for '*re-pair*' and '*re-positioning*' of the 2nd Gener experience based on validation through dialogue which moves us into Chapter Ten, a description and analysis of the dialogues held with 2nd Geners in Canada and Israel. I have provided a full script of these dialogues and have included my comments on what I observed as well as comments on my interventions. Though I was an equal participant, and purposefully kept my Facilitator voice to the minimum, I did apply my experience and theoretical knowledge with groups and group process to the dialogue when I thought my intervention would be useful. These intentions are noted as well. The scripts were sent to the participants for their comment and approval and for authorizing release of their names.

Chapters Eleven and Twelve are the dénouement of these explorations. Chapter Eleven proposes new perspectives on the story of the '*Generation after the Holocaust*'; new possibilities regarding the meaning of resilience; and new possibilities for growth after tragedy. I also provide considerations for the shape of dialogues with inheritors of secondary devastation: both 2nd Geners and other secondary inheritors from all parts of the world who live with inherited tragedy, loss or victimization -- from environmental and technological disasters to the family experience of war and parents who may be suffering from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). The diagnosis isn't important; what is important is the exploration of meaning through discourse.

2.2 APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY: THE CREATIVE ARTS; THE POST MODERN PARADIGM, SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION, AUTO-ETHNOGRAPHY, ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND GROUP PROCESS

"Art does not reproduce what is visible, but makes things visible."
Paul Klee

The process of constructing meaning on the subject of resilience and '*getting on after the Holocaust*' has meant that the very purpose, methodology and even hoped for outcomes have changed and emerged as this process has unfolded. Because of the subjective nature of this pursuit, it has also led me to take a discovery-oriented approach to the research and a descriptive and creative approach to the subjective experience, both mine and that of the '*other*'. What captures me the most is the non-verbal, the right brain epiphanies that happen, that are not easily named, but that can affect one at a soul level, as did the Paul Klee image for me, as well as for , many of my informants as well.

My creative vehicle is writing poetry. When I create a poem, I neither construct nor deconstruct language. Rather, I attempt to minimize language to facilitate new interpretations by the reader, in the same way as an abstract painting minimizes the representational to enable the viewers to derive their own meaning.

Creative arts may in fact, be another suitable form of discourse, when dealing with subjects of trauma, tragedy, loss, displacement etc. This is because these experiences are often submerged, hidden or covered over as we will discover from the literature and the dialogues. The use of films, for example, may be more suitable for memory processing, as in the use of flashbacks, which may present strategies for uncovering the hidden. It is to literature that Esther Rashkin went in order to describe phenomena of memory, as we shall see in Chapter Eight.

Kellerman (1999) found that traditional diagnosis and treatment in psychiatry in inadequate to the experience of Holocaust survivors and the generation after because such diagnosis:

1) *doesn't fit; 2) underestimates the unique nature of each Holocaust survivor; 3) stigmatizes already disempowered people; 4) blames the victims for their suffering; 5)*

> *creates distance between the therapist and the patient; and 6) neglects the adaptive and successful coping abilities of the survivors and their families*. (Kellerman, 1999:2)

Rather, Kellerman proposes, more effective vehicles for 'treatment' (not a word I would use as it implies there is pathology) would be to deal with their experience and dilemmas as do poets and novelists and historians by writing about "*the pain of loss and bereavement, the cruelty of war and persecution, survivor guilt, separation-anxiety and the painful memories of ghettos, freight trains, concentration camps, death marches and entire families lost forever.*" (Kellerman, 1992: 2).

In my discussions with my advisors, John Rijsman and Marij Bouwmans, it became clear that the writing of this dissertation could be considered in itself, a resilient and creative act. We posed the question: *'what does it mean for the artist, the creator, the architect, the film-maker, and also the scholar, to create something that is meaningful?"*

John Rijsman inspired me to: "*make something ordinary and primal into something sublime." and to "embrace my emotionality*." Marij Bouwmans encouraged me "*to create a provocative image".*

I have incorporated visual art, poetry (mine and others), references to literature and film throughout to enhance the meaning of the constructs that have emerged along the way. As per the opening quote to this Chapter by Paul Klee, "*Art does not reproduce what is visible, but makes things visible.*" (Partsch, 2011) The art form is similar to emergent dialogue; through the artist and their artistic technique and through the interaction of the art form with the viewers, meaning happens.

Along with the influence and utilization of the creative arts for constructing meaning, I took a largely Auto-ethnographic approach in creating meaning from the cultural, historical, and social context of my generation after the Holocaust. Auto-ethnography seeks to describe and systematically analyze personal experience in order to understand cultural experience. The researcher uses tenets of autobiography and ethnography to do and write auto-ethnography. As a method, auto-ethnography is both process and product (Ellis, Adams & Bochner, 2011).

Laura L. Ellingson and Carolyn Ellis in Chapter 23 of the Handbook of Constructionist Research (2008), explore Autoethnography within the Social Constructionist paradigm. Within this paradigm, it is proposed that meaning is not inherent nor does inquiry makes sense of the world through the dichotomous thinking styles taught at schools. Some examples of dichotomous thinking I propose can include: presenting opposites; comparison; self-other; subject-object; emotional-rational; personal-political; passionately involved-neutral; evocative-analytic;

hierarchical versus interdependent (or even 'chaordic' (coined by Dee Hock, founder of VISA when it was a networked not corporate organization).

To take this concept further, victim-collaborator-perpetrator may also be reframed into non-dichotomous constructs, towards a non-duality construct similar to the Buddhist concept of '*onenesses*.

Another duality that Social Constructionism and the methodology of Autoethnography transcend is that of researcher-informant. Rather than the construct of researcher as observer, the researcher becomes part of the researched system. In this study, I became one of the participants and researcher, enabling the use of my emotions and experiences to become data for exploration: "*Socially Constructed modes of research invite readers to think through and beyond polarities such as researcher-researched; objective-subjective; process-product (process - what one does and product – what one gets, both of which are encompassed*)." (Ellingson and Ellis, 2008: 450)

The main methodological approach used is that of Autoethnography. "A*utoethnography is research, writing, story, and method that connect the autobiographical and personal to the cultural, social and political. It is the study of a culture of which one is a part, integrated with one's relational and inward experiences."* (Ellingson and Ellis, 2008: 448).

The Autoethnographic texts appear in a variety of forms – personal narratives, short story, poetry, fiction, novels, fragmented and layered writing, and social science prose and history, social structure and culture can be revealed in various ways. "*Autoethnography portrays meaning through dialogue, scenes, characterization, and plot, claiming the conventions of literary writing..."* (Ellingson and Ellis, 2008: 449)

It is a genre that frees us to move beyond traditional methods of writing "*promoting narrative and poetic forms, displays of artifacts, photographs, drawings, live performances."* (Ellingson and Ellis, 2008: 449). Rather than the exclusionary scientific discourse, I speak to my lived experience through various media and group dialogue, as opposed to structured interviews.

In addition, I hope that this methodology will help me and the readers to transcend their inherited story and create a new one, in a sense "re-story" and thereby appease their inherited diasporic void: "*Autoethnography becomes a space in which an individual's passion can bridge richness of representation, complexity of understanding and inspiration for activism."* (Ellingson and Ellis, 2008: 448).

I have adhered to the Post-Modern view that is increasingly replacing the Enlightenment notions of '*value-free experimentation'* and '*neutrality*'. In the Post-Modern research paradigm, it is recognized that the Social Sciences have been:

"*…regimes of power with hegemonic potency that serve to produce and reproduce social orders…by normalizing subjects into prescribed categories sanctioned by political authorities*." (Foucault, 1980) I feel released by this new paradigm that legitimizes the researcher who conducts research with "*depth, detail and emotionality, nuance and coherence.*" (Denzin, 1997: 283)

The Post Modern stance incorporates the philosophy of Social Construction, and the methodology of Auto-ethnography. This approach to research is one that I could usefully align myself with, since for this topic, it was necessary to acknowledge and accommodate subjectivity, emotionality, and my influence, as a researcher, on the research, rather than assume these elements don't exist. (Gergen, 1999, 2001, 2009; Gergen, Schrader, & Gergen, 2008, Sheila McNamee, and others).

I have also attempted to bring the reader "*into the scene – particularly into thoughts, emotions, and actions*" (Ellis, 2004: 142) in order to "*experience an experience*." (Ellis (1993: 711; Ellis & Bochner, 2006)

> "*The product within a performative social science approach, makes texts aesthetic and evocative, engages readers, and uses conventions of storytelling such as character, scene, and plot development*." (Ellis & Ellingson (2008)

I have therefore attempted to incorporate both the imaginative style of poetry and art with the rigour of social science and the principles of Social Constructionism (see Annex A for a summary of Social Constructionism and the inquiry/languaging tool of Appreciative Inquiry) as well as readings and engagement of multiple voices, including my own, in order to help me understand the experience of the generation born after the Holocaust. By presuming that reality is socially constructed, the reader will see that I have been able to paint a different, richer, picture than much of the research on resilience of the generation after the Holocaust.

My work began by including dialogues with others of my generation. Chance meetings with other 2nd Geners and with those not at all connected with the Holocaust, but who are 2nd generations of other historical disasters, also occurred serendipitously. Perhaps because I grew a new antenna, I became attuned to, and met, 2nd generations from various places from Viet Nam, Korea, India, South America and North America, and Somalia. They all shared the same experience, it is as though we are a community that prefers not to speak, in a rather selfless, noble manner, preferring to move on with our lives. I reframed the topic to consider implications on other secondary inheritors of trauma, displacement and disastrous events, in recognition of the similarities I came to discover including the incoherence of their parents' stories and the ongoing struggle by various 2nd Geners to make sense of what I call: '*knowing-not knowing*' (see Chapter Eight).

As a Process Consultant and practitioner of Human Systems Intervention and Organizational Development (OD) for over 30 years, I almost instinctively, incorporated OD wisdom. One of OD's wisdoms that I have found irrefutable in my work with individuals, teams and organizations across the Canadian federal public service, is that *'people support what they help create'*. This means that everyone involved needs to participate in exploring the questions at hand and to participate in the decision making. This concept was originated by Kurt Lewin.

Lewin is known as one of the modern pioneers of social psychology, organizational, and applied psychology and considered the father of Organizational Development. He was born into a Jewish family in Poland. He worked with psychologists of the Gestalt school of psychology, including Max Wertheimer and Wolfgang Kohler. Lewin often associated with the early Frankfurt School, originated by an influential group of largely Jewish Marxists at the Institute for Social Research in Germany. When Hitler came to power in Germany in 1933 the Institute members had to disband, moving to England and then to America. In that year, he met with Eric Trist, of the London Tavistock Clinic and the creator of Socio-Technical Systems.

Lewin was one of the first to study group dynamics and coined the term Action Research. I learned an interesting story about how Kurt Lewin came to include all the people affected in the dialogical process. The story is that he was working with groups to combat religious and racial prejudices. After one of the workshops with black and white people who were in the midst of racial tensions, he was debriefing with a colleague when he noticed one of the participants, a black woman, leaning in at the door, listening. He realized that she should be involved in the debrief process and that is how participative and collaborative processes got its start!

Process consultation is an approach to organizational intervention elaborated by Edgar Schein (Volume 1 & II 1988 & 1987). He describes a philosophy of helping that is based on the collaborative work of consultant and client, paralleling the client-centred approach in counselling, and contrasted with consultancy models that are centred on expertise. Schein's seminal book on process consulting lays out clearly the difference between a consultant who serves as the '*expert*' or '*pair of hands*' versus the '*process consultant*' who works collaboratively with the whole system in a democratic, participative manner as first propounded by Lewin.

The word '*process*' in Process Consultant refers to the insights and transformations that occur over time, as ideas are explored and emotions experienced; and as relationships are developed, very similar to the theoretical underpinnings of Social Construction. It is my strong belief in the group and the process that gives me comfort with the process of process, so to speak, and all the messiness and even chaos that process entails. OD was and continues to be, heresy to those who enjoy the power and predictability of the bureaucratic paradigm.

I drew from a large number of OD Avant garde thinkers such as Ron Short (Learning in Relationships (1998) Fred and Merrelyn Emery (1993) and Don de Guerre (Search Conference 2004); Donald Schon & Chris Argyris on (Theory of Action/Espoused Values/Double Loop Learning 2004); William Bridges on Transition, 1980; Peter Senge on Whole Systems Thinking, 1999; Margaret Wheatley on Systems Theory, Community Building and Self Organizing principles and Chaos, 1999, 2011; Peter Block on Empowerment, Stewardship, Chosen Accountability, the Reconciliation of Community, 2000) and other practioners of Organization Development.

Theories and Practice of Facilitating Dialogue

I considered various theories on dialogue and the art and practice of facilitating dialogue. Some of these included: Bakhtin and *Dialogism* (cited by Gergen, 1999: pp. 130-138); David Bohm on *Dialogue* (1996); Harrison Owen and *Open Space Technology* (1995/97); and the concepts of Don Schon and Chris Argyris, particularly the concept of '*discussing the undiscussable'* (1999 and 2004); and *Non-Violent Communications* (Marshal Rosenberg, 2005).

One of the highlights of my career was facilitating table dialogues at an '*America Speaks'* forum (created by Carolyn J. Lukensmeyer) with 5,000 people at the Jacob Javitz Convention Centre in New York City following 9-11. Similar large and small group dialogues are sprouting globally including: '*Public Conversation'*; *'The Art of Hosting'*; *'Restorative Circles'*; *'Family Constellations'*, *'Family Reconstruction'* and others.

The helping dialogue is different from evidence-based/problem-based methodologies in which talking is scientifically based rather than relationally-based. In Social Construction methodology, meaning-making is improvisational, seeking words and ways of talking that, in Wittgenstein's (1953) pithy phrase, enable people "*to go on*". I personally have an affinity towards the concept of meaning-making located in the performative world of the relational (McNamee (2004: 1) and performance research methodology (Bhava (2005) over '*assertion-making'* a term that I think describes the positivist view.

'*Intersubjectivity*' (how actions and understandings become mutual for people) is often depicted in terms of shared conversational practices (Garfinkel, 1967; Schatzki, 2002; Shotter, 1993). It is what people make evident to each other – their words and gestures – that indicate meaning that is shared, not the conceptual content of their thinking. People do not inhabit thought clouds together when they think they share an understanding. At best, they have their affirmative or negative responses to each other to guide whether they think they are on the same page together. (Wittgenstein, 1953 cited by Gergen)

Similarly, we learn to understand through how we are understood and are responded to; from how others responses to our actions and utterances. Meaning requires some degree of coordination between speakers to arrive at shared understandings, and isn't already determined. It is something symbolically and gesturally worked up (and worked out) between people through their exchanges in dialogues over time.

> *"I was never a teacher to anyone…but I offer myself to both rich and poor for questioning, and if a man like what I say, and answer. And, whether anyone becomes good after this or not, I could not fairly be called the cause of it, when I never promised any learning to anyone and never taught any."* (Plato, translated by Rouse, 1984)

To reflect on how I worked as a Social Constructionist, I refer to Botella's articulation of expectations for scholarly research (Botella, 1998):

> "*In a recent work, Gergen (1992:27) includes at least three different criteria; (a) contribution to technological advance, (b) contribution to cultural critique, and (c) contribution to the construction of new worlds. The first one is viewed as the least significant one. The second one emphasizes the role of knowledge in freeing us from the imprisoning effects of reified cultural understandings, and is a fundamentally political and value laden endeavor. The third one is based upon the notion of generative theory, i.e., "a theory designed to unseat conventional thought and thereby open to new alternatives for thought and action*".

The three criteria proposed by Social Constructionism can be seen as three instances of the (social and political) uses of knowledge, and share the constructivist rejection of justificationism.

<u>a) Contribution to technical advance</u>

I looked at the technology of management of information: information that is hidden from the public; information that is contained in databases, information that is digitized; information that sits in card catalogues. I looked at what is required to make that knowledge known and shared.

I looked at the creative arts as technology; in particular, I looked at the use of photography, as both a chronicle of information and also as a means for creating new meaning from that information and even memory.

<u>b) Contribution to cultural critique</u>

I used a variety of approaches that led to a creation of new knowledge regarding resilience and the ethnography of the generation after the Holocaust. I looked at the

traditional cultural construct of the 2nd Generation to see: what is in fact real when looked at not thru the scientific method but thru personal narrative, creative expression and interaction/dialogue with others. By using all of these lenses: personal narrative, creative expression and dialogue with others, I believe I succeeded to "*unseat conventional thought, freeing us from imprisoning effects of reifying cultural knowledge.*" (Gergen cited by Botella, 1998)

c) Contribution to the construction of new worlds

New perspectives on the story of the 'Generation after the Holocaust', aspects which have not yet been fully explored, emerged. Further, by universalizing the possibilities for group dialogues with others who have inherited trauma, I believe I have added to our knowledge and "*contributed to the construction of new worlds*".

Botella also refers to narrative psychology as discussed by Sarbin (1986) who proposes the utilization of narrative emplotment as the organizing principle in the proactive construction of meaning. According to Sarbin (1986) human beings make sense of otherwise unrelated events by imposing a narrative structure on them. Thus, for instance, when presented with two or three pictures, we tend to emplot a story that relate them to each other in some way and help us predict how it will likely evolve. Narrative emplotment, then, equates knowledge with the anticipatory construction of narrative meaning. To discern what makes this culture resilient in moving on after inherited tragedy, my use of autoethnography -- essentially my narrative, combined with interactive group dialogue –the narrative of others -- and a proactive learning stance through a willing effort to reveal highly subjective and emotional material, I created a number of constructions on the meaning of resilience after tragedy, which in turn, enabled the construction of new worlds, universalizing the construct to people globally, who have inherited trauma, displacement or devastation.

2.3 LITERATURE REVIEW PERTAINING TO RESILIENCE

The only way out, is through." Robert Frost

The study of resilience has become increasingly important in our societies as it becomes more important to discover the processes contributing to resilient adaptation in individuals from diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds. It has its roots in the works of Norman Garmezy (1974), E. James Anthony (1974), Murphy and Moriarty (1976), Michael Rutter (1979) and Emily Werner (Werner and Smith, 1982). Resilience has been defined:

> "**...***as the human capacity to overcome life's challenges and hardship and to show positive adaptation in the face of adversity."* (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000; Masten 2001; Masten, Best & Garmezy, 1990; Rutter, 1990; Werner & Smith 1992)

The study of resilience is multidimensional in that it encompasses consideration of psychological (individual) and systemic (family and community) factors (Luthar & Ciccetti, 2000; Luthar, Cicchetti & Becker, 2000). Consideration of individual or systemic factors alone cannot provide a complete picture of the phenomenon since all individuals live in an environmental context and the individual influences and is influenced by the environment.

Resilience has also been defined by the constellations of exposure to adversities and the manifestation of positive adjustment in the face of these difficult conditions (Schoon, Parsons & Sacker, 2004) While the resilience literature largely originates from the files of psychology, and has initially focused specifically on children, the concept of resilience has since been applied to the study of hardiness and adaptation in individuals, families, communities and cultural groups.

The idea of community is increasingly important in research on resilience as researchers recognize that many resilience factors are external to the individual. Some researchers have emphasized that cultural factors may play a part in preserving resilience of specific communities or groups (Fleming and Ledogar, 2008).

Recently, the emergence of resilience theory is associated with a reduction in emphasis on pathology and an increase in emphasis on strengths and '*positive adaptation'* (VanBreda, 2001), a term that describes an ability that enables people and systems to rise above adversity. Positive adaptation and adaptive coping processes are behaviourally manifested constructs in the resilience literature as seen in the scholarship of Schoon, Bynner (2003) who stress the idea of resiliency not as a specific attribute, but as a process of adaptation.

Discussions of resilience are also typically framed with reference to risk, vulnerability and protective factors. It is the complex interplay of these factors over time that determines positive outcomes. For example in families (e.g., severe marital conflict, parental mental illness, etc), and as well to identify factors that help family members be resilient, such as *"a good fit between parent and child, maintenance of family rituals, proactive confrontation of problems, minimal conflict in the home during infancy, the absence of divorce during adolescence, and a productive relationship between a child and his or her mother"* (Hawley & De Haan, 1996). Other factors include: family closeness, communication, problem-solving capabilities, spirituality and values, rituals and celebrations, affective responsiveness, boundaries and hierarchies, flexibilities and adaptability, balance between intimacy and autonomy, ability to see the positive.

In these studies on family resiliency, resiliency is defined as:

> *"The positive behavioural patterns and functional competence individuals and the family unit demonstrate under stressful or adverse circumstances, which determine the family's ability to recover by maintaining its integrity as a unit while insuring, and where necessary restoring, the well-being of family members and the family unit as a whole."* (McCubbin & McCubbin, 1996:5)

The following definitions of these factors have been offered by Newman (2004) in a review of what works in building resilience:

Risk: *any factor or combination of factors that increases the chance of an undesirable outcome affecting an individual.*

Vulnerability: *Vulnerability factors or markers encompass those indices that exacerbate the negative effects of the risk condition.*

Protective factors*: Protective factors are those that modify (or moderate) the effects of risk in a positive direction.*

Pathways: *Positive pathways occur as individuals or families overcome adversities*
Turning points: represent times when a pathway alters direction, such as when a change of context or factors enables an individual to start on or return to a positive pathway.
Resilience: positive adaptation (within a timeframe) in the face of adversities

In terms of theoretical models of trauma, PTSD and resilience, the literature indicates there is a wide range of outcomes in how persons cope with traumatic experiences (Bonnano, 2004; Wilson, 1995; Wilson & Drozdek, 2004; Wilson, Friedman & Lindy, 2001, Wilson and Raphael, 1993 cited by Agaibi, 2005).

The Oxford English Dictionary defines resilience as:

> *"The activity of rebounding or springing back."* It further defines resiliency as "*elasticity; the power of resuming the original shape…the ability to return to the original position."*

Agaibi and Wilson (2005), suggest it is conceptually advantageous to define resilience as:

> "*A complex repertoire of behavioural tendencies that may be evoked or activated by environmental demands."* (Agabi, 2005: 197)

This is similar to the definition of resilience by clinician-scientists from the UCLA Center for Culture, Brain, and Development and the UCLA Department of

Psychiatry and Bio behavioral Sciences, in the '*emotional revolution*' now occurring: "*resilience is the ability to fluidly shift back and forth between emotional states that are needed for a particular context."*(http://www.helpguide.org/toolkit/shore_video_320.htm).

Other definitions and characteristics of resilience include:

- *Ability to adapt and cope successfully despite challenging or threatening situations (Richardson, 2002)*
- *Sustained competence (Wilson and Drozdek, 2004)*
- *Curiosity and intellectual mastery (J.H. Block & Kremen, 1996)*
- *Ability to detach and conduct problem-solving ((J.H. Block & Kremen, 1996)*
- *Extroversion: hardiness, ego resilience, self-esteem, assertiveness, locus of control and capacity to mobilize resources (Wilson and Agaibi, in press)*

In terms of positive outcomes in relation to trauma, resilience is associated with affect balance (i.e. less anger), fewer PTSD symptoms and better overall health (Connor et al, 2003).

In relation to Holocaust trauma on survivors and their families, John H. Sigal (1995) says that resilience is not a global personality quality -- persons may manifest resilience in some areas of their functioning and not in others. Nor is resilience constant over time. It may manifest itself in one stage of development and be absent in another.

> *"Everybody is right - those who report dysfunction in survivors and their families and those who report the opposite. In many instances, the discrepancies are due to the observers and the populations they observe."* (Sigal, 1995)

As we have seen, much of the literature on resilience generally depicts models that support a definition of bouncing back from a traumatic event. However, I felt, like Sigal, above, that there is no one way to look at resilience in relation to traumatic events within different cultural and familial contexts. For me, the bouncing back idea did not fit. It was too light a step; the models of resilience too static and mechanical. Klee's drawing of light and heavy lines and shapes within an undefined space not intended to be grasped, seemed much more appropriate for discovering multiple meanings regarding the ethnography of 2nd Geners.

I therefore took a different approach to the question of resilience, in particular, a dialogical approach with some metaphorical exercises, in the hopes of finding a new way of understanding and talking about resilience after inheriting trauma, displacement and disastrous events.

CHAPTER 3: ETHICAL AND MORAL CONSIDERATIONS

"So, let us be alert in a twofold sense: since Auschwitz, we know what man is capable of; and since Hiroshima we know what is at stake."
Victor Frankl

There are a number of concerns and ethical considerations surrounding the subject of the Holocaust and its impacts, and which also informed my considerations regarding the approach and methodology that I would take. The most prevalent concern, given that I was focusing the research on the positive aspect of resilience, is the need to respect those who find it offensive to find the positive message in the Holocaust and its aftermath. Another concern is the "popularization" of the Shoah which would make the tragedy more fiction and romance than truth. This was expressed by many when the tragic story of Anne Frank became popular. In addition, there is the sense that I would characterize as 'enough already'; enough of all this depravity and suffering, let's talk about less depressing subjects.

A more complex issue is whether the Holocaust is a universal issue or is it a particular event that happened to a particular people? For some to universalize the Holocaust is repugnant; for others, there are important lessons for mankind as a result of the Holocaust.

There are certainly philosophical questions such as: was this evil an anomaly or inherent in human nature?

I could only touch on these questions; but I have attempted to be cognizant of these concerns in this paper. I was particularly mindful of the concern of putting a positive spin on the impacts of the Holocaust. There are some terms with the word '*positive*' that may cause confusion. The term positivist inquiry process is one that follows the neutral observer, scientific method. This is not a method that is aligned with the Social Constructionist form of inquiry used in this dissertation, and it really isn't positive at all.

Another term, a post-modern term, is '*positive psychology*' which was created out of a discontent with the emphasis on pathology and dysfunction in the psychology field. Positive psychology is the scientific study of well-being, of what allows individuals and communities to live fully. Positive psychology conducts studies that focus on resilience, personal strengths, goals and values (Margarita Tarrogona at Collaborative and Dialogic Practices in Therapy and Social Change, Conference, Cancun, Mexico, 2010).

While this type of inquiry is more in line with my goals, the lens I use includes a variety of forms of inquiry: autoethnography, narrative, relational, subjective, abstract, creative and dialogical, all the time remaining mindful of the ethical nature of this subject matter.

This passage by Eva Hoffman describes it best:

> *"Any morality worth its name begins with passion, or at least in subjectivity; and in order for it to become an ethics it needs to be extricated, sometime painfully, from the messy undergrowth of feeling and internal conflict. …Our moral education has begun with the most dramatic examples of "us" and "them" of persecutors and the persecuted….a set of moral meanings is inevitable nested within the Holocaust legacy, especially for those of us who came into that legacy via intimate transmission. Indeed, it is part of the 2nd gen condition – but it is also an opportunity – that our inherited past brings with it such fundamental questions; and that through our transactions with that past, we have to grapple with these quandaries not only notionally or in the abstract, but through close engagement, and in the smithy of the soul."* (Hoffman 2004: 105)

Yes, resilience is a positive outcome of the Holocaust, which is not to paint the Shoah in a positive light. It is intended to help those who have felt the obliteration of their past and of their identity, find a way to get on with their lives.

There are different interpretations of terms. Genocide, for example, is sometimes seen as synonymous with the Holocaust, but some believe it is important to note that the goal of extermination of the Jewish people was preceded by anti-Semitic motivations that led to dehumanizing edicts and violations of human rights. It is believed that if we don`t keep vigil against ethnic and racial prejudice, we will lose sight of the trajectory to genocide that is possible when human rights violations are ignored, which of course is ongoing world-wide.

I have attempted, then, to talk about the 2nd Geners in a way that would convey a wide range of responses without generalizing or summarizing their meanings.
As a carrier of the legacy of the Shoah, I feel I bear the responsibility to be vigilant to respecting those ethical and moral considerations that might diminish in any way, the gravity of this subject matter.

I would like to write with the same reverence for my cohort of 2nd Geners as did Klee in his handling of the post-war children. There is a dignified air about the drawing; there is no sensationalizing, no exaggerations. It is a grave subject and the focus is on the children where it should be.

As an autoethnographer, there are also "relational ethics" to be considered (Ellis, 2007). In using personal experience, autoethnographers not only implicate themselves with their work, but also implicate close, intimate others (Adams, 2006; Etherington, 2007; Trahar, 2009 cited by Ellis, Adams & Bochner (2007). For instance, stories of my informants implicates them, and yet, it is important for the meaning and purpose of this discourse, to reveal these details. Since I created relationships with others and revealed their conversations in the group, as well as shared their insights and knowledge in this discourse, relational ethics needed to be considered.

I assured the participants from the start that we were not in a subject-object relationship and that I would share the dissertation for their review before releasing it publicly. My intention was to acknowledge how they feel about what is being written about them and allowing them to "*talk back to how they are represented in the text.*" (Ellis, Adams, Bochner (2007). By being an equal participant in the dialogue, I created a space wherein participants would not feel that they were impersonal 'subjects' to be mined for data.

I also provided the participants the opportunity to ask that their names not be revealed, should that be their choice.

These are important issues that I, as an autoethnographer kept in the forefront of my awareness given that this research is embedded in the world of subjective and important relationships.

I would agree with Jacobs perhaps not all ethical dilemmas are in fact resolvable and a tolerance of moral ambiguity may need to be tolerated. She says:

> *"Taken together, my emotional experience and moral difficulties with the Holocaust study have led me to re-evaluate my goals and values as a feminist sociologist and the guilt that I bear for the exploitation of the Jewish tragedy and the memory of women's suffering…What I do remain sure of is the value of self-reflexive methodological approach that insists on the need for moral self-examination within feminist research. …In light of the recent ethnic and racial violence in Bosnia and Rwanda, the self-reflexive approach to feminist ethnography would seem to be particularly important*

for future studies of genocidal traumas where women have been victimized both for their gender and for their ethnicity." (Jacobs, 2004: 236)

The ethical lesson that the Holocaust has taught us, in fact haunts us, is that there is indeed a question of what do we know of universal good and evil when so many were unable or unwilling to help the '*other*'. Why have the lessons of the Holocaust not been sustainable? Why is it so difficult to respond to the sacred summons to live, with decency, humanity and compassion, as conveyed in the Yiddish and German word '*menchlichkeit*' and make a positive difference on the needs of the '*other*', from simple compassionate listening to proactively working with those in need.

On the whole, it is clear that there are many human stories that come out of the Holocaust that have important moral relevance in our times and must be surfaced. This leads us to the next chapter where I discuss the question: *Why we are still talking about the Holocaust?*

CHAPTER 4: WHY ARE WE STILL TALKING ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST?

"Not talking about the Holocaust is humanity's greatest sin."
Hewah Weiss

People ask me: why do Jewish people still talk about the Holocaust when there are so many other issues that we are currently facing and need to talk about. Before I began this search for resilience, I would have agreed with them. I certainly did not want to go into that dark place either and had no intention of going there. However, not only could I not help but go there, in fact I realized that I, and many of my fellow 2nd Geners, are just getting ready to talk about the Holocaust. The question is indeed, why has it taken 60 years for us to be ready to really talk about the Holocaust in terms of its impact on our generation?

Certainly, we have seen the grisly pictures, have wondered at the cruelty and calculated, legally sanctioned victimization, have been shocked by the horror of concentration camps, medical experiments, cold blooded murders of innocent children which were followed by intellectual pursuits and musical appreciation. Yes, there have been canons of literature, films and documentaries.

That is exactly what I thought. I have always been an open book and thought what I was portraying to the world was the real thing. Little by little, I started to realize I had in fact many inner burial plots, and that the excavation to find myself within the context of my past, was going to be a challenge. I also discovered my 2nd generation counterparts had similarly been absent to themselves. While we were close to the Holocaust (after all, our parents were there and many of us will say *"we drank it in with our mother's milk"* the work we had not undertaken was the work of differentiating our pain from that of our parents or the work of making meaning out of the void, the absence, that is the experience of the 2nd generation.

I will be talking about the Holocaust then, but as a kind of back story to this autoethnographic inquiry.

First, I will define the terms very briefly:

Holocaust or Shoah (שואה), as it is known in Hebrew, received this nomenclature in the mid-1970s. Before this, we would refer to this event as '*the war*' or in Yiddish '*de umglichkeit*', the disaster or calamity. The Hebrew word *Shoah* is preferred by some people as Holocaust implies a '*burnt offering*' to God. Since it was not the intention of the Nazis to make a sacrifice of this kind and the position of the Jews was not that of a ritual victim, the term has been considered inappropriate by many.

The term is used to describe the killing of six million Jews by Nazi Germany during World War II. The term is also used more broadly to include the Nazis' systematic murder and enslavement of millions of people in other groups, including ethnic Poles, Soviet civilians, Soviet prisoners of war, people with physical and mental disabilities, deaf people, homosexual men, political and religious opponents, Jehovah's Witnesses, Sinti and Roma Gypsies, trade unionists, prisoners of conscience, and others were killed in vast numbers which would bring the total number of Holocaust victims to between 11 million and 17 million people. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Names_of_the_Holocaust - cite_note-1#cite_note-1)

The word Holocaust originally derived from the Greek word *holokauston*, meaning "a completely (*holos*) burnt (*kaustos*) sacrificial offering", or "a burnt sacrifice offered to a god".

In its Latin form, *holocaustum*, the term was first used with specific reference to a massacre of Jews by the chroniclers Roger of Howden and Richard of Devizes in England in the 1190s. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Names_of_the_Holocaust - cite_note-4#cite_note-4)

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word *Holocaust* has been used in English since the 18th century to refer to the violent deaths of a large number of people.

In the early twentieth century, Winston Churchill and other contemporaneous writers used it before World War II to describe the Armenian Genocide during and just after World War I. The Armenian Genocide is also referred to as the Armenian Holocaust.

From the 1950s onwards, the Holocaust was increasingly used in English to refer to the Nazi genocide of the European Jews (or Judeocide). However, it was not until the late 1970s that the Nazi genocide became the generally accepted conventional meaning of the word, when used unqualified and with a capital letter, a usage that also spread to other languages for the same period.

The 1978 television miniseries titled "*Holocaust*", starring Meryl Streep, is often cited as the principal contributor to establishing the current usage in the wider culture.

The Holocaust is unique in history because for the first time, industrial methods were used for mass extermination of a whole people. Of the estimated 17 million murdered by the Nazi regime during World War II, only Jews were targeted for systematic extermination. The '*Final Solution*' was devised to annihilate Jews. By the end of the war about two-thirds of European Jewry and a third of the world's Jewish population were murdered. (**See Annex B for Annihilation figures by country).**

The term Holocaust, has therefore, become increasingly widespread as a synonym for genocide to refer to mass murders in the form "X holocaust" (e.g. "Rwandan Holocaust"). The term ***genocide*** did not exist before the Holocaust. In 1948, the United Nations defined genocide as any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, including:

- Killing members of the group
- Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group
- Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part
- Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group
- Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group

(adapted from: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Names_of_the_Holocaust)

The last factor, "*forcibly transferring children of the group to another group*", brings to mind the Native Canadian and American children who were forcibly taken from their families and culture to be placed in residential schools run by government and churches. Recognition of the attempted genocide of these people is slow in being recognized.

Sadly, it is a legal term required to this day to enable protection against genocide and to bring to justice those guilty of genocide. On the positive side, nations have the legal right to take collective responsibility wherever there are killings of innocent people.

Diaspora is a word that means a dispersal of people from their original homeland. The dispersion of Jews dates from the sixth century B.C., when they were exiled from Palestine to Babylonia. Other forced removal includes Turkish Armenians, the African Trans-Atlantic slave trade, and some consider the Palestinian diaspora from Israeli Territories after the Balfour Declaration (though some argue that they were not forced to leave).

Holocaust survivors refer to people who lived under German occupation and had to relocate or escaped before the Nazi occupation, during 1933 to 1945. It includes those who were in concentration camps, those who were not in concentration camps but survived in hiding, those who were with the Partisans, those who were with the Russian Army, or those who escaped to Middle Asia (in the former Soviet Union this area included: Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan) or to other countries. These survivors may have been any age from infants to teenagers to older people.

Second Generation Children of Holocaust Survivors are made up of the children, who are now adults, who were born to Holocaust Survivors; the majority were born after 1945.

Finally, we talk about the Holocaust, because we owe it to the children and their parents to keep their memory alive, in the same way that we commemorate the fallen soldiers of war on Remembrance Day.

See Annex B for a brief overview of the history of the Holocaust.

4.1 A LENGTHY, GLOBAL CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE

"Secrets make you sick." Attributed to Sigmund Freud

After the war ended, there was a lengthy conspiracy of silence about the Holocaust that lasted for 20 years. Germany was now an ally and the new enemy was Russia and the new war was the '*cold war*'. There was a sense that everyone wanted to get on with life and forget about the horror and loss.

After having committed the worst crimes in the history of humankind, the Germans were allowed to regain their sovereignty only ten years later; their infrastructure was completely rebuilt; and relatively few Germans were brought to trial for their crimes. Even those who were tried and convicted received relatively short sentences or had those reduced or commuted in general amnesties. For example, some members of the Einsatz kommandos, those Germans who, before the construction of the death camps, hunted and murdered Jews by the hundreds of thousands, received sentences of as little as five years imprisonment.

> *"The Holocaust, in the war's immediate aftermath, was not denied or fended off. The world was shocked by the first revelations of the concentration camps [first at least to the general public]. It is perhaps a testimony to our inability to disconnect ourselves from other human beings entirely that some members of the liberating armies who had come upon the concentration camps unawares were affected for life, sometimes to the point of mental disturbance, by what they found there. Photographs, whose power to horrify had not yet been diluted by multiple exposure, were published in widely read*

> *magazines. But the expressions of revulsion and horror, although they often took the language to its' simple limits -- to the vocabulary of monstrosity, inhumanity, and evil – rarely mentioned Jews: Concentration camps were seen as a manifestation of Nazi barbarity rather than, specifically anti-Semitism." (*Hoffman 2004:24*)*

To be a communist was a post-war politically incorrect stance. The Communist resistance to the Germans was officially banned from memory and discourse. It was "*the kind of secret about which one talked among intimates with proud defiance. The neighbour in our building who had fought in the underground army spoke about it in lowered tones and allusive phrases; but he spoke through gritted teeth with fervour of fury and pride."*(Hoffman 2004: 25)

My mother spoke in a whisper when she said, *"I was a communist"*. During the war, it was certain death. The first people shot by the Nazis were the Communists. My mother's sister, Henke, was one of them. A neighbour turned her in, when in fact it was my mother and not her sister who was a Communist but by then, my mother had run away.

When I took my mother to the musical, "*Les Misrables*", at the end when the enormous red flag came swinging across the stage, my mother rose and I was afraid could be heard across the nice Canadian theatre yelling: *"Bravo, bravo"* her blue eyes shining with excitement.

There are other reasons for the silence. One described by Mieszkowska in relation to the relative anonymity of Irena Sendler, a woman who saved 2500 children in Poland (she has been declared as Righteous among the Nations[2] (see Annex D for a recent listing of Righteous among the Nations).

> *"In Poland it has always been easier to talk about martyrs than about heroes…. It is easier to talk about Janusz Korczak (a progressive educator, doctor and director of Christian and Jewish orphanages who chose to go to the gas chambers with his orphans when he was offered his freedom) than about Irena Sendler because she makes us realize what we have not done but could have done."(*Mieszkowska, 2011: 149)

Professor Shewah Weiss in response to a journalist's question regarding Sender's relative obscurity postulates:

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[2] Righteous Among the Nations is an honorific used by the State of Israel to describe non-Jews who risked their lives during the Holocaust to save Jews from extermination by the Nazis.

> *"For many years in Poland this was not discussed. It was as if hiding of Jews was a shameful subject." (*Mieszkowska, 2011*:150)*

There are also inspiring stories of rescue and heroism which are still emerging, stories that demonstrates the capacities of mankind to help their fellow man. For example, about 50 000 people in Bulgaria's case and almost all the Jews in Muslim Albania were saved. At the core of personal and family life for most Albanians is the concept of '*besa*', which means '*to keep the promise*'. The promise is a code of honour linked to an Albanian folk principle of taking responsibility for others in their time of need. Because of that code, between 1,800 and 2,000 Jews were saved in Albania during the Holocaust.

The stories of the Albanian rescuers are relatively unknown because of the country's political isolation under communism. It wasn't until the late 1980s that their stories came to light. The country itself has been recognized as *'Righteous Among the Nations'*.

Righteous among the Nations was created by law in 1963. It is the first time that victims who have suffered terrible tragedy and crime, seek out good people among the perpetrators, collaborators and bystanders and decorate them. Close to 23,000 persons have thus far been identified and honored.

See video clip: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zLM74_ZpdQ4

Another example of a righteous act occurred in Denmark. The Nazis planned to round up the Danish Jews on Yom Kippur. A member of the German army tipped off the Chief Rabbi, who immediately sent his community a strange order not to come to the synagogue on the High Holiday. Thousands of non-Jews welcomed their Jewish neighbors into their homes. They moved them by night to the east coast, where Danish fishermen rowed them to safety in neighboring Sweden. Over six thousand Jews were saved in this mass rescue. The flight of the Danish Jews would likely not have been successful if it had not also been for Germans who sabotaged the persecution of the Jews. It seems Max Mauff, a high ranking German officer, and commandant of Copenhagen, helped the Jews escape to Sweden. He was never officially recognized, but Danish Jews have confirmed the story. (Pundik, 1998:134)

In the town of Zakynothos, Greece, the mayor and archbishop refused to hand over the names of the Jews residing on the island, and with the rest of the islanders, concealed the Jewish population in the mountains, saving most of the Jews of Zakynthos from the Nazis.

Many stories of people who helped Jews despite the danger to themselves, even of Nazi soldiers, have not surfaced, and may never surface.

Sadly, there are the horrific stories just becoming known as well. The Chairperson of the International Taskforce on Holocaust Education and Remembrance (ITF), Karel Beer of the Netherlands, posts on the ITF blog:

> *"It is 70 years ago when 34,000 Jews were murdered in two days and thrown in a small gully close to the city center of Kiev in the Ukraine. For many years, there was hardly any attention on the Holocaust in general and Babi Yar in particular in Ukraine, despite the famous poem of Jevtoesjenko and Shostakovitch' 13th symphony. Until independence it was difficult for Ukraine to start a process with the aim to cope with its own history. Such a process was blocked in many countries of the former Soviet Union. Fortunately this has changed. The start of the construction of a Babi Yar museum illustrates this.*
> http://www.holocausttaskforce.org/component/content/article/13-misc/323-itf-chair-ambassador-karel-de-beers-blog.html).

(**The mandate of ITF results from Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust; see Annex E for further details.)**

Along with the political reasons for reticence, there were also psychological reasons for silence**.** Kestenberg (1982) indicated: *"Psychiatrists themselves resisted unearthing the frightening impact of Nazi persecution on the next generation".*

This silence permeated Hollywood as well. Roosevelt did not want to demonize Germany and his Office of War wrote a Memo to Hollywood in 1944. Domestic films were to balance good and bad with a purposeful effort for the good. The overall impact was to be about measures taken to overcome the bad. Anti-Semitism was, therefore, dealt with as a social problem and was an aberration and un-American (e.g. "*Gentlemen's Agreement")*. The Holocaust and genocide were not depicted until 1958 with *"The Young Lions"* and *"The Diary of Anne Frank*" followed by *"The Pawnbroker"* in 1964. Until "*Sophie's Choice", 1982* and "*Schindler's List"* in 1994, the Holocaust was mostly seen in newsreels and documentaries. The Jewish moguls in Hollywood were caught between a rock and a hard place. They chose to make money making films such as happy musicals and help the Jewish cause indirectly. In Chapter 9, I will talk about recent films wherein Jews are portrayed quite differently; not as vulnerable victims, but as heroic, and even warrior-like resistors and fighters.

There are many critiques of the treatment of some of the films mentioned. One that seems rather harsh, though makes a strong point, is by Robert Leventhal (1995), who finds, among other things, that Schindler's list denies the audience a vehicle for real mourning:

The mourning process in this film is usurped by the hero, who accomplishes the necessary labor in the minutes before he flees the allied forces. He is, strictly speaking, a war criminal. He is given a letter of recommendation by Isaac Stern, his manager and collaborator in the Emailfabrikenwerk, the genius behind the merger, the bookkeeper, the foreman, and the coordinator of the entire operation without whom Schindler would not have been able to create his slave labor empire. In this scene, which seeks to manipulate and control the emotional response of the viewer by pretending a real catharsis, even an apotheosis -- Schindler grasps a ring made for him by the Jews and cries "I could have saved more, one more Jew, two more Jews" -- the Trauerarbeit is all carried out on screen, as spectacle and theater, in a mass ritual intended to cleanse us of any remaining sense and emotion we may have in our desire to work through this event that questions all of our assumptions about capitalism, modernism, and representation itself.

This final metonymic reduction of the fate of the Jews to a ring, or the Nazi pin Schindler wears, runs parallel to the condensation of Auschwitz to a little red coat. The spectacle is supposed to show the horrifying internal conflict of Schindler, the inner failure of this moral Bildungsroman. What it shows however, is the film's own failure, its captivity in the convention of Hollywood romance, false catharsis, spectacle, coerced reconciliation with the past, or what Adorno refers to as ''erpresste Versöhnung'. This is nowhere more evident than in the final scenes, where the real survivors and their children merge with Schindler's widow in a magical "melting of horizons" which, however, elides the historical gap or rupture that continues to reverberate in our own history. We can only identify with Spielberg's film by investing in the representational scheme that has been prescribed by Hollywood, which is nothing other than specular, spectacular representation itself and which, one could argue, the Nazis utilized themselves in the construction of a premodern fantasy of blood and earth.

Robert S. Leventhal cites from Lyotard's 1979 book: "*The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*", in an interesting article titled: "*Jean François Lyotard, The Differend: Phrases in Dispute*" (1991), wherein Lyotard posits some interesting associations re languaging and the Holocaust in the context of post-modern constructs.

"In the Postmodern Condition, there is not one form of discourse that stands above all others; there is not one form of knowledge that is privileged and serves as the ground for all others. Rather, there is simply a multiplicity of various language games, a term which Lyotard borrows from the later Wittgenstein. The basic idea that Lyotard borrows from Wittgenstein is: of you want to know the meaning of a term, a phrase or a sentence, look at how it is utilized, how it functions in human interaction. There is no metalanguage that embraces and grounds all of the different types of statements and phrases; science gives us cognitive statements, to be sure, but there are many other, different kinds of statements that science is not concerned with at all. …

Lyotard's insistence on the legitimacy of the performative, of "small" narratives, of the multiplicity and heterogeneity of language games leads him to a mosaic fracturing or splintering of knowledge's. There are no longer absolute and universal rules or conditions that are valid for all statements. Verifiability are only valid for scientific, cognitive, constative statements. Such rules or conditions are inappropriate for statements of modality, questions, exclamations, and commands. In this sense, Auschwitz and the Holocaust were already an important subtext in Lyotard's The Postmodern Condition. The terror of the "one" absolute hegemony of one form of speech was likened to Fascism and the extermination of the Jews, where the Nazi's ideal excluded and ultimately tried to eliminate the language(s) of the Jews. In the Postmodern view, narrative, not science, leads to an interrogation of the great variety of languages and language games. … "

In *"The Differend: Phrases in Dispute"*, Lyotard asks the fundamental question of the "*name*":

"To what does the term "Auschwitz" refer? How can we speak meaningfully about this referent "Auschwitz" if there is no final appeal to an absolute code of knowledge? if there is no absolute judge or criterion for validity? Lyotard is no doubt correct that there is a struggle or contest, a combat that revolves around this term. In a word, we have a rhetorical dispute with a proponent, and an opponent, but there is no praesus, no final judging instance.

The Differend probes the possibility of the name and the referent after one has dispensed with the traditional knowledge-legitimating schemes. The phrase -- "Auschwitz was an extermination camp in Poland during the Second World War where many Jewish people and others were systematically murdered" exists in a paradox where there is no regulation of differences. The Nazi -- this is precisely the point of the testimony of the Nazis in Lanzmann's Shoah -- simply deny or dispute this phrase, and if there is no absolute standard or criterion of grounding statements, then the regulation of differences is always referred to and translated into the idiom of the other party.

This is why Lyotard writes: "I would like to call a differend the case where the plaintiff is divested of the means to argue and becomes for that reason a victim."

In this sense, the Jewish witness of the Holocaust has been divested of the means to argue, for if they attempt to prove the above statement as an empirical fact, the moral gravity is lost; if they attempt to demonstrate the personal effect of Auschwitz, the general, universal is lost etc. The radical revisionist denies not merely the referent, but the sense, the addressee and the interlocutor as well. How, in a postmodern world, can we speak about Auschwitz? If there are no grand legitimating meta-narratives, how can we meaningfully speak about and listen to the stories of Auschwitz? …in the final

analysis, Auschwitz is a political and moral and ethical issue. "(cited by Leventhal 1995:9)

If heroic acts of saving Jews and resistance against the Nazis were late in being recognized, if politics thwarted recognition, and psychiatrists had a hard time listening, it is not surprising that survivors felt they could not or should not speak. It wasn't until the Eichman trial held in Israel in 1963, almost 20 years after the war, before individual testimonies were heard by families, by Israel, and by nations worldwide. (I will talk more about the Eichman trial in Chapter 9, section 9.2, and will address the specific problems of silence in individual households in Chapter 8, and in Chapter 9.)

As a consequence of both political and psychological reasons for the long silence, there was little reckoning for the Holocaust survivors and their children, the 2nd Geners, and likely for the children of perpetrators, collaborators and standbyers as well. This realization began early in my research.

I had the opportunity to attend Taos workshops and conferences in relation to Social Constructionism and met many Europeans, especially in The Netherlands, home of Tilburg University. It was the first time I experienced a non-Jewish person react with such deep suffering about what happened to the Dutch Jews.

I had never experienced such an immediate reaction to the Holocaust from non-Jews in North America. A collective guilt seemed to exist in Europe/in the Netherlands that is generally not spoken about. The pain was visible on people's faces, their communications were almost wordless: "it should never have happened", they would simply say to me. Words for what they felt personally seemed to be blocked. I began to wonder if dialogues and validation weren`t also needed with the European inheritors of the tragedy. I will be looking at the need for reckoning or "*validation*" by all peoples affected by the Shoah in Chapter 9 .

4.2 INACCESSIBILITY OF THE INFORMATION AND NEW INFORMATION STILL SURFACING

"I felt an obligation to the survivors who I knew and the survivors who volunteer here at the museum and the survivors who came to see me, pleading: their voices had never been listened to in this matter. If there was something I could do, well, I was going to do it."

Paul Shapiro

Information continues and will continue to come forward for years to come. Information about the Shoah, the details of the ghettoizing, transportation and

killings; about the politics of the Allies; about the war strategies; about the provenance of art treasures; about the unsung heroes – the victims, the partisans, resistance fighters, Christians and Muslims who saved Jews; about war criminals who were given sanctuary; and so on and so on.

Along with the millions of Jewish people killed, their deaths and dispersion has also meant a loss of cultures, songs, stories, buildings and memories. All disappeared and are currently being stitched together piece by piece, reminiscent of Marij Bouwman's stitched figures in Chapter 8; section 8:3.

I arranged to meet with a remarkable woman in New York, Mira Jedwanik Van Doren, whose parents left my mother's home shtetl (village) of Vilna, before the Nazi occupation, while she was a young girl. In 1989 Ms. Van Doren formed a non-profit organization, The Vilna Project, Inc., dedicated to preserving, documenting and disseminating material evoking the richness and diversity of pre-war Vilna. She conducted extensive research depicting Jewish life in the city. She assembled more than 120 hours of interviews with survivors and scholars in the United States and abroad, and collected thousands of photographs and other historical material. In 2006, she completed the 58-minute documentary "*The World Was Ours*" depicting the remarkably rich Jewish community of Vilna before its destruction in World War II.

Discovery in Vilna, after 50 years, of a large collection of books and records that had been hidden from the Nazis in a former monastery during the Holocaust. (See photo left).

Much information has been purposefully kept secret in Germany and in other countries. New information continues to be released: information that was legally hidden for a variety of reasons. One successful release in 2007 provides records regarding transportation: where people were taken, moved and their final place – which can uncover surprising information. Other information, such as information on property is still not available.

The following news clipping tells of the work of Paul Shapiro, Director of the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, who helped lead the campaign to make important documents available to the public:

"CBC News, 2007: Opening: 16 Miles of Nazi Files: 50 Million Pages of Nazi Record in ITS Bad Arolsen Archive Made Public
After 60 years of being hidden away from the public, Nazi records about the 17.5 million people - Jews, Gypsies, homosexuals, mental patients, handicapped, political prisoners and other undesirables – they persecuted during the regime's 12 years in power will be open to the public."

The records of Bad Arolsen were kept in six buildings with information that covered wall to ceiling. Twenty six kilometres of shelving, spoke to the fate of Jews, slave labourers, political prisoners, homosexuals, Gypsies. Half of this information is on non-Jewish people who were victimized by the Nazi régime.

The International Tracing Service (ITS), run by the Red Cross, had helped families and survivors retrieve information to help them find family members. However, the ITS considered the records "personal information" and access to them was severely restricted. It meant that the collective evidence offered by the Archive's 30 million documents were not available to historians, academics or Holocaust survivors. No one even knew for sure what was held on Bad Arolsen's shelves.

How were the archives created?

As the Allies conquered Germany and entered the Nazi concentration camps beginning in the spring of 1945, they found detailed records that had been kept by the Nazis. The documents were taken to the German town of Bad Arolsen, where they were sorted, filed and locked way. In 1955, the International Tracing Service (ITS), an arm of the International Committee of the Red Cross, was put in charge of the archives.

Created by the Allies to help repatriate people displaced by World War II, ITS grew into an immense archive of materials from Gestapo offices, prisons, and police stations. During the last half-century, many other institutions and individuals also contributed documents to it. These records—50 million pages on sixteen miles of shelves in six buildings in the small German town of Bad Arolsen—detail the fates of all 17.5 million Holocaust victims, including forced and slave laborers, and displaced persons (DPs) of many ethnic groups.

The documents - scraps of paper, transport lists, registration books, labor documents, medical records, and death registers – record the arrest, transportation and extermination of the victims. In some cases, even the amount and size of the lice

found on the prisoners' heads were recorded.

This archive contains the famous Schindler's List, with the names of 1,000 prisoners saved by factory owner Oskar Schindler who told the Nazis he needed the prisoners to work in his factory.

Records of Anne Frank's journey from Amsterdam to Bergen-Belsen, where she died at the age of 15, can also be found among the millions of documents in this archive.

The Mauthausen concentration camps '*Totenbuch*', or '*Death Book*', records in meticulous handwriting how on April 20, 1942, a prisoner was shot in the back of the head every two minutes for 90 hours. The Mauthausen camp commandant ordered these executions as a birthday present for Hitler.

Toward the end of the war, when the Germans were struggling, the record keeping was not able to keep up with the exterminations, and unknown numbers of prisoners were marched directly from trains to gas chambers in places like Auschwitz without being registered.

Why were the records closed to the public?

The Bonn Agreement, which was signed in 1955, stated that no data that could harm the former Nazi victims or their families should be published. Thus, the ITS kept the files closed to the public due to concerns about the victims' privacy. Information was doled out in minimal amounts to survivors or their descendants.

This policy generated much ill-feeling among Holocaust survivors and researchers. In response to pressure from these groups, the ITS commission declared itself in favor of opening up the records in 1998 and began scanning the documents into digital form in 1999.

Germany, however, opposed amending the Bonn agreement to allow for public access to the records. German opposition, which was based on possible misuse of information, became the main barrier to opening the Holocaust archives to the public. Germany resisted the opening, on the grounds that the records involve private information about individuals that could be misused. In May 2006, following years of pressure from the United States and survivors' groups, Germany changed its viewpoint and agreed to a fast revision of the Bonn Agreement. Brigitte Zypries, the German justice minister, announced this decision while in Washington for a meeting with Sara Bloomfield, the director of the United States Holocaust Museum. Zypries said:

"Our point of view is that the protection of privacy rights has reached by now a standard high enough to ensure ... the protection of privacy of those concerned."

Why has it taken so long to open ITS?

Along with the rulings under the Bonn agreement described above, there were many other factors. The Allies' principal goal initially was to reunite families and send people home. Later, the documentation relating to forced laborers was used to underpin requests for pensions from the German government and, in this decade, to provide compensation for forced and slave laborers who could document their history. The institution was very much focused on those specific tasks. Simultaneously, for a long time there were no major institutions, aside from those in Israel, dedicated to Holocaust study, so demand on ITS was not very great. When it increased over the last twenty years—in part because of the U.S. Holocaust Museum—there was a different problem: the ITS management and governing structure made it almost impossible to get action.

Eleven governments sit on the International Commission for ITS. They determined that any change in the operation required unanimity, which was very difficult to achieve. And in fact the management of ITS, for a period of time, worked hard to make sure it wouldn't be achieved. The International Committee of the Red Cross was contracted in 1955 to run the place, which it did for fifty years with no controversy and no change. When change appeared, the Red Cross was not quick to embrace it. Over two decades, leadership on-site at ITS was opposed to opening the archive for research and providing survivors with documents relating to them, and opposed to sharing the documentation. Add a fourth piece: the German government ministry responsible for funding ITS as part of the postwar settlement was opposed. So you had to get all those players to agree to bring about change, and any one player could generate enough opposition so that nothing happened for years.

Every country had a reason not to have this at the top of their agenda. German chancellor Gerhard Schröder had a policy called Schlussstrich, which meant a policy of drawing a line under the Holocaust: this is the past, now we move on. The United States was reluctant to enter a situation where the German government, one of our most important friends and allies, was making it very clear they were opposed.

The German position has changed since Angela Merkel became the German Chancellor. In the 1980s, Italy deposited a lot of material from the DP camps in ITS. Previously, Italy was unwilling to release their information for a number of reasons, one of which was that Italian DP camps were used as a way for war criminals to make their way out of Europe.

And then there was the money trail. The documentation of forced and slave labor reveals the workings of the system at ground level, and the horrendous consequences of seeing human beings as mere "assets." It shows how money moved between government, industry, the SS, and other consumers of human beings. In some regions, every company, every organization—governmental, do-gooder, ecclesiastical—used forced and slave labor. It was a cheap, almost cost-free resource, with no accountability.

For years no one knew what was in the collections. Only at the very end were the members of the international commission finally able to obtain a full list from the Red Cross -- or ITS. In 2004 the museum presented that information to the international task force on Holocaust education, remembrance, and research, and the documentation itself became the strongest argument for action. These collections can now be researched. They relate to the fates of 17.5 million people victimized by the Nazis. Researchers can learn about the deportations, the use of forced labor by thousands of companies and organizations, or how survivors were treated by Allied forces.

There evolved a process to digitize and distribute the collection while the commission changed policy. Late in the process, one proposal was that the Berne Convention be formally amended, and those amendments ratified by the governments on the commission. Some governments said this could take three to five years. That's why Shapiro pressed the issue of continuing with the digitization and distribution of copies during ratification, which was completed by November 2007. In late January, 2007 the materials were opened—not just to Jewish survivors, but to all.

Why are the records important?

With the youngest survivors now in their 70s and older survivors dying each year, time is running out for them to learn about their loved ones. Today survivors fear that after they die, no one will remember the names of their family members who were killed in the Holocaust. The archives need to be accessible while there are still survivors alive who have the knowledge and drive to access it.

The archives' most important function is to help families bring closure to information and what happened to their loved ones. Even if there is no information, Paul Shapiro says, that too can bring closure.3

It is not surprising that the 2nd Generation has taken on the role of 'researcher'. A Genealogy Conference taking place as I write this, in August 2011 in Washington,

[3] For a video presentation on ITS Bad Arolsen see: http://www.cbsnews.com/video/watch/?id=2274705n

attests to the magnitude of research to be done and the large numbers of people who have become the researchers. The program description is 30 pages: http://dc2011.org/index.php/conference-program.

Not surprising, one of the events is on Jewish Records Indexing: *"Jewish Records Indexing - Poland; What's New"* Jewish Records Indexing - Poland has an online searchable database of indices to more than four million records from current/former territories of Poland. This database has enabled researchers to trace their families' growth and migration inside Poland. The JRI-Poland database has also been a resource in family reunification, genetic and family health research and in efforts by those in Poland today to trace their Jewish heritage. The presentation will outline new resources and developments, as well as many other initiatives planned by JRI-Poland. It will also have the latest information on methods of ordering copies of records from the Polish State Archives. Speaker: Stanley Diamond. Broad audience

An example of another event at the conference is a documentary describing yet another of the Nazi's bizarre schemes:

"Human Failure/*Menschliches Versagen", Germany, 2008, 91 minutes, German with English subtitles*, *Directed by* Michael Verhoeven -- Acclaimed filmmaker Michael Verhoeven's, documents the bizarre competition that developed between bureaucrats on how to organize the robbery of the Jews prior to their deportation and death. Until just several years ago, the documents proving this planned expropriation were lost, destroyed or hidden away.

Other types of ongoing research reveal possible explanations for how ordinary people became mass murderers. Christopher R. Browning, a highly respected Holocaust researcher, noticed that in mid-March 1942:

> *"…some 75-80 percent of all victims of the Holocaust were still alive, while 20-25% had perished. A mere eleven months later, in mid-February 1943, the percentages were exactly the reverse. At the core of the Holocaust was a short, intense wave of mass murder. The centre of gravity of this mass murder was Poland."* (Browning, 1998: Preface xvi).

During Browning's search to find out more about how and who made up the murderers, he found the Central Agency for the State Administration of Justice (Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen), the Federal Republic of Germany's office for coordinating the investigation of Nazi crimes. As he was working through their extensive collection of indictments for virtually every German trial of Nazi crimes, he encountered the indictment concerning Reserve Police Battalion 101, a unit of the German Order Police. The testimonies he found there:

> *"…had a feel of candor and frankness conspicuously absent from the exculpatory, alibi-laden, and mendacious testimony so often encountered in such court records….The investigation and legal prosecution of Reserve Police Battalion 101 had been a decade long process (1962-1972) conducted by the Office of the State Prosecutor (Staatsanwaltschaft) in Hamburg. This office – surely one of the most diligent and committed prosecutors of Nazi crimes in all of the Federal Republic –still had custody of the court records relating to the case, and I successfully applied for permission to see them."* (Browning, 1998: Preface xvii).

His research was not easy. Unlike survivor testimony about prominent perpetrators in the ghettos and the camps, there were few testimonies about these unknown men. Further, the interrogators asked questions pertinent to their task as lawyers, not historians. The information Browning did obtain and analyzed provided a unique insight into how the Nazi régime was able to coerce ordinary, middle aged police officers to become murderers. I will describe his findings in section 4.4 of Chapter 4 regarding the question: '*How could this kind of evil could have happened*'?

There is information that we want to know, such as data on lost relatives, provenance of valuable art work, historical information, information of the lost culture and life of European Jews.

And, then there is some information that we don't want to know such, as medical torture information, which for me is impossible to read and I would prefer it not be revealed. Yet, many scholars are now discovering in reputable medical literature multiple references to Nazi experiments, or republished works of former SS doctors. These studies and references frequently bear no disclaimer as to how the data was obtained. In recent years several scientists who have sought to use the Nazi research have attracted and stirred widespread soul-searching about the social responsibility and potential abuses of science. For more information, see: The Ethics Of Using Medical Data From Nazi Experiments Baruch C. Cohen1 http://www.jlaw.com/Articles/NaziMedExNotes.html#1>

And then, there is information that is hard to hear but is necessary.

A recent publication of a book with the telling title, "*Sexual Violence against Jewish Women during the Holocaust*" (editors: Hedgepeth and Saidel, 2010) has met with much angst. The interdisciplinary anthology touches on everything from rape, forced prostitution, sterilizations and abortion, to psychological trauma, gender identity issues and depictions of violence in the arts of Jewish and non-Jewish women. It is believed to be the first book in English to focus exclusively on this subject. One of the essays by a Russian author, Anatoly Podolsky, *"The Tragic Fate of Ukranian Women under Nazi Occupation 1941-1944"*, was possible as a result of newly opened archives in Russian, held by the former Soviet Union.

In the Forward to this book, Shulamit Reinhartz (a child of Holocaust survivors) writes:

> *"I had not noticed the issue of rape…Since reading the collection, I find the phenomenon mentioned repeatedly in testimonies and written works. It's as if the issue was always there but I had not noticed it because no one had pointed it out and labeled it as such. I also did not notice sexual abuse because it was part of a larger story such as deportation, camp life and murder."(*Hedgepeth and Saidel, 2010: ix)

Jessica Neuwirth, one of the founders of "*Equity Now*", whose purpose is to work for the protection of women's rights around the world, a women's rights lawyer who has worked with the United Nations and served as an expert an expert consultant on issues of sexual violence and rape as a tool of genocide, believes sharing rape stories from the Holocaust may help women worldwide. She fears, however, that it may be too late, that the victims who might have come forward are already gone. And of those who are still around, she worries such a time may never come. "*We usually have people dying to talk, and no one will listen,*" she says. "*Now we have people dying to listen, but no one will talk.*" (Story from CNN, June 24, 2011)

I'm not surprised at this information. Though it was a policy not to have sex with Jewish women since they were considered subhuman, the Germans did rape and cut breasts off as found in the dead bodies in the pits. Further, the collaborators had no such constraints and were known to be particularly brutal. I was told by one of my mother's dear friends, Fela Burman-Wajcer (2003), a survivor of the concentration camps, that, among women's knowledge in the concentration camps was: "*better to fall into the hands of the Germans, than the Ukraines."*

Paula David (2003), who has worked for 20 years with Holocaust survivors as they entered their final years, and is now professor of gerontology at the University of Toronto has made it her mission to study the impact of early-life trauma on aging. She surmised there were memories that left others cowering when they visited doctors, especially gynecologists. She realized there was a history that prompted some to lash out and hit people when they were touched. She noted as the women aged, and in some cases dementia set in, there were those who lost their ability to self-censor or to consciously choose what they shared. In the facility, she heard stories of sexual violence slip through their lips. She didn't judge them if they told her they slept with men for food. "*It wasn't sex, it was bread*," she heard. She understood if they said they only tolerated sex with their husbands to create families.

Gloria Steinem also responded to Hedgepeth's study and succinctly identifies an important reason for allowing information, as bad as it is, to become known. As a result of this book, Steinem was inspired to create the "*Women Under Siege*" project .

She is quoted as saying:

> *"Perhaps we would have been better able to prevent the rapes in the former Yugoslavia and the Congo if we had not had to wait more than 60 years to hear the truths that are anthologized in 'Sexual Violence against Jewish Women during the Holocaust*." (We can sadly add this is occurring right now in 2012 in Libya and Syria.)

Indeed, had the world listened, it may not have taken until 2008 for the United Nations to declare rape a war crime under Resolution 1820. This was effectively a recognition that crimes of sexual violence committed during conflict, particularly those committed systematically as a weapon or tactic of war to terrorize, humiliate and wipe out or forcibly relocate whole communities, prolongs, deepens and promotes conflict.

> *"When the issue of sexual violence arose at Nuremberg after the Second World War, the Prosecutor said simply: 'The Tribunal will forgive me if I avoid citing the atrocious details'. With these words, women's suffering was silenced, obscured and stricken from the historical record. In today's war-zones, mass rape remains 'atrocious', but it can no longer be dismissed as a 'detail'.*

Keynote Address: Women's Foreign Policy Group, 17 July 2008, Washington, D.C. (http://www.undp.org/cpr/whats_new/speeches/KC_Gender_WFPG08.shtml)

There is a lot of information that is still not accessible, including, but not limited to:

- Victimization records
- Information on property and possessions
- Slave labour information (children over 7 and adults under 25 worked in factories to serve the Nazi war machine)
- Nazi records
- Information held by the United Nations on war crimes
- Information held by the Vatican (current Pope is starting to allow this information)

The United States has declassified Holocaust documents during the Bush administration but the information is still not available and includes 18 Million pages of material on war criminals.

Information held by individual countries and all over Germany (release will need to be negotiated and resources assigned, country by country.

As of this writing, I have learned of a discovery that is being aired on BBC Radio 4 Jan 23, 2012, called: "*The Hidden Graves of the Holocaust*" which reveals new evidence

of huge mass graves on the former site of the Nazi extermination camp Treblinka. The evidence was uncovered by a team of archaeologists from the University of Birmingham led by forensic archaeologist, Caroline Sturdy Colls.

Since the Nazis razed the camp in November of 1943 after a prisoner revolt, leaving little visible evidence of the 800,000+ Jews slaughtered there in just over a year of operation, Holocaust deniers have claimed that Treblinka wasn't a death camp at all, but rather a transit station where prisoners were sorted before being shipped off to other labor camps. Led by forensic archaeologist, Caroline Sturdy Colls, the research team used ground-penetrating radar and aerial and satellite imagery to look for burial sites without breaking ground, out of respect for Jewish Halacha law which forbids disturbing burial sites.

Although, it is generally believed that Treblinka was destroyed by the Nazis, this survey has demonstrated that is not the case. Colls identified a number of buried pits using geophysical techniques. Each of these large pits is thought to contain the charred remains of thousands of bodies. The pits are considerable in size, and very deep, one in particular is 26 meters by 17 metres. (Source: http://www.thehistoryblog.com/archives/14588).

It has been known that forced sterilization and murder of disabled persons including people diagnosed with schizophrenia, epilepsy, so-called feeblemindedness, hereditary blindness, severe hereditary physical deformity, severe alcoholism, and other ailments occurred under the Nazi regime. A story that has remained unknown was that deaf men, women and children were also subjected to this policy as revealed in a poignantly titled book, "*Crying Hands*", (Biesold, 2004).

This atrocity hits close to home given that my daughter-in-law, Hillary Baack, a beautiful actress and loving wife and mother is deaf. Horst Biesold, a teacher of the hard of hearing in Germany, wondered why so many didn't have children. This is a brief summary of what his research uncovered:

> *Deaf people were the first victims of the Holocaust; 17,000 deaf people were sterilized in Germany in the 1930's; Catholic priests and Jewish rabbis tended to protest sterilization; Protestant ministers tended to support it; Deaf people had a Nazi organization; their Nazi organization supported sterilization; When people were sterilized, no medicine was used for pain; the reproductive glands-testes in men and ovaries in women-were removed without anesthetic; 33% of the people who were sterilized were under 18 years old; 9% of the people who were sterilized were women, pregnant more than six months, as part of forced abortions;*
>
> *By 1940, sterilization was replaced by murder; the Nazis called it "mercy killing;" About 150,000 handicapped people- and 1600 deaf people were killed by the Nazis.*

4.3 IMMENSITY OF THE INFORMATION: THE GOOD, THE BAD AND THE UGLY

"Any historical document cannot tell more than what is on it"
Shoah Database, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem

Along with the problem of unavailable information, comes the problem of navigating the immensity of information and uncoordinated databases that do exist, a work in progress to be sure.

> *"It will provide Holocaust researchers with work for generations. Holocaust scholars have already started to revise their estimates of the number of camps run by the Nazis according to new information being found."* (ITS Bad Arolsen data base).

One of the most frustrating experiences I have encountered has been the difficulty in finding information on my perished family, a search I coincidentally redoubled, when I began this study on resilience. It is not surprising that these two journeys crossed paths.

My search for information on my brother and sister started when I was a child. It was like living a kind of abnormal life in the midst of normal life. Every time a newsreel came on the screen at the cinema, before a film, I would look closely in the hope of finding their faces. I was lucky, I had a picture of them and I knew what they looked like. How my father came to have this picture I do not know. Likely when he and my mother went back to Poland from Uzbekestan, someone gave them the picture. One of many mysteries of my parents' past lives.

In the last 15 years, it has been an ever increasingly hopeless quest. Letters to Archives in Germany and Poland have come back with regrets that there is no information; database searches found no trace of either my father`s family or my mother`s family.

A planned for trip to Poland to search for records myself ended up cancelled after I was convinced by a Polish young woman who had worked at the Polish Archives that it would be fruitless to go there without an expert who spoke and read Polish. When I protested that surely there would be resources there to help me, I was told they have no resources allocated to help us.

What follows is an experiential glimpse of what I came up against. I say experiential because I expect that the reader will find these examples of databases boring, mind numbing and frustrating. I do this in the spirit of Jean Luc Godard who made a movie called *"Weekend"* where the audience is made to watch an endless stream of cars that are stuck in traffic. The main characters are an adulterous couple on their way to kill the husband and are certainly restless. After a while, the audience

becomes just as restless. At the end, we are ashamed of our impatience since the reality of their being stuck in traffic is that there has been a horrific accident with blazing cars and many dead and mangled bodies of rich and poor people alike.
Database Example 1: Jewish Genealogy Database

A search in the Holocaust Database for my father's name Arian yielded this list:

The Brest Ghetto Passport Archive →	List **17** records
Extraordinary Commission Lists: Riga →	List **9** records
Hungary Holocaust Memorials →	List **2** records
Published Lists of Survivors, in German-language newspaper Aufbau, Sept 1944 - Sept 1946 →	List **26** records
Bialystok Children's Transport to Theresienstadt, October 5, 1943 →	List **1** record
Judenrat Compiled List of Krosno Jews Before June 22, 1944 →	List **1** record
Mühldorf Deaths between Nov 1944 - April 1945 →	List **1** record
Compilation of Krosno Jews →	List **1** record
Post WWII American Military Compiled List of Jews - 987 Camp Survivors and Victims →	List **1** record
Berlin's "Invisible Holocaust Victims" July 1943 - March 1945 →	List **1** record
An Arrival List into Buchenwald, January 22, 1945 →	List **1** record
Compilation from Files of the Confederation of Jews in Germany (Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland) →	List **7** records
From the book "Jewish Partisans and Fighters of Volyn - in their memory" →	List **1** record
Possessions of Inmates Upon Entry to Dachau →	List **2** records
Lwow Ghetto →	List **22** records
Krakow Ghetto →	List **14** records
Germans, Swiss and Austrians Deported from France →	List **3** records
Westphalian Jews →	List **8** records
Stutthof Concentration Camp →	List **6** records
Jews Deported from Spisska Nova, May 28, 1942 →	List **3** records
Sachsenhausen Arrivals and Departures →	List **1** record

Temporary Passports for Jews in Germany 1938 to 1941 →	List **3** records
Jews of Szombathely 1944 →	List **1** record
Jews in Debrecen in 1945 →	List **15** records
Pinkas HaNitzolim II →	List **7** records
Austrian, Czech, and German Jews in Riga (Latvia) →	List **4** records
Oshpitzin Yizkor Database →	List **2** records
Breslau Deportations →	List **1** record
Auschwitz Forced Laborers →	List **17** records
Pinkas HaNitzolim I - Register of Jewish Survivors →	List **32** records
Extraordinary Commission RG22.002M →	List **31** records
Lodz Ghetto List →	List **43** records
Surviving Jews in the Kielce District →	List **1** record
Braunschweig Cemetery for Forced Laborers →	List **1** record
Lodz Ghetto Hospital Death Records →	List **8** records
Lviv Cemetery Data 1941-1942 →	List **7** records
Sharit haPlatah →	List **42** records
Tirgu Mures deportation list 1944 →	List **4** records
Tirgu Mures Ghetto List →	List **15** records
Transnistria: Lists of Jews Receiving and Sending Support →	List **2** records
The Tehran Children →	List **2** records
Hungarian Jewish KMSZ (Military Forced Laborer) List →	List **4** records
Lodz Ghetto Hospital Illness Records →	List **2** records
Jewish Forced Labor in Berlin, 1941-1943 →	List **2** records
Hungarian Jewish Survivors listed in a Hungarian Periodical →	List **11** records
The Jews of Oradea →	List **3** records
Mauthausen/Gusen Death Book →	List **14** records
Gyor Victims at Auschwitz →	List **2** records
Jewish Physicians From Czechoslovakia →	List **3** records

List of The Jews of Des (Dej) used in the Ghettoization of May 3-10, 1944 →	List **13** records
Jews From Iasi (Jassy) Who Survived the Transports →	List **16** records
Kisvárda, Hungary Records Before Deportation, April 10-13, 1944 →	List **2** records
North Bavarian Jews →	List **5** records
Kozienice Ghetto Census (Lista) 1939-1942 →	List **6** records
List of the Subotica Jews, victims of the Fascist Occupation 1941-1945 →	List **3** records
Lodz Transports to the Chelmno (Kulmhof) Extermination Camp →	List **2** records
Balta Battalion →	List **2** records
Jewish Families Deported from Dorohoi to Transnistria →	List **22** records
Bucharest Jewish Gazette List of Jewish Males That Must Report for Labor - October 1942 →	List **5** records
Cluj Children Survivors →	List **1** record
Dachau Concentration Camp Records →	List **58** records
World Jewish Congress Collection →	List **60** records
Jewish Refugees in Tashkent →	List **43** records
Claims Conference, Hungary →	List **92** records
Claims Conference, Romania →	List **238** records
Bergen-Belsen to Philippeville, Algeria (UNRRA Camp) →	List **2** records
Flossenbürg Prisoner Lists →	List **23** records
Polish Medical Questionnaires →	List **2** records
Daugavpils (Dvinsk) Ghetto List 05-December-1941 →	List **1** record
Teis-Dambovita Camp Prisoners 1 October 1941 →	List **5** records
Natzweiler Medical Experiments →	List **1** record
Lodz Ghetto Volume 5 →	List **7** records
Passports of German Jews →	List **3** records
Krakow Transport Lists →	List **2** records

Auschwitz-Buchenwald Transport -- 22-Jan-1945 and 26-Jan-1945 →	List **3** records
Natzweiler-Struthof →	List **15** records
S.S. Astir Passenger Manifest →	List **3** records
Bucharest Students →	List **2** records
The Lost Train: Bergen Belsen to Tröbit →	List **1** record
Hidden Children in France →	List **18** records
'Jews For Sale': The Rudolph Kasztner Transports →	List **5** records
Arad Census - 1942 →	List **17** records
Miranda de Ebro →	List **12** records
Polish Jewish Prisoners of War Registration Cards →	List **1** record
The Lódz Ghetto Work Identification Cards →	List **2** records
Klooga, Estonia Forced Labor Camp Prisoners July, 1944 →	List **7** records
Rivesaltes Deportations to Auschwitz-Birkenau →	List **1** record
Cernăuți, Romania: (Chernivsti, Ukraine) Various Holocaust Related Lists 1940 - 1943 →	List **3** records
Stettin (Szczecin) Jewish Deportation into the Lublin Area →	List **4** records
Radom Prison Records 1939 - 1944 →	List **5** records
Riese and Grose Rosen Prisoners and Transports, July 1944 →	List **2** records
Jewish 'Training' Centers in Germany →	List **6** records
Last Letters From The Lódz (Lodsch) Ghetto →	List **10** records
Deportations of Jews From Italy →	List **2** records
Nyíregyháza Deportations →	List **4** records
Sachsenhausen Deaths →	List **1** record
Langenstein-Zwieberge Concentration Camp →	List **4** records
Gross Rosen Lists →	List **5** records
Ahrensdorf Training Center →	List **1** record
Würtemberg Mixed Marriages →	List **1** record
The Twentieth Train →	List **3** records

Morts en Déportation / Deaths During Deportation →	List **7** records
The 1948 Warsaw Survivors List →	List **2** records
Karaganda, Kazakhstan Lists →	List **1** record
Gross Rosen Victims and Survivors →	List **1** record
Women in Flossenbürg Branch Camps - Hans Brenner Book Lists →	List **5** records
Mantello El Salvadorian Certificates →	List **3** records
Sachsenhausen Deaths →	List **8** records
The JewishGen Yizkor Book Master Name Index - Lwow →	List **2** records
The JewishGen Yizkor Book Master Name Index - Piotrkow →	List **2** records
The JewishGen Yizkor Book Master Name Index - Stanislawow →	List **1** record
The JewishGen Yizkor Book Necrology Database - Bucovina →	List **3** records
The JewishGen Yizkor Book Necrology Database - Crisana →	List **21** records
The JewishGen Yizkor Book Necrology Database - Germany →	List **12** records
The JewishGen Yizkor Book Necrology Database - Grodno →	List **2** records
The JewishGen Yizkor Book Necrology Database - Hungary →	List **3** records
The JewishGen Yizkor Book Necrology Database - Kovno →	List **11** records
The JewishGen Yizkor Book Necrology Database - Lublin →	List **1** record
The JewishGen Yizkor Book Necrology Database - Lwow →	List **4** records
The JewishGen Yizkor Book Necrology Database - Minsk →	List **5** records
The JewishGen Yizkor Book Necrology Database - Stanislawow →	List **1** record
The JewishGen Yizkor Book Necrology Database - Suwalki →	List **1** record
The JewishGen Yizkor Book Necrology Database - Tarnopol →	List **2** records
The JewishGen Yizkor Book Necrology Database - Transylvania →	List **4** records
The JewishGen Yizkor Book Necrology Database - Vilna →	List **1** record
The JewishGen Yizkor Book Necrology Database - Warszawa →	List **1** record
1274 matches found for that search.	

A hopeful click on the Krakow Ghetto Record, highlighted above, where my father's first wife and two children might be found, yielded this:

A requirement to search into "*microfilms can be found in the Document Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, in Record Group 15.058M*" …but there is a small line that states: "*No forms were made for children under the age of 15.*" Another dead end -- my brother and sister who were only 4 and 3 were not likely recorded. With the frustration, moral outrage: why would young children not be recorded?

This is what some of this particular Krakow database looks like:
Kraków Ghetto Register

This database is an index of over 19,000 registration forms for the Jewish inhabitants of Kraków (Cracow, Krakau), Poland, created in the summer of 1940.
According to the Encyclopedia of the Holocaust, there were 60,000 Jews in Kraków in 1939, prior to the German occupation in September of that year. Many Kraków Jews fled, but other Jews, particularly from neighboring towns of Skawina, Wieliczka, and Rabka, as well as some non-Polish Jews, came to Kraków.

The Data

The database is an index to registration forms for the Jewish inhabitants of Kraków, Poland, which were created under the direction of the Jüdische Gemeinde in Krakau (Jewish community in Kraków), in response to a Nazi order, mostly during July and August 1940. The registration forms, in German, are arranged alphabetically. No forms were made for children under the age of 15.

The Jewish Historical Institute (Żydowski Instytut Historyczny = ŻIH) in Warsaw acquired the registration forms after World War II, and placed them in their Record Group 206. The Jewish Historical Institute microfilmed these files for the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) Archives in 1995, on 20 reels of microfilm.

The microfilms can be found in the Document Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, in Record Group 15.058M.

Index sheets:

This database is a finding aid to the registration forms. There are 19,291 records. Data entry for the database was done from typed alphabetical index sheets, which had the following information:

Last name

First name
Middle name
Year of birth
Page # of index sheet
Line # on index sheet
Database fields:
The fields in the database are:
Surname
Given Name (Forename and middle names)
Born - Year of birth
Notes
Reel / List / Line
Microfilm Reel number
List number (corresponding to page # on the index sheets)
Line number (corresponding to the line # on each page the record appears)

Data entry:

Gesher Galicia and the USHMM worked cooperatively on the project to input the names on the index sheets into a spreadsheet format. Volunteers at USHMM had input about half of the names when Gesher Galicia was approached by USHMM to assist in completing the data entry. The following volunteers worked on this task for Gesher Galicia: Dan Aronson, Reinhold Beuer-Tajovsky, Phyllis Dahl, Carole Feinberg, Melody Katz, Shmuel Kehati, Judie Ostroff-Goldstein, Edward Rosenbaum, Julian Schamroth, Alan Steinfeld, and Margo Stark Ivary, who proofread the results.

Any illegible data on the index sheets or other problems were referred to USHMM for resolution during the time of data entry. When the Excel spreadsheets were completed by the Gesher Galicia team, they were sent to USHMM, which had its own team of volunteers proofread the material again and then combine all data into one Excel spreadsheet.

Registration forms
The handwritten registration forms on microfilm contain the following information:
Family and personal name
Place of birth
Marital status
Town of origin
Address in Kraków
Occupation

Up to two names of witnesses: the Nazis required two witnesses (often other family members) whose names, addresses, and occupations are listed with an explanation of how they know the registrant.

Thumbnail photograph of the registrant

Copies of individual registration forms will be provided in response to requests sent to registry@ushmm.org. With your inquiry, please send your full name and postal mailing address**. It is important to note that the registration forms do not contain information on the ultimate fate of the Kraków residents.** Another dead end!

Then this possibility for further research:

"In addition to the registration forms, the Museum also has an uncatalogued collection of files on Kraków ghetto residents. While this collection is extensive, it does not appear to contain information on all residents, and it includes only family names starting with the letters from A-N. The contents of these files vary considerably, but often include information on children. These files will also be searched in response to requests. "

Since our name begin with A, I hoped this might database would glean some information on my siblings.

After many dead ends, success at last – limited perhaps, but immense for me! As I described earlier, the information released by Berlin to the ITS Bad Arolsen Holocaust Archive, led me to find mine and my parents cards from the DP Camp where I was born. I hoped for information on my brother and sister, and perhaps testimonials provided to the Red Cross or information on my parents' marriage which was always a mystery. "When did they get married? When did they find out if my father's wife was still alive?"

The cards are numbered 100 and 99 for the room assigned to them.
Lea ARIAN
PLACES
Birthplace: Wilna
DATES
Date of Birth: 10.10.18 [October 10, 1918]
NUMBERS
Card Number: 99

SOURCE INFORMATION
Source Name: Berlin DP Cards
Source Description: A collection of 11,139 cards of displaced Jewish persons from two transit camps run by the Jewish Community in Berlin in

the first years after the war. One was in Berlin-Wittenau, Eichborndamm 140/150; the other was in Iranische Strasse. The displaced persons in the camp in Wittenau were accommodated in barracks, so barracks and room numbera are indicated for those in that camp. The Iranische Strasse camp was a multi-story house, so there are references to the room numbers on those cards.

Notes: Data from website http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/institute/sonst/aj/INSTITUT/BERLIN1 of DPs in Berlin. In 1992 the Community handed over a collection of displaced persons cards to the Zentralarchiv in Heidelberg to store it permanently.

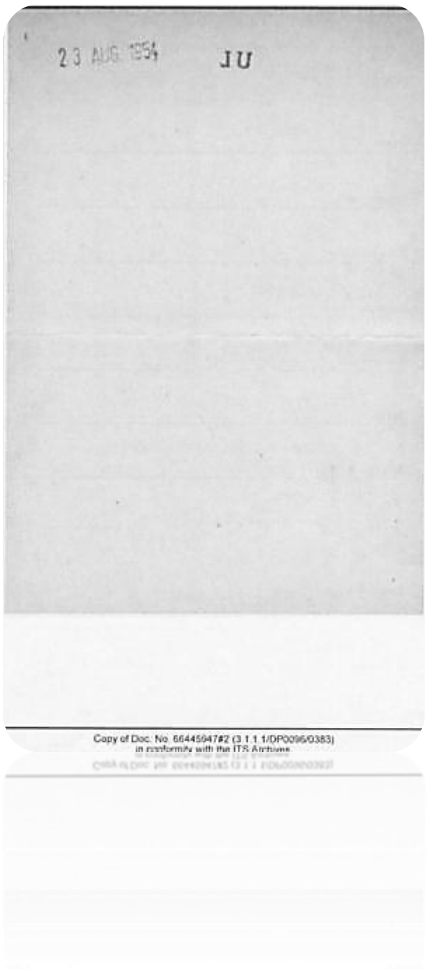
Siegmund ARIAN
PLACES
Birthplace: Krakau
DATES
Date of Birth: 31.05.07 [May 31, 1907]
NUMBERS
Card Number: 100

I wrote away to get a copy of these cards and as a result I discovered the name of my father's father who left for the USA before "the war" (the term Holocaust or Shoah was not yet invented, people called it "the war"). My father's mother would not join him for fear of her mother's health. My father, then, was brought up by his mother and grandmother. I may have family in the USA and I may have a chance of finding them.

There were no testimonials and they wrote to me that sadly they had no information on my siblings.

I was thrilled to receive a document on the circumstances and place of my birth. I realized that although I was in a German displaced camp, it seemed to have been run in an American Occupied Zone. My mother had told me we were well treated there. Now I had an explanation: that this was likely because it was run under the authority of the Americains. Not all DP camps were run as humanely as detailed in Chapter 5.

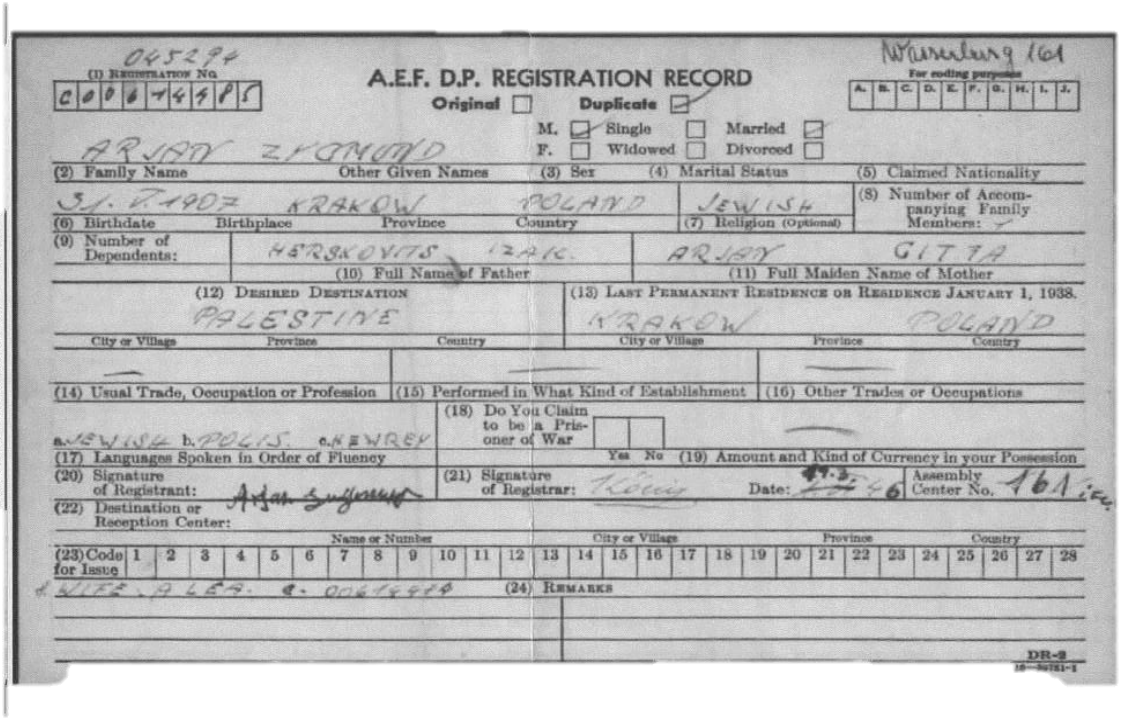
The back of the document has the letters JU identifying me as Ju – or Juden - Jewish



The documents shown below have important familial information. For example, the check mark beside the marital status on my father's documents along with his wife's name and a number, is the only document I have, that indicated my parents were married. Further, in Poland, lineage is dependent on the links to the father. This will **not** serve as an official document of marriage and will not be recognized for purposes of my Polish inherited citizenry.

It also states the name of his father who left for the US and may help me find half cousins, though oddly, this is not the name my father told me. His mother's name, Gitta, is as I knew it. I was named after her. It shows that his destination of choice is Palestine (Israel was not yet a national state) – indeed that is where we went. He lists his languages as Polish, Jewish and Hebrew (though he did not speak Hebrew at the time). He does not indicate that he speaks German though he was taught German in school and was quite literate in German. His occupation is not indicated.

My father's DP camp registration in Wasserburg – front



045294

(1) Registration No. C 0 0 6 7 4 4 8 5

A.E.F. D.P. REGISTRATION RECORD

Original ☐ Duplicate ☑

Wasserburg 161

For coding purposes: A. B. C. D. E. F. G. H. I. J.

M. ☑ Single ☐ Married ☑
F. ☐ Widowed ☐ Divorced ☐

(2) Family Name: ARJAV — Other Given Names: ZYGMUND — (3) Sex — (4) Marital Status — (5) Claimed Nationality

(6) Birthdate: 31. V. 1907 — Birthplace: KRAKOW — Province — Country: POLAND — (7) Religion (Optional): JEWISH — (8) Number of Accompanying Family Members:

(9) Number of Dependents: — (10) Full Name of Father: HERSKOVITS IZAIK. — (11) Full Maiden Name of Mother: ARJAV GITTA

(12) Desired Destination: PALESTINE — City or Village — Province — Country

(13) Last Permanent Residence or Residence January 1, 1938.: KRAKOW — City or Village — Province — Country: POLAND

(14) Usual Trade, Occupation or Profession — (15) Performed in What Kind of Establishment — (16) Other Trades or Occupations

(17) Languages Spoken in Order of Fluency: a. JEWISH b. POLIS. c. HEBREW

(18) Do You Claim to be a Prisoner of War: Yes ☐ No ☐

(19) Amount and Kind of Currency in your Possession

(20) Signature of Registrant: Arjav Zygmunt

(21) Signature of Registrar: [illegible] — Date: 17.3.46 — Assembly Center No. 161

(22) Destination or Reception Center: — Name or Number — City or Village — Province — Country

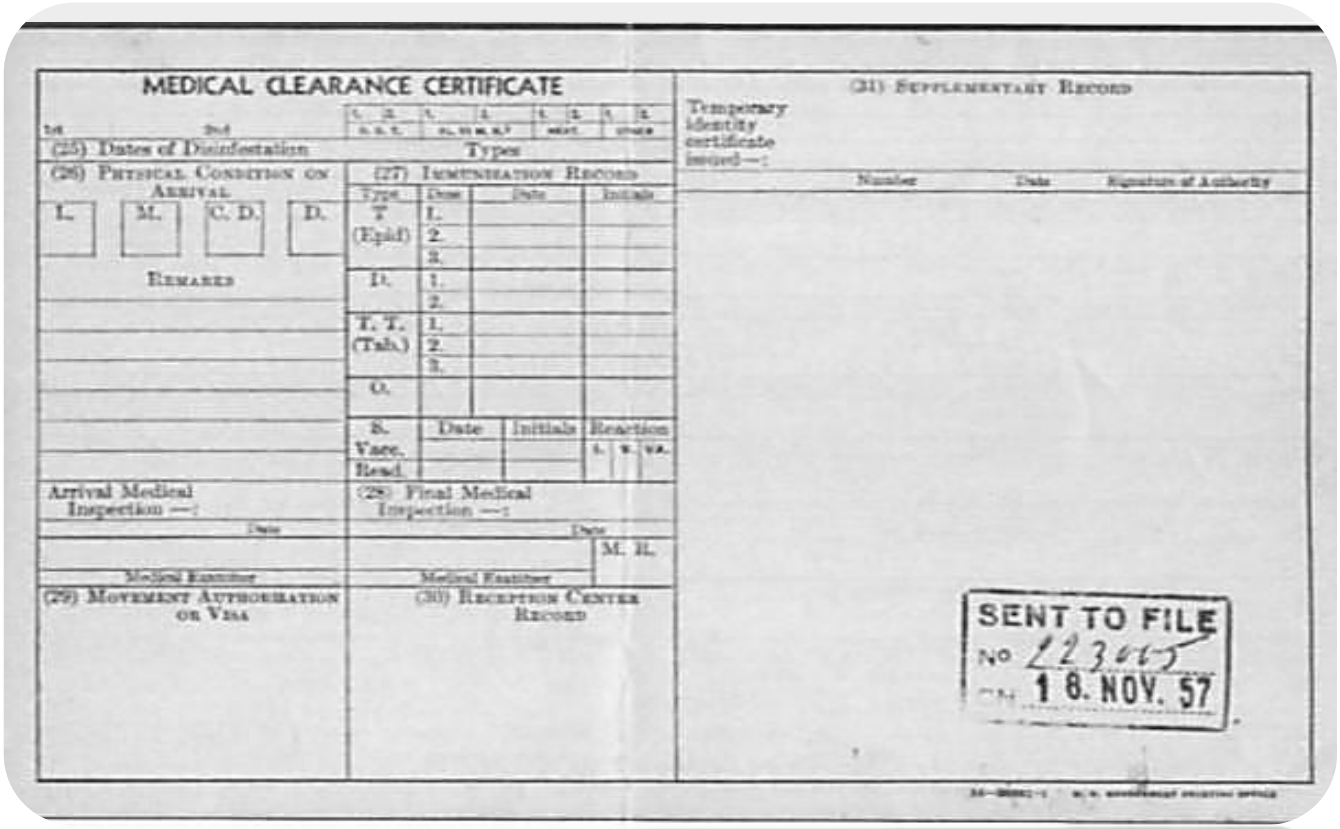
(23) Code for Issue: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28

A WIEZ. A LEA. C. 00614444

(24) Remarks

DR-2

Below is the back of my father's registration card, a medical certificate that indicates dates of disinfection and immunizations.



MEDICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

(25) Dates of Disinfestation — Types

(26) Physical Condition on Arrival: L. M. C. D. D.

Remarks

(27) Immunization Record

Type	Dose	Date	Initials
T (Epid)	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
D.	1.		
	2.		
T. T. (Tab.)	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
O.			

	Date	Initials	Reaction
B. Vacc.			
Read.			

Arrival Medical Inspection —: Date — Medical Examiner

(28) Final Medical Inspection —: Date — Medical Examiner — M. R.

(29) Movement Authorization or Visa

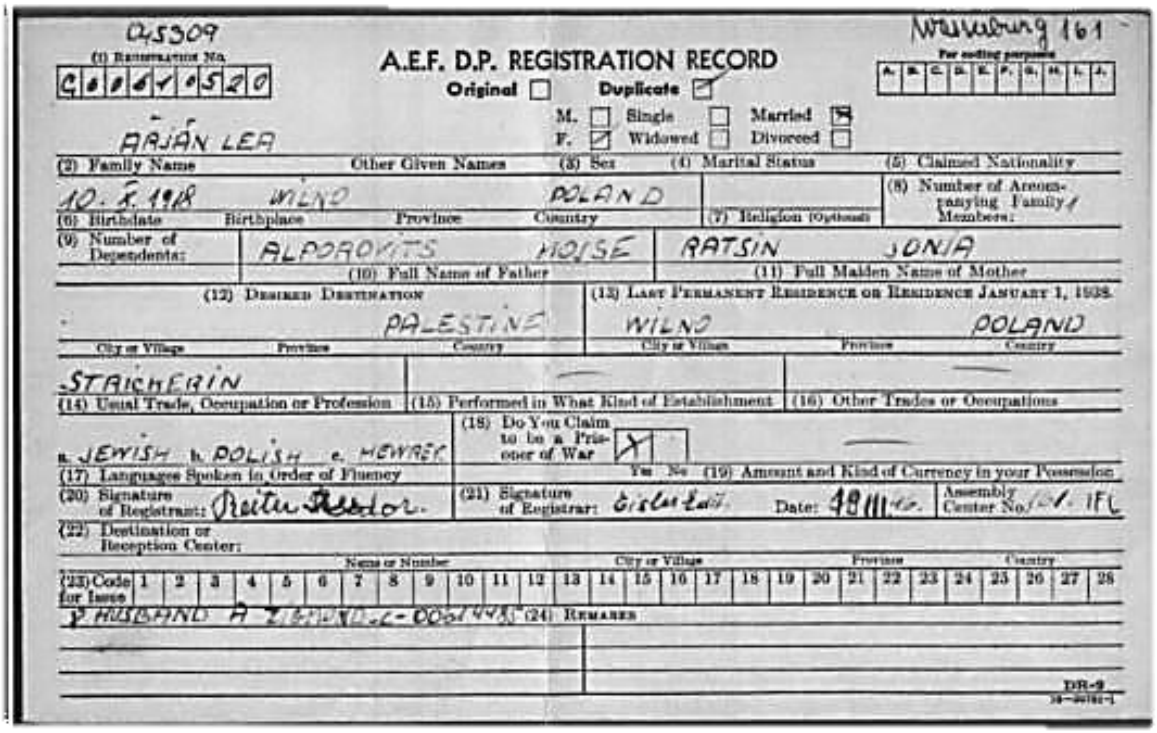
(30) Reception Center Record

(31) Supplementary Record

Temporary identity certificate issued —: Number — Date — Signature of Authority

SENT TO FILE
No 223005
18. NOV. 57

My mother's DP Camp Registration – Front. Again, we see the check mark against marital status, and the name of her husband along with a number which is much clearer and may be significant in further a search for their marriage certificate. Her maiden name and her mother's maiden name serve as important genealogical information. She lists her occupation as "Strichen" – sewing and her languages as Polish, Jewish and Hebrew, like my father, and does not mention Russian or German. She too indicates her destination of choice is Palestine.



A.E.F. D.P. REGISTRATION RECORD

Original ☐ Duplicate ☑

(1) Registration No. C0064 0520

Wurzburg 161

For coding purposes

M. ☐ Single ☐ Married ☒
F. ☑ Widowed ☐ Divorced ☐

(2) Family Name: ARJÁN — Other Given Names: LEA — (3) Sex: F — (4) Marital Status — (5) Claimed Nationality

(6) Birthdate: 10. X. 1918 — Birthplace: WILNO — Province — Country: POLAND — (7) Religion (Optional) — (8) Number of Accompanying Family Members: 1

(9) Number of Dependents: — (10) Full Name of Father: ALPOROVITS MOISE — (11) Full Maiden Name of Mother: RATSIN JONA

(12) Desired Destination: PALESTINE — City or Village — Province — Country

(13) Last Permanent Residence or Residence January 1, 1938: WILNO — City or Village — POLAND — Province — Country

(14) Usual Trade, Occupation or Profession: STRICHERIN — (15) Performed in What Kind of Establishment — (16) Other Trades or Occupations

(17) Languages Spoken in Order of Fluency: a. JEWISH b. POLISH c. HEBREW

(18) Do You Claim to be a Prisoner of War: Yes ☒ No ☐

(19) Amount and Kind of Currency in your Possession

(20) Signature of Registrant: Reitu Theodor

(21) Signature of Registrar: Gisela Edl. Date: 18/11/46. Assembly Center No. 161 IFL

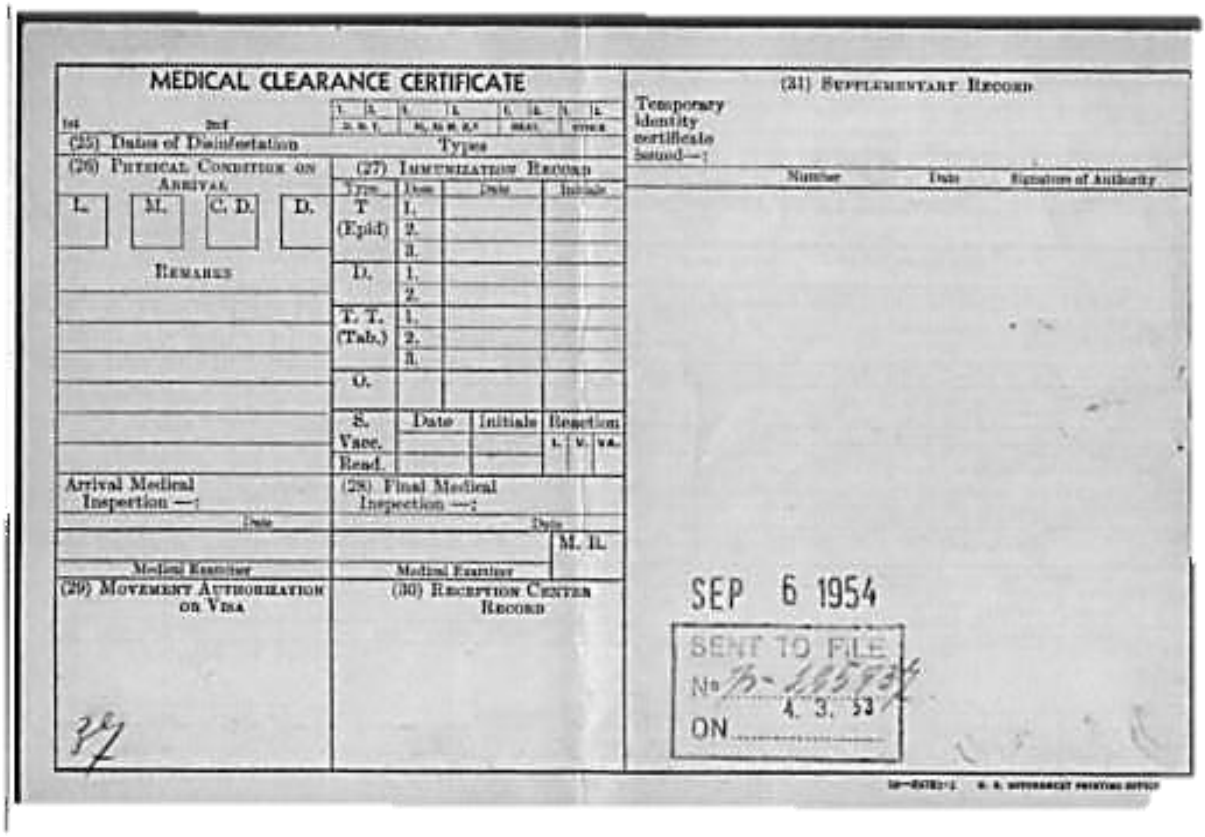
(22) Destination or Reception Center: Name or Number — City or Village — Province — Country

(23) Code for Issue: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28

(24) Remarks: HUSBAND A ZIGMUND LC-00061445

DR-2

Below is the back of my mother's registration card, a medical certificate that indicates dates of disinfection and immunization.



MEDICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

1st 2nd

(25) Dates of Disinfestation — Types

(26) Physical Condition on Arrival

L. M. C. D. D.

Remarks

(27) Immunization Record

Type	Date	Date	Initials
T (Epid)	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
D.	1.		
	2.		
T. T. (Tab.)	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
O.			

S.	Date	Initials	Reaction
Vacc.			
Read.			

Arrival Medical Inspection —: Date — Medical Examiner

(28) Final Medical Inspection —: Date — Medical Examiner — M. D.

(29) Movement Authorization or Visa

(30) Reception Center Record

(31) Supplementary Record

Temporary identity certificate issued —: Number — Date — Signature of Authority

SEP 6 1954

SENT TO FILE No 75-115734 ON 4. 3. 53

The document below indicates the address/block at the DP camp and my mother's birth date. This is the first definitive document I have of her birth.

Name ARIAN Vorname LEA

Häftling Nr. Geboren am 1918

Geburtsort WILNO

Letzter Wohnort

Gekommen nach Deutschland am

Letztes Konzentrations-Lager

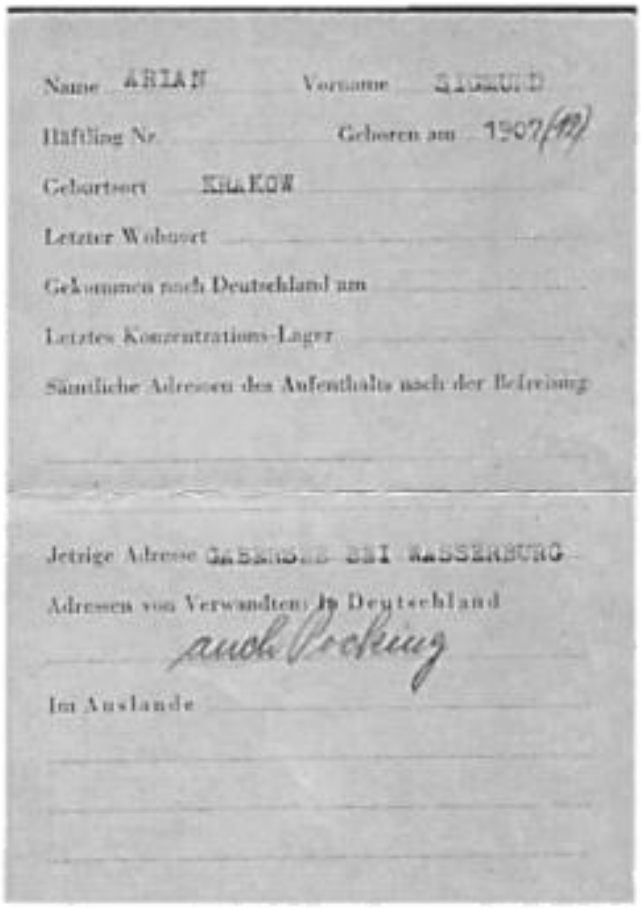
Sämtliche Adressen des Aufenthalts nach der Befreiung

Jetzige Adresse GABERSEE BEI WASSERBURG

Adressen von Verwandten: In Deutschland

Im Auslande

Father – Front of DP camp address:



Name ARIAN Vorname SIGMUND

Häftling Nr. Geboren am 1907(19)

Geburtsort KRAKOW

Letzter Wohnort

Gekommen nach Deutschland am

Letztes Konzentrations-Lager

Sämtliche Adressen des Aufenthalts nach der Befreiung

Jetzige Adresse GASTHOF BEI WASSERBURG

Adressen von Verwandten in Deutschland

auch Pocking

Im Auslande

Like me, many 2nd Geners, tenaciously plow on, searching for any piece of information about deceased family members and lost cultures, despite the formidability of this task. It is as if we are driven to make the absent present.

One such 2nd Gener explorer is Judith Maier, who was with her father in 1965 in Germany, in the court of Hamburg where he gave testimonies before the trial of Handke an officer and Movinkel the commander of the LIPOWA 7 Camp in Lublin where 3000 prisoners Jewish Polish War Prisoners (WPs) were held. He also gave testimony before the Eichman trial in 1961 to the Israeli Police officers and also in Jerusalem to Gideon Hausner, the prosecutor of Eichman's trial. Judith told me: *"One day I intend to find all these testimonies in Jerusalem".*

I expect the process of recreating lost history will continue for me and many others. Perhaps this is another example of resilience in the form of tenacity; pushing against walls of indifference and obfuscation. Perhaps, Klee`s children are walking through walls that have been put up before them and perhaps we can note a slight smile of triumph as they push through.

4.4 THE ONGOING QUESTIONS: WHAT IS EVIL? HOW COULD THIS KIND OF EVIL HAVE HAPPENED?

We are still talking about the Holocaust because every philosophical and religious stance is still challenged to answer the question: was this evil an anomaly or inherent in human nature; how could so many regular people in so many countries collaborate and help with the killings? How much evil before forgiveness becomes impossible?

And most of all, how could this have happened? Unlike other wars and genocides, this was the first industrialized war and for the first time, it happened with legitimate sanctioning by the government in Germany and other countries, whereby laws were enforced with ever increasing harshness aimed at isolation, humiliation and eventually extermination. Companies built the gas chambers and crematoria.

IBM had a strategic alliance with Nazi Germany -- beginning in 1933 in the first weeks that Hitler came to power and continuing well into World War II. As the Third Reich embarked upon its plan of conquest and genocide, IBM and its subsidiaries, helped create enabling technologies, step-by-step, from the identification and cataloging programs of the 1930s to the selections of the 1940s.

Only after Jews were identified -- a massive and complex task that Hitler wanted done immediately -- could they be targeted for efficient asset confiscation, ghettoization, deportation, enslaved labour, and, ultimately, annihilation. It was a cross-tabulation and organizational challenge so monumental, it called for a computer. Of course, in the 1930s no computer existed. But IBM's Hollerith punch card technology did exist. Aided by the company's custom-designed and constantly updated Hollerith systems, Hitler was able to automate his persecution of the Jews.

Historians have always been amazed at the speed and accuracy with which the Nazis were able to identify and locate European Jewry. Until now, the pieces of this puzzle have never been fully assembled. The fact is, IBM technology was used to organize nearly everything in Germany and then Nazi Europe, from the identification of the Jews in censuses, registrations, and ancestral tracing programs to the running of railroads and organizing of concentration camp slave labor.

This history is important to know so that we can be intentional in our business dealings and in anchoring organizational cultures in humanistic values. Annex I describes a number of other well-known companies that profited from the Holocaust.

Turning now from events of the past to the present. I resonate, at a number of levels, with this article by Jay Michaelson, titled *"A 'New Jew' Goes To Auschwitz"* (The Forward, August, 2009). Like me, Michaelson is someone who had for years chosen to separate from dwelling on this barbaric event. And then he visited Auschwitz. He ponders the "banality of evil".

It is important to note that this expression "banality of evil "coined by the journalist, Hannah Arendt, when she covered Eichmann's trial, created great controversy and is not considered appropriate by many since this kind of extreme cruelty cannot be considered banal. She used this term given Eichman's cold claim that he was merely a bureaucrat doing his job. Taken in this context, with the accompaniment of this art work, I think it becomes a layered word which lends itself to reflection on what is evil, who is capable of evil and how is it that evil can be sanctioned as legitimate – do people really not see or hear?

I have presented almost the full text of his article because it reflects so well the transformational process that can occur when someone who has consciously or unconsciously, Jew or Gentile, removed themselves from the Holocaust, and makes a

visit to a concentration camp. His choice of art work by Zbigeniew Libera to accompany the article stunningly makes us aware of both the avoidance and reality that we move into and out of when faced with the fact of gas chambers and concentration camps.

The Cathedral of Holocaustism

Not Child's Play by Zbigeniew Libera LEGO Concentration Camp, 1996

"I am not a Holocaust Jew. Though Auschwitz loomed large in my Jewish education, and though as a child I was duly traumatized and outraged by what my teachers described as the inexplicable and unprecedented evil perpetrated against us, it plays only a small role in my current Jewish identity and practice. ...This summer, though, I visited Auschwitz for the first time…. So what happens when a "New Jew" goes to Auschwitz? In fact, despite my expectations, the trip underscored rather than undermined my ambivalence.

Standing on the tracks at Birkenau, or in the converted stables where our (great-) grandparents slept, what stood out most was the reality, the immediacy of the place. For decades, I had experienced the Holocaust as history, symbol and myth, but now it was entirely real: This happened here. Arendt's famous locution, the "banality of evil," took on new meaning. Over there is the bus stop, and in this room, thousands of people died. There is the train station back to Krakow, and here is the train platform where Jews were sent to the gas chambers.

This was the opposite of how I'd been taught. I'd known the Holocaust as a huge thing that seemed to take place in another world. "Planet Auschwitz," as it's sometimes called, radically evil, unlike anything we can understand. Even at Auschwitz itself, I heard tour guides saying how no one can understand how such a thing was possible.

Really? Walking the expansive grounds, looking at the mounds of hair in cases, it seemed entirely possible to me. In fact, I don't understand what people don't

understand. The hatred? The fact that people could do this? The meticulousness, the Vorsprung Durch Technik *of death? Are we really surprised, after Stalin, Abu Ghraib, the Killing Fields, and Rwanda …*
Yes, the scale of Birkenau is bewildering; the place is unbelievably huge. But that's a difference of degree, not kind — and in its scale not unlike vast malls or industrial parks. In terms of the human capacity for evil, Auschwitz felt all too comprehensible.

This distinction between Planet Auschwitz and the real thing is, I think, why Arendt's insight is so important. Standing on the actual ground, it was easier to appreciate how this wasn't done by evil monsters — by George W. Bush's "evildoers," or by the cartoon Nazis we see in movies. This was done by regular people, to regular people, and this is what regular people can do. You and I could do it, I think. At least I could, given the right training, community, education and motivation.

Maybe it's more comfortable for the bad guys to always wear swastikas and be monsters, but that's not the reality — and it teaches the wrong lesson. So long as we perpetuate these stories about the Holocaust being unprecedented, inexplicable, incomprehensible and so on, we perpetuate its unreality, and its concomitant irrelevance to everyday political choices and personal decisions, like how cold or "tough" we ought to be when people are suffering, how much trust we place in authority and how often we second-guess that which we know to be true.

This relates to the second lesson I learned at Auschwitz: that it's so tempting to misuse. There are at least two major ways to relate to the Holocaust: as something that "they" did to us (Jews, that is), or as something that people did to people. If it's the former, then the right response is more heart hardening by, and more power to, the Jews. If the latter, then we are all called upon to consider our actions in light of it.

But then I thought some more. Who are the "us" and "them" here, anyway? Is this something the Germans did to the Jews? Is it what the Nazis did to the Jews, Poles, Roma, homosexuals, communists and Soviets? Maybe it's something people did to people? Most important, what was the source of my offense? What was it that I wanted*, exactly?*
…Yet surely, whatever the Holocaust teaches us, it should not be that some people are better than others.

In the weeks since I've returned, I can't get Auschwitz out of my mind: the gas chambers, the latrines, the barbed-wire fences. But not because any of these was unreal or unbelievable, and not because this was done by monsters to saints. On the contrary — because it was entirely real, entirely believable and entirely the work of human beings like you and me. That reality seems to me far more powerful, and terrifying, than any fantasy or dream."

Christopher Browning (1998), an American historian and a contributor to Yad Vashem's official twenty-four-volume history of the Holocaust, describes the multiplicity of factors in his research on the mass murders by Reserve Police Battalion 101 mentioned earlier including peer pressure and loyalty to the group as well as racism, war and indoctrination.

> *``The mutually intensifying effects of war and racism.., in conjunction with the insidious effects of constant propaganda and indoctrination..Nothing helped the Nazis to wage a race war so much as the war itself. In wartime, when it was all too usual to exclude the enemy from the community of human obligation, it was also all too easy to subsume the Jews into the image of the enemy.``* (Browning, 1998: 186).

He ends the book with a question.

> *"The collective behaviour of Reserve Police Battalion 101 has deeply disturbing implications. There are many societies afflicted by traditions of racism and caught in the siege of mentality of war or threat of war. Everywhere society conditions people to respect and defer to authority, and indeed could scarcely function otherwise. Everywhere people seek career advancement. In every modern society, the complexity of life and the resulting bureaucratization and specialization attenuate the sense of personal responsibility of those implementing official policy. Within virtually every social collective, the peer group exerts tremendous pressures on behaviour and sets moral norms. If the men of Reserve Police Battalion 101 could become killers under such circumstances, what group of men cannot?"* (Browning, 1998: 188-189)

I have to ask an additional question: there were few females who participated in murder. I wonder if women`s capacity for evil is different from that of men?

Though this is a topic beyond the scope of this paper a continued conversation regarding evil when it is about hatred and racism is important. That hatred and racism can spread even more quickly in to-day's connected world and in the capacity for Hollywoodizing dramatic, false stories is frightening.

What is also frightening is the lack of capacity for deep conversation in today's technological environment; where instant answers are the norm and there is little patience for exploring meaning and disagreements. I believe, without the capacity for personal, in-depth search for common ground and humanitarian solutions, the likelihood for ongoing Holocausts remains a reality.

4.5 THE HOLOCAUST HAPPENED TO ME, ALTHOUGH, I WAS NOT THERE

'As a human being, I am duty bound to bear witness to the history I see.'
The words of many survivors and now, the 2nd Geners

As I mentioned earlier, I had no intention of talking about the Holocaust when I started this research. In fact, being exposed to the stories at too young an age had a traumatizing effect on me and I needed to find protective, avoiding coping strategies. My brother to this day cannot look at images of the Holocaust. He was astonished that I was able to visit Anne Frank`s house in Amsterdam, saying: *" I couldn`t do it".*

It was early in the writing that I realized that, despite all my avoidance strategies, the Holocaust happened to me and therefore I needed to look at it, talk about it, and understand what it means to me.

There is a figure in the Klee drawing who is looking backwards as they are moving forward. That is me in that figure. That is me realizing that the Holocaust is my past – and that it indeed did happen to me. It happened to me because it happened to my parents. It happened to me because I had to take care of my fragile, fearful, emotional parents. It happened to me because as an adult, I still have the feeling of emptiness within emptiness trying to fill it with people, knowing they are not responsible for my void. So instead of being disappointed, I fill them; I fix them; I rescue them before they disappoint me. I let them off the hook because I am afraid of losing what I don't have in the first place.

As I go through the journey of life, I try to find the right size suitcase, the right fit house, the right fit career, and even the right fit man. Someone or something, that can fill the void of the child, Gita, created by my obligation to fill my mother's void (Miller (1997), with her demanding plea for my love: *"du bist mein ganze leiben/you are my whole life*", words that carried an inescapable burden that I felt duty-bound and '*love-bound'* to fulfill.

What I really wanted to do was to simply walk away. But I, like other 2nd Geners, could not and did not walk away. It was our cherished burden. Underneath the submission to the burden, for me, not for all 2nd Geners I discovered, there was a boiling cauldron of something akin to indignant, righteous rage. Rage against those who made my mother and father weak -- too weak to take care of me, leaving me feeling alone and empty. I first became aware that I was on my own at four years of age. There is a story of me throwing rocks at my father; I have a recollection that this

was quite deliberate. Eli Wiesel said: "*we grew up orphaned while our parents were still alive, protecting our parents from their pain while there was nobody around to protect us*." (Wiesel 2002:47)
Nobody around to protect us! These children walk without adults as protection. They carry their burdens like precious, precarious bundles. They don`t dare shed a tear in self-pity.

I knew why I threw those rocks. I was angry that my father wasn`t taking care of me as he should. They were Holocaust survivors. A bitter identifier for me, knowing that in many ways, my parents did not really survive; they could never be whole. For children of survivors, the Holocaust has branded me, just as those survivors with the numbers on their arms put there by learned brains to expedite exterminations. Eva Hoffman describes this inherited sense of the Holocaust as "*right behind the eyelids*." (Hoffman, 2004: 12).

No child should sit at school and ask themselves questions such as: *"What would I do under torture, would I turn my parents into the Gestapo? What does it feel like to be hungry? Is there pain? How do you die from hunger? Could I bear to live in a camp? Could I survive?"* And if that wasn't enough, I generally, judged myself as unworthy, unable to survive, "*No"* I thought, *"no, not me, I couldn't do it."*

I didn't learn about living, I only learned about surviving. I have since learned that survival in those circumstances was more a matter of chance than ability. Now I ask myself, *"What is weak? What is strong?"* And here we are: *"What does resilience mean for a generation born in the shadow of the Holocaust?"* My question is not merely academic; nor is it strictly personal. It is a journey of void filling, of making meaning out of a sad and incomprehensible inheritance through dialogical and creative explorations.

Recently, my connection to the Holocaust has become more palpable. It seems this unprecedented event comes with continuing unprecedented events. I recently provided a sample of my DNA to the DNA Shoah project, run at the University of Arizona, a first ever forensic effort aimed at: 1) the identification of Holocaust victims whose remains continue to surface in Europe, and 2) to help global orphan placement organizations to reunite families and identify siblings and close relatives separated by the Shoah. I know the likelihood of finding out anything about my

disappeared siblings is almost nil, but I will continue to hope. The probability of a match is currently unknown. There are no groups that have attempted a project of this scale, so there is really no suitable case on which to base probability estimates. This project is breaking new ground with: the number forensic markers in the genome that we are using, the number of generations since the event, the geographic scale of the sampling, and number of individuals involved in the tragedy.

4.6 THE HOLOCAUST HAPPENED TO EVERYONE: UNIVERSAL IMPLICATIONS

> *"It was an entirely real event and not an anomaly and therefore it happened to everyone." Alan Berger*

To continue the discussion on why it is necessary to take yet another look at the Holocaust, we need to move from the particular to the universal aspects of this tragedy. We know that at the universal level, it resulted in the term 'genocide' coined by Rafael Lemkin, a Polish Jew, in 1944 and that genocide was made an international crime by the United Nations General Assembly and approved by the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in 1948. The treaty entered effect into effect in January 1951. The Nuremberg trials created the precedence for the trials of Slobodan Milosevic in the International Criminal Court in the Hague, and of Saddam Hussein in an Iraqi court.

Terrence Des Pres writes of the universal impact in the aftermath of the Holocaust:

> *"Like it or not, we are involved beyond ourselves. To be in the world but not of it, to recover innocence after Auschwitz, plainly will not work. The self's sense of itself is different now, and what has made the difference, both as cause and continuing condition is simply knowing that the Holocaust occurred. We are in no way guilty but we do not feel blameless. We live decently but not without shame. We are entirely innocent but innocence, the blessedness of simply daily being, no longer seems possible."(Berger, 2001 :7)*

The next painting, titled: *Steps down to the Crematorium, Flossenburg Camp* is one of many Holocaust related paintings created by a non-Jewish artist from Dublin, Thomas Delohery.

Not being Jewish, questions have been raised as to why such a subject has dominated his work and his 'right' to depict such suffering through art. But Delohery's reply is the Holocaust is '*not just a Jewish catastrophe but a human catastrophe. Not only six million people died in the camps: a part of humanity died with them*". (http://www.suite101.com/content/thomas-delohery-shipwrecked-in-the-death-camps).

Three more of his captivating paintings:

Unable to Comprehend

When all Hope is Gone

To Burn

Much of contemporary European and American philosophy, literature and art influenced by the Holocaust narrative.

Zygmunt Bauman (1989), developed the argument that the Holocaust should not simply be considered to be an event in Jewish history, nor a regression to pre-modern barbarism. Rather, he argued, the Holocaust should be seen as deeply connected to modernity and its order-making efforts. Procedural rationality, the division of labour into smaller and smaller tasks, the taxonomic categorisation of different species, and the tendency to view rule-following as morally good all played their role in the Holocaust coming to pass. He also argued that for this reason, modern societies have not fully taken on board the lessons of the Holocaust; it is generally viewed - to use Bauman's metaphor - like a picture hanging on a wall, offering few lessons.

In Bauman's analysis, the Jews became '*strangers par excellence'* in Europe. He used the term, `*stranger*` in his book *Modernity and Ambivalence*, wherein he states that there are always social groups who cannot be administered, who cannot be separated out and controlled. Bauman began to theorize on such indeterminate persons by introducing the allegorical figure of 'the stranger.' Drawing upon the sociology of Georg Simmel and the philosophy of Jacques Derrida, Bauman came to write of the stranger as the person who is present yet unfamiliar, society's '*undesirable'*.

The Final Solution was pictured by him as an extreme example of the attempts made by societies to excise the uncomfortable and indeterminate elements existing within them. Bauman, like the philosopher Giorgio Agamben, contended that the same processes of exclusion that were at work in the Shoah could, and to an extent do, still come into play today.

Simone de Beauvoir says of Lanzmann's film, 'Shoah': *"After the war we read masses of accounts of the ghettos and the extermination camps, and we were devastated. But when, today, we see Claude Lanzmann's extraordinary film, we realize we have understood nothing. In spite of everything we knew, the ghastly experience remained remote from us.*" (Lanzmann, 1985: Preface, xvii)

I would like to move to other groups of secondary inheritors of trauma and tragedy.

I met someone in The Netherlands, who is not Jewish, and who upon hearing my story, realized that she too had a 2nd generation syndrome much like mine. She hadn't connected the fact that her parents, who were interned in a Korean concentration camp and never talked about it, had something to do with her own search for sense-making. The story of my friend had a happy ending. She and her sisters asked their parents about their past and the validation and re-pair began quickly for the whole family.

I began to wonder if the "re-storying" for 2nd generations needs to have a broader scope to include 2nd generation inheritors of trauma of all kinds. When thirty-three Chilean miners were rescued (Oct., 2010) the media, politicians and miners were front and centre. Watching the news, I noticed a child of one of the miners, the first miner to come out. He was standing to the side, clearly stricken, afraid and confused. I wondered: who was supporting that child. It was starting to add up.

In terms of the Nazi régime, there are Aryan looking non-Jewish children who had been kidnapped from other countries and raised by Nazi families who are searching for the truth. There are Jewish adults who were raised as Christians who are just learning they are Jewish (including such prominent people as Madeleine Albright, former Secretary of State under President Clinton). There are children of Nazis who are still processing their inherited guilt.

Families have been severed and relocated throughout the globe under various conflicts and disasters. The lessons of the Shoah, and all that it entails, from subjugation of others, to coercion to hatred of others, and its' subsequent impacts on generations to come has relevance to everyone whether they have ever heard of the Holocaust or not.

The children in Klee`s drawing are not identifiable according to any race or religion. They are children who have inherited difficult legacies. Just as I found an affinity with Klee, or Delohery found an affinity with the Jewish experience, it doesn't take the same cultural background to connect with another human being's pain.

CHAPTER 5: MY BEGINNINGS: A DISPLACED PERSONS CAMP

Every heart, every heart
to love will come
but like a refugee
Leonard Cohen, "Anthem"

It is fitting that I chose an image of post-war children in the Klee drawing created in 1930 after WWI.

I was born in the context of the WW II and in the context of belonging to a race that was almost exterminated. I was born with a name filled with ironies, a kind of prescience for the contradictions I would be sorting out throughout my life. My surname was Arian. Didn't Hitler exterminate the Jews in order to have a pure Aryan race? Some of our documents had a polish/Dutch spelling of 'Arjan' – not much better. This year, I found a book of names at a Genealogy Centre in Israel and found that Arian was inscribed as a bonafide Jewish name in the city of Krakow for many generations. There are Arian's in Persia, perhaps we come from a Persian tribe. There is both a Gita and an Arjun in the Baghavad Gita, that makes it more intriguing.

I do know that I am named after my father's beloved mother, Gita or Gitta or Gitele, as is the norm for Jews of Eastern European. For 2nd Geners, this naming took on additional meaning as we will see in the upcoming chapters.

I was born in a Displaced Persons Camp (DP Camp) a.k.a. refugee camp, in Wasserburg, Am Inn, Germany. My mother would joke that I was manufactured in Poland and produced in Germany. Like me, a quarter of a million people were in DP camps between 1945 and 1947 and some were unable to leave for years from these DP camps.

The ability to conceive after the war or in a DP camp was a paradoxical miracle after cessation of menses experienced by survivors. I once asked my mother what women

did during the war when they had their period and was stunned by her answer that they didn't have one. She attributed it to hunger. I expect it was also fear and traumatic stress (this phenomenon is discussed by Forabel Kinsler, 1981).

The information below helps to set the historical and human context of that time.

Many of the European Jews who survived the persecution and death camps had nowhere to go after V-E Day, May 8, 1945. Not only had Europe been practically destroyed but many survivors did not want to return to their pre-war homes in Poland or Germany. Jews became Displaced Persons (also known as DPs) and spent time in helter-skelter camps, some of which were located at former concentration camps.

Thousands of "survivors" died in the days and weeks following liberation, the military buried the dead in individual and mass graves. Generally, the Allied armies rounded up concentration camp victims and forced them to remain in the confines of the camp, under armed guard.

The British were not only reluctant to allow passage to Palestine for Jewish Holocaust survivors, but even to grant distinct status or separate accommodations to Jews in DP camps; this despite the renewed persecution that many faced from non-Jews in those camps and from the civilian population and civil authorities. Their only concern was to avoid antagonizing public opinion in Arab countries that were still, though barely, within British imperial influence (Roshwald: 2002).

Medical personnel were brought into the camps to care for the victims and food supplies were provided but conditions in the camps were dismal. When available, nearby SS living quarters were used as hospitals. Victims had no method of contacting relatives, as they were not allowed to send or receive mail. Victims slept in their bunkers, wore their camp uniforms, and were not allowed to leave the barbed-wire camps, all whilst the German population outside of the camps was able to return to normal life. The military reasoned that the victims (now prisoners) could not roam the countryside in fear that they would attack civilians.

We were well treated in this camp because, according to my mother, I was the most beautiful baby in the camp. Being attractive had an importance in those times, as it could mean the difference between survival and death. As indicated in section 4.3. of Chapter 4, recently discovered documents of the DP camp show that they were run by Americains which might be the reason for the good treatment in this particular DP camp.

By June, word of poor treatment of Holocaust survivors reached Washington, D.C. President Harry S. Truman, anxious to appease concerns, sent Earl G. Harrison, the

dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, to Europe to investigate the ramshackle DP camps. Harrison was shocked by the conditions he found.

Following the Harrison report, President Truman called for major changes to the treatment of Jews in the DP camps. Jews who were DPs were originally accorded status based on their country of origin and did not have separate status as Jews. General Dwight D. Eisenhower complied with Truman's request and began to implement changes in the camps, making them more humanitarian. Jews became a separate group in the camps so Polish Jews no longer had to live with other Poles and German Jews no longer had to live with Germans, who, in some cases were operatives or even guards in the concentration camps. DP camps were established throughout Europe and those in Italy served as congregation points for those attempting to flee to Palestine.

The DPs overwhelmingly wanted to go to Palestine. In fact, in survey after survey of the DPs, they indicated their first choice of migration was to Palestine and their second choice of destination was also Palestine. In one camp, victims were told to pick a different second location and not to write Palestine a second time. A significant proportion of them wrote 'crematoria'.

That was the choice my father made. My father chose to go to Israel, though he had offers to go to Canada or the U.S. My parents were in Israel during the war of 1948 and in 1952 left Israel for Canada.

Harrison strongly recommended to President Truman that 100,000 Jews, the approximate number of DPs in Europe at the time, be allowed to enter Palestine. As the United Kingdom controlled Palestine, Truman contacted the British Prime Minister, Clement Atlee with the recommendation but Britain demurred, fearing repercussions (especially problems with oil) from Arab nations if Jews were allowed into the Middle East. Britain convened a joint United States-United Kingdom committee, the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, to investigate the status of DPs. Their report, issued in April 1946, concurred with the Harrison report and recommended that 100,000 Jews be allowed into Palestine. Atlee ignored the recommendation and proclaimed that 1,500 Jews would be allowed to migrate to Palestine each month. This quota of 18,000 a year continued until the British rule in Palestine ended in 1948.

Trouble in Eastern Europe in 1946 more than doubled the number of displaced persons. At the beginning of the war, about 150,000 Polish Jews escaped to the Soviet Union. In 1946 these Jews began being repatriated to Poland. There were reasons enough for Jews not to want to remain in Poland but one incident in particular convinced them to emigrate. On July 4, 1946 there was a pogrom against the Jews of

Kielce, Poland. Forty-One people were killed and 60 were seriously injured. By the winter of 1946/1947, there were about a quarter of a million DPs in Europe.

Truman conceded to loosen immigration laws in the United States and brought thousands of DPs into America. The priority immigrants were orphaned children. Over the course of 1946 to 1950, over 100,000 Jews migrated to the United States.

Overwhelmed by international pressures and opinions, Britain placed the matter of Palestine into the hands of the United Nations in February 1947. In the fall of 1947, the General Assembly voted to partition Palestine and create two independent states, one Jewish and the other Arab. Fighting immediately broke out between Jews and Arabs in Palestine. Even with the U.N.'s decision, Britain still kept firm control of Palestinian immigration until the very end.

Britain's refusal to allow DPs into Palestine was plagued with problems. Jews formed an organization called Brichah (flight) for the purpose of smuggling immigrants (Aliya Bet, "illegal immigration") to Palestine. Jews were moved to Italy, which they often did, on foot. From Italy, ships and crew were rented for the passage across the Mediterranean to Palestine. Some of the ships made it past a British naval blockade of Palestine but most did not. The passengers of captured ships were forced to disembark in Cyprus, where the British operated DP camps.

The British government began sending DPs to camps on Cyprus in August 1946. DPs shipped to Cyprus were then able to apply for legal immigration to Palestine. The British Royal Army ran the camps on the island. Armed patrols guarded the perimeters to prevent escape. Fifty-two thousand Jews were interned and 2200 babies were born on the island of Cyprus between 1946 and 1949. Approximately 80% of the internees were between the ages of 13 and 35. Jewish organization was strong in Cyprus and education and job training was internally provided. Leaders from Cyprus often became initial government officials in the new state of Israel.

One shipload of refugees heightened concern for DPs throughout the world. Brichah moved 4,500 refugees from DP camps in Germany to a port near Marseilles, France in July 1947 where they boarded a ship called "Exodus". The Exodus departed France but was being watched by the British navy. Even before it entered the territorial waters of Palestine, destroyers forced the boat to the port at Haifa. The Jews resisted and the British killed three and wounded others. The British ultimately forced the passengers to disembark and they were placed on British vessels, not for deportation to Cyprus, as was the usual policy, but to France. The British wanted to pressure the French to take responsibility for the 4,500. The Exodus sat in the French port for a month as the French refused to force the refugees to disembark but they did offer asylum to those who wished to voluntarily leave. Not one did. In an attempt to force the Jews off the ship, the British announced that the Jews would be

taken back to Germany. Still, no one disembarked. When the ship arrived in Hamburg, Germany in September 1947, soldiers dragged each passenger off of the ship in front of reporters and camera operators. Truman and the much of the world watched and knew that a Jewish state needed to be established. This story is immortalized in the novel by Leon Uris and the film produced and directed by Otto Preminger and released in 1960.

On May 14, 1948 the British government left Palestine and the State of Israel was proclaimed the same day. The United States was the first country to recognize the new State. Legal immigration began in earnest, even though the Israeli parliament, the Knesset, did not approve the "Law of Return," which allows any Jew to migrate to Israel and become a citizen, until July 1950.

Immigration to Israel increased rapidly, despite war against Arab neighbors. On May 15, 1948, the first day of Israeli statehood, 1700 immigrants arrived. There was an average of 13,500 immigrants each month from May through December of 1948, far exceeding the prior legal migration approved by the British of 1500 per month. Ultimately, the survivors of the Shoah were able to emigrate to Israel, the United States, or a host of other countries. The State of Israel accepted as many that were willing to come. Israel worked with the arriving DPs to teach them job skills, provide employment, and along with Sephardic Jewish immigrants from Iraq, Morocco, Egypt, Iran, Africa, Yemen, they helped build the state of Israel.

My father told me of the Kibbutz (commune) that we moved into. It was a perfect solution to help those who came with nothing. Our kibbutz was totally communal, even the shirt that he turned into the laundry was not the same shirt that he got back.

What a strange way to begin a life. What traumas did I inherit? What resources did I draw from to transcend these beginnings and possible, pre-beginnings of my life? I once had a reading done of the trauma points of my life and was told my first trauma occurred in the last trimester of my mother's pregnancy. I subsequently asked her what her life was like then. She describes herself as entering the DP camp pregnant and frail, holding a small bundle that carried all her possessions. She had food stamps but was too weak to stand in line. My father had met some friends and seemed to prefer their company to hers. She was unsure of their relationship and unsure if she would be left alone. When I put together the story of my father, I realize that just a few short years earlier, he was married to another woman and had 2 beautiful children. He had his own angst to deal with. She must have felt so alone; she had no-one else. This was not the same woman who in her younger years was full of passion, involved with many organizations and cultural events. It does not sound like the young woman I will describe next, who faced the oncoming calamity head on.

So my parents met in the midst of war; inappropriate as a couple, but like many other couples in these desperate circumstances, it was a necessary alliance forged in the midst of terror and fear for the primary intention of survival. Romance played a minor part. It was a running joke that a Litvak and a Galicianer would be married given the well-known differences attributed to the Vilna and Krakower communities.

I wrote the following poem about the contradictions and dilemmas of life.

Where`s the Exit Jean-Paul Sartre?

Solutions are not clear,
And secrets make you sick,
The whole is the sum of its parts,
And the whole is in the part.

My shadow is within,
My teddy bear is in my area of illusion,
It keeps me safe from me
And it keeps me safe from not me.

One size does not fit all,
Does anything fit at all?

Two things I know,
I exist, therefore I am

And
You exist, therefore we are.

CHAPTER 6: AN INITIAL GLIMMER OF RESILIENCE

"Every survivor has lived through a mythic trial, an epic an odyssey."
Eva Hoffman

6.1 IF I CAN'T GO THROUGH THE DOOR, I'LL GO THROUGH THE WINDOW

Through my mother's lenses: her story:

I, along with my best friend Frumele, am expectantly waiting for someone to come and help. We are in an empty factory just outside my shtetle (town) *of Vilna* (was part of Poland and is now part of Lithuana).

Vilna was a place where everyone always had something to do. Everyone belonged to one organization or another, was involved in one creative activity or another, art, theatre, music.

Before the "umglich"/catastrophe, I was in the woods with my friends and had a desire to simply lie down and sleep. I dreamt my Bubi/grandmother came to me carrying a basket of food and said: "Shayna's (her mother's name) children will be alright."

I was a Communist and I was wearing my Communist pin and my Communist hat.
She always whispered when she said this as if someone might overhear her and put her in prison, but not without pride in her voice.

My father didn't like that I belonged to the Communist Party but I was old enough to make my own choices. The Communist Party told us when it looked like the Germans were coming, they would help us. We waited and waited but no-one came. We could hear the bombs.

I felt an urgency to get going and I told Frumele: "I'm going".

"Where are you going?" she asked with fear.

"Wherever my eyes take me; just away from here." I told her.

Frumele said she was going to go back home, back to my parents. My mother never saw Frumele or her own parents again.

And so, her story continued.

I ran to the train station. It was bedlam. People were everywhere. There was nothing such as buying a train ticket. I started climbing through the window and someone yelled: "Laika, what do you think you're doing?"

I answered: "If I can't go through the door, I'll go through the window."

I was young and cute with bangs on my forehead. A woman offered for me to stay close by her and she would look after me. At one point the train stopped because we were being bombed. We all ran out into the field and lay flat on our stomachs. When I got up, the woman was gone, but my brother was beside me. At one of the train stops I overheard someone say they had an auto, a truck. I asked if I could go with them and help out with the baby. They agreed and my brother and I continued for 4 days until we got to Middle Asia.

The Russians loved my singing and would call to me: "Laika sing" and I sang.

My mother survived the Holocaust in the capital of Uzbekestan, Tashkent, and credits the Russians for her survival. She said they knew hunger, but they were given shelter and safety and even jobs by the Uzbeks. With the cold war, the Russians became our enemy and their character demonized.

I worked in a sweater factory. Other girls stole sweaters for bartering but I was an honest girl and I didn't steal even if that meant hunger.

At the Holocaust museum in Jerusalem, Yad Vashem, I learned about the chronology of events as Germany invaded Europe. I was shocked to find that Vilna, my mother's city, was the first event of the Holocaust. This is where the horror began in Operation Barbarossa in June 1941. That would make my mother 23 years old. Of a million Jews who lived in Vilna and its surroundings, only some eight thousand were fortunate enough to see the end of the Nazi occupation. The Jews who lived in the Lithuanian provinces were totally annihilated during the first few months of the war. The intensity of these massacres were unprecedented and included the obliteration of entire communities in an inhuman, unimaginable, face-to-face murder of utterly helpless people, including the old, women, children and infants. Massive participation of the Lithuanians in the persecution and murder, affected the dynamics of the Final Solution.

My mother was among the very few who survived. I was dumbstruck when I learned of the numbers. I was horrified when I learned of the Ponary massacre of 100,000 people, mostly Polish Jews, by German SD, SS and Lithuanian Nazi collaborators. The executions took place between July 1941 and August 1944 near the railway station of Ponary, now a suburb of Vilna Lithuania. I asked myself: "W*as this station near Ponary the same train station where my mother went? Probably!"*

Some 70,000 Jews were murdered in Ponary, along with an estimated 20,000 Poles and 8,000 Russians, many from nearby Vilna. Survivors of Ponary were people who fell into the pits but weren't shot; they crawled out from under the dead to go back

and tell people what was happening. It was the first time the Nazi plan became a reality. Leaders of Vilna from all political stripes tried to resist; a documentary, *"The Partisans of Vilna"* (1986) , chronicles the history of these brave resistance fighters against impossible circumstances. I recognized one of the partisans speaking in the documentary as one of my mother's colleagues at the Arbeiter Ring (now Worker's Circle). Her daughter, Rivka Augenfeld, is an immigration consultant in Montreal.

As Soviet troops advanced in 1943, the Nazi units tried to cover up the crime under the Aktion 1005 directive. Eighty inmates from the nearby Stutthof concentration camp prisoners were formed into *Leichenkommando* ("corpse units"). The workers were forced to dig up bodies, pile them on wood and burn them. The ashes were then ground up, mixed with sand and buried. After months of this gruesome work, the brigade managed to escape on April 19, 1944. Eleven of the group survived the war; their testimony contributed to revealing the massacre.

My mother never spoke of this. She never mentioned Ponary. When we asked her if she went back to Vilna after the war, she replied in a matter of fact manner: *"What for, there was nobody there."*

The amazing thing for me now is: *'How did my mother know to run when she did?'* She would not likely have survived if she hadn't made this spilt second decision.

"If I can't go through the door, I'll go through the window" demonstrates the resourcefulness and sheer intuition that she drew upon to survive her many trials.

And my mother did survive. And she helped her brothers and sisters who she found in various twists and turns of events. Miraculously of 3 brothers and 4 sisters only 1 brother and 1 sister perished. One brother died in East Russia as did her father; her sister, Henke, was shot when she was turned in as a Communist by the janitor. It was my mother who was the Communist, but her sister paid the price. She stayed behind to be with her mother. Her mother, Shayna, was also shot. She was hiding in the attic and was found when she became hysterical and shouted out with fear. The Nazi soldiers shot her through the ceiling. Still, we can say her grandmother's dream came true, considering the odds of surviving the Vilna ghetto and killings.

Survivor story after survivor story is a bizarre combination of luck, resourcefulness and '*chutzpah*'. '*Chutzpah*' is a wonderful Jewish word that is similar to bold, audacious, sassy, and wily, with a twist of rebelliousness and even rudeness. It is a trait much rewarded in children. In Israel, it is the norm and has been attributed to one of the reasons for the stunning success of its innovativeness and entrepreneurship: "*an outsider would see 'chutzpah' everywhere in Israel*." (Senor & Singer, 2009:30).

The antonym of *chutzpah*, I would say, is '*naïveté*. To be called naïve is a worse insult than to be called stupid. I surmise that the reason for this is that when the Nazi régime began, Jews did not believe they were targets for slaughter. Many even identified themselves not as Jews first, but as Germans, French, Hungarian etc. first. This naïveté was their death knell. On the other side, non-Jews too were either naïve, fearful, or did not want to know. Once more the danger of silence.

My mother continued to be a force of nature, fiercely protecting me and my brother at the least provocation, often to my embarrassment. Today, her indomitable spirit informs everything I do. After many years of seeing her as an over protective, fierce fully loving, fearful, worrying, sometimes hysterical, sometimes charming funny, scary, surprisingly articulate in English, uncannily intuitive, passionate, domineering, controlling, adorable, music loving, creative actress and singer – I am now in awe of her. I now give her credit for her positive influence on me. The comical picture of my short 24 year old mother climbing through a train window has served me well.

My darling mother died while I was finishing this discourse, on Dec 14, 2012. This would make her 93 at the time of her passing, or as I prefer to say, her expiration. Her last words to me were protective: "*Az ich bin krank, ees gei avek/Since I am sick, go away*."

My mother's story keeps me going forward whenever someone tells me that I can't do something, it is then that my resolve becomes stronger still.

I know that I must, as do the children in Klee's drawing, keep moving forward.

And so, my mother signals some important characteristics of resilience: she had *chutzpah* – was bold and non-compliant, intuitive, action-oriented, resourceful, charming, had the ability to sing and laugh and make friends. And of course, she had an ability to maintain presence of mind and be present to fortuitous opportunities that might come along.

6.2 THE 'COMBINATEUR': MY FATHER

My sweet, sad father would often talk about how he '*combineered*' to survive. A wonderful word which I took to mean: to combine this with that in order to get something else. For example, in Uzbekistan, where he escaped from Poland, he worked in a bakery and stole bread by putting the hot bread in his socks. It didn't matter that he burned his legs and needed to ease the pain by immersing his legs in warm water every night, he could trade that bread for other food, shoes, coal or other necessities of life.

He was a leader in Uzbekestan and brought coal to the shops, including a bakery which enabled him to steal bread for my mother and her sister and sister's family. He was reported to the authorities for stealing and was arrested. He contracted malaria, my mother bribed someone to get him out, and then she contracted malaria. They helped each other, as did all war couples, that was how many survived. It is a wonder to me when I meet a survivor couple who married for love and romance. The repercussions of these unusual liaisons on the 2nd Geners is not well understood, or rather, it is well felt by the 2nd Geners, but not documented in the research.

My father was born and raised in Krakow, Poland. Zalman or Zygmunt was movie star handsome. He was educated in both German and in Polish, as Krakow was occupied at various times by Austria as well as by Poland. He married a lovely woman, Hela, his pre-war wife as I think of her. She was from a religious home but my father was not. Her father asked the Rabbi if he should allow his daughter to marry this man who didn't even wear a skull cap and the Rabbi asked: *"is he good looking?"* The father replied: *"very handsome"* to which the Rabbi answered: *"then let her marry him"*.

Their two children, Henush and Helena must have made them very proud. It seems that people were told that Jewish men were being sent to labour camps, and so his wife urged him to flee. By the time he learned that the lives of women and children were in jeopardy, he tried to get back but was arrested. The story gets murky here. I understand from my mother, that he was arrested by the Polish army. He was shot in the foot somehow, but I don't know how. I have a likely answer to how he got to Uzbekestan, was provided by Esther, who I mentioned earlier. Her efforts to glean information on the Polish and Russian armies in which her father served, learned that the Russians, who used the Polish army, asked the men if they wanted to sign up for service or go home. Those who said they wanted to go home were sent to east Russian and that is possibly how my father ended up in Uzbekestan. Greater detail of her research on these armies is provided in Annex A; a comprehensive research piece that illustrates the painstaking work required to piece together our parents' experiences.

I also found out through my research into my parents place of marriage, that indeed there was a unit of the Polish army stationed in 1941 in the city where my parents were married, Gorczakowo, (English: Gorchakovo) Uzbekestan.

My father didn't speak about his pain. He would simply say every once in a while: *"I had two families"*. I couldn't respond. It was too painful for both of us.

I wrote this poem about my gentle father in my late teens.

Daddy's Home

It's six o'clock
Time for Daddy to come home
There's a fumbling at the lock
That's him, that's him.

A cold glow surrounds
The man who has brought
Karnartzel and cakes and chewing gum.

He blushingly watches our joyful acceptance
Of his offerings of love
Before even taking his coat off.

From what people told me about Krakow and recent research, I am now quite certain that his wife and children, my half siblings, were likely killed between 1940 and 1942.

Miraculously, we have the precious pictures of the children that I have provided in the Dedication to this discourse. I will likely never know what happened to them -- no, correction -- I will never have an accounting of what happened to them. My body will tell you that I know exactly what happened. I will talk about how I know in my body, in my memory, in my genes, the manner in which they died, in Chapter 8, "*The Missing Links*".

What I have learned about what might have transpired for my father's wife and children is this. During the inter-war years, with a well-established Jewish community of around 60,000, the city of Kraków was a centre of Jewish cultural life. The Kraków ghetto was officially established in March 1941. Two major camps were constructed nearby: the labour camp Plaszow, and the death camp Auschwitz, only forty miles away. After the initial occupation, the Jews were harassed and abused, and then made to resettle outside of the city. About 15,000 were left behind, to be used as forced labour.

Inside the Krakow ghetto, people were crammed together in harsh conditions, with little food. Those who were able to work were employed in factories set up in the ghetto or surrounding areas of the city; the most famous of these was the factory of Oskar Schindler, whose efforts to save the lives of his Jewish workers was made famous in Steven Spielberg's film "Schindler's List.

A friend of my father's cousin was the man who first relayed the Schindler story to the author, Thomas Keneally, the title of which was "*Schindler's Ark*". In fact my father's cousin told him not to bother the journalist saying: "*He's not interested*". My son and I had a good laugh when his cousin told us this story, one of the few family stories we have from the only cousin of my father, and the only surviving relative of my father.

I have concluded that my siblings were dead by the summer of 1942, even before the transports of the Kraków Jews began, to the death camp Belzec and Auschwitz.

When I find a picture such as this one, I wonder if they were there, if so, what did the mother feel on entering this place without my father by her side or were they already killed by then. The picture looks quite nice, a reflection of the beautiful city that was once their home.

View of the arched entrance to the Krakow ghetto. USHMM(73171) courtesy of Instytut Pamieci Narodowej

The Krakow ghetto included several important artists and musicians, including Mordechai Gebirtig, who wrote the prescient song Es Brent/It's burning, friends, our homes are burning (a wrenching song that my mother sang often with all the drama that she could muster). The ghetto housed the young Roman Polanski, who grew up to become a renowned film director. Polanski's film, "*The Pianist*" tells the story of the musician and *Warsaw ghetto* survivor *Wladyslaw Szpilman*.

And the wondering continues…perhaps they were alive and were in the ghetto and heard these children play their musical instruments?

Jewish children in the Krakow ghetto play violins for the cameraman, Sep 1939 - 1940. USHMM Photo Archives (18707), courtesy of Muzeum Historii Fotografii. (Source: http://holocaustmusic.ort.org/places/ghettos/krakow/)

My main motivator, really above all, is the great sadness I carry for the death of two of the 1,500,000 children who were murdered -- Henush, and Helena who were only 4 and 3 years old. I cannot write this sentence without tearing up. I cannot speak their names without choking up. I feel a connection with them beyond this dimension. There are no burials, no documents, and no information about their existence. Their existence is real and matters to me. I am the carrier of their memory. This burden is the most cherished of all. I am in Klee's drawing, carrying this precious burden.

I have much more to learn about my father. He would say that he would never go back to Poland because he would be arrested immediately. I thought he was being cowardly. I now understand that this means he might have been considered an enemy of the state. I know he was arrested at one point when he tried to get back to his wife and children. Was he in a Polish prison? On what charge? How did he get out? Did he get sent to Uzbekestan because he was considered a communist, a dissident?

Here are some observations on resilient traits that helped my father survive: resourceful, self-sacrificing, leadership and ability to '*combineer'*/combine this with that to get something else. (Combineer is not a word in English but is used in Holland and in Israel – perhaps other countries as well. "Combinateur" is a bonafide noun used in Israel to describe someone.)

CHAPTER 7: TO PATHOLOGIZE OR NOT TO PATHOLOGIZE: RE-STORYING THE SECOND GENERATION SYNDROME

"Every stress leaves an indelible scar, and the organism pays for its survival after a stressful situation by becoming a little older." Hans Selye

7.1 RE-STORYING THE SECOND GENERATION SYNDROME

"The Past, Along Us."
From the film: "Everything is Illuminated"

In the 1970s, the issue of the possible sequelae suffered by the children of Holocaust survivors began to emerge, and the complexity of their psychopathology became increasingly apparent. The publication of Helen Epstein's "*Children of the Holocaust: Conversations with Sons and Daughters of Survivors*" in 1979, is considered the point where the experiences of the "*second generation*" came into the public domain. From that point onward, there was a surge of literary production. Alan L. Berger published the first survey of second generation texts in 1997: "*Children of Job: American Second-Generation Witnesses to the Holocaust*", the first attempt at second-generation canon formation.

Throughout the 1980's and 1990s, there has been a steady academic interest in the second generation. In the 21st Century, two anthologies have served to update and continue the process of canon formation. Alan and Naomi Berger's "*Second Generation Voices: Reflections by Children* ", published in 2001 and Melvin Jules Bukiet's: "*Nothing Makes You Free*", published in 2002.

My fellow 2nd Geners and I have been moving forward from our inherited past, while also carrying our cherished burdens. It is a heavy walk as depicted in the heavy lines surrounding the children in Klee's *Burdened Children* drawing. The boxes the children are carrying on their heads and back represents the burdens of their legacy that they carry consciously or not. I have added the adjective *'cherished'* to the burdens to convey the sense that for each and every one of us, it is an honour to carry the burden of our lost past and our parents senseless and unnatural suffering.

Some of the terms that I will be using:

Secondary traumatic stress refers to person's distress regarding a traumatic event that he or she has not experienced directly but rather learned about, or was exposed to, through a close connection with the survivor of the traumatic event (Bar-On, 1998).

Syndrome is as any group of shared traits or features. A syndrome can have positive or negative traits. (Porter, 1981: 33).

Differentiation of self refers to the individual's ability to balance two basic forces: the need for connectedness and the need for individuation. People who are more differentiated are generally able to maintain their sense of self while they are in close relationship with loved ones and significant others. People who are less differentiated tend to sacrifice their own wants and needs in order to maintain/protect the relationship with significant others. (Giladi: 2011)

Attachment Theory: A primary function of attachment relationships is to serve as a source of security for the infant in situations that induce fear or anxiety in the child. It is assumed that children develop an internal working model of their affective bonds during the first four years of life, that is they construct a mental representation of socio-emotional aspects of the world, of others, of self, and of relationships to others who are special to the individual. (cited by Bar-On: 1998 re Bowlbly, 1973, 1984) In addition, parents' attachment security has been found to be predictive of behaviour towards their children. (cited by Bar-On 1998 re Cromwell & Feldman 1988; Ward & Carlson, 1995) Insecure mothers who are still preoccupied with their own attachment experiences, appear to switch between overprotecting their children and inviting role reversal and parentification on the part of their children, thus stimulating the transmission of secure and insecure attachment across generations. (Bar-On, 1998)

Family communication can be considered as a spectrum ranging from positive-open communication indicated by free flowing verbal exchange of emotional and factual information between family members to that of avoidance or reluctance to talk or share any personal experiences with each other. (Giladi: 2011)

The Second Generation Syndrome: Socio-Political, Psychological and Subjective Considerations:

There is a rather unknown historical reason for pathologizing the effects of the Holocaust. When a group of psychoanalysts first broached the issue of Reparations with the German authorities, they were told the request did not seem justified. The authorities cited the successful adaptation and prominence of so many survivors, including those who raised the issue of Reparations. It was then that a procedure for documenting the negative consequences was given a strong impetus. (Berger, 1997)

The emotional and physical impact of traumatization of those who survived has been a subject of study since the early 1950s, mostly by psychoanalysts. Certainly, the perspective that has been traditionally taken by clinicians, with well-developed systems for the description and measurement of psychological and physical illness, have contributed to the literature on trauma and on trans-generation trauma. The people who come to their attention are people with physical or psychological problems, so their impressions of the community are automatically biased. When they or their colleagues turn to empirical research, the questions they ask are slanted in the direction of their initial clinical observations; their information about health only consists of evidence for the absence of dysfunction or illness (Porter, 1981).

A more prevalent basis for the high number of studies on the effects of trauma in survivors of the Shoah is due to the large numbers in this population, the scope of countries involved and the obvious cruelty and suffering perpetrated on a race of people. The first systematic reports of the long-term negative effects of the Holocaust on survivors were published in the early and mid-60s. The effect on their families was revealed in the late 60s and early 70s. In 1968 Niederaland published a landmark study on survivor trauma based on his work with nearly 1000 Holocaust survivors. In the 1960s Neiderland (1964), Eitinger 1964), Sigal and Weinfeld (1989) and others identified a host of symptons in survivors including: guilt, depression, ulcers, irritability, social withdrawal, and anger.

Studies of the 2nd Generation are not as broad, but nevertheless significant. By the early 80s and 90s the effects on the descendants of Holocaust/Shoah survivors began to receive attention Barocas and Barocas (1973); Berger, 1988); Davidson (1992) Rakoff (1966).

The Survivor Syndrome for the 2nd generation became known as "*trans-generational transmission of trauma*" but only a decade after first observed in the 70s was there any research done: Danieli (1988), Freyberg (1980), Roden and Roden (1982), Sigal, Silver, Rakoff and Ellin (1973). In the course of the next 15 years, a flood of confirmatory studies appeared and the popular press began to carry these stories. By then, these

negative effects had become so well-known that they became stereotypical; survivors and their families became categorized as neurotic or worse.

Matters came to a head in the United States when an article by Helen Epstein appeared in the New York Times Magazine. In this article she described dysfunctional families of survivors and the negative effects on the children. Several letters to the editor then appeared, written by adult children of survivors refuting these descriptions. Some of the writers described their parents' positive qualities, the warm family atmosphere created by their survivor parents, and the benefits they derived from it.

In the early 1980's, when the first major studies were produced on the possible transmission of trauma from parents to children, the question that arose was whether the symptomology of 2nd Geners fits pre-existing paradigms of psychopathogenesis or requires a new articulation or a new paradigm. Another complicating factor is the difficulty in differentiating from pre-Holocaust pathology given good and bad family experiences, from their post-Holocaust symptoms.

Kellerman (1999) elucidates the shortcomings of psychiatric diagnoses to describe the experience of Holocaust survivors:

> *"The persistent anxiety, phobias and panic of survivors are not the same as ordinary psychosomatic disorders. Their depression is not the same as ordinary depression, and the degradation of their identity and relational life is not the same as ordinary personality disorder."*

Kellerman believes that both Holocaust survivors and their children:

> *"… seem to suffer from inflexible and maladaptive patterns of perceiving, relating to, and thinking about the environment and about themselves. In the final analysis, there might be a need for a new category here also, such as 'transmitted trauma syndrome'."*

Overall, the controlled studies (I emphasize controlled) have not found any extreme psychopathology and most subjects have been reported to be within the normal range (cited by Bar-On,1998: Felsen & Ehrlich, 1990; Leon et al, 1981; Rieck, 1994; Rieck & Eitinger, 1983; Rose & Garske, 1987; Sigal & Weinfeld, 1987; Weiss, O'Connell & Siiter, 1986).

In a more recent quantitative study, Giladi and Bell (2011), distributed an on-line questionnaire to 218 people. Participants who had no relatives with Holocaust exposure were used to form two control groups to match the 2nd Geners and also 3rd Generation samples based on age and family background information. The study

examined the relationship between family communication, differentiation of self and levels of secondary traumatic stress among second and third generation .

Although results indicated that 2nd and 3rd Generations experience higher secondary traumatic stress compared to each of their control groups; for the majority of the participants, 56% of 2nd Geners and 71% of 3rd Geners, the levels of secondary traumatic stress were within the normal range.

Bar-On postulates on the lack of findings of psychopathology saying, "*there is a lack in the …validity of the psychoanalytic concepts used in clinical literature*" or to "*the lack of a theoretical framework, which is at the same time supported by solid empirical research."(*Bar-On, 1995:25)

I would suggest that neither of these reasons explains the results. It seems to me that by "controlling' questions and consequently the responses, we restrict the variety and depths of human experience. Further, to look to pathological terms or to empirical based evidence to construct a theory is like looking for your dropped key under the lamp post. I prefer the postmodern, Social Constructionist stance, which is contrary to the positivist, empirical stance, or evidence-based approach. Rather than draw conclusions from normative predictions about how people think, feel and behave, I prefer to make meaning about human differences through peoples' interactions and through the inter-play, the in-between as I called it in my opening chapter, of interpretations and preferences.

I believe that the problem with the positivistic paradigm in the study of 2nd Geners, is that it focuses on the final results and not on the process. The story of the 2nd Geners, is not the story of achievement, but of the adaptation process which in many ways is different than that of 'regular' people. Thus reflection is probably the ultimate methodology for this issue.

And so, in the remainder of this chapter, I will review and comment on the '*syndrome*' with a new lens, incorporating personal reflections and experiences as well as those of others. In the remainder of this discourse, I will look still further afield to help me describe the 2nd Generation as a culture, rather than as a 'syndrome' and look for its strengths rather than its deficits.

The 2nd Generation Syndrome

The extent of trauma and behavioural manifestations were seen as ranging from severe problems for some, and healthier picture of others. The severity depended on a number of variables such as:

- the personality and emotional stability of the parent

- age when left Europe for Israel, Canada or the U.S.A or other countries
- reaction to immigration experience
- participation in wars of liberation; etc.
- place of their parents' survival: death camps, smuggling, rescuing, forced labour, hiding places, fighting partisans, rebels in the ghettos, hidden children, *transport kinder*, DP camps, etc.;

Giladi (2011) found that the level of communications in the family had an impact on the severity of the syndrome.

Danieli (1980 cited by Wardi 1992) identified 4 categories of survivor families – fighters, victims, those who made it, and numb (psychic closing off). He proposes a descriptor of behaviours based on the experiences the parents had in the Holocaust. I include two as examples. In my experience, these descriptors blend and vary as the parents' experiences themselves moved at different times from victim to victor over adversity.

The Victim Families characterized by: depression, anxiety, worry and food obsession.

The Fighter Families characterized by: active, positive self-concept; cover up feelings of anxiety, helplessness, loss and humiliation, little tolerance for weakness, expectations for achievement (resulting in significant achievements in the world of academia, business, government, army, arts, etc.).

Bar-On (1998) found that loss and trauma studies show a consistent relation between unresolved or '*aberrated*' mourning or trauma with the child's successful coping; that it is not the trauma itself but the lack of resolution of mourning/trauma that promotes disorganized behaviour in the child who perceives the parent as either a frightened model or as directly frightening (Bar-On, 1998: 319-320). I will talk more about '*aberrated mourning*' in Chapter 9.

It is not surprising that survivors faced difficulties in resolving their mourning given the traumatic loss of significant others as well as traumatic experiences such as imprisonment, death, radical reversal of norms and values, disillusionment etc. In addition, "sequential traumatization" (cited by Bar-On, Keilson: 1992) following the Shoah, added to their inability to take the time to mourn.

There is no doubt that the grown children of (and refugees in general) are inheritors of a heartbreaking legacy.

I present the descriptions of the 2nd generation syndrome with hesitation. I have provided my own personal commentary in an attempt to nuance these descriptions

and present the various colours and textures that live with individuals in their individual contexts. The list may or may not be true for all; and may not even be true for some.

1. The experience as a 2nd generation survivor of the Holocaust is a core part of their identity:

Comment: Miriam Greenspan born in a DP camp after the Holocaust poetically said: "*I felt I imbibed the Holocaust experience with my mother's milk*". (cited by Gottlieb, 1990:390)

Comment: Every 2nd Gener that I spoke to feels that the Holocaust is always there, whether they have had happy and even idyllic childhoods and are content with their adult lives or have suffered from the nightmares of their parents.

2. Children of survivors showed parallel symptons to those associated with the concentration camp syndrome "since many children of survivors were exposed to their parents' affective and disturbing trauma from the moment of their birth i.e. guilt, depression, ulcers, irritability, lack of trust of others, social withdrawal and anger.

Comment: Dan Bar-On (1998), an Israeli psychoanalyst who has written about the effects of the Holocaust on three generations, as well as on the German children who inherited their parents' cruel legacy, points out something that I found remarkable in its meaning and in that I had never thought of it. The 2nd Geners, unlike their parents, always had the Holocaust. We were born with it. Our parents had normal childhoods with relatively normal parents. My mother's home town of Vilna, was the cultural capital of Poland. I caught a glimpse of that lost culture in the documentary, "*The World was Ours*" (Van Doren, 2005) and I was both thrilled to see how vibrant her city was, and saddened, by the loss to me and my children of this knowledge.

3. Identification with Death -- the children born right after the war absorbed the sense of death that enveloped their parents and sometimes the identification with death became a central element of their personality.

Comment: My brother and I were not only afraid of death but were also afraid of old people. We didn't have grandparents and old people looked frightening to us. One evening when my parents were out, an older person came to the door asking for money. We screamed in terror, slammed the door and kept kitchen knives by our side until our parents came home. We didn't tell them of course. It was not possible to share our emotions with them.

4. Personal identity is unstructured and undefined with many components not in their proper place. This is due to the empty spaces left by the disappearance of their past. The beginning of their family history was the moment of their birth.

Comment:

Named after deceased relatives, identified to these deceased and unknown figures, it is no wonder that it is so difficult for them to consolidate a clear, well-defined, and independent self-identity (Wardi 1992:98).

5. Separation-Individuation difficulties i.e. process of achieving independence from parents and the process of forming a separate and positive image. A simpler way to say this is '*compulsive clinging*' by the traumatized parents and their emotional inability to understand the child's needs. On the other hand, the child is seen as an extension of themselves or family member – every failure or difficult event or emotion becomes catastrophic.

"This intolerance of their children's autonomous growth and separation resulted in greater family enmeshment for the children after the Holocaust." (cited by Wardi, 1992 of Rose and Garske, 1987; Sigal and Weinfeld, 1989).

Often in families of survivors, '*separation*' becomes associated with death. A child who does manage to separate may be seen as betraying or abandoning the family. And anyone who encourages a child to separate may be seen as a threat, or even a persecutor. The core issue explains why survivors were sensitive to separation and had difficulties to help their children achieve fully autonomy.

Comment: Bar-On et al took the approach of focusing on attachment theory to understand more fully the intergenerational transmission of Holocaust experiences, based on three qualitative and quantitative studies in The Netherlands, Canada and Israel. The findings in the Netherlands (cited by Bar-On, et al., 1990) found that though the parents demonstrated the same affection as the reference groups, the children had difficulties with separations and also overprotection by the parent and parentification.

Comment: Like many young people throughout the world, many found less confrontational way to break the bonds by going into early marriages or by taking on studies at universities away from home.

Comment: The hippie movement with charismatic folk heroes, who were also Jewish, such as Bob Dylan and Alan Ginsberg, came along at a fortuitous time for me. Fritz Perl's admonition to "*do your own thing*" also known as '*The Gestalt Prayer*'

gave me the power to rationalize my attempts to separate from my parents and move away.

The Gestalt Prayer
Fritz Perls, 1969

I do my thing and you do your thing.
I am not in this world to live up to your expectations,
And you are not in this world to live up to mine.
You are you, and I am I
and if by chance we find each other, it's beautiful.
If not, it can't be helped.

I would grab onto Bob Dylan's songs like "*teach your parents well*" and I would loudly belt out the tune. Similarly, Leonard Cohen's lyrics and haunting tunes with a combination of western and Jewish/Russian strains made me feel I was not alone during times of melancholia.

Comment:

I think the dilemma of how far we go to protect our children versus setting them free is one that all parents face. I recently reflected on my own parenting and wrote this poem.

I Wish I Was a "Yah-No" Mom

As time goes by, I wonder about the emptiness left behind
by the "No"
I wonder about the sadness that grew and grew
with each "No".

How can I say "No" to the children I love,
When I can still feel the empty craters ground deep inside
With each denial still resounding in my head.

Who will sooth them? Will they recover? Will they be stronger, more resilient, and more resourceful? Will they find their own way?

Do I have the courage to say,
"Yes" to their ability to do it themselves,
"Yes" to my ability to sit with myself.

I knew a woman who would answer questions with"yah-no"

I never knew which answer she was giving, but things moved ahead anyway.

I wish I had been a "yah-no" Mom
And my kids would never have empty craters to fill.
They would say: "Mommy, I can do it by myself",
And, "Mom, you're not the boss of me",
And, "Mother, I know what I'm doing".
I would simply reply, "yah-no",
Because in the middle of yes-no,
There are no fearful unknown futures
Theirs or mine
There's only
"I can choose"
And if I get it wrong
"I can choose again".

6. Over-protectiveness and over-anxiety might develop a strong capacity for functioning and adaptation; or the opposite may occur as manifested in a sense of failure in their perception of self. Given the parents' extreme levels of insecurity, they wished for maximal security for their children.

Unfortunately, the message they relayed was of imminent danger and promulgated all kinds of restrictive imperatives. This added to the difficulties of separation.

Comment:

The restrictions on me came in many forms of rigidity around my freedom in relation to time and in numerous phone calls from my mother. I needed to arrive exactly at the time expected or there would be hysterics when I got home. Sometimes there would be kind policemen at my house when I arrived, who seemed surprisingly understanding. With the advent of cell phones, my mother was thrilled. She could now expect to reach me conveniently no matter where I was!

7. The psychic closing-off of the Holocaust victims served as the principal defence mechanism – led to depression and despair or alternatively to hyperactivity and restlessness. They were also compelled to distance themselves emotionally from others especially their relatives. The 2nd Geners were exposed to these moods and absorbed and assimilated the messages:
-- beware of any emotional outburst as it holds the danger of death. This message in turn led to a redemptive psychic closing off by the 2nd Geners to help their parents.

The combination of separation-individuation problems and emotional distancing difficulties, led to problems from forming and maintaining intimate attachments to forming extreme symbiotic attachments.

Comment: Further study of never married, separated or divorced statistics may indicate a greater than average number of single people. I have been struck by what seems to me a greater number than the norm of both men and women who have taken on the responsibility of caring for their parents at the cost of forming and maintaining their own relationships.

8. Narcissistic union with the parents makes them rescuers of the objects that died as well as rescuers of the damaged parents. Similarly, the parent's damaged self-esteem is internalized by the children.

"To be a good daughter was to be a happy one. It doesn't seem as if it should be such a burden to have a mandate to be happy, but it is. …We were to help our parents in their projection of assimilation". (Wardi 1992:24)

9. Mothers are unable to clearly and directly provide their daughters with all the love and feeling she needs; unable to hold the daughter's feelings of pain, anger, aggression, or desire to compete or rebel against her mother.

Comment: This observation was certainly a reality for me. Any expression of emotion on my part, especially sadness and heartbreak, was met with angry admonishments to not cry or disparaging humour: *"there goes Niagara Falls again"*, about my easy tears. I think she simply loved me so much, she couldn't bear for me to be in pain. That generation hadn't been exposed to the fine art of listening; not a capacity or construction well understood or easily applied by today's parents either.

10. Holocaust survivors have also been described as overprotective and constantly reminding their children of potential dangers. The 2nd gen thus developed cynicism, phobias, lack of trust and feelings of victimization (Fogelman, cited by Bulka ed. 1981).

Comment: I have a funny story about the warnings of danger. My mother at 93 suffers from dementia and words don't come to her. At one visit, as I was preparing to leave, she said: *"wait don't go, I have something to say."* She struggled and struggled, but the words didn't come. I said: *"Do you want to say'be careful'*? "Yes" she replied excitedly, "*Be careful, be careful, don't go where you shouldn't*." I left with a tear in my eye, rather than the anger those words used to generate in my 20's.

My Mother Has Two Sisters

My mother has two sisters
Called Doubt and Disappointment

Their dark shadows hovering around me
At my every turn.
Always nearby
Nattering in my mind.

"Be careful
Better watch out
You'll be disappointed
You'll cry
You don't know enough
You're not strong enough
You're not pretty enough
You're not smart enough
You'll cry, you'll cry."

11. 2nd Geners are either hostile and mistrustful of gentiles or they rebel and date/marry non-Jews. (Kuoerstein, cited by Bulka 1981)

Comment: To say dating non-Jews is a rebellious act is rather simplistic. I dated and married a non-Jewish man. I believed that after this catastrophic event, there would no longer EVER be hatred and racism and genocide again. I would serve as a torch bearer, rather than a '*memorial candle*'; among the first generation to break with a narrow view of culture to one of a citizen of the world where religion will no longer be a force of divisiveness and exclusivity.

I also wanted desperately to escape the isolation that came with being a kind of refugee and the loneliness that came with being a child without an extended family. There was no one around to take some of the pressure off our small family unit.

I thought I would marry into a '*normal*' family where people weren't so emotional and where I would feel more normal. I remember well, the first time I saw that emotionality wasn't all that is was made out to be when I saw the strength and decorum that Jacqueline Onassis portrayed at the funeral of John F. Kennedy. I didn't know that was even possible! I admired this ability to harness emotions without losing heart. That my marriage in fact didn't deliver on my hopes is unfortunate.

12. Have more guilt than other children. Bar-On (1998) identifies a paradox. The combination of childhood preoccupation with parental sadness, plus the belief that one is not entitled to personal happiness, sets the stage for pervasive and persistent feelings of guilt. The 2nd Gener suffer guilt simply because their circumstances are so much better, even though they realized that this was what their parents wanted for them and is due to their sacrifices: "*life is a matter of unrelenting seriousness*". (Bar-On 1998: 325)

Comment: I believe this means that when a 2nd Gener does not meet their parents' expectations, they suffer more guilt because they have been given the job of making up for their losses. This is likely why 2nd gen adults have been so successful in all walks of life. For example, after quota restrictions were removed from attendance at medical schools, the Jewish students were over represented and had high achievement rates. Many 2nd Geners are in the helping professions and fighter for social justice.

13. Tended to be more alienated and experienced a greater degree of autonomy. (Sigal, Silver, Rakoff, & Ellin, 1973) who administered tests such as Netter's Alienation Scale, Behavioural problem check lists, mental health questionnaires).

Comment: I did have a greater degree of autonomy than most and I loved it. My readings were never censored and values or religious teachings were not imposed on me. I formed my own opinions and was appalled if anyone deigned to question my freedom. I think I was raised, in fact, in the most modern of fashions, that of a self-regulating child.

14. The demonstration of anger can be both conflict-inducing and a manifestation of separation and individuation, both of which were often strongly discouraged by the parents. The children therefore had to suppress their emotions to avoid causing additional pain to their parents, and channeled their anger inwardly. Interestingly, as a result they entered helping professions (Danieli, 1982 cited by Berger 1997:14).

Comment: I will be dealing with anger separately as I think it is a large concept to be examined. At a personal level, my mother and I had terrible arguments. She seemed to get energy from poking at me until she elicited my rage. And then I would feel guilty for '*losing it*' and hurting her. I now believe she used arguments as a ploy to keep me close to her, or at least to prove to her that I loved her enough to become emotional.

I wrote this poem when I was 19.

A Mute Appeal

Help the giver of my life
Help the taker of the death
and life I deal to her

Stop up her heart at the penalty
of stagnation
Stop it up anyway

15. The loss in general and the loss of important figures of the past had an impact on the parents' affective resources

Comment: In my dialogues, the affective resources of parents varied widely. In our groups, people felt that we are all different, that there were many variables such as: age at which we emigrated. The older we were when we left Europe, the more difficult the adjustment; and further, the country of origin and the new home country as well as the number of new home countries that we went to made for different parental experiences and attitudes.

16. Depression from over-identification with their parents.

Comment: I interviewed my cousin, Morris Schachter (he and my brother were both named after our mother's father, Moishe Alperowicz) with a view to determine if he suffered from depression given his life-long devotion to his parents, and having remained unmarried or with a long term partner. On the contrary, he portrayed himself to be a person who made his own choices and was happy with those choices. This is part of what he said:

> *"My father brings out the most emotion in me. I identify with my father when he says he lost everybody – the look on his face. I hate to see that in my father. I just faced it and dealt with it in a manner that let him feel better. My way of coping was facing it and accepting it and going on. I learned to face the facts and move on with my life; it is always on my mind but it is in a place where I can handle it. It is always there. … It's important to do the right thing. It is part of my nature. Survival is part nature, part experience -- and being truthful."*

I believe he represents the majority of devoted children. I don't believe they are '*depressed*' but rather sad and angry for the terrible losses of their parents. He goes on to say:

"My greatest anger is towards Germans for killing my father's six-year old sister, his 80 year old grandfather and his six brothers and sisters. I listened to his nightmares at night and was sorry for my father for having to go through it."

I would agree with Romanyshyn who defends our right to melancholy (perhaps a better term for sadness or even depression). He believes that much of our depression, individually and collectively exists because we do not allow ourselves to grieve (see discussion on page 112).

17. Children create symbols of rebirth and restoration, magical expectations that would undo the destruction of the Holocaust and replace lost families.

Comment: After trauma, people can usually find their anchors and wisdom in their roots – our roots were uprooted. I lived in a fantasy world, often losing myself and all sense of time. I often imagined that I had been misplaced in this family but then, taking the plot to where I would leave my parents, left me in tears imagining their grief at losing me.

18. Survivors and the 2nd Geners are prone to excessive reactions to innocuous stimuli, authority figures, dogs, noise, etc. A study on cortisol levels in survivors as well as the 2nd Geners reveals higher levels of this stress hormone (King et al 2008).

Comment: This hyper vigilance is common in people suffering from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). Hyper vigilance is a form of scanning the environment to determine what dangers might lie ahead that may require flight or fight, as per the well-known work of Hans Selye [4] on stress.

That the 2nd Geners are also hyper vigilant may be in part a transmission of the trauma. It may also be part of a similar syndrome suffered by the sensitive child of alcoholics (Woititz, 1990) or sensitive children in general who bear the burden of rescuing their parents by learning to observe closely their parents every affect. (Miller, 1997)

The protagonist, Jakob Beer, in Anne Michaels' novel and the subsequent film, *Fugitive Pieces*, is both a child Holocaust Survivor and a 2nd Generation eyewitness in the construction of memory. He is often seen listening, counting on his aural faculties to determine possible dangers.

A satirical haiku poem I wrote recently in English and Yiddish which captures the bathos of my mother's regular startled shouts, hyper vigilance and over-

[4] Scientist **Hans Selye** (1907-1982) introduced the **General Adaptation Syndrome** model in 1936

protectiveness. The 'Oy vey' at the end can be taken as the daughter moaning in frustration, or the mother screaming in mortal fear.

The daughter sneezed	*Dei tochtar hoht genossen*
The mother yelled	*Dei Mame hoht geshreiyen*
Oy vey!	*Oy vey!*

19. Since most parents view luck to explain their good fortune to survive, children view life as precarious and unreliable.

Comment: Though we may see the world as precarious, i.e., not knowing what may be around the corner, what is also true is that for me and virtually all of the 2nd Geners and even 3rd Geners that I spoke with, is that we consider ourselves very lucky and expect that we will continue to be lucky despite the precariousness of the world. We even have many superstitious rituals to ensure that this luck will remain, like spitting 3 times to ensure when something good happens that it doesn't go bad. These rituals are common to other cultures and Sephardic Jews -- predominantly from Arab and Spanish countries, as well as Ashkenazi Jews – mainly from Europe.

20. Parental praise and empathy was poor, while criticism was frequent. Often praise meant for the child was communicated only in conversations with acquaintances and friends who talk a great deal about their children's accomplishments (Bar-On 1998: 326).

Comment: I noted that parents everywhere talk about their children's accomplishment and wonder about the quality of direct praise in other cultures – I suspect they are fairly similar, especially in immigrant families, where a shortfall in parental expectations has the sense of catastrophe, imbibed with a fear of not having enough to survive.

21. Expectation for high achievement. What may have been a message for becoming a decent person, a "mensch"/a decent person, was taken by the 2nd Geners that they must achieve no less than perfection (Bar-On 1998: 325). Therefore, they always felt that they fell short of fulfilling their parents' expectations. In many cases, the message about what the parents hoped for from their children reflected what might have been.

I do believe that some of the characteristics in the '*syndrome*' are helpful descriptors. They are helpful in that they validate some of my experiences and other descriptors validate those experiences that other people may have. As with most descriptions, there is a continuum of degree.

For some, the impact may be so traumatic as to have caused serious pathological disturbances, some that even led to suicide (Dasburg, 1987), while others had lovely childhoods. I also think these syndrome descriptors can be attributed to many other '*generationally challenged*' inheritances and may be useful as starting points for dialogue.

Many of the studies on 2nd Geners descriptions evolved out of objective questionnaires which may have, by their very nature, perpetuated the syndrome. I reviewed such a PhD. study published this year (Giladi, 2011) that repeated much of the traits already identified but concluded that the traits were within the norm of the general population. I wondered where the meaning was in such studies.

In conclusion, there are a multiplicity of stories and a multiplicity of impacts to the stories that the 2nd generation carries. We are cautioned to view the label '*insecure*' to not necessarily mean clinical disturbance, because many insecure children and adults adapt successfully to the demands of their environment (Bar-On, 1998: 330).

From this discussion we see numerous meanings emerge that range from damaged to healthy, pathological to a set of traits that collectively are called a syndrome. In Chapter 8 we will see more complex possibilities of inherited memories that create pathologies that don't belong to the individual at all.

What we want to avoid is the danger that we see in psychotherapy, of serving the status quo, of adjusting the individual to the existing social, political and economic norms.

What we can say, is that members of the 2nd generation, like the 3rd and 4th generation, are part of their own generations' contexts and also part of a distinct group. All of these generations, Jewish and non-Jewish, have a diversity of experience and that experience is constantly changing.

7.2 AND WITH THIS KNOWLEDGE, SADNESS AND CHERISHED BURDENS

"In the beginning was Auschwitz."
Melvin Jules Bukiet

I would like to expand on the traits of sadness and inherited burden that comes with the strong identification with our parents. The following quote is from a survivor parent.

Every reminisence was associated with pain. It reopened wounds, revived those terrible experiences, renewed the sense of loss, one which none of us could come to terms with. It demonstrated that you could not escape the burden of what happened, and that this was a crushing weight, no less painful than a millstone. There was no way of casting it off. Everyone who had the experience carried it with them, and if they are still alive, they are still carrying it today. The experiences sink in and grow inside you, they become part of you and no treatment, not even the most complex surgery, will remove this growth." (Anonymous)

The quote above poignantly reflects the dilemmas faced by the people who became our parents. It follows that children of survivors have an intense need to act as their protectors. It is as though we were in each other's skin, a kind of empathic resonance.

Dian Wardi (1992)

"The cutting off of the natural processes of intergenerational continuity has imposed on the 2nd gen both the privilege and the obligation of being the connecting link that heals the trauma of the cutting off and fulfills the enormous expectations, of their parents – and perhaps not theirs alone, but also to some extent, those of the entire Jewish people.

The burden of these expectations is simultaneously an activating and facilitative factor and an oppressive and retarding factor for the growth and functioning of the 2nd Geners. ..both of these inner forces exist among all the children of survivors but the two forces have different weights on the internal balance in different people, and this affects their ability to cope and to function, as well as their need to seek therapeutic assistance.

Wardi expounds on the observation of the 2nd generation as the scapegoat child, or memorial candle, as she calls the children who help to fill the void of their parents. She says:

"*As long as the 'memorial candle accepts the task of immersing himself in the past and playing both the parents' role and the role of the lost family, the parents do not have to confront the loss of their dear ones and truly come to terms with it*. (Wardi 1992:99)

This role is not particular to 2nd Gener Jewish children. As noted earlier, Miller (1997) cites the requirement of one generation to fill the void by the previous generation a pervasive, never ending dysfunction passed on one from generation to another if we do not become aware of it and stop it. It plays out like this. I have a void because my needs weren't met by my limited and/or wounded parents so when I have children I expect them to fill this void. They in turn then, develop their own form of void and expect their children to fill it, and so on and so on.

We also carried the burden that children of immigrants of all displaced persons carry, serving as their interpreters, writing cheques, filling out forms, explaining the culture, advocating for ourselves at school. I was an evening student through all but my last year at university. I watched an adult student who I supposed was an immigrant and wrote this empathic poem.

The Immigrant

Great country this Canada
I go to the University at night
Nice place
Pretty girls
I better not get in the way
Smiles
I'm very tired
Looks around
Maybe I'll buy a nice modern suit
Looks around again
This music these young people play
Not so bad
I'm happy here
Taps foot
Wish I could get rid of this headache
Rubs forehead
I feel a little lost
Wish my family could see me now
Frowns
They wouldn't understand
But they would be proud
Must have cost a lot of money this building
Grimaces
Wish I had had this when I was young
Taps foot nervously
Hard this course I'm taking
My kids will be luckier
If another war doesn't come.

Another difficulty for 2nd Geners is the isolation we feel from having only a notional idea of what life was like for our ancestors before the Holocaust. Was it sort of like '*Fiddler on the Roof*' I would wonder. That didn't look like much fun for the Jews either. The having no 'before' was like an impenetrable mystery, a mystery that sat internally at an unconscious or repressed level. As children, we didn't know, nor did we feel we had the permission -- the safe space so to speak -- to ask questions about

the past for fear that it might end up in tearfulness. One 2nd Gener commented that In Klee's drawing there are no mouths because they dared not speak.

This lack of knowledge coupled with the inability to be curious in a safe environment added to the sense of sadness for a lost past and to our personal burden of being alone to sort out our growing sense of self. The Holocaust trumped everything! Our own feelings, our own struggles didn't amount to much in comparison with the Holocaust.

We had the job of sorting out our parents stories. We had the job of sorting out why our families were killed. We had the job of understanding why people didn't speak up and defend their neighbours, and many even became the complicit aggressors. We had the job of sorting out why the world allowed so many people to be killed. We had the job of sorting out frightening words like "Gestapo", gas chambers, numbers on arms. And, we pondered the unanswerable: "*why were we so hated; what made us so different?*"

Our imaginings were about putting ourselves in the shoes of the many people who perished, like Anne Frank. '*Would I have survived?*' was a question I asked myself as I sat in a classroom in elementary/grade school. '*Would I have given in if I was being tortured?*' '*Would I have turned in my parents?*' My answers invariably were negative and left me feeling guilty for my failings. I didn't know about partisans, or I might have had more heroic imaginings.

Our parents had pretty recollections of picnicking in the woods of Poland or belonging to lively organizations. For us, our beginnings started with the Holocaust.

I always felt I was born sad. It was validating to learn that others have a similar depth of sadness. "*I tried desperately to erase the sadness we inherited. It couldn't be erased. I like the others, absorbed it. I like the others took on the sadness as my own.*" (Wiesel (2011:23)

Wardi explains my sadness in psychological terms relating survivor's inability to mourn with that of the 2nd generation experience: "*Survivors seem immersed in mourning, but it is not a real mourning; rather, it is a depressive state resembling mourning only in its external manifestations. A normal mourning process leads to identification with the lost object along with increasing emotional liberation from it, restoring the equilibrium in*

the mourner's psyche." Such restoration could not happen under these aberrant conditions of death.

This explains partly, my compulsive need to carry out the task of finding documents on the death of my siblings as a way to make them real in compensation for an inability to mourn them and my other relatives. But, only partly...as we shall see in Chapter Eight – there may be other layers beneath this obsession.

Wardi counsels: *"The awareness of this is generally achieved only when the 'memorial candle' has grown up. The loss of the children is an open wound in the soul of the survivor parent and he/she transmits the burden of that pain to the 2nd Gener who cannot rid himself of it. Therapy helps become aware of the heavy burden and thus deal with it."*
(Wardi, 1992: 102)

Helen Epstein (1979) simply says: *"The guilt leaves no room for joy".*

Let us look again at Klee's drawing.

In the drawing, one can see the heavy, faceless lines that sit upon the children, who themselves, are drawn with heavy lines. They look like the child who in losing their parents, has also lost his/her past. Without the roots of their past, their movements are difficult. They may also be having difficulty moving forward as they are carrying the burden of their inherited displacement and disaster. I would like to borrow a word from Woody Allen to describe the heavy lines slowly moving forward: "heaviosity" a delicious word Woody Allen created in Annie Hall, a wonderful movie that explores a relationship between two people of opposite places at the cultural table.

Klee said of this painting*: 'I begin where all pictorial form begins: with a point that sets itself in motion.'* (Spiller, 1961:24) The drawing consists of an almost unbroken line that forms a series of round-cornered, interlocking boxes. Klee then added stick legs and eyes to give the shapes a human character.

I also see the enmeshment of the 2nd Geners with their survivor parents in the superimposed boxes, one within the other.

"The Children of survivors do not get to live their own lives. They feel obliged to undo the trauma endured by their parents; or else they rebel against this task…they must be helped to finish the interrupted work of separation and individuation from their parents. The Holocaust trauma is probably transmitted with devastating effect to the child precisely because the parents could not assist in the process of separation. (Wardi, 1992:265)

I don't think only Jewish children feel the enmeshment with their parents. It is certainly prevalent among many nationalities and races with good parents who take seriously their responsibility to protect their children. It becomes a problem when it means that the growing child is unable to find for themselves, joyful experiences with others.

I am compelled by Klee's drawing because I like that it depicts a forward movement, albeit with difficulty, and that it can be looked at with a lightness of being or a heaviness of being. It is appropriate for my search for resilience which I would say is a lightness of being, perhaps light enough to transcend the heaviness of our responsibilities towards our cherished burdens.

This is very different from the usual definition of resilience quoted in a variety of sources referred to earlier, as the ability to bounce back from traumatic or difficult events. I bristled at the definition. I asked myself: "*How can anyone bounce back from the Holocaust?*"; similarly, "*How can one describe resilience after other kinds of trauma.*"; "*How can a child bounce back from being abandoned*?"; " *How does a young boy or girl bounce back from years of sexual molestation?*"; "*How do people who almost were swept away in a Tsunami bounce back*?", and so on.

Hard and light; always paradoxes, polarities and ironies.

The next painting by Delohery is eerily similar to Paul Klee's painting with a much more grim end to the movement.

"*On their way to the gas chamber.*" *by Thomas Delohery*

And so, an acceptance of the reality: our parents were generally not good at expressing their sadness. I think it came out in many ways: worry, hyper arousal, aggression, overly organized, emotional outbursts. I believe that they were afraid that once they expressed their sadness, the dam would open and they wouldn't be able to stop it.

I discovered during the dialogues that not all of us had this experience. I thought it came with the territory; however, some people described their childhood as idyllic despite their parents' horrific experiences. Others had the support of spouses, brothers, sisters, special aunts who dissipated the difficulties they might otherwise have experienced. Many people felt such a deep, loving connection with their parents that it left them with only love. Most of the women felt this way. I am sharing excerpts from one of stories written by one of these women, Judith Maier, from Israel. It is titled: "*A History Lesson*", and is a true story, which captures not only the event but the identification of Judith with her mother at the soul level, even breathing the same breath as that of her mother.

Her mother testified at a trial of a Nazi commander and Judith accompanied her. This was the trial of Dr. Sturm who was in charge of Lublin. He was in charge of the murder of tents of thousand Jews in Lublin and surrounding areas. The trial took place in Wiesbaden Germany in December 1971.

> *"My mother was called upon to testify. Although she was familiar with the German language, she insisted on an interpretation of the court proceedings in Polish. At first the defense tried to underline her credibility. She had to undergo all sorts of "tests" to prove that her memory, and her sanity, were intact. They made great effort to shatter her self-confidence, barking questions at her, trying to confuse her; question after question almost on top of each other, not giving her a chance to answer.*

Abruptly my mother stood up, and facing the defense team spoke in fluent German. 'Just like the Nazis didn't succeed in exterminating me, so you won't succeed in confusing me! Everything is carved in my memory, the town, the ghetto, the camps, the horror! A Nazi murderer is the accused, not I!'

Pale and shocked, the judge stuffed a little white tablet into his mouth. Sternly he ordered the defense to stop their interrogation. The trial continued.

'Is there anyone familiar to you in this court-room?' one of the prosecutors asked my mother. Without hesitation, she pointed at the defendant. 'I recognize this man as Dr. Sturm, Obersturmbahnfuhrer, deputy commander of Lublin and area, who did not hesitate to stain his own hands with our blood.' she said. As if, at a command, all ten defense lawyers leaped from their seats, shouting, gesturing. 'Your honor!' , the leading lawyer shouted angrily, 'this witness must be called to order. Dr. Sturm never killed anyone. He only obeyed orders!'

The judge popped another tablet into his mouth. 'Sit down, please. You burst into the witness' testimony' , he said to the defense lawyer before turning to my mother. 'Did you see the defendant kill anyone?' he asked gently.

I looked at my mother. My heart beating fast for us both. I prayed that she wouldn't break down. That she would, eventually, reveal everything that burned inside her for so many years! And she didn't let the opportunity to pass.

She was much calmer, cooler than usual. Her voice clear and firm although I could detect excitement. She gave details and accurate dates. 'During one of the actions, that is before thousands of Jews were sent by wagon to their death, the defendant stood above the crowd on a platform, introducing himself as the new commander, in charge of law and order. 'Is there anyone present here, named Sturm?' he asked. From amongst the thousands crowded together, frightened, a white-bearded old man pushed his way forward. 'My name is Sturm' he said. He was ordered to approach the platform. When he was close enough, Dr. Sturm took his pistol from its holster and shouting 'Me Sturm, and a Jew Sturm? Only I am Sturm!' he shot the old man." My mother related the last sentence in a low voice.

It was quiet in the court-room. No one moved. The judge looked worn out. His hand searched for the pill-box. My mother said that she could also reveal other incidents.

'How do you know that those people were sent to their deaths?' asked a defense lawyer. 'Did it occur to you that they could have been sent to labor camps?'
'If they had been sent to labor camps then someone would have received letters or other signs of life. Up until today no one has come back.' she replied in a determined manner. The lawyer made as if to continue, but the defendant touched his arm, to calm him, and he sat down.

From time to time I felt her breathe being extracted from her and I imagined my soul flying with it. In order to continue, she would, sometimes sip from a glass of water. My mouth felt dry as I watched the movement of her lips. The judge on his platform became paler and paler - the pill-box became emptier and emptier. …"

When Judith Maier read a draft of this discourse, she found Klee's drawing was exactly how she felt, carrying the burden of her parents pain, hearing them scream at night, even though they tried to shield her from their pain. She noted that the children are tip- toeing so as not to disturb or upset the parents. She also saw in the drawing, her "*struggle not to be sucked into a deep well*". That is a good description of my struggle as well, though I manifested it differently. My coping strategy was a sort of angry rebellion. However as Judith explained, she, and many of her friends of survivor parents, wouldn't dream of showing anger at their parents which would add to their pain.

Without the capacity of our parents to support our emotions or even tolerate difficult or sad emotions, many of us were left feeling isolated and alone. This poem describes my sense of sadness and isolation.

Song of Gita

I am a bird woman
Circling the world
Seeking solace
From the sorrowful notes
That beat without measure
Reverberating from one heart to the next.

I sing to myself as I fly
I sing to myself as I cry
My own song of Gita
Known only by me
Understood alone by me.

At night, I tuck myself under my wing
And find comfort there
A pause from the day's refrains.

Whether we felt our parents as a burden or not, to be able to feel and to express our sadness for ourselves and for our parents is a freedom we were not afforded. Furthermore, the freedom to be sad is not encouraged in society today generally speaking. Romanyshyn believes that much of our depression, individually and collectively exists because we do not allow ourselves to grieve. He says:

> "D*epression might be the last refuge of difference in a society hell bent on engineered conformity. But depression terrifies us. It might even be un-American insofar as it goes against the value of efficiency, productivity, and happy, mindless cheerfulness"* (Romanyshyn, 2005: 12-13).

In the language of Social Construction, we can say that sadness provides possibilities for creating new meaning. I will continue to explore this construct in this discourse, particularly in Chapter 9, section 9.3 on '*Aberrated Mourning*'.

CHAPTER 8: THE MISSING LINKS

8.1 SPEAKING NOT SPEAKING: THE PROBLEM OF SILENCE

"Being born into absence thrusts us into a space where the past crashes at us from behind" Ann Parry

There were suicides among both Holocaust survivors and the 2nd Geners, because as Elie Wiesel puts it so poignantly: *"They couldn't take it, because to be a survivor is not easy in a world that doesn't want to listen. And to be a child of survivors is equally difficult in a world that doesn't want to remember."*(Wiesel 2002:11-12)

Earlier, I spoke of the historical and political reasons for silence; I also referred to this issue in the 2nd Generation syndrome descriptions. I would now like to explore the silence and/or the large gaps of information in individual households.

It has been referred to as a conspiracy of silence. Many survivors did not want to talk about it and their second generation children did not want to ask questions for fear of creating more hurt. A commonly heard expression in the literature and in my dialogues and conversations was: *"We didn't talk about it at home"* or "*My father talked about it but not my mother*", or "*My mother talked about it but not my father."*

> *"This normalization strategy for victims of primary, man-made violence of burying the pain, the loss and the helplessness is well documented."* (Rosenthal, 1987).

The most pervasive and important of the many paradoxes of survivor parents and the 2nd Geners is in regards to withholding information from the past. The parental point of view is that they were sheltering them from the horrors and the burden of the past. From the child's point of view, the parents and their past life *"were enveloped in awesome mystery, which prevented the child from understanding the imperatives that derived from the Holocaust background of the parents*."(Bar-On, 1999: 326)

Dan Bar-On (1999) provides an explanation. He borrows from Don Schon's concept of *'what is originally indescribable becomes undiscussable'*. Bar-On says the difference between *indescribable* and *undiscussable* is '*the opportunity for secondary gains*' a psychoanalytic term regarding the greater difficulty in giving up one's disproved identity framing construct to reconstruct new ones. *"Brutalized victims find chance attribution difficult to endure."* (Bar-On, 1999: 206- 207)

That society did not want to, or could not, contain such experiences and did not have the stomach to hear it, created what Bar-on calls a '*double wall*': the survivors who

could not tell and others who could not (or did not want to) listen. Further, many even blamed the victims (Lerner, 1975) adding to their unexamined guilt.

I described earlier that my father relayed his sense of loss and guilt with the sparse words: *"I had 2 families"*. Before he died he asked me guiltily: *"Do you think I am a good man?"*

Finally, I have some probable explanations for many questions. Among them is why I, and most 2nd Geners, could never get their parents' stories straight. I thought they were somehow limited in their ability to tell their stories. I have learned that our parents simply were unable to relate their story in a rational, sequential way. I am appeased by these words:

> *"To make their story coherent would be to make indecently rational what has been obscenely irrational. It would be to normalize through familiar form an utterly aberrant content."* (Hoffman, 2004: 15).

Another explanation for the disjointed narratives comes from Marita Grimwood who quotes from Cathy Caruth's 1995: *"Trauma: Explorations in Memory"*. She explains that in trauma theory:

> *"…the state of traumatization is itself understood to prevent or preclude certain linguistic functions, namely narrative and metaphor, for the victim is only able to relive the traumatic event in full, and not narrate it as a story. When this becomes possible, the narrator is by definition no longer traumatized."(Grimwood: 120).*

A 2nd Gener writes a poem about the inability to receive a coherent answer to a question (*from a writing workshop published in Prism, Vol. 3, 2011):*

Ask a Question
by Esther Feinberg

Ask a question, expect an answer
It seems so simple

Where were you when they came?
Where was your wife
Where were your boys
Your brothers and sister
Father,
Aunts,
Uncles,
Cousin,

There were so many

Did you see them take your sons –
They were only babies -
What were their names?
Why didn't you ever tell me their names?

I wanted to know, but how could I ask?

Maybe you didn't want to remember
Maybe it hurt too much
Maybe you didn't know how to be
a father in mourning
a father with hope
for his daughter's future
Maybe no one does

Did you say Kaddish?
I never heard you
Maybe it was silent, as you often were

I wanted to know, but how could I ask?
Everyone knows about the camps
What they looked like
How cold and dirty it must have been
Everyone knows you had to work hard
eat very little
suffer beatings
and watch others suffer even to their deaths
Everyone knows you had no choices anymore
And we know you survived
But how?

I wanted to know but how could I ask?
Tell me about the conditions, the beds, the food
the death surrounding you
Tell me about the loneliness, the terror,
the hopelessness, the grief,
the time not given to you to mourn
your loved ones, your babies

I wanted to know all this from you, but
I didn't know how to ask

Ask a question, expect an answer
It seems so simple
But I didn't just have one question, or two or ten

I wanted to know you
but how could I ask?

One of my dialogue participants, Esther who gave me the detailed information about Jews in the Polish and Russian armies (Annex C), relayed that her father had long scars on his neck of which he never spoke. She remembers the day that he received his new teeth, replacing what was the result of malnutrition and the harsh conditions of many years of internment and fighting. She wrote this poignant piece:

A Personal Saga written by Esther to her Father

My Dearest Father,

How little I know about you and the critical years of your youth. You experienced the world, then and after then, not as a wonder, but through shadow and evil. The agony, the fear, the bottomless pit of emptiness, these must have ruled. Where did you find your strength? your resolve? And afterwards, the silence, the many years of silence.

And beyond those dreadful years, You, so gentle, so quiet.
From what protected place did you find your love, your pride. You were so strong. You gave completely, what depths of compassion. You were our world of love, me and mom, forever.

The intentional silencing of the survivor, was transformed into unintentional silencing of their descendants, and the following generations, especially their grandchildren. Dan Bar-On believes it is necessary to include the 3rd generation in the discourse. I too, have come to this realization in a significant way as will be shown in this paper.

The silence had an additional complication for 2nd Geners who were either born or immigrated to Israel (it seemed even more difficult for the latter). Dan Bar-On (1998) explains that for a fighting Israeli, it is difficult to put together the two contradictory experiences. Israeli society, in the beginning, demanded a heroic text from its members that transcended the losses, destruction, and humiliation of their histories. The myth of the Sabra was born, a metaphor for an Israeli who, like the cactus pear fruit, the Sabra, is tough on the outside and sweet on the inside. The 2nd Geners needed to move between the dual experiences of the Sabra and the Holocaust survivor, and often they had difficulty constructing their own story within this duality. *"They had trouble building their independent role and story, neither being dependent nor counter-dependent on that of their parents."(*Bar-On 1998: 328).

Before my work on this discourse, and in fact, in my earlier drafts, I stated and indeed believed, that in my house we did talk about the Holocaust. Sure, I knew there was no coherence in my parents' stories and that there were gaps in the information I received. I only now realize how big those gaps actually were. What existed was a lot of raw, boundary-less emotions; and if emotions are facts, I did get an immense quantity of facts. These emotional facts are now coming into awareness along with historical, socio-cultural and a variety of constructs in between.

I heard horrific stories at the kitchen table, and was struck deep in my heart, to hear grown men sobbing. Strangers would appear and the stories shared. There was welcome laughter as well, especially at the absurd events and coincidences of life. When I relate some of the stories that we thought were funny, in 'normal' society, they don't seem funny at all. For example, my uncle was reunited with his first wife after people discovered they were both alive and their respective spouses had died. They had an only child that died in the Holocaust and everyone thought that given their shared past, they might be romantically together at last. But they didn't like each other and went their separate ways. We found that to be a hilarious story.

I would often hear: "*so-and-so (usually strange Jewish names) is alive!!!! Really!!!*" And there would be great joy. In Montreal, in the winter there was an ice show called the 'Ice Follies'. There was great hilarity when a new immigrant whose English wasn't very good exclaimed: "*Look, Itchke Folees (a Jewish name that could be construed from Ice Follies) must be alive and he must be a very important man -- his name is written on big signs!*" And the boisterous political debates around the card tables! It was far more entertaining than anything on television.

Where we really did not talk about our other life was outside of the home. During my first dialogue with my High School friends of 40 years earlier, we all agreed that we knew exactly which of the girls at the school were children of Holocaust survivors, and therefore immigrants (called "greener/green"), and those who were Canadian born ("geller/yellow). We wondered at the fact that we never talked about it. In Israel, two of the men in our dialogue were the closest of friends for 40 years and they never talked about it. I spoke with friends who weren't even aware that the other was a 2nd Gener.

Today, there are many Jewish parents, particularly in North America who do not want to expose their children to all the sadness and do not send them to Holocaust memorial events. A Holocaust survivor living in California who wishes to remain unknown said:

> *"You know, as a child I was four years kept in hiding. I was saved, but I don't know what for. Because for over 50 years now I am still hiding. In order to live, I had to*

forget everything. What was most difficult was trying to forget about my mother. I never wanted to know how she died. I blocked it all out of my mind and out of my heart. No one in my present family knows…neither my wife, nor my son nor his family."

I don't feel I can presume to explain this. I do know that the effect of the silence on my generation was that we absorbed the guilt, the fear, the shame and helplessness without having any direct access to those experiences or even to a meaningful frame of reference.

Perhaps the silence was due to the impossibility of taking in the shear breadth and depth of the events in those terrible years that started with Kristalnacht on November 1938 and ended in 1945.

"…The ghetto[5] was a mystery to me. I simply cannot get my head around it, even though I have looked at maps."(Jay Michaelson cited by Mieszkowska (2011: 151)

I confess to the same ignorance. Since most Jews lived in ghettos in Europe, i.e. the Jewish quarter, what was the ghetto that they were herded into. That the ghetto was a precursor to the concentration camp and a deliberate ploy to destabilize, demoralize and begin the dehumanization process of the Jewish people under legally sanctioned laws, was too much to take in.

I started to block out information at quite a young age actually. My father used to take me to Yiddish/Jewish movies when I was about 6 or 7. My mother wouldn't go, my brother was too young. There I was, wanting to be grateful for my father's good efforts, knowing how hard it was to speak and connect for him, and it was so nice to be just the two of us without my interfering mother to spoil things. But those movies were frightening. I clearly remember a scene of a family -- an older brother and his parents who, when they heard the Nazis coming, hid their beloved little girl, dressed lovingly in a beautiful white dress, in a chest. The Nazis found her and brutally threw this lovely child down the stairs. I told my father I would not go to these movies anymore unable to explain why. I have always felt guilty for abandoning this shared experience with him.

As I grew into adolescence, I preferred to believe the world would be different after this horrific event; that anti-Semitism would never be experienced again; that war

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[5] The term became widely used for ghettos in occupied Europe in 1939-1944, when the Germans reused historic ghettos to confine Jews prior to their transportation to concentration and death camps during the holocaust.

would never happen again. I didn't want to hear that I should not be trusting, that they would come after us again.

Even though I experienced taunts and at 16, denied summer work because I was Jewish, even though there was a quota to get into medical school at McGill University or entrance to certain private clubs in Montreal, I fervently believed things would be different. I still believe things will be different and I become fearful that I am wrong when I see the strife and suffering that continues. However, if I didn't believe that humanity can be a community of one, I wouldn't be writing this at all. It is important to confront, dialogue and mix, the good with the bad, the different shades of different perspectives.

I wrote a poem in 1998 that unknowingly talks about the collusion of silence.

I Haven't Been Listening

I haven't been listening
To what you haven't been saying
I haven't wanted to hear
What you haven't wanted to say

Words left unspoken
Melt into nothing
Melting hope
Melting joy
Melting peace

It's really a sad and empty thing
When words don't belong anywhere
Because they've been left unsaid
When arms remain empty
Because they can hold no truth
When love is in turmoil
Because it doesn't have a place to rest
And time is in limbo
Always waiting, always waiting, always waiting
Because……..

In Giladi's study (2011), he found that non-verbal communication of Holocaust experiences created a higher level secondary traumatic stress i.e. silence breeds stress. This would indicate that facilitation of open, verbal communication in families with a legacy of trauma might mitigate symptoms of secondary traumatic stress.

Henry Raczymow describes the '*absent memory*', gaps in genealogies, which leave the 2nd Geners in the position of orphans, feeling excluded and without real roots. This quote by Raczymov and cited by Hirsh (1996: 663) begins with a Kafka quote from the 1920s on the spatial connection of time as related to the Jewish experience.

Si la terre tourne à droite…, je dois tourner à gauche pour ratraper le passé	*If the earth is turning to the right…, I must turn left in order to catch up with the past.*

European Jews of the post war generation are forever turning left, but we can never catch up with the past; inasmuch as we remember, we remain perpetual temporal and spatial exiles. Out past is literally a foreign country we can never hope to visit. And our post memory is shaped by our sense of belatedness and disconnection.

Et je ne suis ni émigré ni déporté le monde qui fut détruit n`était pas le mien puisque je ne l'ai pas connu. Pourtant je suis, nous sommes nombreuse à être en position d`orphelins	*I neither emigrated nor was deported. The world that was destroyed was not mine. In never knew it. But I am, so many of us are, the orphans of that world*

From the viewpoint of parents' who did not speak, withholding detailed information about the Holocaust seemed crucial to the child's normal development. However, rather than protecting the child it created mystery: *"unspoken trauma can turn into a mystification of that which we dare not understand."* Parry (2000: 355)

Within the silent emptiness, children acquired a helpless, automatic identification with parental feelings and their burden of intense despondency. The following poem that I wrote reveals the silence borne alone, the hyper vigilance referred to earlier, the lack of identity, knowing who I am and what face to put on for the world. I have moved on from this place and when I find myself there, I can now take a Zen moment of awareness and the new knowledge gained in recent years and particularly during the writing of this dissertation, and get myself out again.

Posture

I keep my head
Sticking out from my neck
Like someone expecting
To have it chopped off

I keep my head
Sticking out from my neck
Like someone on the alert
To oncoming danger

I keep my head bowed
Like a humble monk
Not knowing what face
To project to the world

I would like to take my head
In my hands
Like Ichabod Crane
And put it back
Straight
So no-one would know
What really goes on
In my misaligned
Self

So no-one would know
I was so scared and unsure.

Eva Hoffman talks about the burden that women of the 2nd Generation carry to confront the secrecy and the silence and to construct lives no longer *"possessed by a history they never lived"*. She speaks of the mysterious past as resembling a fable with an: "*implicit morality within which good was closely equated with suffering…The presence of suffering was powerful enough so that it had to be absorbed; but there was also an imperative to remain loyal to it, to make up for it, to provide solace*." (Hoffman 2004: 13). The daughters of survivors have the difficult task of emancipating the feeling of responsibility for their parents' anguish by sharing their stories. Mary Rothschild), a daughter of a survivor, wrote:

"I have learned that I cannot save my mother from Auschwitz and that giving up my life will not restore hers…Yet in the telling of my story, I learned to create meaning out of the ashes of my murdered relatives, my mother's traumatized life, and my own years lost to the task of healing. I learned to separate my story from that of my mother. (Rothschild 2000: 51)

Hoffman sums it up, "*the imprint of family speech or silence – was for better or worse, and with whatever reactions followed, potent and profound."* (Hoffman: 18)

A very different view is taken by Carol Kidron (2009) who found through 55 ethnographical interviews that the everyday experience of survivors and their descendants "*contained embodied practices, person-object interaction and person-person interaction" .. that* sustained *familial memory of the past… and transmitted tacit knowledge of the past within the everyday social milieu*." She calls this '*silent memory'* which she describes as a "*knowing without words, narrative or history"* but rather a *'presence'* as opposed to the *'absence of presence.'* (Kidron, 2009:6)

Kidron speaks of '*phantom experience*', a sense of empathic embodiment without personal experience as she describes the identification of a child with her father's experience as she looked at the number tattooed on his arm.

She also describes a 2nd Gener who always prepared shoes at the foot of her bed in case she needed them in a hurry. It seemed her mother had no shoes when she walked in the snow on the death marches without any shoes (Kidron, 2009: 13). On reading this, I instantly thought of my mother, who in her latter days, would not let the nurses take off her shoes when she went to bed, and slept with her shoes. Kidron refuses to categorize intergenerational transmission or reduce it to the language of trauma.

The Canadian First Nations community is currently facing this dilemma as well. Many of their grandmothers and grandfathers, who suffered physical, mental, emotional and sexual abuse in residential schools, do not want to speak. Their 2nd and 3rd Geners are reaching out to them, urging them to speak so that their children and grandchildren can understand why their parents weren't "good" parents, and perhaps to explain the void that they inherited. A First Nations friend, John Dione, relayed to me that tribal wisdom says that trauma takes seven generations to overcome. This wisdom relates to the warning that everything one does to the earth has impacts for seven generations. The Jewish Torah also speaks of leaving the earth to recover in the 7th year. Biblical scholars can certainly say more about the number 7. Rothschild (2000) fears that German children of perpetrators who are avoiding the confrontation are doomed to suffer for many more generations.

John Dione and I also spoke about the silence – the '*speaking-not-speaking*' of their parents who suffered the loss of their religion, their way of life, their culture and their families when they were removed from their homes to enter into residential schools. At the schools, many were further victimized and abused. It is a familiar strain; the parents who do not speak, and the children who need to understand what the void is that they have somehow inherited. As the parents are aging, the cry is desperate. Recently, the Truth and Reconciliation Committee for the Canadian native community stated that what happened to the Natives in Canada and the US was genocide. I have thought that for some time.

Perhaps, it would be helpful to reframe how language and knowledge can be surfaced in different ways. I will be proposing later in this discourse, that we can shorten the perpetuity of trauma on generations from all sides of the Holocaust as well as their secondary inheritors, if we create safe spaces for courageous dialogues. It will also be important for the facilitator to be aware of various forms of knowledge transmission and memory discussed in the next chapter.

8.2 THE PROBLEM OF MEMORY; KNOWING – NOT KNOWING

"The paradoxes of indirect knowledge haunt many of us who came after."
Eva Hoffman

This discussion carries on from the previous discussions on parent-child individuation and separation, speaking not-speaking and introduces new paradigms of memory work.

Dan Bar-On (1998) noted that our parents' generation grew up in a world without the Holocaust, but for us 2nd Geners, there could be no such world. It is an attendant irony that although post-war children are closest to wartime events in primal feelings, they are furthest removed from the grounded, worldly – political, social, historical – meanings. Hoffman in her poetic style, describes this experience of '*post-ness*':

> *"The formative events of the twentieth century have crucially informed our biographies and psyches, threatening sometimes to overshadow and overwhelm our own lives. But we did not see them, suffer through them, or experience their impact directly. Our relationship to them has been defined by our very 'post-ness' and by the powerful but mediated forms of knowledge that have followed from it….It is perhaps simply this that defines us as the second generation."* (Hoffman 2004: 26-27)

The process of transmission that results in over-identification of the child with the parent's traumatic experiences, means that 2nd Geners actually imagine being with the parent and even inherit their parents' memories, reliving the survivors' trauma vicariously.

> *"Children of survivors thus aim to redeem their parents' suffering not only to rescue their parents from the horrifying black hole but to create a more coherent, historical and personal foundation for their own emotional well-being…By virtue of embodied syndrome and memories, these offspring earn the legitimate status of authentic, wounded survivors."*(cited by Kidron, 2009 of Tamar Shoshen's *Mourning and Longing from Generation to Generation*, Sochot 3 (3) (1989).

Kidron notes that memory work often does not happen for 2nd Geners as they do not make the connection between their psychosocial problems with the Holocaust.

This is an important distinction, and helped me understand why my feelings about the Holocaust are so primitive or primal and yet that I didn't make the connection at the awareness level where I might have been able to face it.

> *"Adults who live through violence and atrocity can understand what happens to them as actuality – no matter how awful its terms – the generation after receives its first*

> *knowledge of the terrible events with only childish instruments of perception, and as a kind of fable…The post generation's trajectory is the opposite of the more general trajectory of response to events. For while the adult world asks first, 'what happened,' and from there follows its uncertain and sometimes resistant route towards the inward meaning of the facts, those born after calamity sense it's most inward meaning first and have to work their way outwards toward the facts and the worldly shape of events." (Hoffman, 2004: 16).*

I discussed in the previous section, that the 2nd Geners often created fantasies and myths about experiences they themselves did not have, but could sense through their parents, that beyond the present "as if" reality, another unspoken one exists. *"But that reality has no name, no description. By creating their own fantasies, the child controls what he cannot grasp*. "(Bar-On: 211).

Parents who didn't speak nevertheless burden their children who could feel the suffering without understanding its roots, complex web of sadness, guilt and helplessness. "*Memory is an evasive entity; it's threatening…The memory will always be a part of them. But if I can voice whatever they cannot, if I can be their corridor to liberating them, they feel -- and can die -- less lonely.*" (Semel, 2010)

As described earlier, I did dissociate, though, as is natural for the growing child, as these memories of the Holocaust are too much for the developing mind to process. However, I lost a kind of continuity with my past and am now both "re-pairing" and reconstructing it. I journeyed to Israel, where I lived for the first five years of my life, following my birth at the DP camp in Germany, to help me reconstruct a lost sense of myself, a continuity that I was missing: *"Memory allows you to have continuity in your life… it is our most precious mental ability because if you don't have memory, you don't care about anything else." Eric Kandel, MD., Nobel Laureate in Physiology/Medecine, 2000; source: Documentary "The Mystery of Memory".*

Eva Hoffman defines the character of the 2nd Generation community as:

> *"a community based not so much on geography or circumstance as on sets of meaning, symbols and even literary fictions that it has in common and that enable its members to recognize and converse with each other with a sense of mutual belonging. We of the 'second generation' do recognize each other across boundaries and languages, and we do have symbolic reference points we can touch on as on common scrolls. The Event that preceded us was fundamental enough to constitute an overwhelming given and a life task. The reference points through which we communicate and recognize each other have to do with our location in the dark topography of the Shoah and with the stages of a long and difficult reckoning – with our parents' past and its deep impact on us; with our obligations to that past, and the conclusions we can derive from it for the present"* (Hoffman: 28-29*).*

Memory usually makes the past present, but in the case of Holocaust memory, the master narrative has in many ways displaced the past.

> *"Encounters with their parents roots whether it occurs in reality or only in the imagination serves to calm the souls of the survivors children at this stage and fill the empty spaces in their inner world" (Bar-On 1995 : 237)*

I remember well, my need to learn English quickly when we arrived in Canada. I lost my Hebrew but I learned to speak (not read or write) Yiddish at home with the proud 'Litvak' dialect of people from Vilna, as opposed to my father's 'Galicianer'dialect, people who came from Krakow. I mourn that this ancient Yiddish language will not be passed on to my children, and I doubt that it will survive beyond the 2nd Generation. [6] And yet, I love it; it is such a colorful language --intense, funny, replete with metaphor, drama and poetry.

Yiddish is more than a language, "*it is an attitude.. sweet and sour…a shrug and a kiss…humility and defiance all in one*." (Karlen, 2009:110).

I spoke Yiddish with my mother along with a Yiddish-English combination; and now my brother and cousin will sometimes slip into Yiddish as a way of bonding over a common past.

What I am mourning is not only the loss of the language but also the memory that is held within the Yiddish language. I fear that we have lost the metaphors and the very rich culture, the performative nature of the people, that went with the language.

[6] In Europe after the Shoah, Yiddish turned from the language of regular communication into a private, family language. On the eve of World War II, there were 11 to 13 million Yiddish speakers.The Holocaust, and assimilation to countries such as the U.S and the Soviet Union, almost destroyed the use of Yiddish in day-to-day life. Notwithstanding the increasing number of Yiddish speakers within the widely dispersed Orthodox (mainly Hasidic) communities and the growing availAbigaillity of language classes, finding opportunities for practical use of Yiddish is becoming increasingly difficult, and thus many students have trouble learning to speak the language. Yiddish has attained official recognition as a minority language only in Moldova, the Netherlands and Sweden.

Food Will Win the War--You Came Here Seeking Freedom, Now You Must Help Preserve It.
Litho., 1917 by Charles Chambers (1883-1941)
Viewed at the Skirball Centre, Los Angeles, 2011

My propensity towards poetry may be my inherently wise way to protect both myself and my past. I have expressed at the beginning of this discourse, my personal preference for poetry which comes from a need to sit with the in-between where depths can be reached with minimal words, like the rests between music bars. I have therefore shared my poetry throughout this discourse to help convey my experience where words, references, facts alone are not adequate.

In Grimwood's analysis of the poetic novel, *Fugitive Pieces*, she declares that

"…language, and specifically poetry, in its sophisticated manipulation of language, functions as therapy (for Jakob Beer) against the traumatic loss of metaphor." (Grimwood 2007: 120)

Grimwood quotes Anne Michaels on her insistence on the necessary failure of language to convey experience:

> *"Language abandons experience every time…poems do not succeed because of what they represent, but because of the gaps in representation poetry can acknowledge… Great poems are steeped in failure. Their measure is the depth of ignorance they reach in us. The mystery contained in the best poems is bottomless. We read them again and again. We remember certain lines or images; we repeat them, over the years, to ourselves. The depth changes go on and on."* (Grimwood 2007: 130)

And so, we can say that poetry and memory fuse, and function to appease the writer and perhaps the reader.

Of course, I need to acknowledge my distrust of words as well, likely as a result of the Holocaust context where the lie of Jewish dehumanization took hold over so many ordinary people. Grimwood, again, validates my intuitive distrust of language and links it with my rebellious nature. I paraphrase her: *questioning dishonest uses of language such as propaganda is an essential means of resistance, and this questioning…enables recognition of our humanity and in so doing, serves to rescue us.* (Grimwood 2007: 120-121) She borrows this quote from *Fugitive Pieces*:

> *"If the Nazis required that humiliation precede extermination, then they admitted exactly what they worked so hard to avoid admitting: the humanity of the victim. To humiliate is to accept that your victim feels and thinks, that he not only feels pain, but knows that he's being degraded. And because the torturer knew in an instant of recognition that his victim was not a a 'figuren' but a man, he suddenly understood the Nazi mechanism…When the soldier realized that only death has the power to turn "man" into 'figuren', his difficulty was solved. And so the rage and sadism increased: his fury at the victim for suddenly turning human; his desire to destroy that humanness so intense, his brutality had no limit."* (cited by Grimwood: 121 of Anne Michaels: 166)

I was intrigued that the character Athos Roussos in *Fugitive Pieces*, who saved little Jacob and became his surrogate parent, wrote a book titled: "*Bearing False Witness – History and Memory*". I looked up False Witness in the modern day miracle of Google and Wikipedia and found this:

> *One of the Ten Commandments, which are considered as moral imperatives by scholars, is: 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against your neighbours'. There are six things that the LORD hates, seven that are an abomination to him: haughty eyes, a lying tongue, and hands that shed innocent blood, a heart that devises wicked plans, feet that make haste to run to evil, a false witness who breathes out lies, and one who sows discord among brothers. — Proverbs 6:16–19*

The command against false testimony is seen as a natural consequence of the command to "*love your neighbor as yourself*." This moral prescription flows from the command for holy people to bear witness to their God who is the truth and wills the truth. Offenses against the truth expressed by word or deed, a refusal to commit oneself to moral uprightness; they are fundamental infidelities to God and, in this sense, they undermine the foundations of covenant with God.

What this means to me is the high level of moral commitment that accompanies the witnessing of memory, even secondary memory.

To look at another aspect of memory, we move to Marianne Hirsch, who coined the term *'post memory'* to define a:

> *"… a powerful form of memory precisely because of its connection to its object or source is mediated not through recollection but through an imaginative investment and creation. Post memory characterized the experience of those who grow up dominated by narratives that preceded their birth, whose own belated stories are evacuated by the stories of the previous generation, shaped by traumatic events that can be neither fully understood nor re-created."* (Hirsch, 1996: 559)

Hirsch examines post memory in the work of several artists and also finds an aesthetic that is characterized by presence and absence. In particular, she chooses to examine photographs, both real and artistic renditions because *"photographs are connections to a lost past, and because many photographic images have survived even though their subjects did not, photography provides a particularly powerful medium of post memory*." (Hirsch, 1996: 660).

She cites Nadine Fresco's (1981) observation that children of exiled survivors, although they have not themselves lived through the trauma of banishment and the destruction of home, remain always marginal or exiled, always in the diaspora.

> *"Home is always elsewhere, even for those who return to Vienna, Berlin, Paris, Krakow or Amsterdam, because the cities to which they return are no longer those in which their parents lived as Jews before the genocide, but are instead the cities where the genocides happened and from which they and their memory have been expelled*."

Hirsch believes that this condition of exile from the space of identity is another characteristic of post memory. (Hirsch, 1996: 662). She cites another French writer, Henri Raczumov, who believes this void, this absence should never be bridged and must be preserved. He describes this memory as a `*mémoire trouée*`, a `*memory shot through with holes'*. A poignant quote by Raczumov:

> *"Et je ne suis ni émigré ni déporté, le monde qui fut détruit n'était pas le mien puisque je ne l`ai pas connu. Pourtant je suis, nous sommes nombreux à être en position d'orphelins." [I neither emigrated nor was I deported. The world that was destroyed was not mine. I never knew it. But I am, so many of us are, the orphans of that world.]* (Hirsch, 1996: 663).

Hirsch suggests that the practice of mourning, mourning a loss that cannot be repaired, forms a post memory diasporic aesthetic that needs simultaneously to rebuild and to mourn. It is not the same as memory work which is about reminiscences about a known past while post memory is about an unknown, destroyed past.

She poses the question:

> *"As postmodern subjects are we not constructed, collectively, in relation to these ghosts and shadows? Are we not shaped by their loss and by our own ambivalence about mourning them? As we look at them, they look back at us, constituting (as Dominick LaCapra has recently argued), the return of the repressed that identifies the postmodern with the post-Holocaust (citation, 1994:188).*
>
> *Photographs can suggest what that elsewhere is or was; they can provide a visual content for our ambivalent longings. And they can also remind us of the distance, the absence, the unbridgeable gap that, in the postmodern, makes us who we are."* (Hirsch, 1996: 683-684).

Another important figure in the literature of memory work is Paul Fusell, author of "*The Great War and Modern Memory*" (1975, cited by Goebel 2007). Fusell understands memory "*as the product of literary imagination and the Great War as a moment of modernity.*" His thesis, generally well accepted, is that "*memory constitutes a discursive construct or a cultural representation.*"(Goebel 2007: 378).

Goebel also speaks about the Great War as a moment of modernity. He agrees with Fusell of a constructivist concept of memory, that is, that memory constitutes a discursive construct or a cultural representation. Goebel relates intimacy and touch to an assertion of being alive in a landscape of death. This thought inspired me to write a Thich Nhat Hahn type of poem:

Breathe – you're alive!
Touch – you're alive!
Speak and Listen – your alive!
Be

Who we are, can be from a past that is known, but it can also be from a past that is unknown. The very uncertainty of the past can shape our identities. The past is a formative part of one's life whether it is known or not, and the very fact of its uncertainty can shape identities, even as it casts doubt upon them.

Hirsch and others such as Kehoe and Epstein believe that graves and photographs provide access to a past and access to the family past that helps to answer questions of identity. The retrospective intergenerational link is a link that might help to explain to 2nd Geners, problems of the parents that they refuse to acknowledge. (Grimwood (2007: 61).

I have a handful of photographs, including a picture of my paternal grandmother and one of my maternal grandparents as well as a few pictures of my father and of course the cherished picture of my half siblings and my father's first wife that appears in the dedication. When I hear fellow 2nd Geners exclaim that they have no

pictures, for me, this represents an additional calamity. Photographs was one of the discussion points in our dialogues as will be seen in Chapter 10.

I have met some 2nd Geners who have special artifacts that also serve as a keepsake. One person I know uses his father's leather school satchel which his father had with him when he went on the Kindertransport[7] to the safety of England.

> *"For children of survivors the experience of post-memory is by its nature belated like the emergency of the captured image in the developing tray – for they obtain their historical connection to the events of the Holocaust in spite of generational and chronological distance. They are mediators of memory, transforming a memory that is itself the transformation of lived experience. They rely on interpretation to wrest meaning from an original referent whose exact status can only be guessed. The suspicion of 'inauthenticity' that cling to photographic art forms are reflected in children of survivors' sense of their own histories' secondary or mediated natures."* (Grimwood: 135)

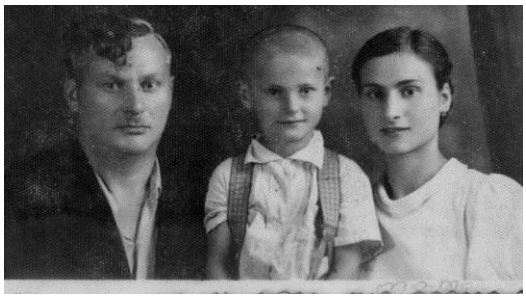
Photographs certainly serve to provide a sense of history but they have a variety of functions. Photographs transmit memory beyond the death of those who experienced the event. Who isn't familiar with the face of Anne Frank, a child who might belong to any family and transcends ethnic identity? The personal connection we feel with her is a kind of re-creation bridging memory and post memory. Each of us fills in the blank of her life between her capture and her death.

Anne Frank: source, The Anne Frank House, Amsterdam

[7] In the months between Kristalnacht Nov 9-10,1938 and the start of WWII, nearly 10,000 children were sent without their parents out of Nazi Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland to Great Britain by the Kindertransport rescue movement.

Still another form of memory work is the role I play as my current family's memory. While my children were growing up, I was the photographer, I created the photo albums that hold the chronological family history including the precious few from Europe and I am the key holder of their childhood information. My daughter, Natalie, has a habit of looking at the old albums every time she visits. I think she is finding her place, her identity in relation to me, her mother and her father, and her own history. The digital age has me in a quandary about archiving and preserving photographs. For me, pictures evoke a sense of comfort and safety and I have placed them securely in photo albums and not in a cloud on the world wide net, perhaps as an unconscious effort to evade the unexpected that might eradicate all these memories.

Judith Maeir provided me with this picture and accompanying story that she has written about her mother's little brother, Berele who perished in the Holocaust. It is the only picture she has of her lost family. Her mother, Malka Akerman, is pictured on the right. Her mother lost her entire family, husband and baby. Her mother's little brother Berele is in the middle, the youngest brother of six children and their father Hirsh Akerman, who also perished, is on the left.



My Uncle Berele by Judith Maier, August 2011

I only know a few details about you, my little uncle. You were born in 1933. When you were a little boy you fell from the kitchen table. You were operated upon in a hospital in Lublin. A bone in your back was removed and replaced with a Platinum part. Your mother (my grandmother) Judith (Ides) and your eldest sister (my mother) did not move from your bed and watched over you in the hospital until you recovered.

I wanted to know more about you, but I did not dare to ask my mother in order not to hurt her. I know that you were loved by the whole family as the youngest could be loved.

When you were 9 years old, on the 17th of March 1943, one week before Passover, you, together with your parents Judith and Hirsh Akerman, two sisters Shprinca and Necha, brother Wolf, aunts, uncles and many cousins, were murdered in the notorious extermination camp in Belzec.

Had you not been killed so brutally, you would be 78 years old, in your golden age.
I was deprived of an uncle – you, deprived of your life.

I do not know whether you went to school; since the war started in 1939 when you were six years old. And, if so, how did you do in school? What aspirations did you have? Did you like sport, like your eldest sister Malka? Did you like books as she did? Did you like to sing? Did you have friends in the Lublin Ghetto? What hopes did your parents and family have for your future?

Today my grandchildren are older than you were then. I look at your picture and see a sweet boy with naughty eyes posing for a photo with his father (my grandfather) and his sister (my mother). I think that my eight-year-old grandson, Michael, resembles you a little. My mother managed to find this picture and get it back from one of the Polish neighbors after the war. Instead of a grandmother, a grandfather, uncles, aunts and family, I have this picture. To me you are Berele, my uncle, a little boy from Lublin that did not live to grow up.

This cherished picture that Judith has miraculously in her possession, evokes so many questions, so much sadness. And yet, she is able to connect with her loss through the photograph and her writing.

Boltanski is an artist born of a Jewish Ukranian father and a Corsican Christian mother. He speaks of the "*effort to erase himself so as to be able to reach a communal memorial layer, an amalgam of unconscious reminiscences and archetypes through which viewers can supply their own stories as they look at his images.*" He is quoted as saying in 1990: *"I never use images from the camps, my work is not about, it is after."* (cited by Hirsch 1996: 676).

Yes, after…

Another interesting quote by Boltanski: *"For me it's very important to start with a real image, then I blow it up to make it universal"*. It is possible that this is in fact, what I am trying to do in this discourse. Perhaps I am trying to make a connection with others by universalizing my experience and filling my own '*inner disaporic void*' in this way. Perhaps I want others to connect not only with my narrative, but with their own narrative as well. Perhaps I want to ultimately make the connection in a Zen way, with the Other as One.

In the painting below by Boltanski, *La chambre ovale/The Oval Room,* a borderline-abstract setting envelops a forlorn character sitting on the floor, petrified and powerless (as we can guess from the fact that he is armless). We can somehow identify with this character's despondency. We don't know if he is a prisoner or just a child in a make-believe hell. The dark, shadowlike silhouette is what makes the scene mysterious. Even though this painting probably speaks of a private incident

we can't understand because we don't know anything about it, there is something strangely familiar in the loneliness. It is still nonetheless figurative, and still tells stories about people's lives, childhoods, families and memories." (*Boltanski*, exhibition catalogue, Centre Pompidou, 1984, p. 18).

I knew from my parents' demeanor, more than from what they said, that we would never visit their native cities, Krakow, Poland or Vilna, now Lithuania. My father feared he would be arrested as soon as he stepped on Polish soil, but didn't explain why. I supposed he was exaggerating though I knew his fear was real. I didn't pursue it because I accepted that it was a world I would never know and I did not want to know it. I had planned to go to Poland after my visit to Israel this past winter. I did not go for a complex of reasons I don't yet understand. My main fear was that the isolation I feel now as a kind of orphan of history, would be further heightened. The other reason may be the sense of ghosts and skeletons that these places conjure up for me. This leads us to our next exploration: the construct of *'phantom memories'*.

8.3 MEMORY, TRANS-GENERATIONAL MEMORY, PHANTOM MEMORIES

"Brothers and sisters are as close as hands and feet"
A Vietnamese proverb

In this section, I will make the link between the concept of '*Knowing – Not Knowing*' and '*Speaking-Not Speaking*', with that of memory in its many facets.

Studies of Holocaust memory has tended to concern itself with public and mass manifestations of cultural memory, notably, museums, memorials, stage and film adaptations such as "*Anne Frank*" (1959) based on the book: "*Anne Frank's Diary of a Young Girl*"; Spielberg's film, "*Schindler's List*" (1994); and Claude Lanzmann's documentary "*Shoah*" (1985). Second Generation Holocaust writing, however, and

what it has to say about the continued impact at the level of the individual, or as a cultural collective, has been less closely examined.

Let's start with this story told about Judith Kestenberg (cited by Rashkin1999, a woman who knew from the way a person held their body if they were a Holocaust Survivor or from a painting if the artist was a 2nd Gener.

> *"… we went once with Milton and Judith to see a new exhibition of paintings in Jaffa. Judith stood in front of a portrait of a man for a long time, and then told me: 'You see, this is a child survivor. Look at the sad eyes, the expression on the face...'. We asked the painter about the portrait, and he told us it was of his father, who was present at the event.*

Judith, after being introduced, asked the artist's father if he was a child during the Second World War. The man, who looked and spoke like an English gentleman, remained speechless. He acknowledged being a Holocaust child, but warned us that his son did not know about it. He asked Judith how she found out about it, and Judith said that through the portrait, painted by his son, she was able to detect all the hidden suffering that his son knew about without knowing that he knew. Judith invited him for breakfast at her hotel the following morning so that she could interview him. He accepted the invitation, and following the interview he became not only very grateful, but also able to talk to his son.

What did the son know that his father didn't tell him, how did he know, why is it important that he knew. These are all questions I would like to explore in this chapter.

Judith Kestenberg proposed that a type of transmitted traumatic neuroses was at work in some children of Holocaust survivors which she called '*transposition*', a mechanism that goes beyond identification where the survivor's child transposes him or herself into the parents' past and plays out the various roles in that past with the unconscious intentions "*to change the past and convert the parents' suffering and guilt into victory over the oppressors*." (Rashkin 2008: 105). Rashkin proposes at a metaphysical, socio-cultural level – as opposed to the psychopathological level -- a phantomogenic basis for presenting overt distress, which may have transmission sources.

Rashkin examines literary texts and film narratives where, she believes, the unspeakable secret, the shameful, conflicted and undigestable drama that is so destabilizing to the psyche, is hidden and preserved intact:

> *"The conscious or unconscious will to silence in these instances is not driven by a desire to preserve the event's inherent incomprehensibility or essential horror, but to preserve the (apparent) integrity of the subject and, possibly, of the subject's family or social group."* (Rashkin (2008:19).

Rashkin suggests that speaking does not erase or deny the psychic pain, nor that the process of working through the trauma will result in a cure, but that the ability to "*…verbalize a secret signifies rather that the subject has surmounted an obstacle to being and can now reengage in the (still challenging) process of going-on-being*." Further, she believes that such verbalizing also "*prevents a silenced drama from being transmitted transgenerationally to subjects who have had no direct experience of it."* (Rashkin (2008: 20).

Rashkin's fascinating book, "*Unspeakable Secrets and Psychoanalysis of Culture*" is worth reading for many aspects of this theory. One such analysis is the relationship of the popularity of soap products and France's denial of their anti-Semitism. Also studied are the Vichy collaboration with the Nazis in the writings of Barthes's "*Mythologies*" and an analysis of Isak Dinesan's "*Babette's Feast*" which is at its' core about unspoken loss. She analyzes the film "*Last Tango in Paris",* as an ability to mourn encrypted loss and France's failure to acknowledge and grieve its history of censorship, colonialism and collaboration with the Nazi regime. Her analysis of "*The Dirty War"* which stands in opposition to Argentinian fascist construction of the '*Official Story*', postulates that the children of the disappeared may be living with hauntings that will have effects on the Argentinian society for some time. However, I will limit myself to her analysis of descendants of survivors of social cataclysms such as the 2nd Generation children of Holocaust Survivors.

Rashkin leads us to reconsider the '*child in analysis*' and by extension, '*the adult in analysis*', within a paradigm of a transphenomenological relationship between parent and child in cases of phantom haunting.

First, it is important to understand the term "*intrapsychic crypt*" that she and Abraham and Torok use. When integrating a loss or a shameful trauma within the ego is too distressing, language is blocked and the introjective (unconscious adoption of values or attitudes of another person in order to be accepted) process is stalled. As a result, a possible behaviour is '*incorporation*' which is a kind of preservative repression aimed at protecting the secret from exposure. The secret is sealed up alive or incorporated in an '*intrapyschic crypt*' located within the ego. The crypt serves as an isolating mechanism to keep the secret from exposure because it interferes with the ego's introjection. The person can then not only avoid mourning the loss but can also deny that any loss has taken place. (Rashkin 2008: 52)

Abraham and Torok's studies in the 1970's led them to naming this typography '*phantom*' in an attempt to explain and treat patients who did not respond to

Freudian concepts of '*dynamic repression*', understood to occur when a desire comes into conflict with a prohibition or when a trauma interferes with the normal processes of psychic development. They concluded that it was not the patient who had repressions but that it was someone else, usually the parent, who had concealed a secret -- a disturbing, or shameful event and then silently transmitted it, through cryptic language and behaviour, directly into the unconscious child. The phantom can haunt family lines through successive generations and can skip generations and be transmitted from parent to a grandchild. The child may be diagnosed as obsessive, compulsive, phobic, hysterical, eating disordered, manic, depressive, schizophrenic, autistic, etc. The child is a repository of an unspeakable drama experienced by someone else as traumatic. (Rashkin, 2008: 93-94)

Can the felt memory in my back be a form of '*incorporation*' protecting my father from the sad knowledge of the death of his children? A rather important insight to be more thoroughly digested.

Abraham and Torok distinguish between Freud's concept of constitutive repression by calling this '*preservative repression/refoulement conservateur*' which connotes that the child is not the active source of repression but a recipient. It also conveys the imperative to preserve for the child intact the integrity of that secret.

> "*…the child haunted by a phantom becomes the unwitting performative agent of a gap in speech of a parent... that blocks the child from living life as her or his own…the child becomes an unknowing partner in a pathological dual unity…that hinders …processes of individuation involving repression and introjection that would otherwise allow the child to separate from the parent and become an independent being*." (Rashkin 2008:95)

And so, we move to Rashkin's understanding of some, not all, children of Holocaust survivors. She too discusses the internalization or identification with the parents' traumatic experiences. She too talks of the child's efforts to change the past and convert the parents' suffering and accomplish what the Holocaust prevented the parent from accomplishing-- "*The child in such circumstances ultimately lives for the parent.*" (Rashkin 2008:104-105)

As the complexity of the psychology of children of Holocaust survivors became more apparent in the 1970s, Rashkin expanded on Kestenberg's theories of transposition. Since, in many cases, the parents' experiences had been kept secret, the phantom, she explains, is a highly specialized form of transposition. However, there is a fundamental difference in that transpositions are unactualized fears or wishes that are transmitted; whereas a child haunted by a phantom inherits the parent's traumatic situation that has actually occurred and cannot be undone. (Rashkin 2008: 106)

In the case of transposition, the child has a mission in life to convert the oppression of the past and threat of genocide with a '*restitution of life and worth*'. However, a child who inherits an unspeakable or shameful secret also acquires the burden of having to suppress any desire to know or understand its origin; and, cannot give speech to this phantom secret. Whatever affect is transmitted to the child, undergoes similar distortions as the content of the secret. For example, the unexpressed shame of the father manifests as shame in the son; a parent's unuttered fear of being identified as too weak to work in the camps, may emerge as some form of fearfulness in the child. It is difficult to analyze phantomagenic transmissions, since in fact there is no memory or knowledge of the secreted event. An eating disorder may be a result of transposition of parents who suffered starvation or may be phantomogenic as for example, a mother's shame for prostituting herself for food. (Rashkin 2008: 107-109)

Phantoms are transmitted silently in response to many different kinds of social catastrophes: survivors of Japanese internment camps, wars: i.e. Bosnia, Iraq, Cambodia, etc. Children and grandchildren of persecutors are also susceptible i.e.: Argentine military and police; children of German non-combatants/neighbours who may have denounced a Jewish neighbour; or children of war veterans who may have engaged in unspeakable acts. It can also conceal homophobia, concealed religious identity, child abuse, incest, and murder as well as historical narratives of anti-Semitism, nationalism and genocide. (Rashkin 2008: 109-111)

In analysis "*the haunted child has to be read anasemically as a text insufficient in itself, as a narrative that demands to be rejoined with its absent narrative complements or intertexts lying silenced beyond the child*."(Rashkin 2008: 111).

At a metaphoric level, the poignantly described, life-long anguish of Jakob Beer in Anne Michaels' "*Fugitive Pieces*" (1997), of which I spoke about earlier, can be described as a phantom memory. Jakob Beer had hidden in a wall of his home, while he watched his parents killed and his sister abducted, never to be seen again. He never knew what happened to his sister and is haunted by that '*not-knowing*'. Ann Parry observes that "*there is no possibility that any of them can receive proper burial and they are entombed, unappeased, within Jakob himself.*" (Parry, 2000: 356) This resonates with me for I too have been haunted by the '*not-knowing*' of what happened to my brother and sister.

Our birth dates fit chronologically: my half-sister, Helena, was born October 23 – while I was born Nov 23; my half-brother, Henush was born Dec 23, while my brother was born Jan 23. As a child, I had a story in my head that they were shot in the back (and more recently, the more immediate sense is bayoneted in the back – shudders!). When I was older, I asked my father about their deaths. He told me he didn't know how they were killed and didn't know why I thought they were shot.

What I didn't tell him is that I know because there is a spot in the middle of my back that feels like a memory of being shot there.

Recently, I warned an acupuncturist to avoid putting any needles on this spot on my back; I once fainted during allergy tests when needles were inserted in that spot. The acupuncturist knowingly replied: "*Yes, we are more connected with our siblings that we realize.*"

Grimwood speaks of Jakob Beer's dreams as having a "*deeply physical presence*". Jakob Beer says of his dreams: "*Their strains poured from my skin, until I woke dripping with their deaths.*"(Grimwood: 118)

Grimwood interprets Jakob Beer's discovery that it was as painful for the ghosts to be remembered as it was for him to remember them. She recognizes that this might be a reciprocal relationship of haunting, where Jakob Beer is unable to demarcate the line between living and dead. (Grimwood: 118).

What all this tells me is that human beings act for reasons they do not know, feel emotions for which there doesn't seem to be a source, and have bodily sensations that they do not understand. This understanding helps me better explain the special sensation I hold in my back. I always knew it was connected with my murdered brother and sister but didn't dare say it overtly. After reading Rashkin and others, I think that this is case indeed and that I may have inherited a phantom memory from my siblings that is real to me. I may have also inherited what I would call a '*phantom trauma*' that belongs to my father.

However, I suspect that most people will not find themselves in an analysis that would delve into transposition, phantom memories, post memories, and unresolved mourning; nor is it likely that they would even be able to find analysts adept at working with layered memories.

My suggestion would be to, indeed go to the creative arts as a means of expression of innermost phenomena to which cannot be voiced directly. After all secrets have no words.

A closer look at two of the burdens carried by Klee's children, reveals that they have no face, and are rather ghost like. Can they be inherited phantoms?

I am taking a second look at a poem I wrote when I was about sixteen that was one of my favourite poems, but wasn't sure that others would understand it. It had no title.

Long shadow
On my short tomb
Still
Beats the heart
Flies to the one-eyed moon
Why
The warriors weep below.

I am reluctant to dissect this poem, because much of the meaning is ethereal, from some inner space within me. I now see a new layer that I hadn't noticed before. I always meant for the word "still", placed in the middle of the poem, in a '*still*' space, to have two meanings. The first meaning is that the heart still beats after death and the other is the opposite, it is '*still*' in the sense of unmoving. Can it be that the heart still beats in a new generation? Similarly the '*Why*' has two meanings: one is a question: *why are the warriors weeping if the heart is still beating*?; and the other is: *why does the heart still beat?*

In dialogue, it is important to observe the non-verbal realm of conversation, the in-between, the silences as much as the words. As a participant/facilitator it will be important to ask people to reflect on what their bodies tell them and use right brain, playful activities that allow non-verbal modes of reflections as I did with the rock exercise at two of the dialogues (see Chapter 10).

Back to the film: "*Fugitive Pieces*", based on Anne Michaels' book by the same name. In the film, the ending has been changed. Jakob Beer's sister, whose unknown fate tortured him, comes to him in a visitation and shows him that he can let her go. Jakob Beer is now able to pass on to others, the humanity that was shown to him by Athos, the Greek archeologist who found him buried in the earth. Anne Michaels appreciates this change and says of this transformation:

"*He has reached a point where he is ready to be seen*".

It is a wonderful phrasing, linking the sense of invisibility that 2nd Geners feel as they live with so much that is unsaid, unrecognized. Michaels indicates that there was a need for the film to leave us in a place of peace because of the integrity of the journey of the film. Jakob Beer can accept the memories that have been haunting him and transcend them because as Anne Michaels says: "*To remain with the dead is to abandon them.*" (These quotes are from the commentary Anne Michaels makes on the film.)

I like this framing to explain my own Auto-ethnographical search, the dialogic opportunities for reconstruction and the research I am conducting in search of my lost family -- all forms of diasporic memory work and an act of aberrated mourning. I may never find all the answers, I may never know for sure where that felt knowledge comes from that is lodged in the middle of my back, but I will always believe, that I am carrying a memory in my body on behalf of my siblings. Knowing this may enable me to transform the pain and grief. Jewish rituals are clear on mourning periods before moving on. I am long past the prescribed period of mourning. Perhaps the act of writing and creating is a way to not remain with the dead but to let them go.

There are, in fact, many varieties of post memory work from the 400 memorial books written about Polish communities; to the Genealogical research described in Chapter 4; to the many memorials and museums around the world serving as both memory and post memory (see Annex F).

I want to add, that this phenomena is not particular to the Holocaust. Quynh-Tram Nguyen, a fellow doctoral student, is similarly "*exploring the Vietnamese post-war diasporic memory linked to the haunting of loss and historical trauma*" In the abstract description of her most interesting thesis titled: *"Tales of Displacement of Vietnamese Diaspora: Memory, Violence, and Varieties of Truth*", she states:

> *"Like other displaced groups in the world, the Vietnamese have been forced to face a loss of a life-world and other related necessities to nourish their communal soul in exile. The post-war memory is all that remains – collective in spirit but fragmented in sight… Vietnamese post-war memory engages with past/present relations. Being a lived history rather than "true" history, it is history but not time bound. In addition, it is central in the debate on 'the right to remember, the responsibility to recall, and the 'sense of the dangers involved in forgetting' their historical catastrophe (Baronian et al., 2006, p. 12). It is manifested, modified, and invented from the historical and subjugated knowledge – the difficult knowledge that haunts the Vietnamese Americans of three generations who have experienced – both consciously and unconsciously – colonial wounds and paradox of loss and creativity."*

At this point, I would like to propose a reconstruction of the term "*re-membering*" as:

"Remembering: a piecing together of the past; and in the process, re-pairing the scars of the past."

This definition is inspired by a recent multi-media exhibition of Marij Bouwman's work: "*Things that Last*" held in Fresno January, 2012. She adopts latex, a resilient material used in the film industry, to create two large soft sculptures about 6 feet tall, braced by grief and strength and pieced together by thread, a technique suggestive of creation and repair. Bouwans asked herself how she could depict '*unresolvable grief*' which adds signs to one's face but also, simultaneously adds to the beauty of that face. In this sculpture, shown below, the "*irresolvable tears*", a term Bouwmans created, are captured by containers on which the statues stand.

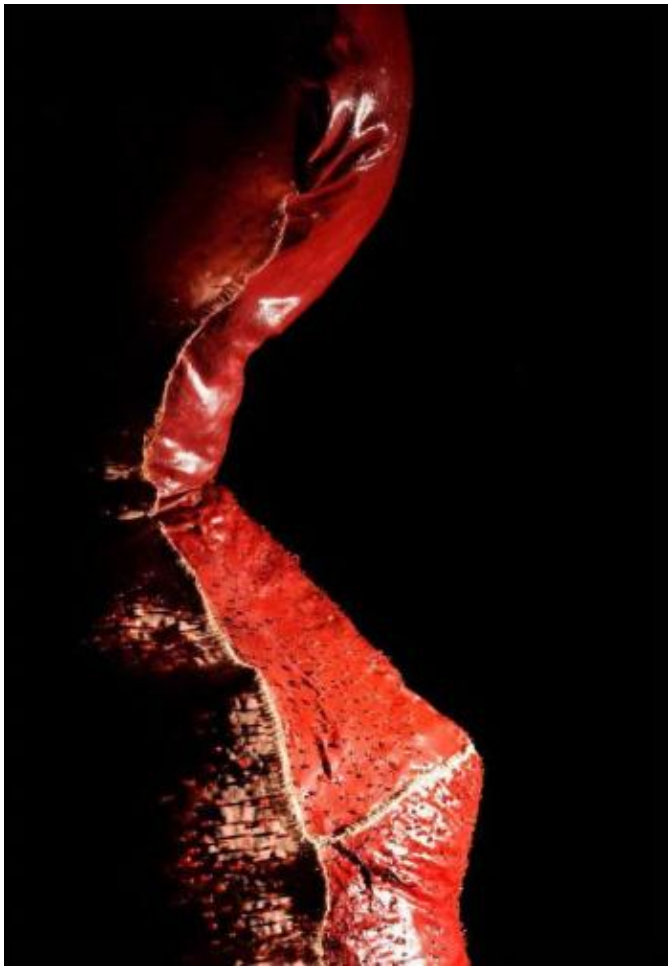
Below is a close up of the container of irresolvable tears.

And so, the irresolvable tears strengthen the bowl -- it is both the tears and the figures themselves that give the bowl the strength they need to hold up their vulnerable selves.

Bowl of Irresolvable Tears
Inspired by Marij Bouwmans

My irresolvable tears
Your irresolvable tears
Our inherited irresolvable tears
Poured into the sustaining bowl
Upon which we stand
With our torn pieces intact

Below is a close up of the points of thousands of memories and feelings, beaded painstakingly by the artist. I can feel the emotions within the pores of this figure.



In the next pieces, titled: "*Pricking and Threading: Deficits, Defects and Re-pair, a Metaphorical Exploration of Skin*", Marij Bouwman describes the experiences from early childhood and explains the metaphorical exploration of the skin as follows:

> *"Because my work as an artist always begins in an emotional memory, my contribution to a project called SKIN was a series of baby and children's clothes made of latex, a material used to make artificial skin used in the film industry as special effects.*
>
> *Those jackets, dresses and trousers etc. are put together quite improvisatorially. Not intentionally, but it happened without saying, I worked a bit sloppy because I just sat down to try things out. When I saw that rough stitching I thought to myself: "That's exactly right." As a child you must very quickly put on second skin. There is hardly ever time to do that in a neat way, because it is survival." In addition, I also used patterns for adult dresses, since this process of covering, uncovering and re-covering goes on throughout our whole life.*
>
> *The psychological theme of "second skin" is well researched and described in Psychoanalytical narrative. Simply said it is a description of the psychological adjustments we make when we, as very young children, are faced with good and less good experiences. How we are spoken to, how and if we are being touched, how we are comforted and mirrored. In short, whether and how, and how much we are loved… or not. These adjustments become part of our character and social identity. They become a fingerprint.*
>
> *Sometimes we suffer from it later in life because those adjustments that served us well can get in the way when we form adult intimate relationships.*
>
> *I am showing "Second skin" symbolically in the form of children's clothes and adult patterns. They describe the Deficits, Defects and Re-Pair of experiences from early childhood.*
>
> *…the work is reminiscent of real skin. This light box of skin shows all sorts of skin scars, hardened pieces and vulnerabilities and holes. Deep under the children's clothes, deep under the skin, there is something hidden… "*

How fragile and disembodied these stick children are!

….and also how soft, malleable and lovable.

….and resilient as they walk on in their self-made boots.

There is something about the childish stitching that I find particularly poignant. I remember making dolls out of rolled up old towels, and my stitches looked much like this.

In the next chapter, I would like to take the concept of '*re-pair*' to another layer, one that contextualizes emotions felt by the generation after the Shoah wherein I posit a possible means of '*re-pair*".

CHAPTER 9: REPAIR THROUGH VALIDATION AND AFFIRMATION

9.1 VALIDATION AND MORAL OUTRAGE

"We never heard the world's anger." Nathan Alterman, Israeli poet, 1942

I would like to set the context for what I believe to be a sense of moral outrage that has not been surfaced adequately and therefore not dealt with or validated adequately. Let's be clear that I am not talking about the kind of projective anger of an adolescent or an entitled, or even religious, mindset. I also hope I am not talking about the kind of over defensive position that can be attributed to a victim construct and is used for aggressive acts. The kind of anger I am referring to, that I would prefer to call moral or righteous outrage is about the representation of suffering not for the purpose of fighting but to reaffirm the moral principles of humanity through the act of listening.

When I speak of a validating form of anger, I am not speaking merely about permission to express anger appropriately. I am speaking about having events and feelings witnessed and acknowledged by an 'other'. I believe that without this step, moving forward beyond anger to a place of compassion for oneself and others is hard to achieve.

Goodenough (1997) defines moral outrage as:

> *"a response to the behavior of others, never one's own. It is a response to infringements or transgressions on what people perceive to be the immunities they, or others with whom they identify, can expect on the basis of their rights and privileges and what they understand to be their reasonable expectations regarding the behavior of others. A person's culturally defined social identities and the rights and privileges that go with them in relationships to which those identities can be party make up the contents of that person's social persona and also constitute that person's social territory… As emotion, outrage is affected by such clinical processes as displacement, rationalization, projection, and reaction formation."*

He provides a biological comparison with the animal world:

> *"Infringements of rights and privileges in the social and symbolic worlds in which humans live are the equivalent of encroachments on territory among animals, and moral outrage can be understood as the human expression of what we perceive as territorial behavior in animals."*

Memory, as we have seen, plays a key role in a generation with no past. The importance of genealogical research, commemorations, and museums serve as an act of recall, of creating a presence from the absence, and also as an act of mourning.

I wondered about how it is that mourning turns easily to anger, rage or despair. I asked my friend Quyhn-Tran what is this anger that springs up so easily. She answered: "*the rage is about remembering; if you forget, you have no anger*." She knows this rage well; the Vietnamese community, like the Jewish community, is often treated as outliers. She stressed that this anger is not a pathology. Right on!

I noted that the theme of the Genealogy Conference this August in Washington, brought these constructs together: "*Historical Justice and Memory*".

I discovered the depth of my outrage, even over-layering the depth of my sadness, at Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Museum of Martyrs and Heroes in Jerusalem. I was moved to the core, and reached my own tipping point by the video testimony of Jan Karski describing his meeting with Roosevelt. This is one of the tapes documented by Claude Lanzmann, the filmmaker of the landmark film. Shoah released in 1985.


Jan Kozielewski (he later took on his nom de guerre Karski) was a Catholic born in Lodz. When Poland was occupied by Germany, Kozielewski joined the Polish underground – the Home Army (Armia Krajowa). His photographic memory made him ideal for the job of courier between the underground in Poland and the Polish government-in-exile that was seated first in France and moved to London, after the fall of France.

First, some background about what preceded the meeting with Roosevelt. In October 1942, at the height of the destruction of Polish Jewry, Karski was ordered to clandestinely go to the West and deliver a report on the situation of occupied Poland to the Polish government-in-exile in London. The situation of the Jews in Poland was to be one section of that report. Since the government in exile was concerned with the internal politics of Poland's underground parties, Karski held meetings with the different factions, including the Jewish Zionist and the Jewish Socialist Bund movements. Thus, shortly before his departure, Karski met with two Jewish leaders who asked him to inform the world's statesmen of the desperate plight of Polish Jewry and of the hopelessness of their situation. Their message was: "*Our entire people will be destroyed*".

The Jewish leaders' appeals touched Karski and he decided to see things with his own eyes in order to make his report. With great risk to his life, he was smuggled into the Warsaw ghetto and into a camp in the Lublin area. The horrors he witnessed marked him deeply and propelled him to become not only the messenger of the Polish underground, but to concentrate on giving voice to the suffering of the dying Jews.

In November 1942, Karski reached London, delivered the report to the Polish government-in-exile, and set out to meet Winston Churchill, other politicians, journalists, and public figures. Upon completing his mission, Karski went on to the United States, where he met with President Roosevelt and other dignitaries, and tried in vain to stir up public opinion against the massacre of the Jews. In 1944, while in the United States, Karski wrote a book on the Polish Underground (Story of a Secret State), with a long chapter on the Jewish Holocaust in Poland.

Claude Lanzmann interviewed Karski for two days in the United States, where Karski taught at Georgetown University. The first day's output appeared in the movie, but the second day's conversation remained on the cutting-room floor, making "I reported what I saw" his final words in Lanzmann's film.

In 2010, though, Lanzmann released the second segment as a standalone film. The 49-minute documentary begins slowly, as Karski explains the background of his mission on behalf of the Polish government in exile. But it's Karski's gripping account of the meeting with Roosevelt and later with Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, who was Jewish, that make this movie a must-see.

Speaking theatrically, Karski relates how Roosevelt pressed him for details on the state of the resistance and the Germans' activities but, during the hour-plus audience, didn't ask any follow-up questions on the situation of the Jewish community. He did ask him to see Frankfurter, a friend of his.

Karski's experience with Frankfurter is the high point of the film. Karski, rising from his chair and almost acting out both sides of the conversation, complete with gesticulations and differently modulated voices, recounts Frankfurter's response to his terrible news.

"I don't believe it. I don't believe that you are lying, but I don't believe what you are telling me."

For his part, Karski doesn't claim the ability to explain Roosevelt's or Frankfurter's actions. He does speculate that the President was simply delegating some activities to other officials, and he wonders whether Frankfurter may have actually believed him but was putting on an act. We do know that nothing resulted from the meeting.

Karski acknowledged to Lanzmann that he couldn't quite grasp the horror of the Holocaust, either, despite seeing some of it with his own eyes, and thus adds a chapter to the oft-argued question of what else the Allies could have done to save the six million Jews who perished in the Holocaust.

In saying this, Karski also wades into another Holocaust controversy among specialists: to what extent such cruelty was "unprecedented," to use Karski's term. For Karski, its singular nature explains the difficulty in believing.

The Karski Report meditates on the nebulousness of knowledge, but it forecasts the even-greater challenge of memory. Karski died in 2000, but his words remain on the silver screen, a challenge to those who deny any of the Holocaust's history.
I would ask the reader to watch a few clips of these unforgettable interviews conducted by Lanzmann with Karski.
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6lX4LsfkqhA
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=857GObd-t7I&NR=1 (Part 49 of 59)
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=857GObd-t7I&NR=1 (Part 50 of 59)

After the war, Karski stayed in the United States where he was later appointed Professor at Georgetown University, Washington DC. He became committed to perpetuating the memory of the Holocaust victims, identified whole-heartedly with the tragedy and suffering of the Jewish people, and was unable to come to terms with the world's silence at the slaughter of six million Jews. These notions were well reflected in a speech he delivered in 1981 to a meeting of American military officers who had liberated the concentration camps. He stated that he had failed to fulfill his wartime mission, and said:

> *"And thus I myself became a Jew. And just as my wife's entire family was wiped out in the ghettos of Poland, in its concentration camps and crematoria – so have all the Jews who were slaughtered become my family. But I am a Christian Jew… I am a practicing Catholic… My faith tells me the second original sin has been committed by humanity. This sin will haunt humanity to the end of time. And I want it to be so".*

On 2 June 1982, Yad Vashem recognized Jan Karski as Righteous Among the Nations. In 1994, Professor Karski was awarded honorary citizenship of Israel. In a speech he gave on the occasion, he stated:

> *"This is the proudest and the most meaningful day in my life. Through the honorary citizenship of the State of Israel, I have reached the spiritual source of my Christian faith. In a way, I also became a part of the Jewish community… And now I, Jan Karski, by birth Jan Kozielewski – a Pole, an American, a Catholic – have also become an Israeli."*

An additional Karski tape of particular interest to me is: TAPE 3139 -- Camera Rolls #21, 21A ,22 -- 07:00:07 to 07:17:16. It is one that recalls my own earliest memory of feeling morally outraged. It is about Karski and Arthur Zygielbojm, a name I knew well, as I will relate. Karski describes how Zygielbojm went into a rage after he delivered his report to him. Lanzmann asks Karski if he thinks his report contributed to Zygielbojm's suicide six months later. Karski says that he believes that the total helplessness of the Jews and the indifference of the world to the Jewish situation contributed to Zygielbojm's death by suicide.

I knew all about Zygielbojm's suicide. My parents belonged to an organization in Montreal called "*The Workman's Circle*"[8]. Their particular Chapter was named after Zygielbojm who I learned as a young girl, had set himself on fire in the middle of New York City to bring attention to the plight of the Jews in Europe. His suicide had no effect. I can say, clearly now, that like Karski, it was a legitimate outrage to me as it would be to any human being. Karski said that while he never mentions to his students his own experiences in the Warsaw ghetto and in Belzec, he always tells them about Zygielbojm.

This April 2012, President Barak Obama has posthumously awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest civilian award, to Jan Karski.

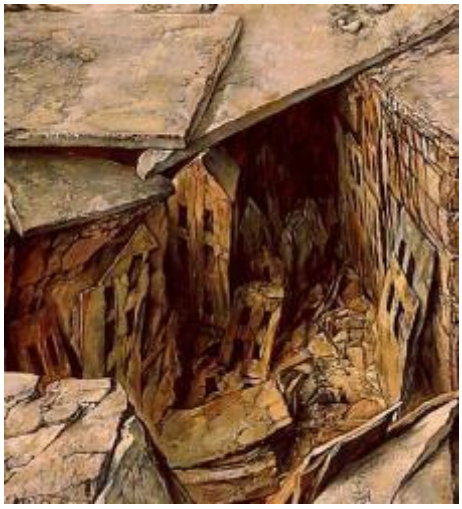
Although there were many stories of people informing allies of the genocide, nothing was ever done. I understand that it was difficult to successfully respond within the occupied German territory, but Brittan made no attempt to do anything. They did not call for international effort to see what could be done. Similarly, my own country, the Canadian government and its churches had the opportunity to save thousands of children but knowingly did nothing. Canada's door was closed by 1933. "*The Jew of Europe was in a world of his own where conventional moral standards did not apply. The Nazi massacres would continue unabated.*" (Abella & Troper, 1982: 147)

At Yad Vashem I learned that the allies could have stopped the killing much earlier by bombing the railroads and crematoria. In fact, they bombed the refineries just beside the crematoria. We still don't know what political decisions were at play here. By the time the Nazis reached Hungary in 1944, where millions more were killed, everyone knew and still it wasn't stopped.

---

[8] The Workmen's Circle/Arbeter Ring was founded in 1900 by Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe who sought to promote values of social and economic justice through a Jewish lens.

The texture of the next painting by Samuel Bak evokes the stony indifference of the outer world.



I chose this artist, not only because of the strength of his painting but also because he is a survivor of Vilna, my mother's home (and the coincidental similarity with my married name Baack). Bak and his family had to move into the Vilna Ghetto. At the age of nine, he had his first exhibition inside the ghetto, even as massive executions and murders perpetrated by the Nazis and their Lithuanian collaborators took place almost every day. Bak and his mother escaped the destruction of the Vilna Ghetto by seeking refuge in a Benedictine convent. They were helped by a Catholic nun named Maria Mikulska, and spent most of their time there in an attic.

By the end of the war, Samuel and his mother were the only members of his extensive family to survive. His father, Jonas, was shot by the Germans in July 1944, only a few days before Samuel's own liberation. He lived in a Displaced Persons Camp in Germany, from 1945 to 1948 during this period. He might have been in my DP camp.

The title of this next painting by Samuel Bak is '*Alone*'; it's structure is in the form of a Jewish star, an island surrounded by a menacing sea. The painting's sky sheds an ominous light.

At Yad Vashem, I was drawn to another name, Abba Kovner, a name that I had heard with reverence at home but as with most of the information I had, it was minimal. I didn't know who he was or why he was a "*big shot*". Abba Kovner was one of the partisan leaders from Vilna, formed in January, 1942.[9]

Kovner stands above left and in the middle top row above right. The woman to the left of him, in the middle of the top row, looks uncannily like my mother (see picture on Dedication page). I wonder if there is something she didn't tell me. In an

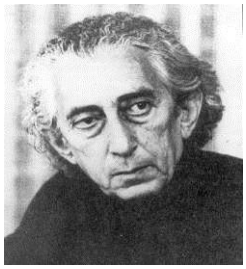
[9] An estimated 20,000 to 30,000 Jewish partisans actively fought the Nazis and their collaborators in Eastern Europe. They engaged in guerilla warfare and sabotage against the Nazis, instigated Ghetto uprisings, and freed prisoners. In Lithuania alone, they killed approximately 3,000 German soldiers. As many as 1.4 million Jewish soldiers fought in the Allied armies. Of these, approximately 40% served in the Red Army. About 200,000 Jewish soldiers serving in the Red Army died in the war. The Jewish Brigade, a unit of 5,000 Jewish volunteers from the British Mandate of Palestine, fought in the British Army. German-speaking Jewish volunteers from the Special Interrogation Group performed commando and sabotage operations against the Nazis behind front lines in the Western Desert Campaign. In Lithuania and Belarus, Jewish partisan groups saved thousands of Jewish civilians from extermination. No such opportunities existed for the Jewish populations of cities such as Budapest. However in Amsterdam, and other parts of the Netherlands, many Jews were active in the Dutch Resistance.[1] Other combatants in the Warsaw Uprising were veterans of the ghetto uprising of 1943.

impassioned speech delivered at one of the Ghetto soup kitchens he shouted to those around him:

> "*Jewish youth! Do not trust those who are trying to deceive you. Out of the eighty thousand Jews in the "Jerusalem of Lithuania" only twenty thousand are left. . . . Ponary is not a concentration camp. They have all been shot there. Hitler plans to destroy all the Jews of Europe, and the Jews of Lithuania have been chosen as the first in line.*
>
> *We will not be led like sheep to the slaughter! True, we are weak and defenseless, but the only reply to the murderer is revolt! Brothers! Better to fall as free fighters than to live by the mercy of the murderers. Arise! Arise with your last breath!*"

The partisan group took for its motto "*We will not go like sheep to the slaughter*." from this speech.

Kovner and hundreds of the ghetto fighters escaped through the city's sewers and other outlets to the Rudniky forests where they joined Soviet partisans in many combat missions. There Kovner and his followers operated a partisan division comprised solely of Jews, and performed many heroic acts of sabotage.



Abba Kovner the "Partisan & Poet"

The division played a key role in destroying power installations, water infrastructures and supply depots. They blew up German transport trains and even rescued groups of prisoners from the Kalais labor camp.

After the war, Kovner helped organize the Beriha movement, in which hundreds of thousands of survivors made their way west in order to reach Palestine. Kovner and his wife, Vitka Kempner, who was also his partner in the underground movement, settled in Palestine, where he joined the Givati Brigade in order to defend the newly formed state of Israel. In 1961 Kovner testified at the trial of Adolf Eichmann. In 1970 he was awarded the Israel Prize in Literature.

Kovner is documented by Lanzmann as well in the Shoah documentary. In the documentary, he states his belief that it should not have been just the Jews resisting

the Germans, but had the whole world reacted then it could have been prevented.

I left Yad Vashem sick with indignation at all that could have been done to stop the killings. My tears of pain turned to tears of outrage. I came back to Tel Aviv with a new understanding of the new Jew, the new Israeli who feels isolated and defensive, collectively and individually. I felt I had a better understanding of my own drivers as well. I understood my mother's rages more clearly. I understood why in my own values framework, I tend to prefer shades of gray and distrust black and white thinking, edicts and moralizing stances. It made sense that the quote by Shakespeare (Hamlet, Act 2 Scene 2) has been my lifelong guiding philosophy:

"*Nothing is good or bad, but thinking makes it so.*"

I understood more clearly why anger is an energizer for me, sometimes to a greater degree than the norm. I like to think I use it to do good.

After the war, at the political level, the Nuremberg trials enabled a speedy closing of the Holocaust chapter even though it wasn't really closed. The cold war could now begin against Stalin -- World War II's, primary victor. Members of the Gestapo, the SS and the Nazi party were accused and convicted. Twelve of the accused were sentenced to death, seven received prison sentences, and three were acquitted. Of the 12 defendants sentenced to death by hanging, two were not hanged: Hermann Göring committed suicide the night before the execution and Martin Bormann was not present when convicted (he had, unbeknownst to the Allies, committed suicide in Berlin in 1945). The remaining 10 defendants sentenced to death were hanged. None of the Third Reich's government, the general staff and the commanders of the German army, were executed. Many Nazi criminals returned to their jobs in the military as though nothing happened. "*The absence of the criminal Nazi faces from television screens, is fatal to memory and facilitates amnesia and denial*." (Berger, 1997: 125). With the advent of photo journalism that began with Vietnam, this would not occur today.

The medical experiments conducted by German doctors and prosecuted in the so-called '*Doctors' Trial*' led to the creation of the Nuremberg Code to control future trials involving human subjects, a set of research ethics principles for human experimentation. Nevertheless, it can be said that in part, contemporary medical and scientific breakthroughs had their origins with Nazi experiments on their helpless victims made up of twins, mentally handicapped, gypsies, homosexuals, Poles, communists, etc. Today, there are still discussions on the ethics of using the results of the medical experiments. In the same vein, the American space program relied on Nazi scientists, research and know-how that were once used by the Germans against them.

At the level of individual households, like the silence that I spoke about earlier, there was also no appropriate occasion for unloading anger. What was left of the victims' psychic balance, did not play out in a clear and balanced way. Parents would be prone to uncontrollable fits of rage which ranged from verbal abuse to physical abuse. This resulted in difficulty in feeling and expressing anger and acting authoritatively and decisively by the 2nd Geners. (Kellerman, 1999)

My father and my brother and I accepted my mother's rages as '*nerves'* though we dreaded their outbursts which could come from nowhere. My brother and I supported each other and came to each other's defense
My parents were so afraid of authority that they looked like caricatures to me. I would laugh at my father watching him check and recheck all of his pockets to see if he had his papers – 'de papeerin' -- if we went outside of our home in Montreal. My parents tried to instill in me, their fear and anxiety in order to protect me. Much to their chagrin, this only led to risky rebellious behaviour on my part to contramand these fears. I needed to find my own way to become pro-active and capable of personal power. I have struggled to find a way to have impact and to find the right voice, a voice with presence that commands attention but is also not strident.

At another level I was afraid that if I accepted things passively there might be some kind of frightening groundswell. I would certainly agree, then, with Tal (1996) who observes, in terms of the relationships between individual trauma and cultural interpretation, the rebellious nature of anger by survivors.

> *"Bearing witness is an aggressive act. It is born out of a refusal to bow to outside pressure to revise or to repress experience, a decision to embrace conflict rather than conformity, to endure a lifetime of anger and pain rather than to submit to the seductive pull of revision and repression. Its goal is change."*

Simon Wiesenthal wrote a book, "*The Sunflower*" (1998) about an experience he had in Auschwitz, when he was asked for forgiveness by a dying Nazi. Wiesenthal listened each time he was summoned, never knowing if he would meet his own end with each visit. In the end, he walked away. Following the brilliantly described event, the book became a series of essays by world renowned thinkers who answer Wiesenthal's call to comment on whether he did the right thing.

Most of the writers focused on the question of forgiveness, some giving this question the Christian and Judaic interpretations. Some commented on whether he had the right to forgive on behalf of the victims, and others on the fact that for the Nazi, any Jew would do to assuage his guilt. I believe he walked away out of a sense of prideful outrage and in this act, did not allow himself to be further victimized.

It reminded me of a time when I was 18 and at university when a German, married Professor, wanted me to have a child by him and then, after a year with him in Europe, I would give him the child. He wanted a child by a Polish, Jewish woman. He had been 16 in Germany during the Shoah and was old enough to know what was happening, but not old enough to object, he told me. I thought he felt guilty. I now realize he was perpetuating the same kind of continuing victimization; I was just another Jew who could meet his needs, regardless of mine. There is a close connection between dignity and humanity. My saying "*No*" was my act of dignity and defiance.

Eva Hoffman posits a series of thought constructions following 9-11. She notes that in the US, the reactions ranged from calls for retaliation to sympathy for the victims. Then some wild polarities went from expressions of omnipotence to expressions of great vulnerability. This manifested as: they were right and we are wrong...we brought this on ourselves…if they hate us so much there must be a reason...we must be hateful.... In a bizarre twist of ideology, the Muslim and Arab world came to stand for the oppressed and the archetypal victims and since so many members of that world consider Jews to be their arch enemy, it follows that Jews must be the oppressors and the villains of the story.

> *"In the new rhetoric, Jews are configured not as outsiders, but as hyper-insiders and figures of power – the allies of America, the profiteers of its wealth, and the hidden agents of its influence. In the Middle East, Jews are seen as the local imperialists and, no matter what the actual events, the unilateral aggressors."*

She identifies that moral outrage acts as a "*guardian against resurgence of anti-Semitism."* (Hoffman, 2004: 261).

Growing up, I was both proud of my heritage and determined to show the world how wrong it was to hate us. I was seared when at the age of 16 I was turned down for summer work at the Montreal General Hospital and then again, by an Insurance Company. The Montreal General Hospital told me there were no positions on hearing that my previous summer work was at the Jewish General Hospital. I tested my suspicions by calling back with a different name and details and they told me to come in for an interview. The insurance company was more direct and told me they had a policy of not hiring Jews.

And so, I myself became hyper vigilant when I believed I or someone I cared for was transgressed against. When I need to rally myself I will often quote E.E. Cummings poem: "*There is some S I will not eat*". Is that and 'S' or is that an "SS"?

I have learned that there is an up-side to anger. It is a sign of respect for yourself, and for the other person. It is a good starting point for personal and social change. It

is an energizer for doing good -- for not remaining in victim mode or in a non-reactive mode.

In Chapter four, I spoke of Paul Shapiro, (Director of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum's Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies) who after six years, of lobbying furiously — in Washington and across Europe, was able to obtain the release of 50 million pages of information on 17.5 million people victimized by the Nazis, held in Bad Arolsen, Germany.

He considered it his moral duty to open the archive before the Holocaust's survivor generation passed into history.

> *"I felt an obligation to the survivors who I knew and the survivors who volunteer here at the museum and the survivors who came to see me, pleading: their voices had never been listened to in this matter," Shapiro says. "If there was something I could do, well, I was going to do it."(see Annex E)*

He turned up international pressure by granting interviews to reporters and documentary filmmakers. His unstinting efforts proved critical in overcoming one bureaucratic wall after another. Finally, in November 2007, the commission made up of 11 democratic countries that controls the archive unanimously agreed to throw open Bad Arolsen's doors. What he found there he said, "*is much more diverse, much richer, with much greater potential for research, understanding and education, than anyone ever imagined before*."

In an article in the local Ottawa paper which also tells my connection with Bad Arolsen (see Annex E), I noted a quote by Shapiro. *"There were times during the battle to open this material that I was tremendously angry, just morally outraged*."

Having recently been contemplating about '*moral outrage'* I was eager to ask him about this at a dinner hosting him in Ottawa. His response to me was that '*moral outrage'* is what got the attention of those who were creating obstacles. They knew he was angry and would not take no for an answer. His outrage created a moral obligation that compelled him to ensure that important information would not be swept into oblivion for the sake of those who perished and those who survived. He validated my observation of the energy and positive aspects possible in expressing moral outrage when necessary, despite the pain and resistance that it may cause.

I believe that to take the withdrawal and avoidance stance, leads to a numb, passionless life which for me would be an unacceptable way of living. I have long quoted Leo Buscaglia from a lecture called "*The Art of Being Human*":

> "*If I have to choose between pain and nothing, I would always choose pain.*"

Of course, with that attitude, I needed the rebellious, resilient courage to take on the pain.

As a process consultant, I see my job not as a '*pair of hands*' (Edgar Schein, 1987) colluding with the system's dysfunctions to fix the problems that they identify as problems; but rather as someone who, with integrity and compassion, reflects back to the client what the system is telling us and not what the client thinks is happening. But it does take courage -- courage to hear conflicting perspectives, to tolerate the chaos and messiness that comes with dialogues across the system, and courage to speak truth to power.

Without doubt, there is also a downside to anger and moral outrage. The downside of hyper-vigilance to perceived or real injustice or rejection or aggression, is firstly, it is simply exhausting; and secondly, that it misses opportunities for inquiry and connection.

Often, my confrontational responses to what I would perceive as unjust did me little good, nor did it advance my aspiration for justice, fairness and equity. I learned through exposure to Organizational Development, Appreciative Inquiry, Non-Violent Communications and Social Constructionism to inquire into the meaning of people's positions and stories and to collaboratively find a way of going on together. And so, I have made a concerted effort to watch my own manifestations of righteous anger and to try to assume good intentions. I am also more compassionate when I see it in others.

So we have seen a number of ways that the transmission of a history of persecution and racial rejection can form feelings of justice in both negative and positive ways. All of our different historical contexts impact profoundly how we organize our experiences and what we focus on. I have asked my First Nations friends if they are angry by the destruction of their culture and families and the killings and they answer that yes, they are very angry and that they also need to deal with their tragedy. In Canada, there is a restitution process at work now but it seems the salve is as damaging as the initial wound.

I mentioned in Chapter 1, that as I was writing this paper, I became aware of a new genre of Holocaust films, never before seen in terms of large blockbuster films. Sixty years later, we are starting to see the Jews of the Holocaust in both heroic and humane terms, but also, and for the first time, as shoot-em-up fighters. Stephen Spielberg made an action-historical drama, "*Munich*" in 2005 about a team of Mossad experts who tracked down and killed several of those responsible for the assassination of Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics in 1972.

In 2008, Daniel Craig, who not accidentally I am certain, is associated with his roles as James Bond (and was also in Munich), starred in "*Defiance*". It is based on a true story of the Jewish Bielksi brothers who exacted revenge on the killing of members of their family and become partisan fighters in the forests of Belarus, where they built a village and saved over 1,000 Jewish non-combatants. The epilogue tells the viewer that the Bielski brothers never sought recognition for what they did, and that the descendants of the people they saved, now number in the tens of thousands. The use of the term '*defiance*' captures the sense of contempt and rebelliousness against unjust authority, a characteristic of Holocaust survivors rarely depicted in the past.

In Chapter 10, you will meet one of the participants in a dialogue held in Montreal, whose mother and father were part of the Bielski Partisan Brigade.

The recent release of "*Sara's Key*", a film made in France, depicts for the first time, the brutality of the French Nazi collaborators. The audience is provided with relief from the gripping, almost unbearable scenes of family separation and guilt through continuous flashbacks from the present to the past. This film, too, shows defiance, this time, in a young girl of about 11 years of age.

Sara's Key also shows the impact on three generations of what I called earlier, knowing, not-knowing and talking, not-talking. The necessity and final revelation of long kept secrets of the Holocaust touching both the Jewish victims and their progeny, as well as non-Jewish bystanders, was both tragic and transformational. I wish I could hold dialogues with the people in France after a showing of the film. I am certain film viewers would be helped by group interactions to help them process their own reactions and experiences, especially since so many of them have likely never come face to face with the role of France in the deaths of their 70-80,000 Jewish-French citizens.

There have been many fine documentaries and smaller films, but it is the Hollywood blockbuster films that make the difference.

Before leaving this discourse on films, I would like to mention, a recent documentary called: "*Inside Hanna's Suitcase*". *"Inside Hanna's Suitcase"* is striking because it illustrates that children of a new era from a different culture can take meaning from a story of the Holocaust.

This is a true account of a Japanese teacher, Fumiko, who wanted to find out about Hanna Brady "*as a symbol of life, not death*" after receiving a replica of her suitcase as part of their studies of history. She and her students took a deep interest in this child of another culture and time. I was invited by the Czechoslovakian embassy to see this documentary and hear from her brother, George Brady, who survived. He told us that he had hit a wall after many years of a successful life in Canada, plagued by

guilt about his sister, Hanna Brady, who he could not save. When Fumiko contacted him and he became involved with her and her students, his despair was transformed. (See the trailer which will give you a good sense of this documentary and the children's wise thoughts: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fGs6i3Xc7BY)

We have to ask ourselves, what need do these films serve and why now?

We certainly have seen the need for cathartic drama since the time of Greek mythology. Undoubtedly, these films are an indication that there is a need for release of unresolved, unacknowledged and un-validated anger. I would like to see a venue for discussion of these important issues so that they can surface with more intentionality, so that the impacts of overt and covert racism, unexamined guilt, pent up anger and moral outrage are first acknowledged and then, perhaps dissipated.

I believe that unexamined guilt and anger leads to more walls -- different walls of silence, walls of denial, and walls of anger. I believe that if we don't explore and talk about the various complementary and contradictory facets of our complex selves after injustice and victimization, we will never close this chapter adequately.

Finally, I want to explore Eckhart Tolle's concept of '*pain body*' -- a kind of energetic entity that takes possession of the human body, and uses it to generate more pain. He believes that Jewish, Black and Native Americans have a "*collective racial pain body*" (Tolle 2005:159).

This is how Tolle describes the pain body:

> *"It has its own primitive intelligence, not unlike a cunning animal, and its intelligence is directed primarily at survival. …. In most people, the pain body has a dormant and an active stage. When it is dormant, you easily forget that you carry a heavy dark cloud or a dormant volcano inside you..."* (Tolle 2005: 144-145).

He suggests that in a child who has strong pain body manifested in screaming pandemonium, the parent needs to a) reflect on their own pain body and b) ask questions to "*awaken the witnessing faculty in the child, which is Presence*." (Tolle 2005: 171). I would agree given what I believe about trans-generational pain. It is important that the parent be aware of their own pain as a first step and further serve to act as a validation instrument and as a witness in order to be helpful to the child.

We are at a good point to move into the next discussion on validation.

9.2 VALIDATION AND THE EICHMAN TRIAL

"All of a sudden, the people who had survived became legitimate."
Judith Maier, Dialogue Participant, Israel

As we have seen, there was no opportunity for Holocaust survivors to make sense of their conflicting experiences and feelings, neither were there opportunities for their children, the 2nd Geners, to make sense of what Hoffman has called: "*the negative extremes of human possibility …and their inherited burdens, melancholy and sense of identity." (Hoffman 2004: 278).*

The silence shifted in 1961 with the Eichman Trial, a pivotal event for each and every Jewish person throughout the world. At Nuremberg, the perpetrators and documents were at the forefront, not the victims. At the Eichman trial, it is was the victims, the survivors' who presented themselves in the witness box, taking their stories at last from the private realm to the public realm without restraints.

The trial was full of controversy from the start. Lipstadt (2011) notes that in the United States, the CBS said the news had electrified the world as though Hitler himself had been found. She also notes however, that in the space of a month, the Washington Post condemned Israel's '*jungle law*' and that the proceedings would be '*divorced from justice*'. An Indiana paper branded Israel '*a little upstart foreign state*'; Time magazine condemned Israel's '*high handed disregard of international law*'; the New York Post predicted that this would be a show trial which should rightfully be held in Germany, and so on. Some condemned the kidnapping of Eichmann from Argentina, while others argued that the trial constituted retroactive justice, and so on. According to Lipstadt, the basic realties, were that there was no international body to try Eichman and Germany did not actually want to try him there.

At the Israeli dialogues when I mentioned that I participated in a debate on whether Eichmann should be tried in Israel, everyone looked at me in disbelief. In Israel there never was a doubt on the legality of the trial in Israel. In Canada, however, the debate was strong. For me, it had a positive side effect, indeed a life-changing moment. I was in my pre-teens, attending a B'nai Brith meeting in a room with 2 large tables at which were seated 25 people per table. At my table, I was the only one arguing for the trial to be in Israel. I had always been shy, and never spoke in public. I was shaking but stubborn and did not give in to the older and more authoritative voices. I was embarrassed when we reported a vote of 24 to 1 with me representing the lone 1. The embarrassment turned to pride and happy surprise when the 2nd table reported 24 to 1 in the reverse order. If I had been at the other table, I would not have had to fight for my position, but I would not have had the occasion to find my voice and learn that '*I know what I know*'. This important sense of *'knowing'* is often lost once girls reach their adolescence according to Belenky (1997). Because of

this experience, I never lost my sense of knowing; it faltered, it diminished but I held my ground as I did during the debate; and probably helped me build my own form of resilience.

Eichmann's trial in Israel left an important legacy. At last the victims were no longer vilified for 'going to their deaths like sheep' within Israel and abroad; today, particularly for the 3rd and 4th generation, they are seen as heroes and martyrs.

> *"The trial of Adolf Eichmann served as therapy for the nation, starting a process of identification with the tragedy of the victims and survivors, a process that continues to this day."* (Segev, 1991:11)

When the Eichman trial came up in our dialogues, it was like a lightning rod. It came up on its own with a palpable energy. Each person at our dialogues in Israel and in Montreal felt that validation.

That the Jews not only did not go to their deaths passively, but went with dignity and often in prayer, is slowly being acknowledged. A diary entry of September 6, 1944 by Egon Redlich:

> *"Tomorrow we travel, my son. We will travel on a transport like thousands before us. Tomorrow, we also go, my son. May the time of your redemption be next."*

Janusz Korczak, the pen name of Henryk Goldszmit (July 22, 1878 – August 1942) was a Polish-Jewish children's author, pedagogist, and famous pediatrician. After spending many years as a Director of both Jewish and Christian orphanages, he was offered but refused freedom and stayed with the Jewish orphans when the organization was sent to extermination camps. This is how Joshua Perle, an eyewitness, described the procession of Korczak and the children through the ghetto to the *Umschlagplatz* (deportation point to the death camps):

> *"The children were dressed in their best clothes, and each carried a blue knapsack and a favorite book or toy. They walked in lines of four with Korczak at their head. This was not a march off to cattle cars, but a silent, disciplined protest against murder.*
>
> *… A miracle occurred. Two hundred children did not cry out. Two hundred pure souls, condemned to death, did not weep. Not one of them ran away. No one tried to hide. Like stricken swallows they clung to their teacher and mentor, to their father and brother, Janusz Korczak, so that he might protect and preserve them. Janusz Korczak was marching, his head bent forward, holding the hand of a child, without a hat, a leather belt around his waist, and wearing high boots. A few nurses were followed by two hundred children, dressed in clean and meticulously cared for clothes, as they were being carried to the altar. On all sides the children were surrounded by Germans,*

Ukrainians, and this time also Jewish policemen. They whipped and fired shots at them. The very stones of the street wept at the sight of the procession."

According to a popular legend, when the group of orphans finally reached the *Umschlagplatz*, an SS officer recognized Korczak as the author of one of his favorite children's books and offered to help him escape. By another version, the officer was acting officially, as the Nazi authorities had in mind some kind of '*special treatment*' for Korczak. Whatever the offer, Korczak once again refused. He boarded the trains with the children and was never heard from again. (Cited from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Janusz_Korczak)

Jerusalem, Yad Vashem, Janusz Korczak Memorial by Boris Saktsier

I believe that as stories such as these become more prevalent, subsequent generations will feel valued and will overcome the feelings of humiliation and shame.

9.3 FROM ABERRATED MOURNING TO AFFIRMATION AND APPEASEMENT

Aberrated mourning is the melancholy state in which the mourner is locked in his/her own trauma, unable to work it through and see the way to "*inaugurated mourning*". When mourning is inaugurated, we are ready to go on with life.

Another Klee drawing, "*Angelus Novus*", seems to be such a figure. He is transfixed by the past, while he is trying to move away from the same past that he is contemplating (description by *Walter Benjamin* at the showing of '*Angelus Novus*' Jerusalem Art Gallery, April 2012). This description echoes my sense of Klee's '*Burdened Children*'. Benjamin says: "*this is how the angel of history looks like…*

Angelus Novus by Paul Klee

> *Where we perceive a chain of events, he sees one catastrophe, which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage hurling it before his feet. The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed.*
>
> *But a storm is blowing from Paradise; it has got caught in his wings with such violence the angel can no longer close them. This storm irresistibly propels him into the future to which his back is turned, while the pile of debris before him grows skyward. This storm is what we call progress.*
>
> *Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History" in Illuminations* (1940).

Again we see the frail feet trying to push forward through the storm of the past. Can the angel overcome mourning the catastrophes that he is trying to fly away from, or will his wings be strong enough to carry the weight of history and push him forward?

Parry cites J.-F. Lyotard in his book *"Heidegger and the Jews"*: *"The deprivation of mourning and the condition it produces in the state and the people enacts a forgetting of the fate of the Jews which has always characterized their history in Europe."*(Parry, 2000: 366).

This discourse has led me to a contention that abberrated mourning continues from one generation to another if the feelings of grief are not acknowledged and validated as real and worthy. Where there should have been rituals of mourning there was none. There was only silence for many years, there was only the unspeakable, and the destroyed past was made invisible. As a result, the dead are encrypted, so to speak, within subsequent generations.

Recognition of the validity of the history of the Holocaust, the validity of the grief, the validity of the '*absence*' of a lost past, is essential if the inheriting generation is to achieve appeasement and a sense of freedom from the burdens of the past. There is no healing as there is no cure for the reality of the Holocaust. What is possible is a release from the ongoing mourning and a renewed energy that comes with contact with a safe world. Unfortunately, nuclear weapons and terrorist attacks continue to be a threat to the safety and security for Israel and Jews everywhere. Nevertheless, I would hold with Rothschild, that transforming the legacies of those who have been transgressed against, *"at a soul level becomes possible in the retelling of one's tale and having it heard with compassion."(Rothschild 2000: 43)*

I have touched on the importance of acknowledging sadness and pain. I would like to delve deeper into the importance of acknowledging the sadness and the importance of being mindful and respectful of individual narratives of sadness.

When Alice Miller wrote, *"The Drama of the Gifted Child"* (Miller, 1979), it changed the way we understood childhood trauma and recovery. Her meaning of 'gifted' is a description of the child's ability to adapt by sublimating their needs for that of their parents'. Her gift was to pass on the message, that if we don't break the cycle of repressed pain, it will be perpetuated from one generation to the next as each subsequent generation fills the void of their parents; but as a result, is left with their own void, which then demands to be fed by their children, and so on and so on.

I would ask, what happens then, when the silenced child is silenced by society, not necessarily by their parents, (though we have seen that this was the case with some 2nd Geners, but not all)? What happens when, growing up, we need to disguise our feelings of horror, indignation, or helpless rage? What happens when we grow up invisible?

I have struggled with the sense of invisibility and what I perceived as a weak voice. I thought it came from feeling like an immigrant, a refugee from a refugee camp, without an extended family and without the resources that came with such a family. No car, no property, no cottage by the lake, and parents who spoke with an accent. I realize that though all this is true, at the core, it has to do with feeling legitimate, wanting to be seen and understood. There is a sense of isolation when you are not recognized by the 'other'. To deny us this, is to deny our sense of self within society.

> *"…the tragedy of an individual history can often be seen with moving clarity. In what is described as depression and experienced as emptiness, futility, fear of impoverishment, and loneliness can usually be recognized as the tragic loss of the self in childhood, manifested as the total alienation from the self in the adult." (Miller, 1979:33).*

Miller says that the work of mourning is required to make up for the lack of understanding, otherwise, we are bound to repeat the trauma, or cover it up in grandiosity or depression (Miller 1979 reprinted 2007: 87). This is what the dialogues have the potential to achieve; a kind of individual and generational re-orientation. They may look like mourning, or like a letting go, or like found memories, or like expressed rage, or like a connection with the body.

"Language acts and makes up for absence by representing; by giving figurative shape to presence, it can only be comprehended or shared in a 'community of empty mouths." (Rashkin, 2008: 30-31:) Rashkin notes that the creative act is also a form of mourning, but the subject matter takes time to digest and is not easily written during the near timeframe of loss. She quotes Isak Dinesan who is asked why she didn't write about certain losses at the time of one book over another and Dinesan's reply is: "*One must have things at a distance*" (Rashkin: 46).

I believe this thinking reinforces the importance I attach to not forcing participation in dialogues. I liked the scene in the television show, "*Seinfeld*", when Kramer walked in on an intervention for a friend who is abusing alcohol and in his blumbering manner asks: *"Is this where the **interference** is taking place?"*

Dan Bar-On created a process based on the concepts of discussing the undiscussables and moral imagination – a way of speaking that prizes values, protects, nurtures, touches -- developed by Martha Nussbaum (1990) to address the separation process into independence. Breaking down the double walls -- "*to meet in order to part.*" (Bar- On, 1995:218).

In the end he doesn't find a process for discourse. *"I reached the conclusion that the problem is not lack of testimony but rather the difficulty of meeting and separating at the same time."* (Bar-On, 1995:219).

There are 2nd Generation groups world-wide who meet to recreate the past or develop ways to educate future generations on intolerance and racism. What I am hoping to do is create dialogues that are focused on the 2nd Generation, not on their parents' legacy or the Holocaust so much (thought bearing witness is a critical role of the 2nd Geners) but to also provide a means for processing and validating their deep sadness. As a result of being together with bereaved others, the 2nd Geners can bring meaning to their experiences, to their inherited memories, perhaps their moral outrage and to the deep mourning that may not they have not been able to voice.

The next Chapter offers the results of four dialogues held in Montreal, Canada and Tel Aviv, Israel.

CHAPTER 10: GROUP DIALOGUES

"In sacred space an individual can suffer what he always needed to, and lacked the courage." Carl G. Jung

I have suggested that it is important to create a venue that makes overt, the impacts on individuals of loss, devastation, racism, unexamined guilt, and moral outrage. It is important to acknowledge and validate inherited history and individual stories. I believe that this need can best be served through the process of dialogue. Given a Social Constructionist sensibility to the relational possibilities in creating new insight for 2nd Geners, and inheritors of trauma, displacement and devastating events, let us see how our dialogues unfolded and what meanings were created as a result of the experience.

10.1 FOUR DIALOGUES IN CANADA AND ISRAEL

I was excited but concerned about conducting group dialogues on what it means to be a 2nd Generation child of Holocaust survivors. What questions could I pose my 2nd Gener groups and which of the many related theoretical constructs would I use? I knew that by pathologizing and listing a series of traits of 2nd Geners (or any other group), we don't really cover the diversity of individual experiences nor do we leave room for the healthy and the resilient. Similarly, by listing a series of traits related to resilience, we miss the depth and complexity of resiliency in its many contexts.

My intention in holding dialogues was not to definitively say: resilience is such and such and a 2nd Gener is such and such. Nor did I want to find a way to heal from the sadness or reframe the 2nd Gener experience to an absolute positive way of being so that we could end with: "*we're terrific, we're fine, we're great*". That might fit for some people but not for others. I didn't even expect that we would have a definitive story line about the 2nd Generations, after all, we could not get our parents' stories right, how could I expect that we would get our stories right.

My intention was simply to create a safe space for this cohort where they could find their own, unique voice and share their stories. By enabling overt expression of a wide range of emotions (like Marij Boumans' beaded sculpture shown on page 141), the group might reflect back to each other their shared experience. And in that reflection, give each other validation or at least acknowledgement.

Given these challenges, why did I choose a group dialogue approach, rather than an individual or even focus group/ interview approach for data collection? The answer is, partly because I have over 30 years' experience training and facilitating group

dialogues, but mostly because I have a passionate belief in the transformational capacity of the group and the magic that happens in a group. This topic in particular, felt to me (and I expected it would be the same for the participants) as if we were collectively entering into a sacred space, a space of the in-between, a space that held so much potential for creativity and discovery.

In designing the form of the dialogue, I drew from the principles of Social Constructionism as well as David Bohm's Dialogue known as the *Bohm Dialogue* (1996) and of Harrison Owen's *Open Space Technology* (1995/97); the latter two are widely known in the field of Organizational Development. The group agrees to have an empty space where we are not obliged to say anything, nor to come to any conclusions. It is open and free. (Bohm 1996:18-19) Each individual agrees to suspend judgement in the conversation and assumptions, so that you neither carry them out nor suppress them. You don't believe them, nor do you disbelieve them; you don't judge them as good or bad. (Bohm 1996:22)

Strong (2011) pulls together some post-modern thinking about therapeutic dialogues, some of which I found useful to these dialogues, though these dialogues are not for therapeutic purposes. Also, there is no intention to resolve differences, find solutions to problems, or prescribe remedies. These dialogues are open to a variety of purposes and to emergence of meanings dependant only on the individual contexts of the people that come into them. For example, for some, the dialogues might help shape meaning out of '*the undescribable and undisscusable*'; while for others, they may serve to process their inherited role of bearing witness, and for still others, they may serve as a space for inaugurated mourning.

What I found relevant was Strong's analysis of Mead's concepts of intersubjectivity which he notes is more behavioural and immediately relational that the therapeutic models. These concepts deal with one of my key concerns, how to ensure that people are felt listened to and acknowledged so that I do not perpetuate any continuing sense of being on the outside, with different feelings and concepts than the norm.

> *"People develop understandings through how they are responded to in dialogue, and from abilities to re-enact such responses so as to be understood. Such understandings are as much gestural as they are related to other symbolic means such as words. Together they make up the full response (gestures and symbols to reflect an emotional and intended response) that matters….we learn to understand through how we are understood and responded to, from others' responses to our actions and utterances.* (Mead 1970 cited by Strong, 2011).

I decided that I needed to be a part of the dialogue so that, in Social Constructionist theory and Organizational Development principles, I did not create a role of interviewer-interviewee, a role of authority and power, but rather that of an equal

participant. The side benefit was, of course, that I was able to discover my narrative at the same time.

Drawing from Harrison Owen's Open Space Technology (1995/97), I described four guiding principles of participation that I hoped would serve to open up, rather than close down, personal narratives and member support.

The Principles for Dialogue were:

- ✓ *Whoever comes are the right people.*
- ✓ *Whatever happens is the only thing that could happen..*
- ✓ *Whenever it starts is the right time.*
- ✓ *It's over when it's over.*

I explained that I was not interviewing, but participating and that they were not obliged to provide standardized types of answers to questions. I also told the individuals that there may not be conclusions; this surprised some of the participants and I was grateful that they went along with me despite this rather non-traditional approach to research.

I posed only two questions, again aimed at providing the space for individuals to go where they needed to go, in their own way, and in their own time.

1. *What was your experience like growing up with parents who had been through the Holocaust/the Shoah?*

2. *What did it take for you to get on in life?*

In the case of the two dialogues in Israel, I ended them with a metaphorical exercise. I prepared two bowls, one with pretty rocks and one with ugly rocks that I had gathered on beaches and in the beautiful crater of Mitzpah Ramon. The first step was to choose an ugly rock and to describe to the groups what the rock meant in terms of what they wanted to get rid of. The intention was to help people capture unique feelings or wants that they have held onto for a long time and wanted to get rid of.

The second step was to choose a pretty rock and share with the group what the rock represented in terms of a trait that they had they wanted to keep, something they were proud of. The positive exercise was designed to help the individuals find images of strength and resilience that they possess separate from their parents.

I also created this exercise because I wanted the people who came and so generously shared their stories, to have something to walk away with -- something tangible that had meaning for them.

I sent the following document to the participants. At the time the topic was "*Cherished Burdens: Sadness and Resilience in Second Generation Children of Holocaust Survivors*".

Orientation to a Dialogue with
Second Generation Adult Children of Holocaust Survivors
Topic: "Cherished Burdens: Sadness and Resilience in Second Generation Children of Holocaust survivors"

Burdened Children, 1930 by Paul Klee

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this conversation. I personally feel that we, as a 2nd Generation children of Holocaust survivors have something important to explore about our unique place in history, about our unique experiences and about how we have responded to the difficult legacy we have inherited. The questions I ask go to the continued reckoning of the impacts of trauma on subsequent generations but more to the other side of the coin: how is it that a generation who have been brought up under the shadow of the holocaust, loss and traumatized parents are able to not only get on with their lives, but to be successful and helpful and compassionate with their fellow human beings.

That is not to say that there isn't much healing needed. I believe that the healing for the 2nd Generation is critical if we are not to perpetuate the burden to the next generations. Everything suppressed in one generation will inevitably explode in the next. And so, the more we talk and process our inner feelings, the better.

Below is a brief description of the approach to our dialogue and how things will unfold.

Participants:

There will be about 5-7 of us 2nd Geners i.e. children of Holocaust Survivors.

How we will proceed

My field of study is called Social Constructionism. The kind of research that is undertaken does not follow the traditional scientific method of cause and effect and controlled events to explain various outcomes. There are no questionnaires or statistical analyses**.** Rather, the re-searching takes the form of "narrative inquiry". People have an opportunity and the space which we will create together, to reveal to yourself and to others, your individual story.

There is no right or wrong way of telling the story. In fact, because memory does not work logically or chronologically; stories may take different paths that will surprise even you, the narrator.

I will be a participant (as opposed to an interviewer) and the order of who speaks will emerge naturally. I don't want to go first so as not to influence how people present their stories. You can speak from any point in time on anything that occurs to you. It's all valid.

There are only 2 questions:

1. **What was your experience like growing up with parents who had been through the Holocaust?**
2. **What did it take for you to get on in life***?*

Participation Principles

- ✓ Whoever comes are the right people.
- ✓ Whatever happens is the only thing that could have.
- ✓ Whenever it starts is the right time.
- ✓ It's over when it's over.

Thank you!

The definition I chose of who could be considered a child of Holocaust/Shoah survivors i.e. who constitutes a Holocaust survivor was aimed at ensuring an inclusive stance as much as possible. The definition I used is that of the Holocaust Educational Centre in Washington, and is simply: ***"anyone who was in Europe between 1939 and 1945".***

Recently the German compensation organization added **"and had to leave"**. This is in recognition of the displacement long overdue and too late for many survivors, like my parents, to receive compensation. For the participants, it is important that Holocaust survivors may or may not have, been in a concentration camp, may or may not have, walked in the death marches, may or may not have, been a hidden child, hidden in churches or by Christian or Muslim families, may or may not have, been in a Polish or Russian jail, may or may not have survived in middle Siberia or Uzbekestan, may or may not have, been a partisan, fighting the Germans from their hiding place in the woods of Hungary or Poland.

The dialogues brought together people whose individual contexts varied from those who suffered from transmission of trauma; to those, to those who led idyllic childhoods; to those, who inherited a positive, even heroic, legacy.

I videotaped the dialogues so that I could be part of the group invisibly, rather than a note-taker, or having an outsider take notes, again to ensure the space I created did not create a dichotomy between researcher and the researched; subject and object. This turned out to be a good thing as I have been able to recreate verbatim most of the dialogues. I also have the videos, which I hope one day to share with these groups and allow them to see themselves and hold an extensive debrief.

I held four dialogues, two in Montreal and two in Tel Aviv.

The first two dialogues in Montreal, were with four women, and I made up the fifth in the group. We were all classmates in High School over 40 years ago. Two of the women, offered to host the conversation at their beautiful homes and we shared in great food and wine along with the conversation.

In Tel Aviv, I held two dialogues with two different groups of people, in my rented apartment in Tel Aviv. I had purchased sweets, cheese, drinks and wine because I felt the spirit of excitement – and apprehension -- as it was the first time they were coming together with others to talk about this aspect of their lives. In the 2nd Tel Aviv dialogue, not everyone knew each other. I had not met the people in Israel, so I was certainly an unknown.

This is how the four dialogues proceeded. I have replicated them in their entirety in the belief that to deconstruct the actual dialogue would diminish the full meaning. I

also did not want to lose the unfolding of the process as we built shared meaning and perhaps experienced shifts in perspectives. As I've said at the beginning, I believe in the dialogical process and in the group process.

Dialogue 1 & 2: Montreal Dialogues: I have obtained permission from the participants identified, to release their names and the content of their input. I have also requested input and validation of the written text and received it.

The parents of three of the women were from Hungary; me and one other person, had parents who were from Poland. Three also had just beaten cancer. Of the cancer they said: *"I didn't want my kids to see me miserable; what an adventure; makes life interesting; I didn't tell mother – I didn't want to burden her."* We had a long conversation about their cancer experience and we all agreed that their individual ways of dealing with this scary illness was indeed a testament to their resiliency.

Bella's father was in Auschwitz. He was in a unit called *Canada* (which I have since learned was an ironic reference to a place of health and wellbeing but where, in fact there was no food or means of survival). Bela's father had the job of storing the clothes of people who disrobed on arrival. He looked for his relatives, and many cousins report that thanks to him, they are alive because he told them which line to go to and which not to go to when they came off the trains.

He survived both Auschwitz and the gallows. He was set to be hung, the gallows fell, during a bombing and he hid in the crematoria. He had a mark on his throat all his life.

Another narrowly-missed-escape-story was one that that I remember Bella shared with me in high school, a rare event as we never talked about this part of our lives, and one that I have remembered for almost 40 years. The number on her father's arm was smudged and when he was called, he insisted that his was a different number. That story marked my philosophy of the precariousness of life and the large part that 'luck' plays.

Abigail's father served in the Polish army in a form of slave labour, assigned to work with Nazi soldiers cleaning out Jewish stores. Hungary was an ally of Germany till 1944. It was only when they pulled out of the Alliance that the German army marched into Hungary. Jewish men in Hungary were conscripted for all kinds of slave labour. Her dad was with a group of Jewish men who were attached to the Hungarian army, there was an explosion of munitions during the night. He survived because he was sleeping further away. He was reported missing in action and walked back to Budapest from the Ukraine. He then continued to serve in Budapest.

Her parents left Hungary via an underground railroad which went through Austria, Italy and then to Israel. Her mother and father built successful leather factory after year of various work. Another tale of luck, resourcefulness and courage.

Two of the women were married to men whose parents' were not children of survivors and both found their husbands were resentful of their attachment to their parents i.e., that their parents came first. My experience was similar, though my husband wasn't Jewish. He found it difficult to understand the constant phone calls and demands made on me, though he was very tolerant and came to love my parents for their unwavering devotion to us. One had been married to a 2nd Gener.

What follows is the transcript of our dialogues and what I noticed during and on a review of the dialogues. Although the text of the dialogues are replicated, the reader will need to fill in the flavour of these dialogues. The energy in the room, the emotions and the sense of a special event hopefully come through.

Dialogue 1: Montréal, June, 2010
Participants: Kathi Bailey, Bella Kotler, Abigail Hirsch, Sylvia Sklar, Gita (Baack) Arjan

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
Kathi: Is there a common bond between children of survivors? I don't think so – it depends on the people.	I decide not to answer, especially since I don't know the answer, though I do believe there is a bond. I choose to let the answer unfold. I allow myself to notice my feelings that the value of my efforts are being questioned and once I am aware, I breathe and let my trust in the group and the process take over my own insecurities.
I show the pictures of my siblings who I dedicate my work to, as a way of saying why I am here, rather than expounding on any theories.	
Lots of exclamations.	
Bella: How lucky you are to have these pictures!	

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
Sylvia: that is the biggest loss – we have no pictures.	
Kathi: We had pictures – from my father's brother.	
Sylvia: When we came to Canada I was renamed Sylvia from Tsipora. We were robbed of our identity. I would rather be called Tzipi than Sylvia and my brother would have preferred to be called Avi, Amitzur or Ami, rather than Hymie.	All of us felt we had been "robbed" of our identities; either because of the names we were assigned when we came to Canada, or the result of haphazard moves and documents.
Gita: I always had a problem with the irony my name Arjan/Arian/Aryan. I had a grandfather who left for the US and probably raised a family with yet another name, since my father was raised with his mother's name.	
Kathi: My grandfather had 2 other sons who moved to the States, they didn't have children, so they are gone - unknown.	
Abigail: That's how Hitler wins, if you don't have children.	
Kathi: My father's father was very religious, he spoke Yiddish, not Hungarian. My father told him to stop speaking, explained to others that he was shell shocked, cut off his beard and side locks and he lived in the ghetto in Budapest. He was in his 70's. My father saved a lot people. He really had a lot of '**chutzpah'.**	*Chutzpah* is a word that will appear often throughout our Dialogues. It means audacious, wily, bold, witty.
Abigail: My father too, he was decorated after the war.	
Bella: My father was a 'bandeet' (a clever rascal/another form of chutzpah)	We laugh at this and feel the connection of knowing this Yiddish word.
Bella and Abigail: You had to have **chutzpah** to	No doubt, an important **resilient trait.**

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
survive.	
Abigail: My father said even in the labour camps, the people who were educated, were the 'softies' – they couldn't make it.	
Gita: My mother would often say: "you would never survive the war" implying I was too soft and naïve.	Everyone shares a moment of common understanding. Is that part of the common bond Kathi was asking about?
Sylvia: My brother and I (she and her brother are twins and very close) would often talk about the survivor traits, about people that we knew and family members. We would say "she wouldn't have made it; nah, he would never make it; she would…."	We find this hilarious – certainly others would wonder at our hilarity at this.
Kathi: I wouldn't have made it – to Bella – you would have. Not me, I'm a follower.	
Bella: that's interesting, my mother was afraid of her own shadow, and still is.	Kathi is finding commonalities
Kathi: So is mine.	
Bella: My mother was in a labour camp; not a death camp. Today she is 83 and is really very strong for what she's gone through. She's always afraid, she's very needy. She doesn't know about me (that she is fighting cancer). I can't say she's been a wonderful mother. I was her life but it was a sick situation. You feel you have to be perfect. I was always smiling; no-one knew how I felt. I had to do everything perfectly so I shouldn't upset my parents. That's difficult for a young girl to go through.	And yet, both Bella and Kathi have not inherited this fear. Another common experience
Discussion about cessation of menses.	
Bella: My parents met and married after the war. She didn't have her period for 5 years. I was born 9	

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
months to the day after they were married.	
My mother lived her life through me. I reported verbatim everything to my mother. When I married Mark at 19, she cried and cried; she thought she lost her daughter. I was torn between my husband and my parents. I cried and cried.	Bella is describing my own experience and much of the literature. Interesting that mother and daughter mirror their feelings of each other. Our poor mothers, I am thinking how I underestimated what my mother went through as I was struggling to breath my own breathe.
Gita: Why were YOU crying?	I wonder if Bella has expressed this to others in this way.
Bella: I missed them.	
Sylvie: I was in the same situation. My husband was jealous of my relationship with my parents. Being from the 'greener', it was different.	So even though they drove her crazy she missed them -- CHERISHED burdens!
Kathi: I was ashamed of being a newcomer. I would say I was from Canada. I didn't have my dates pick me up at home because my parents spoke with an accent and I was ashamed of them.	
Abigail: That is not uncommon.	Right, this is common in the "*greener*"/immigrant experience.
Kathi: I wanted to fit in.	Nice that Abigail is validating another's experience.
Sylvie: I felt different – like there was another dimension.	
Kathi: You felt good about it?	
Sylvia: Yes.	
Kathi: Isn't that strange.	Glad to see Kathi exploring another person's experience.

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
	Kathi is reflecting on her experience in comparison.
Sylvie: I lived on Jeanne Mance, went to Talmud Torah (Jewish) school where my father taught and where everyone was an immigrant. On Saturday night, there was a walk along Park Avenue from Bernard to Mount Royal. You walked to see who had news.	Lovely picture that took us back to those days.
Gita: So your father was educated?	
Sylvia: My father was a scholar.	That's where Sylvia gets her smarts, I think.
Kathi: My father wasn't educated; my mother was.	
Gita: That's unusual because many didn't get a chance to get educated.	Another gap in my knowledge. Was my mother's family too poor to get educated? Did she go to High School? I think my father did.
Sylvie: My parents were in ghettos – they were at their strongest then.	
Abigail: Which ghetto?	
Sylvie: They were with the group shown in the movie, '*Defiance*'.	I have seen the movie since and I found it a pivotal change in the portrayal of Jews from victims to fighters.
Abigail: I saw the movie.	
	All exclaim.
Sylvie: The Bielski's (the heroes depicted in 'Defiance') were at my wedding.	
	Proud of her friend.
Kathi: You went to the first showing.	
Sylvie: Yes, they invited all the next generation and whoever was left – they were all heroes.	Echoes – they were all heroes.
	Kathi encourages Sylvia to

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
Kathi: Tell the story about your other brother.	tell a family secret
Sylvia: That's not such an easy story. Bella: Go ahead.	One of the wonderful aspects of group versus individual interviews is the encouragement of one another.
Sylvia: My parents were in the ghetto. The inhabitants planned their escape by building a tunnel over a 6-month period. It ran a kilometer in length and had electricity with light bulbs. They would carry 2 bags in and carry 2 bags out with earth. The plan was that in the fall, when the corn was high, they would escape. In the meantime, the Bielski's were in the woods. In the fall, they tied themselves together and got ready to leave. My father was out on a detail. They needed to keep the children quiet, and Sylvia's mother, who was a nurse, euthanized the children including their small child.	We were all aghast.
Kathi: I thought they euthanized then accidentally?	Not unusual to not be able to fathom the complete horror of these experiences.
Kathi: Your mother never got over it.	Kathi lends support to Sylvia
Sylvia: No, she didn't.	
We asked how old her little brother was.	
Sylvia: One cousin told me the child was 6 months; another that he was 3 months. And then, when my mother got pregnant in Italy and she gave birth to twins, she was hysterical – afraid of how she would raise twins.	Typically, the details were lacking. It was helpful for me – in fact a revelation – and for the others that other stories share incoherency and lack of details of our history, even as serious as the purposeful killing of an infant to save others.

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
Sylvia: That baby was named after my paternal grandfather and one of my grandchildren now bears that name.	We see the ongoing role of "memorial candles".
Sylvia: After their escape they joined the Bielski partisans in the forests.	What a story we all exclaimed.
Gita: Did any of you talk about memories of this time?	
Sylvia: Nobody talked about it. There were a lot of untouchable topics	The 'undiscussables' I think.
Abigail echoes: there were a lot of untouchable topics.	
Gita: I related the story of my inherited feeling/memory re my siblings being shot in the back.	
Sylvia: I think there is a connection, almost a genetic connection. I have twin grand-daughters who are 10. They are voracious readers. In grade 5 they started studies of the Holocaust (are in a Jewish school). Sophie is very sensitive and she read a story that she found in the library. As a result she is obsessed with the Holocaust, so much so that she can't sleep. She has horrific pictures in her mind. I was talking to her today when we went kayaking and I asked her exactly what she is feeling because I can see this child is suffering. So she talked about the story she read of a 14 year old girl waiting in line during a selection when a man told her to say she was 17 so she wouldn't go to the gas chamber. She saw her mother and her sister being led away in the other line and never saw then again. Sophie said: *"I don't know why I identify with this girl so much."*	A 4th generation transmission! How much is memory, how much is transmission of grief and trauma?
The other twin doesn't' express this. Sophie goes out of her way to make sure that I'm not suffering. She wants to know everything about the Holocaust to the	

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
extent that it is almost eerie.	
Gita: It is interesting because if there is an impact on the 2nd Generation, then it is likely that for some 3rd generation, and even the 4th, there can also be an impact. According to Aboriginal wisdom, it can take 7 generations to get over a trauma.	
Sylvia: She's not a particularly vulnerable child	
Kathy: No, she is very well adjusted.	
Sylvia: She is very well adjusted but she is in pain.	Inherited pain!
Abigail: I have met non-Jews who also become obsessed with the Holocaust. It can happen to anyone.	Abigail has extensive knowledge of psychology from her Social Work expertise
Sylvia: I talked to her about heroism and resistance and fighting back, but she is internalizing the lost children.	I have a flash of Klee's burdened children and the sense of lost children in the drawing.
Abigail: She is identifying with the children.	Reinforcing Sylvie's granddaughter's experience.
Gita: You wanted to say more about the conversations you and your brother had about who would and who wouldn't survive.	Perhaps I should have just let this conversation continue and not change the subject.
Sylvia, laughingly: We talked about Bielsky people because they were unique types. The leader was very successful in the woods but not so after the war; he was never able to be in charge of his destiny again.	What a strong, astute statement! **Resilience and survivorship.**
It is amazing what came out of that group in terms of survivorship. People who were part of that group, but not the leaders, made billions after. My brother and I would have conversations about whether our mother or father was the stronger one. My father was	I am thinking only children of war would have this kind of conversation and yet for us, it is not at all unusual. Who would or would not survive was a regular mode

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
an intellectual while my mother was barely literate. But she was a nursing assistant in the woods and she was chosen by the Nazis in the ghetto to be a nurse. There she smuggled notes to people and did other brave things.	of thought.
Abigail: So she was very able.	
Sylvia: Yes very resourceful. She was the one who had the strength to perform euthanasia. My father couldn't have done it.	**The strength of women during difficult times!**
When we came to Canada, my mother could hardly read or write but she became a noisse (nurse with an immigrant accent) at the Jewish General Hospital.	
Abigail: My mother got her hairdressing licence and barely knew English. She had her own store with another survivor woman.	
Gita: Tell us Abigail about the success of your parents?	
Abigail: My parents came literally with nothing to Canada, with 2 little kids and my sister had polio, which she contracted in Austria. We had left Hungary in the Brucha which was an underground railroad that Israel organized to move people out of Communist countries via Italy or Austria, and eventually to Israel. We were in Vienna in one of those camps for 2 years, and my sister got sick there. The U.S. didn't want to let her in, the economics weren't good in Israel and an uncle sponsored us to Canada. My mother was advised to carry my sister so the question of her polio wouldn't come up. My mother was funny. In Canada she had no food one day and went to the Social Worker and told her if she didn't get them some money, she would leave the two children there.	**Another strong, gutsy woman.**
My father's first job was in a candy factory. Because he was a craftsman, creating tops of leather shoes,	We all discovered that we

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
eventually he and my mother's brother opened a leather factory, which my mother financed. Bella: The 'geller" (yellow – born in Canada vs. "greener" green horns – immigrants to Canada) were mean to us. I was afraid of them. Gita: Me too, one girl threatened to kill me. I was also afraid of a house I had to pass by every day, with large French Canadian girls who called me names.	lived around the corner form one another around L'Esplanade street and attended either Fairmont or Bancroft schools which had a large Jewish population but was part of the Protestant School Board.
Abigail: I have no such memories; I was detached and terribly introverted. Gita: Yes, we were friends in public school and I am Abigail's memory, she doesn't remember very much. Kathi: I hated going to school. I was in grade 3 and reading at a grade 1 level and the kids laughed at my pronunciation.	
Gita to Bela: Do you remember when Kathi walked into our class? Bella to Kathi: I remember it well. You came later in the school year. We all looked at you and I said, "Gee, what a pretty girl"! Kathi and I share stories of how I matched her up with her current husband, Marc, and our flirtatious mannerisms -- I dressed in a yellow mohair sweater and Kathi in a shocking pink mohair sweater.	Kathi was strikingly beautiful, dark-haired with a sultry look.
Sylvie: My father said " it's their America" a loose translation from Yiddish meaning – we had it all.	I am surprised and pleased to meet someone who also can speak Yiddish.
Gita: I also was at the stag party for Sylvia's future husband Dave where he got a little drunk and complained: " Why is it my fault that they suffered in the war".	I think – probably a common feeling among non-Jewish spouses who marry 2nd Geners.

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
Sylvia: My parents didn't like Dave but they gave in to me.	
Gita to Kathi: What affect did it have on Marc that your parents were Holocaust Survivors?	
Kathi: At first he looked down on them; he may have picked it up from me, but since his parent are gone there is a 100% change. My father, who was kind, would offer Marc food and drinks which he would refuse. My father kept offering and Marc got mad and yelled: "How many times do I have to tell you I don't want anything."	This is very familiar and I believe is really about a different understanding of the meaning of food between those who have known hunger and those who have not.
Bella: I remember how strict your parents were with you.	
Kathi: Just my mother, I had my father wrapped around my little finger. My father was an amazing man. He was a **go-getter**. My father stole a gun out of the holster of a Nazi on a bus and then ran. This gun helped him to save not only his wife but through wit, bravery and resourcefulness, many people during the Shoah.	A good **resilient term go-getter.** Kathi's mother too, who wrote a book that is as good as any thriller I've seen coming out of Hollywood, acted with great heroism and resourcefulness.
Some of the Hungarian Jews were in Concentration Camps, others in ghettos and others in hiding. My parents were in hiding with false papers.	At the time of the dialogue, I didn't have the historical chronology facts and I now realize why the Hungarian Jews were late coming to Canada.
My father was in the underground; because of my father, my mother is alive. They met in a work camp where her brother was.	There it is – the familiar false documents.
Gita: Did your mother marry him because she loved him or because she needed to survive?	A self-serving question to see if my parents were typical i.e. married for survival purposes.
Kathi: I think the latter. She liked him, but more, she	I wondered if that is the

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
felt safe with him; she felt he could protect her.	same pattern for her reason in marrying Marc, an established, comfortable, born in Canada, handsome man who could protect her and keep her safe.
Gita: Sylvia, would you say the same thing about your parents?	
Sylvia: Many people in those days married for security.	
Gita: How do you think that affected us, usually people marry after courtship and romance.	
Kathi: I don't think that affected us. I don't think romance lasts very long. Security and family is what survives. I always felt secure with Marc.	I am thinking that security met Kathi's needs, but for me, my mother 'lack of romantic love transferred over to me.
Sylvia: For the "greener" you HAD TO get married; romance was not important. My parents told me to be a teacher, my brother would go into medical school, you get married and "finished".	
Gita: Bella, you got married really early if I recall?	
Bella: My father adored my mother. He put her on a pedestal.	
Gita: Didn't you marry someone who put you on a pedestal?	My hunch seems right.
Bella: Yes, he adored me	
Gita to Abigail: But you didn't marry someone who adored you?	
	Much laughter
Abigail: My father adored my mother but I never succeeded.	
	Her mother wore Lancome

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
Bella: My father was an electrician, a worker. My mother catered to him. She didn't work until she had to. I fell in love with Mark .There weren't happy times in my house. My mother was very beautiful; she took care of herself, she was wearing Lancome after the Concentration Camp.	after the Concentration Camp and Bella put on nail polish on her fingers where her nails were gone after chemotherapy. **A pattern of resilience perhaps and need to be beautiful in order to survive.**
I followed the same track, I catered to Mark. Funny how you continue. It didn't faze me that I was getting him a glass of water. Now things are different.	Bella is now running a successful printing company.
Kathi: I spoiled Marc too, right Sylvia?	
Sylvia: Yes (with a smile)	
Kathi: I never felt Marc worshipped me. Now I feel he loves me, not when he married me.	
Gita: I've noticed that couples who stick it out become quite close.	
	Laughter.
Kathi: It's only the first 30 years that are hard.	
	Admiration all around.
Bella: I've been married for 45 years!	

Dialogue 3: Tel Aviv, Israel

Participants: Judith Maier, Esther, Leah Meshulam, Pnina Felder, Gita (Baack) Arjan

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
Esther: I like the word 'resilient' -- it shows the strength of a person and the resources one can avail themselves of. You see things from different perspectives – things are not black and white, they're grey. It's a nice word, if someone said I was resilient I would take that as a compliment. It's powerful without being harsh and dogmatic.	She brought a dictionary to help the group and me to bring meaning to the word resilience
Gita: And I like the way you put it. The literature talks about resilience as overcoming and bouncing back and I find that too light a definition.	Reinforcing Esther's positive contribution
Esther: Am I speaking too quickly, I want to be courteous.	
Gita: No, you're energetic.	Reframing a negative self-comment
Judy: So what do you want exactly?	Exploring group purpose and roles, an important group maintenance role
Gita: There are only the 2 questions, what was it like growing up as a child of and what did it take for you to get on in life? There are no rules – whatever happens, happens, there is no right or wrong way of telling your story.	Reinforcing the questions and the openness in the approach to exploring the question.
Esther: I don't know this technique either, am willing to go with it.	Supports me in helping to get the discussion off the ground.
Gita: And we'll learn from each other. Normally we do our talking in our heads, we talk to ourselves a lot, right. In a dialogue we get to hear others stories and each person can build on what they hear. You might hear something that validates your own feelings and you'll find yourself saying: 'ya ya" or you might hear something that doesn't fit and you	Pnina is looking at me with great scepticism.

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
might say: "na na" but still it might be a new meaning that you can reflect on and build on. Have any of you had experiences with dialogue?	
Judith: I interviewed about 50 to 55 people.	I am happy that she is sharing a proud experience
Pnina: I just lived it.	Judith nods in empathy
Gita: So, what was it like growing up as a child of survivors?	Hoping to move to our subject.
Pnina: It's a long story. I will tell you a small story. My mother, she lived with me when she was older, always helped me in the kitchen. She was a good cook. I was cooking when I asked her how was the food. She answered in Yiddish – "altz ken mein essen" (everything can be eaten) – which was the whole story of my life because if you need something, it's important; if you don't need it, it's just okay.	I am pleased that she is willing to share a part of her story despite her scepticism.
Gita: How did that make you feel when she said this?	Am thinking that Pnina has lots to say and I would like to give her the opportunity.
Pnina: I didn't realize while I was growing up but after I realized I am living in a survival place. Not a place which has categories of living, only to survive – altz ken men essen – which means if you eat you can survive, it doesn't matter how good or bad it is. Other things, you can neglect.	
It's not the feeling of a child, it is the look of a grown up. Now I know it is the living of a survivor. You don't need to buy something that isn't needed, just for fun.	This is a huge insight!
Esther: **When you are looking at things as a child, you don't realize it. It is ingrained in you to be this way.**	Another individual insight based on Pnina's insight!
(Pnina takes a phone call)	I was so excited, now am disappointed that she is

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
	swayed by a phone call. I keep my feelings in check.
Judith: She is in the middle of work, me too.	Am glad I didn't react, Judith is once again empathetic. Now I feel a little guilty that I am taking people away from their daily responsibilities.
Gita: I understand. Pnina, what would you tell that child – you as a child, now as an adult?	
Pnina: Nothing. (smiling and shrugging her shoulders). I had a good childhood. I wasn't sad. I had everything. Today, I have a kind of living, with fun, not bad or good. Everyone has the specific chart of their family, we are not worse or better, the Holocaust is not the main problem of my life.	
Gita: So for you, you accept the life you had with your parents and as an adult you made choices about how you would live?	I need to confirm that I heard correctly, I am surprised at her lack of resentment.
Pnina: I accept it, then I have to do something with it.	She feels she had a good childhood despite the difficulties.
Judith: So I want to ask you a question – what your parents wanted then, did it affect you?	Judith is echoing my question and doing it better than me.
Pnina: Of course, but every parent affects the life of their children.	
Esther: I don't agree with you. (Pnina takes another phone call)	Now Esther is motivated to reflect and respond to Pnina's philosophical affect…but is Pnina going to listen?
Esther: There are uniquenesses in group cultures. Cambodia, Armenia, Vietnam massacres, death on a	Esther goes right to the kernel of the 2nd gen dilemma.

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
massive scale is different. Families of the Shoah suffered not only massive deaths but also faced complete extermination. That makes it different from fighting for a belief or a country. It creates a different context for the child growing up. Everyone has their thing, but when dealing with life or death, because you have no choice because you're Jewish, I think that makes it very different. And the 2nd Generation children are not the same as for those whose parents died in a war.	
Gita: So Esther, what was it like for you growing up in a house of Holocaust survivors , and I'm not just asking about the negatives, I invite you to describe what was it like?	I want to help Esther bring her from a place of rational thought and fact to one where she might reflect on her personal narrative and emotions.
Esther: My mother left Germany just before the war, my father was captured by the Russians – he went to Siberia, he joined the Anders Army, so it was a little different.	
The overriding difference was the protection of my parents. They knew nothing about the culture in the U.S. We came to Israel before the States because my father was with the British army then. For me it was overwhelming protectiveness and fear. Fear if I had a friend, fear about the school, fear about everything. Because I am independent and a good kid, I had a great deal of difficulty with that control. Now as an adult I think it made me very much of a loner.	
Pnina: What?	Pnina is listening! Great!
Esther: Not a group person.	
Gita: **A little on the outside.**	
Esther: Always.	A good insight!
Gita: Was there a particular event when that independence came out?	Am wondering if independence is a

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
	characteristic of resilience.
Esther: Sure. At school, there were lots of school activities, leadership classes, dance classes. My mother didn't want me to participate; didn't want me to have friends. She locked the door so that I couldn't go out. I opened the window, took clothes for the next day and slipped down the pipe.	
Gita: How did you get back in?	
Esther: My parents would never not welcome me back, no matter what, I could do no wrong.	How lovely, I am thinking, that she was so loved.
Judith: My parents were very protective. They were very **sportif/athletic and always said that is what helped them survive**. Even when they weren't well, they were quick.	At last, Judith is feeling able to speak of her story and is also giving me a resilience story.
My father was afraid to teach me to swim, but my father carried me on his back.	I am stunned by the beauty of this image, and don't know whether to laugh or cry.
Gita: I can't swim either – I can still hear my mother yelling: "you're going too deep". Can the rest of you swim?	Not unusual that none of us in this group are swimmers due to the over-protectiveness.
Pnina: No	
Esther: Not well.	
Leah: No. But I did let my children to learn to swim. I didn't show them that I am afraid.	What a lovely reframe and the first expression from Leah.
Gita: My daughter is mad at me because she says I threw her in the water. She did swim at age 3. She doesn't know the depth of my motivations.	Building on Leah's comment both to share my experience and to reinforce her participation.
Esther: We were a different culture, we were green horns. It has nothing to do with religion, they (the geller – or North American born) were more religious than us, colder, not as warm, not as crazy.	

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
Leah: - I would take my 3 year old daughter swimming but I could only walk up to my knees in the water….And now, my son takes his 6-year old daughter swimming.	The third generation is overcoming the traumas of the past.
Gita to Judith: What did you do to get over the protectiveness?	I want to explore the effects of the overprotectiveness and test the degree of its' impacts.
Judith: I couldn't do a lot. I didn't want to distress them.	
Judith gets a cell phone call.	This time, I'm not annoyed, but understanding.
Esther: Judith didn't want to give her parents any worry. We didn't want to do something that would hurt our parents.	Another example of group member support and reinforcement.
Leah: Our parents wanted to start a new life and they didn't want to be disturbed (worried).	Again, no resentment towards the parents, just understanding.
Gita: In one of Judith's stories that she wrote (Judith had sent me some wonderful stories that she had written), she talks about us as miracle children.	The group was aware of Judith's highly literate stories.
Judith: They wanted to be normal but they couldn't be and we were miracle children so they needed to protect us.	
Gita: What made you feel that you could be different from your parents, that you didn't have to be afraid all the time and be over protective yourself?	I believe what they say, though I did feel resentment, so I now want to explore how they got on without the need to be overprotective themselves.
Judith: I was an only child.	Everyone murmurs sympathetic understanding.
So much pressure. I was determined about this when I grew up. I had a neighbour who was also a 2nd Gener. She was terrified about her children and I	

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
always begged her – don't do to your children what was done to you. I tried not to show it – Leah too.	
Gita: So you remember feeling that you needed to be stronger**. For Esther it was rebelling to break away. What was it for you?**	
Judith: No, not rebelling. Since I remember myself, I talked to myself…when I'm a mother …	
Esther: So you put your life on hold because you were protecting your parents. How was this balance between protecting your parents and living a different kind of life – how did that work? wasn't it conflicting?	Another example of positive reinforcement of another member of the group. How kind they are to one another!
Judith: No, on the contrary. I always had an aim – when I'm on my own, this is what I will be in my life.	
Gita: So in protecting your parents, you didn't see that as a burden?	I am playing the maintenance role of synthesizer while also exploring.
Judith: **I cannot judge it; it wasn't easy. I had to accept the burden. We didn't want to hurt our parents.**	Judith is clear on her message to us.
Pnina: I live but I am always terrified about the children, but I don't tell them. I always let them go.	I am glad to see Pnina talk about her fears.
Esther: Do you talk to them about your fears.	Esther too is exploring, she is great at co-leading.
Pnina: No	
Esther: Do they sense it? They must sense it.	
Pnina: Yes, they must sense it; but we don't talk about it.	
Judith: You must tell how many children you have – she has 5 children.	Expressing pride of Pnina's accomplishments.

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
Leah: I never thought I would have 4 children but **it's good that we showed the world that we have survived. I don't tell my children about my fears but they do feel it.**	Leah is able to resonate with what is being said and adds pride of the success of the 2nd Gener as a cohort.
Pnina: I have to tell you I have another problem to overcome. I have my first child with Down's Syndrome.	
Esther: I have never been a parent, do you get more relaxed with each child?	Esther trying to understand Pnina.
Pnina: It's a difficult country. Mothers with 4 children and 3 are in the army.	
Esther: So the sense of protection comes from life's circumstances (puts her hands up in the air) the history of our parents to the present. It becomes enmeshed – the continuum never stops.	**Resilience as the continuum of history! Wonderful insight!**
Pnina: I never had a calm life, never.	**Pnina carries her burdens with tremendous strength.**
Esther: Israel in the 50s and 60s was very difficult; I understand.	Genuine interest and sympathy with an other . **A country where resilience is the norm! Another insight for me!**
Pnina: This is for everyone's sake; my mother never suffered hunger even though she said: *"altz ken men essen/everything can be eaten".*	
Gita: Whenever I complained about something, my mother could find something in her life that was worse. She often would say that I would never survive in the war.	Reinforcing Pnina's experience of her story. Everyone laughs a **shared story that others would not understand.**
Esther to Leah: You had that too. (Leah nods)	A moment of mutual sharing and support.

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
Pnina: My mother had a feeling that she was strong --no matter what, she would survive. **Some people end up the war with a kind of weakness, some with strength.**	I love Pnina's philosophical bent.
Gita: So you saw your mother as strong? Pnina: Yes. Esther: Exceptionally, both my parents.	I am still looking for resilience traits, tenacious me. I think that the strength of our survivor parents has been passed down to these women.
Leah: Very much. My father was in the Polish army. He had a limp. At age 7 I was ashamed and cried; I said this was not my mother or my father but later I admired him very much. He had strength. He didn't show his sadness except he cried a lot about his family during memorial day.	At last, Leah opens up and tells us a part of her story. I knew she would. She is too kind not to share of herself.
Gita: I call my mother a force of nature; she's still alive at 93, she has dementia but she remembers me, she will never forget me. She is terrified when they give her a shower at the residence.	My mother was still living at the time of this dialogue.
Esther: There is a book for caring for elderly . I have a question for you re protecting your parents. I have strong guilt feelings, maybe I should have but that's okay – at what age did you step out of it, out of the responsibility – what did you do that allowed you to blossom?	I am glad that Esther puts this question on resilience to the group but am wondering if she is avoiding exploring her own feelings by asking questions.
Judith: Before I got married, my father helped me. My parents gave me strength. When he was dying, he said "if Hitler didn't kill me, nothing will kill me." **Their life was a constant struggle. So I decided that I had to live a normal life and I built it.**	A great way to describe her way for moving forward.
Gita: What did you go through to decide that?	
Judith: In Poland, my childhood was happy and	

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
normal, my parents educated me, I recited on stage, I played piano, I had lots of attention. When we came to Israel in the 50s, it was bad, everything turned upside down.	
Gita: I can't say I ever had a taste of a normal life.	
Pnina: No, what was wrong?	
Gita: I had a normal life but not normal parents. I did not give myself permission to rebel, I felt responsible for my parents so I told my brother to escape and I would stay behind. In the end, I did rebel.	Not sure I didn't block Judith's story by telling my own.
Esther: Interesting. (to Pnina) You grew up in Israel, me, in the U.S. in a predominantly Jewish school. It might be that our parents who went to Canada or the U.S. and who had no understanding of the culture – but here in Israel, there was a common culture; everybody's Jewish.	
Judith: Yes, but Israelis looked down at the newcomers.	Good, Judith is back on track with her story despite my interruption.
Leah: **Everybody was building something – a happiness, regardless whether you were from Iran or Iraq.**	
Esther; My mother had no friends, my father had one friend. I was so isolated. My mother came from a Germanic background; the teacher was equivalent to G_d. My father went into the army in 1937; my parents came here in 1946 - most of my father's family was already here. My father fought from 1937 to 1946. Between Poland, Siberia, the Anders Army and then India, South Africa, and then The Netherlands and Britain – many years at war. My cousins always asked: *why didn't your father fight here in 1948 for Independence?* Until just a few months ago, I didn't realize the negative nuance. My parents, of course, had to move on.	This is a large step, revealing Esther's interior narrative.

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
That is probably the reason for my father's silence. My mother talked about many things. Did your parents speak about it? At what age?	Is Esther stopping herself from going on by diverting from her expressions of isolation to a question? I expect the group will help her gain insight.
Judith: My father spoke to me only at the time of the 1965 trial when they came to take evidence for the trial of Handke an officer and Movinkel the commander of the LIPOWA 7 Camp in Lublin.	
It was a turning point in my life, because on the one hand, they didn't want to tell me about it; on the other hand, I saw the sadness when they were talking about it. When they noticed me coming, they would say: "*shah, dos kiend – shh, the child*. Plus their shouting at night was traumatizing. Both of them were shouting like animals. They always said it was a bad dream. When police officers came to take evidence, I was 15, coming home from school and I listened. The evidence started with my father.	
When I understood it, it was a release; when I understood about their life, it was easier. Whenever they talked to me, it was so traumatic. I preferred not to ask, not about their families, not about the	A moving example of *speaking-not speaking; knowing-not knowing*. I am so impressed that despite these traumatizing events, Judith is so selfless and self-composed. **An insight for me – something I need to learn!**
Esther asked Leah if her parents talked to her and if she knows their story.	**Esther's curiosity is her resilience I now realize!**
Leah: No. My mother told me a little about her family but not my father. I don't even know the names of my half-brothers.	**This is the first time I am hearing directly from someone who, like me, had lost siblings.**
Gita: I'm on a quest to find out about my half brother	

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
and sister.	**I am eager to share my common experience.**
Pnina: My father never talked about his wife and children until he died. We somehow knew.	**Another person with the same history! I am suddenly feeling proud of my father's courage to speak**.
Esther: How did you know?	
Pnina: **Because a child always knows**. (We teased her about her children knowing about her fears for them). There was a picture of a woman and 2 children. When we asked about them, they just said someone in the family.	**Knowing-not knowing!** It was so amazing that we could laugh in the midst of these horrific stories of our parents' past and our need to fill the gaps.
Esther: How old were the children?	
Pnina: Four and three	**Again, I am stunned at the similarities we share**.
Gita: **My siblings were exactly the same, four and three. I'll show you their picture**.	I had brought their picture with me to Israel to keep them close while I went on this journey for them.
Esther: Wow! (looking at the picture)	**I feel supported and reinforced.**
Pnina: My mother talked every day about what it was like before the war – every day. My mother was a hidden child. We had an open house, a lot of people came and they talked about life before the war. I listened to the stories.	**We are dialoguing about speaking; not speaking, a common experience for 2nd Geners.**
Gita: **When people came over and told stories and played cards, it broke the tension, it was a relief.**	
Leah: My father had been very religious, but changed – said that the Shoah finished it – there is no G-d.	**One way of moving on.**
Pnina – I'm not religious	

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
Gita – I'm not religious.	
Esther – I'm not religious. In Israel, people don't go to shul but keep kosher, Shabbat is a very special day. It is a very child-centred culture.	**We share a common secular approach to life as a result of the Shoah.**
Gita: There was a controversy about which country the Eichman trial would be held in.	
Judith: There was no question here.	
Esther: In the 60s I was so straight laced – to the extreme – where did that come from?	
Judith: Because we were taught not to do anything to the extreme, needed to be good.	**Perhaps Judith has helped Esther answer her question of needing to be good?**
Esther: So who did that serve? Did it serve your parents?	
Judith: Our parents. I will tell you something. My father died when I was 30, my mother died when I was 40. His wish was always that he would marry his only daughter. One month before my wedding, he had his leg amputated; yet he attended the wedding. He was alive for the birth of my daughter and son. I am happy to this day that his wish was fulfilled.	**The love of the parents despite everything is astonishing to me.**
Gita to Leah: You're looking very sad as you're listening to Judith.	**So much resonance between the individuals in the group.**
Leah: My parents and I were very close. I had a great history. My father became very sick, almost paralyzed and he died shortly after. My mother also became paralyzed and lived with me along with my four children. I said she would never go into a nursing home. My mother died a year after.	
Judith: How interesting, my mother also.	
Esther: My mother had dementia for a long time. I	

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
was lucky, she always had a lot of angst – a lot of pain in her life, After 5 years, it seemed as though all of that pain went away. It was wonderful for me. In the past, whenever I would call, it was why didn't you call before; negative, negative, negative. I place a large picture across from her bed that she loved.	**Again we hear of the love of the parents despite everything -quite astonishing to me.**
Leah: My mother cried about missing her husband when she was with me. She laughed, though when she was around the children. My family started a search for my family and we found family in the U.S. We went to Poland with a picture and in Lodz at the museum, we found what the picture corresponded to.	**Another story of 2nd Gen as researcher.**
Gita: What did you learn about succeeding?	
Esther: My parents were proud about everything I did, of course I resisted. Were your parents proud?	
Pnina: Yes, about everything.	
Judith: My parents if they were here would be so proud, especially of my children. My daughter is a psycho-dramatist.	
Pnina: My daughter is a physician, my 2 sons are Engineers.	**Important that we make our parents proud.**
Leah: Two of my children work in high tech; my daughter is in a PhD program.	
Gita: What makes you or your children successful?	
Esther: We were given a sense of strength from our parents. We emulate them because they survived, even though there is a contradiction if they were weak.	Interesting that they could see the strength in their parents despite their fearfulness and over protectiveness.
Success doesn't have to be a degree; my parents were proud if I made a brisket (cut of meat).	

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
Pnina: My father wanted me to have a degree, a good job; but he did not support me emotionally. They never asked me "how is your life?". My children have degrees, but I'm not sure they are happy.	I am wondering, who took care of us and our emotions?
Esther: In the U.S., a career is success. For women in Israel, success is their children.	
Gita: How did you find a way to become successful?	
Esther: Good question, which is why I came here today.	**I love Esther's curiosity and willingness to learn about herself.**
Pnina: Satisfaction, marriage, friends, job.	
Gita: Sounds like what you said at the beginning about accepting and satisfaction. Is there a link between acceptance and satisfaction?	
Pnina: It is a question of integrity. If what you accept is really what you want, then acceptance is to be satisfied. **For our 2nd Generation, stability is what we wanted.**	**For me, stability was not my goal; on the contrary, I wanted autonomy.**
Esther: I was always ashamed to receive a present of anything from my parents, even 10 cents for an ice cream. I bought a hammock for my parents and they were angry that I spent my money and I had to return it.	I had that experience too. I felt that my presents didn't have value and discounted me. I didn't say anything not wanting to go off the path of the group.
Gita to Leah: What would you say is your biggest strength?	
Leah: Devotion to my family. We come together once a week.	
Gita: What would your children say are your biggest strengths?	I am trying to shift her attention to herself and her unique strengths – perhaps there is no shift necessary.

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
Leah: They would say I worry too much; I help them, I am involved in their lives.	
Judith: I tried to be helpful. I am happy with my family. I have a cultural life. My vision didn't come true – to be a teacher. Esther: I presume that the drive of having a family is most important.	**As a result of the inherited will to survive and indeed the legacy to survive when so many didn't comes a resilient factor of devotion to the family.**
We ended with the rock exercise with Pnina giving up her rigidity, Esther giving up and holding onto her independence, Leah and Judith holding on to their love of their parents and family.	

Dialogue 4: Tel Aviv, Israel
Yossi Tal, Itzik Lichtenfeld, Esther, Dov (Doubi) Spiegler, Gita (Baack) Arjan

Note: Esther was in both groups; I invited her to help manipulate the video camera if required, to debrief with me after and to participate to the extent she desired.

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
Doubie: At home we spoke Polish and German, my parents went back to Germany to find work when I was 15 due to the economic situation in Israel in 1965. I defied them and went to an English speaking high school in Holland.	Doubie is quick to open up. Defiance – a trait of resilience - showing up quickly in the conversation I think.
Esther to Itzki: How did you come to speak German? Itzik: My parents were born in German; they are still alive, thank God, and the only language you can speak with them is German.	Esther is very interested as her parents were German speaking
Doubi: We spoke only Polish at home.	
Gita: My parents also spoke Polish, but I didn't learn it.	A conversation of immigrant children

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
Doubi: Unlike my German parents – this is the way to do it – I raised my children in a liberal way, not forcing my will or my ideas of how life should go on because I did not want to be an oppressive parent.	
My father saved my mother's life through his strength. They hid in a forest hideaway. I held him very high until I was 18 despite his unimaginable aggressions. At 18, I told him it was finished. My father tried to build an ice block factory in Israel but did not get any support and the disappointment fed his anger.	Another form of defiance.
Itzik: You were an only child?	
Doubi: No, I had an older brother but he beat me – just me, not my brother. I was the rebellious one.	This was a stunning, frank revelation by Doubi and I was struck by his courage.
Esther to Izik: Were you an only child?	Esther is searching for meaning as she was an only child.
Itzki: No, I have a sister.	
Esther: Was it your behaviour that made your father angry?	
Doubi: His aggressiveness made me do things he didn't like which provoked him more. My mother was in his shadow all her life.	
Esther: Did she try to console you?	
Doubi: She tried to protect me but not too much, she was afraid it would make him more angry. It was strange, she was grateful -- he bragged about how he saved her life constantly. He was very strong. It was the highlight of his life but it made us, as children, very angry to hear how he bragged about something that should have been natural.	This story was not told in hushed or sad tones. It had energy and hope and expectations for overcoming the pain that he has carried with him for so long.

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
There were friends from Europe, that were like uncles and aunts who would visit.	
Esther: Yes, that is so common – landsmanshaft. But, he wasn't angry around them.	Esther does a good job of probing because of her keen interest and curiosity.
Doubi: No, when the friends were around, he was nice.	
Gita: That rings a bell for me too. My mother could be one person one minute raging about something and the next laughing with a friend on the phone.	Familiar to me – those visits reduced the tension and rage in my house. I now am wondering if it was the presence of a similar 'other' that was appeasing.
Gita: Before we go on, I just want to set some context for this conversation.	Doubi had been so eager to speak and I did not want to interrupt but I wanted to make sure we all had a sense of the environment we would be engaging in.
Doubi: My son got me into this dialogue through Yossi.	Yossi hadn't arrived yet, but he was the orchestrator of this event.
Itzik: My experience was different. I was looking forward to this gathering. For many years I wanted to have such a discussion about 2nd generation, but me and my friends never talked about it.	There it is again, no opportunities for the 2nd Geners to give voice to their unique stories.
Gita: What's different about the 2nd Generation experience is that we were born with the Holocaust.	
Itzik: My parents are from Czechoslovakia and came in 1949. My father was in Auschwitz at age 19 and my mother was also in Auschwitz at age 15. My father spoke a little, I know it was hell. My mother didn't talk at all. My father had experiments done on him – they took out his appendix without	Interesting how quickly we learn about who spoke and who didn't speak. Another stunning story.

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
anaesthetic. He tried to escape, was shot, was beaten.	
I don't know what happened to their families.	
Esther: There are records, you can do research.	Being helpful - offering her research expertise. Itzik grimaces; he does not want to, or cannot, put the energy into finding out.
Itzik: I don't know if I want to. I don't know when I first heard. But my childhood was great. My parents love each other to this day. I had a fairy-tale life; I was not over-protected.	I feel envious that he was able to have a happy childhood despite the shadow of the Shoah. I suspect Doubi does as well.
Doubi: This is great. We have the feeling that nobody cares about the 2nd Generation. Israel was built by a generation of giants, when the first survivors started coming, they weren't accepted. They were confronted with questions like: *Why did you let it happen? How come you survived?* They were also sent the message that "*you didn't suffer enough for this country.*"	He builds on the additional suffering of the immigrant in a new land, even if it is his homeland.
Itzik: My mother would have seen and experienced terrible things, Mengele saying: *you go here – you go there.* How could she talk about that if it can't be explained or understood. I did tell my children and gave them the freedom to ask their grandparents questions if they wanted to.	There is something going on in Itzik's experience of the Shoah. He seems to have imagined the way it might have been, despite the silence, like phantom memories.
Esther: Were your parents protective?	
Izik: Not overly.	Esther was from the US and had very overprotective parents – she is searching for explanations.
Esther: Perhaps it is different here in Israel than in the United States.	

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
(We discover we are about 60 years of age.)	
Gita: It is important that we talk about the 2nd generation experience as we come into our 60s. How did we accomplish so much, built this state of Israel and moved on with our lives.	
Doubi: We have the feeling that nobody cares about us, because actually, Israel was built by the generation of the giants. When the survivors arrived, they were questioned.	
Itzik: Yes, they were asked: "why did you let it happen?"	
Doubi: Yes why did you let it happen and how come you survived. You didn't suffer enough for this country so you don't have the right of everyone else.	
Esther: You do need to think about why someone would talk. Before Eichmann, no-one spoke.	
Doubie: I just had a flash of the situation. We were 12 or 13 years old at this point. It was like a switch; for the first time people talked about it on the radio, on T.V.	Excitedly. Like the previous discussion, Eichman's trial raises up strong emotions of recognition of a common experience and validation.
Esther: In the U.S., as a child, we went to the auditorium and we were shown a newsreel of the liberation of the camps. The oldest in the school were 13. I was not shocked, the majority of children were not Jewish; the teachers were Jewish.	
My father never spoke, my mother spoke all the time. She was 12 in 1933 and sent to Germany to an orphanage to work. She left for England just before the war when she was 18 and had a lifelong guilt and feelings of angst for leaving her parents.	Again, an exploration of *speaking, not speaking*. I am thinking about why my mother never talked about feeling guilty for leaving her parents, without a word of good-bye.

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
They had a great marriage, they rarely argued.	I am thinking, my parents argued all the time and married out of a need to survive rather than out of love. I was often put in the uncomfortable position of being asked to collude with one parent over the other.
My father was in the Polish army and he ended up with the Anders army.	I am aware how much research went behind this information that she is sharing.
YOSSI ARRIVES	
Doubi: The Eichmann trial was "retrofitting" recognized the heroism of the Shoah survivors for the first time. The achievement was very important for the country. I remember almost the whole trial; when Hausner said: *"I am standing here in the name of six million Jews"* – this was the most important phrase and gave context to the whole trial.	Eloquent! Wonderful re-construction of the word – 'retrofitting' usually used in engineering.
Discussion ensued about the controversy of that time over where the trial should be held.	
Yossi: Survivors had been ashamed in front of the Sabras (Israeli-born citizens); we had to conform in a way. The Holocaust was a failure even though they survived. Now they had to confront a thriving country; we were weak and black and they were strong and white.	Wonderful metaphorical language re the experience of the immigrant, similar to Doubi's observations.
Gita: As greeners (greenhorns) and a child of survivors, we felt secondary. I always had trouble knowing my position, whether I was right or wrong – until the Eichman trial.	I retold my story of the Eichman trial with this group as it has held an importance in building my own form of resilience.
Esther: We had vicarious empathy for our parents.	

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
Itzik: We can't generalize; different 2nd Geners were raised in different countries: Poland, Russia, Israel, Canada. I am lucky I never thought about being in the situation of my parents. Maybe this is a defence mechanism.	
Gita to Itzik: What does it mean to you to say: *"I am a child of Holocaust survivors?"*	I want to help Itzik explore the possibility of the "maybe" in his statement: "maybe this is a defence mechanism".
Itzik: It is a motivational behaviour for surviving. At times, I had to take risks, but I don't like to take risks. Whenever I went out, I always made sure I had enough money in my pocket. I should have taken more risks 20 years ago. The fear is always there.	An opening? Perhaps an exploration of risk taking and fear.
Doubi asks Itzik what he does for a living: Because we live in different places on the scale. I live in the moment and I do take risks, sometimes to an excess. I consciously do not do anything to harm anyone but for myself, and in business, I take risks.	Interesting that Doubi, whose life at home was hell compared to Itzik, is not burdened by fear of risk-taking.
Yossi: You are both reacting to the same thing.	Helpful and supportive.
Doubie: Are you a risk taker?	Also helpful.
Yossi: My father was in the Red Army; we emigrated to Poland; we lived in a town from where we could go to Israel. I was already 12 when I arrived in Israel. I had to conform and become an Israeli.	I sense a defiant feeling against the need to conform.
Esther explains how Bad Arolsen works to get information which had been closed to the public until two years ago; because of a question of which army Yossi's father belonged to.	
Yossi: As a researcher, you could fill in the gaps. For the ordinary person, they can never fill the gaps. My mother never told her whole story, it was full of holes. They'll never tell you the whole story, they'll	Another sharing of the story of *speaking, not speaking*. He describes my experience so well. I feel elated to hear

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
suppress it, tell you parts but not other parts. Some people appear that they never mentioned and disappear the next time you ask. The story is full of holes.	someone else has had a similar experience.
Gita: Yes, my mother was with her brother the whole time but I never got that, she somehow neglected to mention it.	
Yossi: We don't have continuity, we don't have a past.	Getting to the heart of my research in a few words.
Doubi: We don't have a **complete** past.	Validating Yossi's experience with his own and taking it further.
Yossi: No, we don't have a past. We came to Israel from a place from which we have no memories, no pictures, no albums, no stories.	Insightfully reflecting some of the constructs I've been exploring on memory and photographs.
Esther: We don't have roots.	Also validating the experience shared with her own experience.
Doubi: I have pictures from before the war.	
Yossi: I have one picture that was sent to the US and we got a copy of that one picture.	
Itzik: My father has pictures; my mother has nothing. Regarding roots, we know nothing about the last 5, 8 generations.	Itzik is feeling a shared experience and takes it further as well.
Esther: There is a question of risk and complacency. When we emigrated to the States, we were afraid of the world. My parents created a box; but I couldn't be kept in the box. I rebelled. I was very independent. At work I was repeatedly the first to do things. (Esther worked in Washington for the federal government). I took risks at work. On the other hand, I told myself I needed to protect myself against the Germanic rigidity and doing what is	Metaphorical story of the 2nd Gen experience of over protection. **Risk taking as resilience?** I'm thinking how I can help

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
proper. I wanted to both break out and pull in and control. I now realize perhaps it isn't a contradiction at all.	Esther with this possible new understanding. Perhaps my help is not necessary.
Gita: We didn't have support to help us think through this kind of thing. To us everything was considered risky: don't go; don't do it; be careful.	Hoping that by sharing my similar experience, will encourage Esther to explore her experience further.
Esther: My parents called the cops.	"Me too!", I wanted to say but I let the conversation continue. My mother regularly called the police if I dared to be late coming home from school or piano lessons. A rather scary sight, meant to control future tardiness.
Yossi and Itzik tell us that they have been friends since they were 15 years old and that this is the first time that they are talking about their parents' Holocaust past.	Again, 2nd Geners who have a shared experience but have not given voice to it for over 40 years.
Esther: I never had that – that is the advantage for Israelis.	Helpful to compare experiences, even if they are different.
Doubi: Yes, army friends are life-long and a few soul friends mean a lot.	Doubi has important strength- building resources.
Yossi: There was a reversal of roles. We were the parents to our parents. It was always: what would we do without you; they were emotionally dependent on us. They lost opportunities for life because they were young when the war started, so they lived through us.	Yes, I think, how eloquently he's summed up my feelings as well as what I have read.
Doubi: I felt my father was jealous – "how dare you enjoy life when my life was so miserable" but I wouldn't pay the price for him.	Good insight. Defiance despite an overwhelming parent.
Esther: Maybe that is your resilience.	Yes!!! I'm so pleased that

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
	Esther continues to play the role of affirming another and finding descriptions of resilience.
Doubi: It wouldn't help to complain, who would I complain to?	Not with any bitterness, more of an ironic sense.
Gita: My brother and I supported and protected each other from my mother's outbursts.	
Yossi: I hated my sister. My mission was to become part of Israel, she stayed behind. She still doesn't speak Hebrew much.	Yossi uses strong language like I used to do before I learned to adapt to the Canadian way.
Gita – question to the group: Did we have to adapt more than other people? Is this another form of resilience that we have learned?	
Yossi: I had to compensate for my parents. We lived two lives, ours and theirs. We could not express our concerns or minor or major miseries and small failures like less than perfect school grades; they didn't hide their misery and their misery took precedence.	Ability to adapt and be strong for our parents and ourselves – another form of resilience. So many revelations!
Esther: And we also didn't share successes.	
Yossi: No it was a shame to be happy.	Reflection of our burdens
Itzik: Might be because of the unknown.	
Doubi: Can I ask if your parents ever told you – just for you – I love you?	This is probably one of the few, if not only, occasions that Doubi has had an opportunity to ask this important question of someone.
Yossi: All the time – too much.	Funny for us who were over-protected, over-loved.
Esther: They didn't use that language.	

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
Doubi: Just tell me, did they say I love you.	
Itzik: Do you say it to your kids?	Have the roles reversed, is Itzik now learning from Doubi?
Doubi: Yes every day. I say it to my children and my grandchildren. I missed it so much.	
Yossi: "*Du bist mein ganze leiben/you are my whole life*" is selfish.	Over-loved as selfish love, a paradox of the 2nd Gener.
Doubi: I never heard it at home.	
Esther: Maybe it is because of their German background.	
Doubi: We spoke Polish and Hebrew at home.	
Esther: Did you have to eat at 5:00 sharp?	There is something behind Esther's questions but we missed giving her air time. Humour, in the face of terror.
Doubi: No, my father was the centre of attention; everything was based on his needs. The best thing was if we stopped breathing.	
Esther: It is hard to differentiate if our experience is based on culture, educational background or the Shoah.	Such a difficult sorting.
Gita: I had a conversation in my teens with the father of my high school boyfriend who, on seeing me inconsolable over the death of the father of a friend, spoke to me in a way that I didn't know was possible. It was a real conversation with give and take. I became aware that I was missing something fundamental.	
Doubi: Itzik and Yossi, do you, as psychologists have tools to help you cope with this.	

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
Yossi: We found ourselves studying Psychology though we had other plans. Itzik was going to be in Law and I was going to study Biology. We needed help in understanding our fathers. Each night I heard my father scream and watched him run around the house like a mad man; he was trying to escape from the ghetto.	A unique and terrible experience of children after the Shoah. I am hoping that this sharing is helpful for Yossi, who appears so confident and strong.
Doubi: You are fortunate you can give the behaviour patterns a name.	
Yossi: He is right, it helped me.	
Doubi: My son is the joy of my life; I adore what he has become. (We all laugh and tease him –your son is your "gantz leiben") The moment he told me: "I know why you are the way you are: it gave me …	
Itzik gives him the word he is looking for – "relief" Doubi – yes "relief"	Itzik is clearly listening intently, even if he isn't speaking that much.
Esther: When something happened at my house, I understood intellectually, depending on my age, but I wasn't necessarily able to deal with it emotionally. I didn't know what my behaviour should be.	
Yossi: Our parents were in different positions. I'm not sure Gita has freed herself from her position. With this dissertation, she wants freedom – to free herself from her past and live the rest of her life as a free person. She's not sure she's absolutely free. She wants to understand, when she opens up, she listens to other people who may or may not have similar experiences. She wants her roots but wants to decide what her life should become. Gita, Me, Doubie, Esther (we don't know about Itzik) – most of the time, we have not made free decisions about our lives. We have been all the time, until now, reactive	Insightful interpretation of my motivations. I am not sure it is totally accurate, but it certainly is close.

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
to our parents. We are not free. Because I understand a bit more, I can make decisions and be more free. I can hate my sister, it is freeing, it is a relief.	**Search for freedom – another characteristic of resilience?**
Doubi: When I came in, my blood pressure was high…now I can breathe.	
(everyone clicks wine glasses: "to Freedom")	A celebratory moment!
I want to talk about the "relief" and the complex relationship with my father. In the last 6 months before he died (17 years ago, Doubi was 43 and a father of two) I became very compassionate with him. When he died, I brought him from Germany to be buried in Israel. When I saw them put him in the ground, I knew the nightmare was over. It was a relief. I grew a beard and mourned for 30 days. When I came back clean shaven from the barber, I felt as though I was reborn.	
I'm sharing a lot of things with you, I am looking for symbols (he told of a watch that belonged to his father and that it stopped when his son graduated from the military)	Doubi is a poet!
Itzik: No doubt your life wasn't easy. I don't think we are here because we are 2nd Generation; other people have similar stories like mother-daughter tensions.	
Doubie: Maybe you are right about how it is wrapped on the outside, but when I go on the inside, when I try to connect the details, it's impossible that a person becomes this way in a normal life. The burden he put on my life is only understandable because of his suffering.	The sandpaper to our co-construction of knowledge and personal meaning! Doubi holds his own. I admire his strength.
Itzik: We have different personalities. Yossi's nature is to be critical and that he learned because of his father. Your father might have been an abusive man, Shoah or no Shoah.	

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
Yossi: The personality of the parent, regardless of the Shoah, is important. What is more important the personality or the environment? What we know is the basic personalities of the parents. Of course the trauma/tragedy/drama of the Shoah is strong. For your story, maybe my story, all our stories, is a measure of the personalities of the people involved and the need for survival. For your father, maybe the Shoah made him more aggressive and assertive; for my father, maybe he became more adaptive.	
Esther: If he didn't have that trait, he wouldn't have been able to save your mother.	
Doubie: So all our lives we have to be thankful for this heroic moment?	
Rest of Group – No	A powerful, united group response to a fundamental query.
Yossi – All the people sitting here are survivors – your father has done something right, my father has done something right, and yours and yours – or we wouldn't be here.	
Doubie: In a way what you are telling me is I have to make peace, be accepting that although what happened, I have to be happy, I'm here.	
Yossi: What I am saying is putting all our life's explanations on the Shoah is wrong.	
Esther: Yes, it is dangerous.	
Yossi: It's what our parents are about, not necessarily due to the Shoah.	

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
Gita: Yes, my mother's friend Fela[10], who was 16 in Auschwitz, answered me when I asked her how come she always laughed and had a wonderful positive attitude to life (as compared to my mother and her friend). was that her mother was that way; she learned it from her mother.	
Doubie; I beg you to believe me that what happened here to me today is the first time..when I came I was exploding, I wanted to talk about it…I wanted it out. I really hoped when I came out of that door	He takes a big breathe like a final exhalation with his hand on his heart and turns to Itzik.
– You gave me the opportunity to come out of myself and for the first time look at the situation from here .	He puts his hand high up in the air signifying his new position in his self-reflection
I don't agree with you, I still feel what happened in those years in the Shoah had an impact, but you've shaken something out of me.	I love that he can be in two places at the same time.
Yossi: All survivors suffered. We were like Negroes; some were bad, some were good, some were intelligent, some were stupid, but suddenly the Shoah gave them a new orientation; suddenly they became negroes, became survivors. And what we have to keep in mind is that their personalities became better or worse. What we have to do, we have to get the opportunity to become different, diverse, despite the Holocaust. It isn't right to talk about survivors as one entity – they are not.	The strong language was challenging, but we stayed open and trusting of where Yossi would take us. Important nuancing of the impacts of the Holocaust.
Gita: I would like to explore our (2nd Geners) capacities. There is lots to explore; like Yossi's critical ability that Itzik referred to.	

[10]Fela Wajcer endured everything: the ghettos, the death camps, the selections, hunger and disease, the death marches -- but as she writes, she endured with the last words of her sister ringing in her ears, as she and her young daughter were taken away to the gas chambers, "*Do everything to survive so you can tell what happened to us.*" (Burman-Wajcer, 2003:141). This she did in her book, co-authored with her son, and titled: *"So You Can Tell" (2003)* which chronicles with incredible detail, her story of survival.

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
Yossi: People who didn't come tonight are static, stuck, take the Shoah too seriously; we are not typical, we are able to laugh.	
Itzik: I disagree, many 2nd Geners are successful.	It's a good sign when the group matures to the point of being able to disagree.
Esther: We can't say if we are representative.	
Doubi: I am proud of myself. Even though you are strangers, that you gave me the opportunity to bring out…	
Yossi: Not us – it is your personality that was able to express yourself in a forum.	
Esther: Give us a little credit.	Funny.
We then did the rock exercise:	
Gita: I have 2 sets of rocks; one set is ugly and one is nice but there is variety in both sets. For the first exercise, pick one of the ugly rocks that speaks to you and that represents something that you are carrying and that you want to get rid. I have a garbage bag here – this is an opportunity to throw that heaviness away)	
Doubi picks the biggest, heaviest rock: I am throwing a heavy weight off my chest and with a sigh, throws it in the garbage bag.	We all know what it is. We have become a cohesive group.
Itzik: Throws a rock in the bag and says it is ugly but doesn't say what he finds ugly.	I encourage him by asking what is ugly in your life that you want to get rid of. I hope I am nudging and not pushing.
Itzik: It is misunderstanding among friends.	
Yossi: Picks a rock with holes: I hate unknowns, holes and gaps, secrets from the past. I want to know. He throws a rock in the bag.	
Esther without hesitation: I want to get rid of my independence. She throws a rock in the bag.	

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
Gita: I'm tired of second guessing myself; I know what I know, and then I second guess myself.	
We then did the second rock exercise:	
Gita: For the second exercise, I found pretty rocks from around the beaches of Tel Aviv and Mitzpah Ramon in the Negev desert. You can pick one out of the bowl that appeals to you and you can keep it for yourself. It symbolizes something that you cherish about yourself, something about yourself that you want to keep, that you really don't want to lose.	
Doubi: I have looked at this rock for a while –it has a face, a face that I want to hold and be able to like. I can't explain.	
Gita: Hold onto it.	
Itzik: Good feeling; expressions of good feeling.	
Yossi picks a translucent, thin stone: This is transparent and deep. My parents tried to make me a serious person, a responsible person. I would like not to take things so seriously. I would like to be light and translucent.	
Doubi: I don't take myself seriously. I don't get offended easily.	Doubi is able to clearly articulate his strengths.
Esther: I take back my independence.	Yossi shows surprise at her reversal.
Gita: I get that, her independence is both her strength and her weakness.	Supporting Esther .
Gita: I am picking this colorful purple stone. I want my life to have color and joy. I want there to be diversity with a variety of people.	Given the many diverse conversations I have had an the diverse nature of my exploration, this is an

Dialogue	Noticing Comments
	appropriate metaphor.
Gita ended the evening:	
Sometimes after these kinds of sessions, you will have after thoughts that you might want to process. Feel free to contact me. I am leaving Israel in a few weeks, but there is an organization of 2nd Geners here called Generation to Generation; you can also contact each other and keep the conversation going if you want to.	I am concerned that I have not provided the space for ongoing exploration of what has come up. I hope when I send this out to the group once my study is complete, it will provide some long term thoughts, discoveries, and feelings.

10.2 REFLECTIONS ON THE DIALOGUES

"We have a mission to live."
Yossi Tal

And so what did these dialogues mean for my question about what it is that enabled 2nd Geners to get on with their lives and also be helpful and compassionate and not perpetuate the guilt and the sorrow.

There were certainly many surprises and unexpected results.

All the dialogues were full of energy and good spirits. There was an exhilarating energy despite the heaviness of the topic. The box of tissues/Kleenex was not needed; there was much laughter and a lot of support and deep listening to each other's stories in the midst of constant interruptions and eager questioning. I allowed the natural flow of language, accepting the interruptions. I also allowed people to speak in the moment; when they started to say something and offered to speak about it later, I let them know that it was okay to speak now; that now was the right time.

What was most surprising was that everyone who came said it was the first time they had the opportunity to have this conversation; even friends of many years did not speak about being children of survivors. In conversations with people of other cultures, I have discovered this holds true for first and second children of war and cultural devastation from First Nations in Canada to Koreans, Vietnamese, Somalian, Hindu or Moslem inheritors.

There was a mixture of positive expectations and apprehension about what this would be about and a few wondered if it would lead to any conclusions. Some were concerned and wanted to be helpful in meeting my dissertation requirements.

However, it didn't take long to get going once the parameters were laid out. As we saw, the parameters had no structure, no hierarchy, no rules and no contingencies around meeting my needs. They were safe and free to say whatever they wanted. I believe this reduced anxiety and resistance and facilitated feelings of being accepted regardless of our individual differences and experiences since we came together as a similar tribe.

There was a sense that this was an important coming together!

I believe that the dialogues helped people to get clarity and affirmation, validation and support from others and that as a result, it helped people to come to a more

positive place. I believe that what I ended up hearing at these dialogues is that everyone has their unique stories; that the Shoah doesn't have the same meaning for everyone. I also learned that one can live in acceptance despite the shadow of this terrible event.

I did observe, that speaking about their parents, was easier for many, than speaking about themselves. Almost all the participants were very proud of their parents. All of our parents' stories, like all stories of survivors, were stories of triumph over the improbability of surviving. We spoke of the importance of "chutzpah" and resourcefulness as the most critical traits that helped them to survive. It didn't seem at all unusual that we talked about the traits of surviving.

Some of us wore the immigrant status as a badge of honour, while others felt like immigrants and as though they were different. In Canada, we all agreed that we still feel like immigrants. This was, of course, not the case in Israel. Some of us felt burdened by our mothers, but only a few of us rebelled against their over-protectiveness.

Each of us received support, but from different sources: siblings, relatives, spouses, religion, being good at school, being attractive, going to summer cottages/camp with other European people, to list a few.

The people in the dialogues helped others in the group. There was encouragement for others to tell their stories. There were questions full of good will and curiosity. And there were even possible answers that helped people to tell their story and perhaps to '*re-story*' their internal narrative and move on.

Some tried to find meaning by finding patterns, for example similarities or differences depending on when they left Europe or where they were brought up – in North America or Israel.

As mentioned earlier, in all my conversations with 2nd Gens, when they introduced themselves, they almost immediately introduced their parents' and their parents' stories. Of course, they we were coming together to talk about themselves in the context of their survivor parents, but it was difficult to move them to talk about themselves or their resilience as a separate narrative from that of their parents.

I thought that, from my readings, everyone would want to work at separating from their parents' stories and would be interested in exploring their own identity, apart from that of their parents. At first, I thought their disinterest in speaking of themselves was a form of denial, or coping strategy or that indeed, they were unable to separate from their parents. I now am not so quick to judge. It may be that I

assumed that my needs are the same as others i.e. separation/individuation, which has been a goal for me throughout my life, is not necessarily, a need that others feel.

This was a surprise for me -- many of the participants felt they had normal, happy childhoods despite the legacy of the Holocaust and the enmeshment with their parents. Those, like myself, who didn't feel this way, had strong characteristics of rebelliousness and independence.

And so, there are some 2nd Geners who are alright and have gotten on with their lives, but are haunted by the Holocaust and live with a sense of sorrow and/or outrage; there are some who have gotten on with their lives but want to make sense of their experiences and their inherited tragedy for future generations; and there are some that can't quite get on with their lives.

There were no definitive statements about how the Shoah affected them. Some people felt vehemently felt that different people have different descriptors and that the personality of the parent before the Shoah meant that the Shoah itself, might not have had any bearing at all on their personalities. What was agreed to by almost everyone, particularly the women, was the experience of being overprotected and about the fear and worry that their parents seemed to live in. What was interesting was that they too protected their parents and didn't want to distress them any further or add to their worries and fears. As Yossi said, "*we had a double duty*".

One person suffered abuse from a parent, rather than protection and love. His mother couldn't protect him to avoid further antagonizing the father. And yet, he was the person who gave the group the greatest gift. He was able to take the risk to reveal his difficult story without which we would not have come to some important realizations about the danger of generalizing the 2nd Generation experience.

Perhaps in return, he, more than anyone, had a transformative experience, as a result of the group's interjections. Itzik and the group provided him with the opportunity to consider that his father may simply have been an abusive man, "Shoah or no Shoah". His burden was visibly and joyfully released for the first time in almost 60 years. Doubie had the insight and the honesty to express his discomfort with being forced to reframe his lifelong story, and also the courage and the gentility to accept the group's help. Following the meeting, he sent me this e-mail:

Hello Gita,
Thank you for organising this meeting, and allowing it to develop the way it did.

I am glad I had this opportunity to sit with this group, feeling free to open up and just talk and talk and talk.....

It was great to be with people who listen and share their most intimate and hidden feelings, and not being afraid that the group will start getting bored because you share your feelings which might get too personal.

I will gladly do it again with the same group or another, if you wish to continue or try to arrange another session I hope I can join.
Doubie

Different contexts; different experiences

There were similar discussions in both Israel and in Montreal about the immigrant experience, with much reflection on individual differences that people were hearing.

Differences were cited based on age of migration, country of origin, country migrated to, and attitude of the parents. This aspect of the exploration was difficult to tease out because of the difference between the immigrant experience and the Holocaust experience of those who grew up in Israel, those who came late to Israel and those who grew up in the U.S. Similarly, it was observed that Hungarian peers who came as teenagers around 1956 did not feel the Holocaust shadow as much as they did the strain of immigrating to a new country in their teens.

For some, their parents were inspirations, and not burdens. A few saw their parents as heroes, one was a partisan fighter with the Bielski brothers, now made famous in the film "*Defiance*", and has a kind of shrine in his honour at her home. For another, her brave father saved her mother along with other people with the use of strength and weaponry. Another father was able to warn people in the concentration camp of danger, and another respected her father for his many accomplishments in his service with armies that went to many countries.

The impact of the Eichman trial was a watershed moment for all, an event that enabled the world to hear, the true horror of the experience of so many and that gave legitimacy to their voice, so long overdue.

I was interested to learn of the effect of the Holocaust on a 4th generation child during the Montreal dialogue; reinforcing the phantom memories or post-memory theories that I had been exploring.

I sent this dissertation and the verbatim account of the dialogues to the participants and asked them if: a) they would agree to have their names acknowledged; and b) to provide their input into what their experience of the dialogues has meant to them.

The feedback was slow coming. I think this is a combination of the realities of busy lives, but also that this kind of experience needs time for debriefing and internalizing transformations. Overall, people said that that it was a very positive experience; that this discourse is important, that it had great impact, and that it had resonance for them. Some people added or corrected some facts. One person said: "*it provided me with an opportunity to mourn*". One person said: "*I didn't realize we had such a difficult growing up.*"

I would have liked to show each group the video and continue the conversation as I see much in the video itself.

10.3 Considerations for Holding Dialogues with Generations after Trauma, Displacement and Disastrous Events

I came across a reframing project, called "*Transcending Trauma Project*", conducted by the Council for Relationships in the U.S. It was carried out precisely with the objective of reframing the notion of Holocaust trauma and replace it with an account of resilience (Bartesaghi and Bowen, 2009: 225). This work was done via a one-on-one interview process, wherein the interviewers were trained to categorize history-memory questions alongside psychological memory questions, in order to endow its speakers with epistemic rights.

The project approach was rooted in the field of ethnography, seeking insights into the experiential quality of how ordeals are remembered. The conclusion of the work are similar to my observations: that the discourse of memory is '*talk in action'* and that memory is *'emergent*, claimed and ultimately ratified in exchange' (Bartesaghi and Bowen, 2009: 227- 239).

I am pleased that they were able to come to these conclusions given that the exchange only involved the interviewer and the interviewee. I would be curious to see if a dialogic process would yield wider results than those reported in the article. As I have already said, I believe that the path to creating meaning of our life's context, is through recognition by the 'other' and validation by the 'other'. I would suggest that one cannot rely on one's internal locus of control but needs others to help us make sense of it all and in this way move on with a greater lightness of being. The 'other' can be anyone that is willing to come to a conversation and be compassionate to the anger and hurt and all the feelings in between.

My approach, then, for continuing dialogues would be more in line with the approach I took in the dialogues. I will describe briefly, how I would apply this

approach to create the safe space needed for similar dialogues with generations after trauma, displacement and disastrous events.

I see a circle of people who learn to stand at different parts of the dialogical circle, learning to see themselves and others in a new way. I hear voices that may be light or strained, language that is compassionate and not negative and extreme and that doesn't presume trauma or overt forms of transmission of information. There is play, art, music, metaphors, creativity to help mine meaning. And of course, there is food.

Like the rock exercise that I designed for the dialogues in Israel, I would suggest similar metaphorical or creative exercises that releases the unconscious and diminishes defensive or even comfortable positions that do not serve to transform covert unhappiness.

Number of People: Each dialogue should have not more than 5 people (not including the participant-facilitator) who can take a more or less active role depending on the needs of the group. I suggest such a small number because it takes time to tell your story. I also believe that for a number of reasons, people often stop the narrative before they are done. I would want to make sure that at the very least, everyone has the time to finish their narrative, despite interruptions and leaves feeling they have been listened been witnessed by at least one 'other'.

Time Allotment: For the first meeting time, I would suggest 3 hours to ensure everyone has had a chance to tell their story and to enable an exchange of ideas and comparisons. Subsequent meetings can be as short as 1 ½ hours, depending on the requirements of the participants.

Purpose: What I would propose is a dialogical forum where the main purpose would be for groups of people who have inherited difficulties as a result of family tragedy, to come together and help each other to ***re-member, re-pair, and re-place***, through mutual acknowledgement and validation.

Objectives:

- To process memories; reconstruct their narrative and excavate latent memories.
- To separate their narrative from their inherited narratives.
- To reframe language from negative self-talk to self-compassion.

Basic principles that will guide dialogical narrative work:

- People can speak or listen, whichever they are most comfortable doing
- Conversations are open to everyone. All stories are worth telling and all feelings are valid.

- All stories should be honoured.
- Language should be positive and generative, i.e. open up inquiry and not close down inquiry.
- Inquire into and be reflective of reactions and responses rather than take insult, and judge.
- Everyone must be able to tell the story as they want to; no one has the full story.

Process:

Training will be necessary in facilitation skills, reflective and mutual inquiry and in the use of dialogical tools, some of which are listed later. Discussion on process will also be necessary to build on understanding and buy-in into the principles and the process.

We would need to collectively be responsible for creating the space for transformative dialogues -- safe space, space- in-between, relational space and personal space -- that will allow secondary inheritors of trauma to give voice and meaning to their narratives.

I also would dare to hope that we can hold dialogues where the views are polarized views and loaded with outraged feelings. As we have seen, it is hard to express and listen to the feelings of moral outrage but it is not hard to acknowledge the existence of these feelings. A space that can hold these emotions, even anger, will also be necessary.

To maintain the sense of equal worth of each individual and a collective feeling of safety, then, I would propose that there be no leader, no chairperson, no secretary, no treasurer, no bylaws.

Rather that there be ultimate equality and ultimate transparency. It would be expected that the group is capable of self-organization.

If someone wishes to propose an action or a topic to be pursued, he/she may do so.

Topics may include:

- Loss of security and stability
- Fear of separation
- Intimacy related problems
- Guilt
- Belonging
- Rejection
- Anger

- Sadness
- Burdens
- Resilience - resources
- Getting on with life

Leadership: Since everyone will be trained in facilitating dialogues, anyone who wishes, can lead the sessions.

Planning: Responsibility for planning and running dialogues are shared by a few committed individuals. Planning for and communications before the session are as important as the dialogue itself if the needs of the participants are to be known and taken into consideration.

Similarly, post dialogue follow-up needs to happen. Too often, there are '*plops*' (ideas that fall to the ground because no one has listened) on good suggestions and left-over questions and items '*parked*' are never acted on. What happens then, after the dialogue needs to be planned and integrated into the dialogue itself.

Tools: I would suggest the use of metaphorical tools and the creative arts are essential in order to help people reach into their subconscious and make connections that would help them define some of their innermost difficulties and some of their innermost desires as well as their covert undiscussables and secrets.

CHAPTER 11: NEW CONSTRUCTS

"They (the 2nd generation) are more sensitive than their peers. They are more refined than their friends. Their wounds are open and yet they don't show them."
Elie Wiesel

11.1 CONSTRUCTING A NEW MEANING OF RESILIENCE

Voices such as those of Victor Frankl and Elie Wiesel, remind us that survivors have shared a sense of hope and an unshakeable commitment to the unconditional meaningfulness and value of life in any and all circumstances. The term *"post-traumatic growth"* has been coined to capture that phenomenon.

Rochelle (2004) conducted in-depth interviews and found that resilience:

- made them stronger
- made them more empathetic and concerned with human rights
- can cope with life better
- higher level of resourcefulness
- motivated to achieve, work hard and master challenging tasks
- belief that Holocaust studies can further the democratic ideals of pluralism and justice
- recognition of all forms of bigotry and hate
- felt protection served to shelter them from external harm

A similar list of resiliency traits was developed by Aaron Haas (1990):

- compassion expressed on a personal familial, social and political level
- resilience in face of adversity - from victim to survivor – pride in qualities of resourcefulness and tenacity
- heightened appreciation for life
- perspective – compared to parents, can't complain
- while burdened with the task of compensating for losses endured during the Holocaust, also grew up with an appreciation of the importance of familial continuity

A report by Robinson and Hemmindinger (cited by Sigal, 1995) that a group of children, who were kept in an orphanage after liberation from the Nazi camps, were so difficult to relate to, and to manage, that the administrator of the institution resigned, as did some of the senior staff. They were convinced that the children were either psychotic or psychopaths. Yet, when they followed up two groups of these

children 30 years later, Robinson and Hemmendinger found that they had stable marriages, only one had consulted a psychiatrist, seven of the eight who ended up in Israel passed the psychological screening of the Israel Defence Forces and served in them (six still serving in the Reserves). All were doing well economically, and six of the eight in Israel had white collar jobs. A very recent, larger-scale study by Robinson and his colleagues (cited by Sigal, 1995) confirms these findings, despite the fact that they also found evidence for psychological and physical problems in the group.

Findings by Sigal and Weinfeld (Sigal, 1995) derived from a representative community sample, were equally surprising. They found that young adult children of survivors saw their mothers, who were 2-9 years old, and their fathers, who were 10-13 years old, at the end of World War II, to be warmer and psychologically better adjusted than did children of native-born parents of the same age. The older child survivor mothers the younger child survivor, and fathers were not perceived as any different from other survivor parents. These subjects' responses to other questions, and other data from the study, suggest that these were not biased reports.

In the same study, Sigal and Weinfeld failed to find impaired psychologically, professionally, or in their relationship with their spouses or partners. To put their results in more positive terms, they found that, as a group, the children of survivors were functioning as well as children of native-born parents.

More relevant to the thrust of this paper is what Sigal and Weinfeld found when they coded the responses to the open-ended question: "*How are you affected (by your parents' experience during World War II)?*" Almost 30% reported positive mental health effects, about 20% reported positive effects on their attitudes to the family, and about 35% reported positive effects on their Jewish identification. By contrast, only about 20% reported negative mental health effects, 8% reported negative familial effects, and none reported negative effects on their Jewish identification.

Sigal concludes:

> *Resilience is not a global personality quality. Persons may manifest resilience in some areas of their functioning and not in others. He has also pointed out that resilience is not constant over time. It may manifest itself in one stage of development and be absent in another. We are, thus, in the fortunate position of saying everybody is right - those who report dysfunction in survivors and their families and those who report the opposite. In many instances, the discrepancies are due to the observers and the populations they observe. Clinicians look for clinically explicable phenomena and use a clinical-based vocabulary to explain their findings. Reporters and other writers rarely report the good news. Bad news is much more newsworthy. It attracts bigger audiences. And if one looks only at clinic populations, one is likely only to observe clinical phenomena. The observations made by clinicians and stories written by*

reporters are not wrong, but they present only a limited view of the world. I have tried to suggest that if we ask the right questions of the community as a whole, we will find some answers that challenge our clinical wisdom.

Elie Weisel (2002: 12&13) speculates on why neither the survivors nor the 2nd Generation became criminals, nihilist, anarchists, similar to the question posed in this discourse: "**How is it that the members of a generation which has been brought up under the shadow of the holocaust and its losses and by traumatized parents, are able not only to get on with their lives, but to be successful and helpful and compassionate with their fellow human beings"?**

"Quite the opposite. … For to go through such upheavals – the shock of contradiction, the shock of opposites, from home right away to (concentration) camp, from camp right away to liberation – should have produced a generation of mentally unbalanced people (and their children too). It didn't. …they began to build..reintegrated…they became leaders. To me that is the miracle."

Perhaps it is simply a miracle.

Yes, we saw various manifestations of transmission of generational trauma but we have also seen in the dialogues and the literature, that most of the 2nd Geners report that though they carry much sadness, they are alright, and even feel rather lucky.

In the dialogues, we learned of a variety of sources of support. We learned of the resilient and even heroic traits of the survivor parents. "*Admiration and positive identification with the parents' survival, recognition of their parents' strength and resilience might have averted the development of family pathology*." (Sigal, 1995 cites: Russell, Plotkin, & Heapy, 1985; Sigal and Weinfeld 1989 and Solkoff, 1992).

The question of risk-taking or rebelliousness and fear came up regularly in the dialogues with the concluding thought that risk taking is a characteristic of resilience; an important addition I believe to the concept.

I am convinced that along with many other factors, humour and creativity, helped us transcend loss and pain. While Jews account for less than 2.5% of the population the US, approximately 70% of USA's working comedians are Jewish. My son, a great humourist and satirist himself, provided me with this quote on the meaning of humour attributed to Sid Caesar:

"Freud said that humour is a way of dealing with our fears. I always believed that great comedy derives from tragedy and from humanity. There's a fine line between laughter and tears. When you laugh too hard, you start to cry. When you cry too hard, you start to laugh. When someone doesn't know whether to laugh or cry, your comedy is working."

Jewish humour, as the quote indicates, carries with it an acceptance of life's tragedies with an overlay of ironies and paradoxes. In a recent CBC interview with Jules Feiffer, a cartoonist and satirist, he was asked about what messages he received as a child. He responded with: *"I had two messages. The first was that I had to succeed. The second was that I was inadequate to do that."*

One prevalent theory of Jewish humour is that it served as a kind of pre-emptive strike before attack (Raskin, 1992:79). Another characteristic of much humour is '*semantic ambiguity*' which is the moment when one can see more than one interpretation of the words. For example, Groucho Marx's classic jokes depend on a grammatical ambiguity for its humor, for example: "*Last night I shot an elephant in my pajamas. How he got in my pajamas, I'll never know*". It is a device that sometimes intentionally causes confusion and might be another way of surviving, throwing a potential attacker off track.

This technique can be found in music where pieces can be interpreted simultaneously in different ambiguous ways; and of course in visual art where context, image, or depth etc. are unexpected and confusing but can also lead to epiphanies that would not have been possible if we didn't go to a place of paradox and ambiguity. Jewish religious teachings often use ambiguity as a pedagogical trick, not unlike the Socratic method, leading students to reproduce the deduction by themselves.

Woody Allen's tragi-comedy films wherein he explores questions of life and death, the existence of God, sex, guilt, crime and the complexities of relationships with wit and humour, changed the movie industry. The film, "*Deconstructing Harry*" ends with the erudite line: *"Rifkin led a fragmented disjointed existence, he had long ago realized all people know some truth. Our lives consist in how we choose to distort it."*

Leonard Cohen, a songwriter, singer, poet, novelist, philosopher, humourist, a follower of Judaism and Buddhism, and considered by many to represent an enlightened man, has helped me through times of despair and to laugh through the tears.

He is often quoted for this ironic line in his song, "*Anthem*": *"There is a crack in everything, that's how the light gets in."*

What helps is when we lighten 'the line' and remind ourselves that: "*You can add up the parts but you won't have the sum",* that you aren't going to be perfect nor is anyone else going to be perfect: *"Forget your perfect offering;* and to be mindful of the beauty of the moment in the Buddhist way*: "Don't dwell on what has passed away or what is yet to be."* Here is the poem/song *Anthem* in full.

Anthem
by Leonard Cohen

The birds they sang
at the break of day
Start again
I heard them say
Don't dwell on what
has passed away
or what is yet to be.
Ah the wars they will
be fought again
The holy dove
She will be caught again
bought and sold
and bought again
the dove is never free.

Ring the bells that still can ring
Forget your perfect offering
There is a crack in everything
That's how the light gets in.

We asked for signs
the signs were sent:
the birth betrayed
the marriage spent
Yeah the widowhood
of every government --
signs for all to see.

I can't run no more
with that lawless crowd
while the killers in high places
say their prayers out loud.
But they've summoned, they've summoned up
a thundercloud
and they're going to hear from me.

Ring the bells that still can ring ...

You can add up the parts
but you won't have the sum

You can strike up the march,
there is no drum
Every heart, every heart
to love will come
but like a refugee.

Ring the bells that still can ring
Forget your perfect offering
There is a crack, a crack in everything
That's how the light gets in.

Ring the bells that still can ring
Forget your perfect offering
There is a crack, a crack in everything
That's how the light gets in.
That's how the light gets in.
That's how the light gets in.

(To see Leonard Cohen perform this song, see:
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_e39UmEnqY8)

Along with humour, the creative arts -- from song-writing to painting to literature to film -- helped Jews to cope with what I have been calling '*the presence of an absence*'. In Anne Michaels' novel and the subsequent film, "*Fugitive Pieces*", produced by Robert Lantos, there is much silence, reflecting perhaps the gaps in memory. Perhaps the gaps in language, the pauses in poetry, the rests in between music bars, and the space between relations, the metaphors in art are to be honoured as a form of messaging.

What about the effects of the Shoah on the third generation? A study conducted by Sigal (1995) and his colleagues in a psychiatric outpatient department found an overrepresentation of about 300% among grandchildren of survivors compared to their presence in the general community. Yet, in their community-based study, Sigal and Weinfeld found grandchildren of survivors to be better adjusted than a native-born comparison group. Because they did not have enough children of the same age who were grandchildren of other immigrants, they could not be certain that it was survivorhood that was responsible for this difference or the effect of being an immigrant. It would seem reasonable to hypothesize, that people who have lost most or all of the members of their extended family would value their grandchildren more, and that the grandchildren would benefit from the attention and love.

> *For the survivors to live a life free of fears, anxieties, depression and uncertainty would not be normal. Having been shattered, traumatized, dehumanized, picking up all the pieces for them is an almost impossible task.*

Yet, they remain teachers… Rabbi Reuven Buelka (1981), Ottawa

I discovered some possible explanations for these positive results. Firstly, I would like to suggest that the 2nd Generation learned "vicarious resilience" from the role models provided by their survivor parents. *"Survivors reassembled their shattered lives with an incredible resilience…thus surviving such catastrophic trauma also implies resourcefulness and endurance".* (Haas, 1996; Helmreich, 1996).

Despite their trauma, they did get on with their lives. They did play cards with their friends, created various organizations linked to their individual communities from back in the old country, engaged in energetic political debates and earned a living. They were hilariously funny, they loved to dress up and show off their jewels and finery. Most of all they loved to see their loved ones well fed. I borrowed this term, "*vicarious resilience*" from an article that explored this concept as applied to therapists at a San Diego torture treatment centre, who learned resilience from their clients, survivors of torture in Columbia.

> *"These mental health providers were both witnesses of their clients' ability to overcome adversity and participants in the co-creation of a therapeutic dialogue that contributed to the identification, strengthening, and expansion of stories that grounded clients in their own resources and hope. The impact of these therapeutic dialogues…involved recognition of the possibility to make sense of trauma and continue living." (Engstrom, Hernandez and Gangsei, 2008: 16).*

Further, the therapists spoke of how they became emotionally stronger as well as more committed to their work, as well as having an increased sense of efficacy in their work from their interactions with torture survivors. One therapist described a stronger ability to take risks, another, an increased motivation to solve difficult problems and another courage to more directly confront problems. One described the sense of humour of a client and yet another, the radiation that seemed to emanate from a client. (*Engstrom, Hernandez and Gangsei, 2008: 17-19).*

Another possible resilience construction that I would like to posit relates to our (the 2nd Geners) compulsive need to search for data. Wardi (1992) has said that in parting from the role of 'memorial candle' what we are doing is dropping "the burden of unworked grief and depression and endowing the future with a living historical memory of those who have perished. What we are doing is in fact giving meaning to the world of the past.

> *"When the mists of death disperse from the psyches of the memorial candles, a clear, shared family picture is revealed, great cities teeming with life and towns in the heart of pre-war Europe, extended families gathering…Then the memorial candles find their*

place in the chain of the generations, and, as links in this chain, their task in transmitting the family heritage to the coming generations." (Wardi: 1992:215–237)

Whether the search yields results or not does not matter. What matters is that we take responsibility to surface the information on our lost past and our murdered relatives. When there is success, the payoff is closure.

My friend Esther's search answered lifelong questions about her father. In her voice she describes her quest and the results:

"I had 'known' that he had been in Siberia, the Polish Army and then in the British Army, but nothing beyond that. I had few 'facts' to pursue and, in any case, I had no context for what I would find. And then, as a result of an unexpected research trip, this is what I did find:

July 1938	*Called up for military training in the Polish Army*
October 1939	*Captured by the Russians in the city of Lvov.*
	Deported to the USSR where he was put into the POW labor camp at Starobielsk, near Charkov
August 1941	*Entered the Polish Corps of General Anders Army as a soldier*
	Soldiered through Uzbekistan, Tashkent, Ashkabat, Persia, India, South Africa
	Arrived with his Unit in England and was transferred to the British Army and with his Battalion fought against the Germans in Western Europe until the war's end.
	He was wounded in Holland.
	He received 3 decorations.
May 1945	*After the war he was demobilized in London, England.*

Today I have but a few fragments of my father's history. As I uncover more, I am hoping not only to put the pieces together, but to go beyond the puzzle, and understand his 'story'. I hope to honor my father by knowing what I did not know then and understanding him so much more."

A definition of resilience that has an uplifting quality is comes from the Meg Wheatley (2011), a Scientist turned Organizational Development practitioner, turned to global social activist:

> *"Resilience is learning to dance with life, to flex, adapt and create as life keeps surprising us. It's a capacity as old as our origins, otherwise we wouldn't be here. Throughout time and culture, humans have learned how to survive, to persevere. Until recently, many of us believed in continuous progress, that life was always going to get better. Now perhaps, we understand that systems do fail, that economies do*

collapse. Yet it is hard to comprehend what that would really be like. We won't know what it feels like until we're in it.

As more people experience hardship and loss, resilience has become a popular word. It's often described as a personal capacity, something we need to develop on our own. But like any of life's strengths, resilience grows in relationships, in community."

The list of traits of resilience below, highlight the relationship between resilience and survival. It is not meant to take away from the text with all the nuances that make up the character of the 2nd Geners. It is simply to capture in a bite-sized manner, to help make the 2nd Gener description easily accessible for those who need this type of presentation.

From our survivor parents: *'Chutzpah'* – audacious, bold, non-compliant, intuitive, action-oriented, charming, ability to sing and laugh, make friends, maintain presence of mind, being present to fortuitous opportunities, ability to *'combineer'*, resourcefulness, self-sacrificing, leadership, unswerving, cherished love of their children, that is towards us, the 2nd Geners.

From the research, individual interviews and group dialogues with 2nd Geners: Indignation, moral outrage, defiance e.g. "You're not the boss of me" a sense of the power of the individual in a hostile or rejecting world

- ✓ Resilience as the continuum of a cultural history
- ✓ Researching history diligently reconstructing the past
- ✓ A mission to live; refusing to be exterminated
- ✓ Non-conforming, risk-taking and desire for autonomy and freedom
- ✓ "Retrofitting" – finding new ways to live – (similar to "combineering")
- ✓ Asking questions, curiosity and life-long learning
- ✓ Devotion to parents no matter what; generosity with children, support and caring with friends
- ✓ Refusing to be defined by the Shoah
- ✓ Creative expression, honest and generous sharing of information
- ✓ Humour and an ability to live in ambiguity and paradox

- ✓ Embracing the sadness, cherishing the burdens
- ✓ Feeling lucky, feeling loved
- ✓ The role of holding the memory

Having reviewed the literature, conducted dialogues and explored deeply my own experiences, I have come to some new constructions of resilience. I have played with the opposing polarities we find ourselves in and the creative, relational process that it takes to claim resiliency:

> ***"Resilience is the process of creating meaning out of the contradictions of darkness and light through art, music, writings, relations with family, friends, and community; any form of growth and learning endeavours such as writing a dissertation or learning in relationships. It contains both positive and negative elements, like the yin-yang. It is in this way that it can be a life-giving force."***

Through a purely Social Constructionist frame, it can be said:

> ***Resilience can be created through a simple connection of one person's resilience with another person's pain through relationships and validation in dialogue.***

I would also like to propose a new construction of '*memory*' as:

> ***Memory is a piecing together of the past; and in the process, re-pairing the scars of the past.***

11.2 RE-STORYING AND UNIVERSALIZING THE SECOND GENERATION EXPERIENCE AND CONSTRUCTING A NEW 3RD GENERATION STORY

This visionary statement by Ben Gurion which I read when I visited his beloved kibbutz and retirement home, Sde Boker, in the Negev desert, brings the past, the present and a positive future together.

> *"The Jewish people by its spirit, has evolved a messianic vision of redemption for itself, for humanity at large, for the entire world. This vision has an aim, but it has no term. It is like Jakob's stairway, "a ladder set on earth. " Wherever it leads the target moves farther away. New horizons loom ahead. New zeniths rise …to the towering to unknown heights. And never shall the effort abate, to attain the end of this vision. Its' essence is man's deep faith in his power and capability and in the burning need of his*

soul to alter the course of nature and the course of his own life for the sake of a vision of redemption."

So, what can we say about the 3rd and subsequent generations? Hogman (1996) wondered whether the next generation would want to skip the burden of memory of the Holocaust; but she found quite the contrary. The grandchildren perceived their grandparents as bigger than life. In contrast to their parents' often negative view of their parents' pain; the third generation want to emulate the same grandparents. Some third generation people express an awareness of their parents' vulnerability, and actually comfort them vis-à-vis the grandparents.

Judy Bailey a 3rd Gener, who lives in Israel with her husband of Yemenite descent and their two daughters, and the daughter of one of the dialogue participants, Kathi Bailey, summed it up beautifully:

> *"My grandparents are heroes. Not only for their acts of bravery -- for my grandfather saved many people, most importantly his wife – but because they survived. They are all heroes because they all survived".*

A wonderful book and movie, *"Everything will be Illuminated"* is the first novel by a 3rd Generation child of Holocaust Survivors, Jonathan Safran Foer, published in 2002; he also directed the movie.

The book and film are based on this event and noteworthy for the post-modern, portrayal of the flawed use of social media, hilarious depictions of anti-Semitism,[11] and poignant learning's of a 3rd Gener who feels compelled to learn about his grandfather. After finding an artifact that had belonged to his grandfather, the protagonist is told: *".. it does not exist for you. You exist for it. You have come because it exists."* I echo this sentiment. I came to conduct this research simply because exist to make it meaningful.

And thus, in my efforts and those of my fellow 2nd Geners to mend the broken heart and to find answers to the felt memories and strange behaviours with which the Holocaust has left us, we join the past and the present. As the 2nd Geners approach their senior years, many feel that it is time they unbundled their story, the story of their parents and to make sense of it. Many of us have shirked from this burden. There is actually no choice. We have carried the burden unconsciously and

[11] Another film that portrays anti-semitism in a hilarious way is: ***Borat: Cultural Learnings of America for Make Benefit Glorious Nation of Kazakhstan***, often referred to simply as ***Borat***, a 2006 mockumentary comedy film directed by Larry Charles and distributed by 20th Century Fox. It was written, produced by, and stars the English comedian Sacha Baron Cohen. The intention was to use humour to expose the prejudices felt or tolerated by others

consciously and the need comes bursting through now so that we can leave a clearer meaning for our children than we ourselves have inherited.

I would agree with Franklin H. Littell, a Christian theologist, who wrote: "*…after every major event in history of the people, it took 'forty years in the wilderness' for people to understand what happened to them and to begin to fit that consciousness into their oral tradition.*" (2011:1)

Littell asked: what are we doing to reconstruct our messages? His own reply was:

> "*We need the message of the survivors, of those who built a second life, to help us affirm life...we need to remember those who affirmed life, and to honour the survivors who built a second life, because we live in a life-denying century.*"(2011:3)

The affirmation of life, a universal affirmation to be sure! If this is a universal issue, as I believe it is, I think we need to reconstruct the story of the Holocaust for all the inheritors discussed in this discourse. Dialogues, I believe can be the means for finding voices through connections and for validation, re-storying and re-pair.

There are Jewish voices calling for us to rise from the ashes of the Holocaust (Berlin, (2011) Burg (2008). I would agree, but suggest this can only happen under two conditions. One is, of course, if there is a feeling that we are no longer in survival mode. The other is, if the many people who have been impacted by the Holocaust, have an opportunity to speak, to tell their story and to hear others tell their stories, and to affirm and validate each other's experiences, and together "*rise from the ashes*" as enjoined by Burg. I don't think the 2nd Generation will receive validation from the world at large in my lifetime and that's okay. I do think that will change with subsequent generations.

I also hope that collectively, we acknowledge the challenges faced by inheritors of tragedy. There are important lessons to be learned, lessons that can support the preservation of humanity everywhere.

Klee's children are of no color, race or religion. They are universal beings and they will make a difference.

CHAPTER 12: PERSONAL DISCOVERIES AND WISHES

"There is no absence if there remains even the memory of absence."
Anne Michaels

Like all endeavors, the research and writing of this discourse was a process, rather than an event. It was a process that included sifting one fact from its' equal and opposite fact.

It was a process that was emergent, energetic and informed by sincere conversations that moved to places of their own accord. There were reflections upon reflections until conclusions became more and more impossible. There was testing of assumptions and retesting of assumptions; *knowing and not-knowing* and all the time hoping that I would enter into a place of creative flow. In the end, it became a work that like life in all of its serendipitous wonders and paradox, brought surprising gifts of light, darkness, linkages, blocks and openings.

What was of tantamount importance was that it was indeed a process in which I needed to immerse myself in order to confront the fact that the Holocaust experience happened to me in a unique way, as it happened to everyone touched by it, in their own unique way. I didn't think I had work to do in regards to the Holocaust; and am grateful to have discovered in the writing of this discourse, that indeed I had lots to do. This discourse helped me face the trauma of the Holocaust and look at the rear view mirror that was constantly in front of me and clear it of the mist, look at it, and accept my legacy. To borrow from Ghandi's famous phrase, I needed to be the resilient person I wanted to find.

At the beginning of this paper I posed the question – and answered to a limited extent – *'why are we still talking about the Holocaust?'* I was concerned that people are tired of hearing about this topic and would not be interested in it. I contemplated whether to have the word 'Holocaust' in the title or simple in the abstract and relevant search words. I didn't even believe that this was a legitimate area of scholarship and feared that I would not be accepted into the PhD. Program with this topic.

We have seen that we can indeed talk specifically and universally about a cultural construct we call the 2nd Generation after the Holocaust. We have also seen that a number of historical events combined with disclosure, narrative sharing, dialogue and creative pursuits have given voice and validation to the experiences of the 2nd Generation thereby helping them to release and repair their inherited pain, sadness and burdens.

In the Kabbalah it is said that every statement has six hundred thousand interpretations. As I promised at the outset, I have not come to definitive interpretations or conclusions. I did, however, make almost six hundred thousand discoveries.

> I discovered the felt sense in my back indeed did represent a knowledge about the murder of my brother and sister by the Nazi regime, and what's more, it is a valid form of memory.
>
> I discovered that the felt memory in my back may be a form of '*incorporation* 'aimed at protecting my father from the sad knowledge of the death of his children.
>
> I discovered, in a new way, who I am and who we, 2nd Geners are, as a cultural entity.
>
> I discovered the possibility of reframing or re-storying constructs of the 2nd Generation syndrome and found new constructs of resilience in the aftermath of catastrophe without negating the felt sadness.
>
> I discovered we are all connected, even with our past, even with the absence of a past.
>
> I now see that each of us, whatever our origins, are carriers of two narratives, our own and that of our parents and grandparents and those before them. We are all walking books, much like the characters in Ray Bradbury's *"Fahrenheit 451" (1996),* only we are telling our own narratives from our own historical contexts and these narratives are always in relation to others.
>
> I have a strong belief that the world at large, has not had an opportunity to surface their angst over the Shoah and that the Shoah is a social construction that is yet to be fully explored.
>
> I believe that had there not been the silence about the Holocaust, it is possible that much of the tragedies related to war crimes that are too prevalent today, might have been mitigated.
>
> I discovered that I can listen to my intuition and trust in serendipity which led me to the Klee drawing "*Burdened Children*", to chance meetings with wonderful people, to trips to Europe and Israel, all of which enabled so many insights.

I discovered new ways of looking at artistic expression of mourning and loss. It is sometimes through non-words, that the essential meaning hidden inside ourselves comes forth from a non-cerebral, uncluttered place. These expressions are honest and do not judge whether they are good or bad, ugly or beautiful.

I discovered the deep impact on me of '*the presence of absence*' and I discovered the possibility that the presence of others in dialogue can help re-pair the '*absence*'.

I entered into less known theoretical constructs of memory. These included constructs of trans-generational phantom or ghost memories, post memories, introjected crypt, and loss of voice, as well as '*silent memory*'or '*memory of presence*'.

I discovered that dialogue can also help find other inheritors of the Holocaust, and other inheritors around the globe, of trauma, displacement and devastation find their voice and their hidden narratives.

I discovered that the creative act of the writing and the excavating of the literature and art forms can lead to deep learnings and release.

I have learned through other knowledge holders, from planned dialogues to unplanned conversations and from continuous reflections on my reactions, that meaning has many layers and connections.

I found the positive as well as the creative energy possible behind sadness, and behind carrying burdens.

I discovered the valid purpose of righteous anger and moral outrage for reaffirming the moral principles of humanity and compassion.

I discovered the importance of the act of witnessing and validation by the '*other*' after the ruptures that life can bring, by sitting with 'others', who could speak my language, and acknowledge my experiences, regardless of our similarities and differences.

I was helped to move forward beyond anger to a place of compassion for myself and for others.

I discovered the capacity for humour, generosity, empathy and compassion towards myself and towards others which is, as we all know, the life-giving force, but we each need to constantly rediscover it in our own way.

I discovered the strength in voicing sadness and enabling vulnerability in dialogue.

I rediscovered the magic of the dialogical process and the responsibility we hold to facilitate small and large discourses that ensure acceptance of the starting point of all individuals whether it is grief, sadness, anxiety, rage, denial, even hatred.

I discovered the strength and resilience in my curiosity to pursue this exploration.

My hopes and wishes going forward:

Looking backward to my stated hopes at the beginning of this journey, they hold true as I close:

I hope that this discourse will help other 2nd Geners to understand themselves and their inherited context.

I hope that this dissertation enables European and other inheritors of the Holocaust to find their voice on this difficult subject.

I hope that this work has found relevance to anyone who has inherited the experience of trauma, displacement, social catastrophe, grief, devastating loss, or victimization.

As a result of these discoveries and hopes, I would like to propose that some of these learnings about my fellow 2nd Geners can be adapted to encompass new constructs pertaining to what I have called '***secondary inheritors of trauma, displacement and disastrous events***' which would include:

- 2nd Generation Europeans after WWII/the Holocaust;
- those who have inherited trauma or been victims of other genocides in Rwanda, Croatian, Africa, India, Vietnam, Korea, Pakistan, Native America and so on;
- children and spouses of military service personnel;
- those who have been subject to victimization;

- those who have experienced social, natural and, increasingly, technological disasters[12].

My belief is that if we don't provide the space to validate these experiences and create meaning from that which is unknown and unspoken, the '*phantom trauma*' will continue for many more generations and the pain will surface in unfathomable ways. Further, I believe that the best way to do this is in group dialogue rather than in individual counselling sessions.

I look forward to ongoing dialogues with secondary inheritors of past and current tragedies and devastation; and with anyone interested in pursuing some of the possibilities surfaced in this work. For those who want to find their own voice, I would encourage you to bring a group of people together, and dialogue together.

I believe that these wishes are do-able.

A final poem.

Social Constructionism meets Zen Buddhism

Breathe, you're alive
Touch, you're alive
Speak, you're alive
Listen, you're alive
Be
Together
You
Are
Alive!

[12] Unfortunately are faced with technological disasters such as the 1989 Exxon Valdez and the recent nuclear power plant meltdown after an earthquake in Japan. Technological disasters include a broad range of incidents. Routes of exposure are water, food and drink, airborne releases, fires and explosions, and hazardous materials or waste (e.g., chemical, biological, or radioactive) released into the environment from a fixed facility or during transport. Fires, explosions, building or bridge collapses, transportation crashes, dam or levee failures, nuclear reactor accidents, and breaks in water, gas, or sewer lines are other examples of technological disasters.

CHAPTER 13: PARTING MESSAGES FROM PAUL KLEE'S "BURDENED CHILDREN"

"Beginning with audacity is a very great part of the art of painting."
Winston Churchill

This discourse began with a sense of the sadness and burden. It was reflected in Klee's children and in the artistic audacity needed to fathom the meanings behind the drawing.

I walked with Klee's children as I went on a search for resilience and for making meaning of these burdens which I came to call '*cherished burdens*', given the honour 2nd Geners hold for our lost parentage and cultures. As I followed these children, I found them taking their mission to live, their mission of resilience to heart, despite their devastating losses and their fearful shadows and unknown terrors.

Their feelings of outrage were legitimate. I found their anger was useful and gave them the audacity (the chutzpah) to move on with their lives, to give them, like me, a calling, an energy to move from displacement to '*re-pair*' and to '*re-placement*' (thanks to Marij Bouwmans for the form of the word 're-pair' which led me to also to coin 're-placement'). In fact, it was audacity that spurred me to write a dissertation!

My 2nd Gener cohort grew up and built a new life, a life that can see the absurdity and paradoxical truths of existence with humour, a life where they expressed their inherited memories through film, art, comedy, poetry and music and so on. What was still missing was an acknowledgement, a listener, an "other" with whom they could share their journey and that was where the dialogues came in.

This drawing that had such impact on me continues to inform me and probably will for the rest of my life. I believe Klee's burdened children are you and me. Indeed, I hope you, the reader, joined me on this walk. We are all on a journey and fortunately, like these children, we have others with us. The movement is a forward movement, with a backward glance at their past. And the children are all moving coherently together, within their individual spheres, with one or two pair of legs amongst us which carry us far and which we share to help ourselves and others.

We have inherited what at the beginning, I could only see as heavy, cherished burdens, but now I also see the possibility that the burdens are what actually helps us to move forward. What I first saw as enmeshment of parents and children, I can also see as supportive and a generative sharing of mind, body and spirit.

Marij Bouwmans asked me on reflection what I would erase or add to this drawing. I would add another pair of legs. There are only two legs to carry the load, rebuild a life, and move forward. Perhaps these dialogues were meant to help me by sharing the load and adding some '*walking-power*'.

The lines have no ending or beginning. There is no end point, rather there are beginning points for new conversations, new journeys. I encourage you, the reader, to ask your relatives about their story. Their story is yours, you see.

The lines and shapes have multiple, undefinable layers. The knowledge created about resilience and the implications of devastation on the descendants has multiple layers, some of which will work for some people, and some layers which will work for others. The burdens that the children carry, provides them with a gift, just as the burdens we acquire throughout a lifetime, provides us with a gift. We need to cherish those gifts.

As I close, I have yet another epiphany. I realize that in Klee's drawing, I chose an image of children because they are indeed a representation of my brother, Henush and my sister, Helena, as well as the 1.5 million Jewish and non-Jewish children whose lives were eradicated in the Holocaust, but who live on through us and our children and their children. In this writing and in the writing of so many, we are maintaining their visibility. Of course we are resilient! We have a precious legacy to carry!

Helena, Henush, thank you for accompanying me on this walk. Thank you for our profound everlasting connection. Thank you for the honour of loving you.

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Gentleman's Agreement (Darryl F. Zanuck, 1947)
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The Partisans of Vilna: The Untold Story of Jewish Resistance during World War II (Joshua Waletzky, 1986)
Shoah (Claude Lanzmann, 1985)
The World was Ours (Mira van Doren, 2006)

ANNEX A: SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION & APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY: ORIENTING PRINCIPLES

At the centre of carrying out this work is a Social Constructionism frame. The following list from a student workshop with Ken Gergen is offered to provide context to the main philosophical and methodological concepts that framed this work.

We live in worlds of meaning. We understand and value the world and ourselves in ways that emerge from our personal history and shared culture.

Worlds of meaning are intimately related to action. We act largely in terms of what we interpret to be real, rational, satisfying, and good. Without meaning there would be little worth doing.

Worlds of meaning are constructed within relationships. What we take to be real and rational is given birth in relationships. Without relationship there would be little of meaning.

New worlds of meaning are possible. We are not possessed or determined by the past. We may abandon or dissolve dysfunctional ways of life, and together create alternatives.

To sustain what is valuable, or to create new futures, requires participation in relationships. If we damage or destroy relations, we lose the capacity to sustain a way of life, and to create new futures.

When worlds of meaning intersect, creative outcomes may occur. New forms of relating, new realities, and new possibilities may all emerge.

When worlds of meaning conflict, they may lead to alienation and aggression, thus undermining relations and their creative potential.

Through creative care for relationships, the destructive potentials of conflict may be reduced, or transformed.

The preceding understandings do not constitute beliefs. They are neither true nor false. They are ways of approaching life that, for me and many others, holds great promise.

Appreciative Inquiry

Social Constructionism sees knowledge as arising in social interchange, and mediated through language. The language of inquiry for the Social Constructionist, and the Organizational Development practitioner, is often based on the concepts of Appreciative Inquiry (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2005; Cooperrider, Sorensen, Jr.., Whitney & Yaeger, 2000). Given that the question that is posed inherently contains the answer, it is important to ask questions that lead to the possible as opposed to the problematic.

I have utilized the Appreciative Inquiry process in my work with organizations and groups since 2002.

The goals of Appreciative Inquiry (Ai) aim to facilitate a shift in focus from deficit-based to strength-based thinking and policy development on common human needs. This shift in focus *"mitigates the labelling process and helps illuminate the various ways people get help in meeting these needs without being labelled as deviant or deficient."* (Chapin, 1995, p. 509). Appreciative Inquiry provides ideal and possible resolutions by both target populations and the researchers.

Instead of focusing on problems and changing people and systems, AI *invites* people to engage in a dialogue. This dialogue stirs up energy, excitement, and insights. In this way, positive change begins simultaneously with inquiry, enabling a collaborative discovery of what makes them and their environmental influences effective—in economic, sociological, and human terms. The stories told by participants open up avenues for further exploration and provide generative data not previously found.

The Principles of Appreciative Inquiry include:

- Constructionist: we live in worlds our questions create
- Open Book: We see the world we describe
- Simultaneity: Change begins at the moment you ask the first questions
- Anticipatory: deep change occurs first in our images of the future
- Positive: The more positive the question, the greater and longer-lasting the change

The Assumptions of Appreciative Inquiry include:

- In every human system, something works.
- What we focus on, and the language we use, becomes our reality.
- Reality is created in the moment and there are multiple realities.
- It is important to value differences.
- The act of asking questions influences the group in some way.

- People have more confidence & comfort to move to an unknown future when they carry forward parts of the past.
- What we carry forward should be what is best about the past.

ANNEX B: SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF THE HOLOCAUST AND ANNIHILATION FIGURES BY PRE-WAR COUNTRY

This is a picture of the burning of a synagogue on Kristalnacht, November 8-9, 1938, considered the beginning of the Holocaust.

Introduction

Much of this information has been extracted from a comprehensive multi-media curriculum titled: "Echoes and Reflections" that was developed by Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, USC Shoah Foundation Institute, University of Southern California and the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), New York. This kit was developed to study the Holocaust "in order to provide students, teachers, interested persons and people of all races and cultures with an opportunity to define their own role as responsible citizens of the word. It is critical that today's youth examine the past in order to grapple with the devastating results of prejudice and bigotry and begin to implement what they have learned in their daily lives, so that they can better understand how to interrupt hateful behaviours in their schools, communities, society and beyond."

For further information see: www.yadvashem.org.

Summary of the History

There were other victims of German Nazism in war actions and in the concentration camps including: Polish Russian, French and Dutch people; Gypsies and gay people, people who resisted Nazism. But though not all the victims were Jews, only the Jews were all victims.

After Germany's loss in World War I under Kaiser Wilhelm' delusions of grandeur, amid the economic wreckage, Hitler's rants found sympathetic ears and open hearts. and minds that could be swayed. The Weimar Republic, a democratic government, couldn`t solve the basic economic problems. President Von Hindenburg, an old and senile man, appointed Hitler to be Chancellor of Germany. It was generally believed that the Hitler régime would not last. However, with Hitler came the end of democracy.

After Hitler became the all-powerful Chancellor, he fooled the leaders of the democracies who caved in to his demands. The German army occupied the Rhineland, Austria, and Czechoslovakia without real opposition from the major European powers, France and Great Britain, who scrapped their mutual defence agreement with Czechoslovakia, betraying their ally at a shameful conference in Munich in Nov 1938.

Then came Poland. Hitler made a pact with Josef Stalin and became allies. The German army was free to attack Poland and within 6 weeks, the Polish government surrendered. For the 3 million Jews, it was the beginning of the end. Conditions were made unbearable under The Nuremberg laws of 1933 and Jews left if as long as they had a visa from a country that would take them. Great cultural, scientific and economic leaders left including: Albert Einstein, Berthold Brecht, and Kurt Weill. For the average citizen, it was more difficult – the free world didn't want them. The International Conference in Evian, France, in 1938 made that clear. Since no one would take in the Jews, the Nazis revised their plans when they occupied Poland, the Netherlands, Belgium, France and later the Baltic countries. In the summer of 1941, Germany invaded the Soviet Union. Elimination gave way to extermination.

The killing of the Jews in Europe during the Second World War followed various stages for over twelve years. Coordination of the "Final Solution" policy began in January, 1942 at the Wannsee Conference, where a protocol was produced with a table of the numbers of Jews that were to be murdered in each country.

COUNTRY	YEAR	EVENT
Germany	1933	National socialists elected
Austria	1938	Unification with Germany
Czechoslovakia	1939	Unification with Germany
Poland	1939	Invasion by Germany (western sector)
Italy	1939	Allied with Germany
Norway	1940	Invasion by Germany
Denmark **(see note)**		

Belgium		
Holland		
France		
Yugoslavia	1941	Invasion by Germany
Greece		Invasion by Germany
Poland		Invasion by Germany (eastern sector)
Soviet Union		Invasion by Germany
Hungary	1941	Alliance with Germany
Romania		
Bulgaria		
Persecution of the Jews (nationals or refugees) in these countries started during the above-mentioned years (economic, professional and social discrimination followed by systematic deportation and death); for each country, deportations ended with the retreat of German forces (1944 or 1945).		
NOTE: Bulgaria and Albania and Finland (who were allied with Germany but did not give up the Jews for extermination), saved a considerable number of their Jewish populations from transportation to the concentration camps --about 50 000 people in Bulgaria's case and almost all the Jews in Muslim Albania[13].		

More information can be found on the following sites:
http://www.yadvashem.org
http://www.annefrank.com
http://www.jewishnet.net/sub
http://www.nizkor.org/jects/holocaus.html
U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum - www.ushmm.org
Yad Vashem - in Jerusalem. www.yad-vashem.org.il.

Annihilation by Pre-war Country:

[13] Many citizens in the predominantly Muslim country hid Jews from the Nazis during the war. Even before the war began, Albania's King Zog issued 400 Albanian passports to Jews, particularly those fleeing Nazi Germany and Austria. Many more Jews passed through Albania en route to other countries, and those who could not obtain foreign visas were allowed to stay. An underground network was spontaneously created to shelter those seeking refuge from the Nazis. It's reported that Mehdi Frasheri, the Albanian prime minister at the time, declared: "All Jewish children will sleep with your children, all will eat the same food, all will live as one family." At the core of personal and family life for most Albanians is the concept of besa, which means "to keep the promise." The promise is a code of honour linked to an Albanian folk principle of taking responsibility for others in their time of need. They were so effective in their efforts that Albania became a safe haven for Jews fleeing other regimes. Because of that code, between 1,800 and 2,000 Jews were saved in Albania during the Holocaust. The stories of the Albanian rescuers are relatively unknown because of the country's political isolation under communism. It wasn't until the late 1980s that their stories came to light. The whole nation has been declared Righteous Among the Nations.

Cited in: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Holocaust, based on figures by Dawidowicz, Lucy. *The War Against the Jews*, Bantam, 1986.p. 403

Country	**Estimated Pre-War Jewish population**	**Estimated killed**	**Percent killed**
Poland	3,300,000	3,000,000	90
Baltic countries	253,000	228,000	90
Germany & Austria	240,000	210,000	90
Bohemia & Moravia	90,000	80,000	89
Slovakia	90,000	75,000	83
Greece	70,000	54,000	77
Netherlands	140,000	105,000	75
Hungary	650,000	450,000	70
Byelorussian SSR	375,000	245,000	65
Ukrainian SSR	1,500,000	900,000	60
Belgium	65,000	40,000	60
Yugoslavia	43,000	26,000	60
Romania	600,000	300,000	50
Norway	2,173	890	41
France	350,000	90,000	26
Bulgaria	64,000	14,000	22
Italy	40,000	8,000	20
Luxembourg	5,000	1,000	20
Russian SFSR	975,000	107,000	11
Finland	2,000	22	1
Denmark	8,000	52	**<1**
Total	**8,861,800**	**5,933,900**	**67**

ANNEX C: JEWISH SOLDIERS IN THE POLISH ARMY – WWII

The following research was provided by Esther M., one of the dialogue participants.

There is little detail on the subject of what happened to the Jewish soldiers who were serving in the Polish Army at the outbreak of WWII. As we try and compare what we do 'know', we find disparities in the very simplest information.

While many of us know bits and pieces of our fathers' military history, we have only clues as to the circumstances and conditions that directed their fate. We are unfamiliar with how the territorial and political consequences of the Molotoff-Ribentroff Pact of 1939 impacted the Jewish soldier. And later, after the German invasion of the Soviet Union which began on June 22, 1941, we suspect duplicity and anti-Semitism in the treatment of the Jewish Polish soldiers. Although much of the history remains murky and bereft of hard data, enough material has become available to enable the historians to draw a fair picture of the events and treatment of the Jewish soldiers.

The purpose of this article is to present a preliminary overview of the various scenarios that occurred to the Jewish soldiers who were on active military service in the Polish Army at the outbreak of the war. Overall there were approximately 1,000,000 soldiers in the Polish Army. Approximately 10% were Jewish, with the percentage of Jews in the Officer Core estimated at 4% to 5%. The information presented below attempts to provide a broad context to the fate of these 100,000 Jewish soldiers. The goal is to provide the reader with some preliminary basic information and direction from which to begin to seek out the story of his or her own father, brother, uncle, or cousin.

The fate of the Jewish soldier greatly depended upon three factors:

1. The location of the soldier at the time of capture in September and October of 1939 i.e. the location of the hometown of the soldier in relation to the annexation of territory.
2. The area designated by Germany as the General Government
3. The Territories that were under the control of the Soviet Union (portions of Eastern Poland).

The rank of the Jewish soldier, a commissioned officer, a non-commissioned officer or an enlisted soldier was also a critical factor in determining his fate.

Jewish POWS Captured in Territories Annexed by Germany

Approximately 64,000 Jewish Polish solders were in German captivity by October 1939. This constituted about 10% of the total number of Polish soldiers (estimates range from 400,000 to 640,000) captured on territories annexed by Germany.
The Jewish POWS were segregated and endured far harsher treatment than other POWS. The testimony of Pinchas Zyskind (father of 2nd generation member Judith Meir) "describes the terrible conditions endured by the Jewish Prisoners of War who were sent from the camp at Altengrabow to work in a sugar factory located in the Berlin area. They were beaten incessantly while they worked. Sometime later they were transferred to Dessau where they built a sewage network, working twelve hours a day under unbearable conditions."

Toward the end of 1939, about 25,000 to 30,000 of the interred Jewish POWs (soldiers and non-commissioned officers) who had been residents of the territories occupied by Germany were transferred to assembly points in the large provincial towns in the east, particularly Warsaw. The men were in deplorable condition and many had contracted tuberculosis. They were cared for by the various Judenrats and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. Subsequently, those that had survived the ordeal thus far, returned to their families and suffered their same fate.

The German treatment of Jewish POWs (soldiers and non-commissioned officers) who had been residents of territories that had been annexed by the Soviet Union was far different. Here the policy was more straightforward murder. This occurred at random, on forced marches, in transit camps and in POW labour camps. Lipowa 7 in Lublin was one such POW labour camp which interred approximately 3,500 Jewish soldiers. The first group of 1,357 arrived in February 1940 and the second group of 1,810 in March 1940. The POWs who remained alive were killed in Majdanek on November 3, 1943. (Further information regarding Lipowa 7 can be found in Kol Lublin Volume 44 , 2008.) Pinchas Zyskind, who was from Dubnow, was held in Lipowa 7, as was the only POW from Lublin, Kalman Hofrat, the uncle of Esther Pinchas.

There were approximately 900 Jewish POWs who were officers who were captured in German annexed territories. This represented 4% to 5% of the 18,000 total number of officers. These men were also treated differently than other officers. In early 1940, the Germans transferred a small number back to their homes. Most continued to be held captive however, and during 1940 the Jewish officers were removed from the Polish officer camps, transferred to Hammerstein and subsequently sent on to 3 officer camps. There the Jewish officers were segregated and lived under conditions that were significantly worse than other officers.

Jewish POWs Captured in Territories Annexed by the Soviet Union

Estimates range that from 1,000,000 to over 1,500,000 Poles were exiled to the interior of the Soviet Union. They included not only POWs, but refugees who had fled the German onslaught and Poles who were deported by the Soviets. The proportion of Jews among these exiles was about 400,000, almost 1/3 of the total (more than 3 times the proportion of Jews in pre-war Poland).

The POWs represented soldiers and officers who had lived in areas that had been annexed by the Soviet Union. There were about 180,000 to 250,000 POWs in the Soviet Union. Approximately 18,000 to 25,000 (10%) were Jewish. The Soviets treated the soldiers in either of two ways. Many were given Soviet Citizenship and inducted into the Red Army. Others were sent to Soviet Labour Camps.

Approximately 15,000 Polish officers were interred in 3 labour camps. There were 400 to 430 (3%) Jews in this group. (The author recently discovered that her father, Nathan Mandelajl (Mandelay) had been interred in Starobielsk.)

Soviet Labour Camps for Polish Officers: Starobielsk; Kozielsk; Ostaszkow

In the spring of 1940, on the orders of Stalin, these Officers were murdered in: Katyn; Miednoj; and Kharkov.

The Anders Army

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June of 1941, the Polish Government in Exile and the Soviets signed an accord that; 1. Enabled Polish citizens to be released from many labour camps in the Soviet Union; and 2, permitted the formation of a Polish Army under General Wladyslaw Anders.

Many thousands of Polish soldiers and citizens made their way hundreds of kilometers from the Soviet labour camps to the recruitment centers. Many died of starvation and exhaustion as a result of the severe conditions of this trek.

The first Units established included 40% to 60% Jews. This was a result of numerous machinations of the Soviets. This disturbed the Polish government and General Anders who considered the Jews less "fit" for fighting. As a consequence of this and other issues, after the first recruitments, the Poles began to disqualify the Jews outright, regardless of their physical fitness or other qualifications. In addition, they withdrew many earlier acceptances of Jews.

As the Soviets began to curtail assistance to the Poles in the formation of the army, and as the massacre at Katyn became known, the Anders Army was moved from Tashkent to Teheran (Persia/Iran).

The agreement between the Soviets and the Poles allowed for civilian Polish citizens to be evacuated from the gulags. However, due to the discriminatory policies of both the Poles and the changing Soviet policies, the only Jewish civilians who were allowed to be evacuated with the Anders Army were those who belonged to Jewish soldiers who were on active duty in the Polish Army at the time. A total of about 114,000 persons were evacuated, 76,500 soldiers and 37,500 civilians. The 1,000 "Teheran Children" were among them. Significantly, even though the Jews constituted approximately 1/3 of the Poles in the Soviet Union at the time, only 3,500 to 4,000 (4%-5%) Jewish Soldiers and 2,500 (7%) Jewish civilians were accepted into the Anders Army and evacuated.

The evacuation of the Anders Army and the civilians occurred in 2 stages. During March to April 1942, 31,500 soldiers/officers together with 12,500 civilians were evacuated. From August to September 1942, 42,000 soldiers/officers and 25,000 civilians were transferred to Teheran.

The Anders Army went on to fight in Egypt and subsequently achieved distinction in the Italian campaign during the Battle of Monte Cassino, the Battle of Ancona and the Battle of Bolgna. The story of the many Jews who remained in Palestine, rather than remain with the army is an episode worthy of telling at another iteration.

Union of Polish Patriots – Soviet Union

During 1943 through1945 there were many Polish soldiers and citizens in the labour camps of the Soviet Union who had been unable to join the Anders Army. The Soviet government, together with the Polish Communists, raised the army which was called the Union of Polish Patriots. Approximately 200,000 soldiers constituted this army, of which 16,000 to 20,000 (8% to 10%) were Jewish.

Polish Soldiers Interred in Hungary and Rumania and Lithuania

At the outbreak of the war in September 1939, about 45,000 Polish soldiers were able to cross the border into Hungary, which was neutral at the time. There they turned in their weapons and were interred in 140 different POW camps. (Many were also able to also cross into Rumania where they were also interred in POW camps.)

In August of 1941, as Hungary entered the war on the side of Germany, the Jews were segregated and brought to a camp called Varmosmikola. These 200 Jews included officers, non-commissioned officers, soldiers, and interestingly enough military families. These Jews were targeted for transfer to Auschwitz together with the Jewish population of Hungary, but as a result of some Hungarian government confusion, they ultimately survived in a POW camp on German territory.

Approximately 14,000 Polish soldiers were interned by the Lithuanians as a result of their crossing the border and surrendering their weapons. Although the attitude of the Lithuanian authorities was more hostile to the Jewish soldiers, racial segregation was not imposed. The Lithuanian government, in an attempt to empty the POW camps as rapidly as possible, began their release almost immediately. This continued until the summer of 1940.

Jewish Soldiers Allied on the Western Front and in the Near East

There were 194,500 Polish soldiers who, at the outbreak of the war, managed to participate in the Allied campaign on both the Western Front and in the Near East. These soldiers were part of the military organization that was formed by the Polish government in exile. There were approximately 10,000 Jews in these formations.

ANNEX D: RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS

Righteous Among the Nations by country and ethnic origin as of January 1, 2011
These figures are not necessarily an indication of the actual number of Jews saved in each country, but reflect material on rescue operations made available to Yad Vashem.[2]

See List of Righteous among the Nations by country for names of individuals.

Country of origin	Awards	Notes
Poland	6,266	Including Irena Sendler - Polish social worker who served in the Polish Underground and the Żegota resistance organization in German-occupied Warsaw during World War II. She saved 2,500 Jewish children. In German-occupied Poland, all household members were punished by death if a Jew was found concealed in their home or property. Death was a punishment for providing any aid to a Jew, including giving bread or water to passing Jews. This was the most severe law enforced by the German Nazis in occupied Europe.[4][5] See Polish Righteous among the Nations
Netherlands	5,108	Includes two persons originally from Indonesia residing in the Netherlands. In the Netherlands, people hiding Jews would usually be punished by either being sent to concentration camps or by being shot (usually after a "trial").
France	3,331	In January 2007, French President Jacques Chirac and other dignitaries honoured France's Righteous among the Nations in a ceremony at the Panthéon, Paris. The Legion of Honour was awarded to 160 French Righteous among the Nations for their efforts saving French Jews during World War II.[6]
Ukraine	2,363	
Belgium	1,584	Including Queen Elisabeth of the Belgians, née Duchess in Bavaria.

Lithuania	800	See Lithuanian Righteous among the Nations, Kazys Binkis, Ona Šimaitė.
Hungary	764	Zoltan Bay, physicist; father of radar-astronomy, Béla Király , Géza Ottlik author, Endre Szervánszky composer.
Belarus	555	
Slovakia	522	
Italy	498	Including Laura and Constantino Bulgari,[7] Lorenzo Perrone,[8] and Giorgio Perlasca
Germany	495	Including Oskar Schindler, the businessman who saved over a thousand Jews by employing them in his factory; and Hans and Sophie Scholl, sibling members of the White Rose resistance movement; Captain Gustav Schröder who commanded the "Voyage of the Damned"; German army officer Wilm Hosenfeld; resistance fighter Hans von Dohnanyi, and writer Armin Wegner.
Greece	307	Including Archbishop Damaskinos of Athens and Princess Alice of Battenberg.
Russia	173	
Serbia	131	
Latvia	129	Including Jānis Lipke.
Czech Republic	108	Victor Kugler one of the Anne Frank helpers.
Croatia	102	
Austria	88	Irene Harand, Florian Tschögl
Moldova	79	
Albania	69	Atif & Ganimet Toptani
Romania	60	Including Prince Constantin Karadja, credited by Yad Vashem with saving over 51,000 Jews.[9]
Norway	47	See Norwegian Righteous among the Nations
Switzerland	45	Includes Carl Lutz, who helped save tens of thousands of Hungarian Jews.
Bosnia and Herzegovina	40	Bosnia only; the source does not count Herzegovina
Denmark	22	As per their request, members of the Danish Underground who participated in the rescue of the Danish Jews are listed as one group.
Bulgaria	19	Dimitar Peshev; Sofia Metropolitan Stefan and

		Plovdiv Metropolitan Kiril of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church
United Kingdom	14	This list includes Major Frank Foley, but excludes Sir Nicholas Winton, as he is of Jewish parentage
Armenia	19	
Sweden	10	Including Raoul Wallenberg, Per Anger and Valdemar Langlet
Slovenia	6	
Spain	4	Angel Sanz Briz, José and Carmen Santaella, and Eduardo Propper de Callejón.
Estonia	3	Uku Masing and Eha Masing, Polina Lentsman
United States	3	Varian Fry, Martha Sharp, and Waitstill Sharp
Republic of China	2	Pan Jun Shun and Feng-Shan Ho
Brazil	2	Luiz Martins de Souza Dantas and Aracy de Carvalho Guimarães Rosa.
Portugal	2	Aristides de Sousa Mendes, issued 30,000 visas to people escaping the Nazis. Carlos Sampaio Garrido, sheltered about 1,000 Jews in safe-houses in Budapest and gave them Portuguese documents to leave the country.
Chile	1	María Edwards
El Salvador	1	José Castellanos Contreras (provided Salvadoran citizenship papers to approximately 13,000 Central European Jews).
Japan	1	Chiune Sugihara (provided approximately 3,400 transit visas to Jews in need).
Ireland	1	Hugh O'Flaherty
Georgia	1	Sergei Metreveli
Luxembourg	1	Victor Bodson, (former Justice Minister and Chairman of the Luxembourg House of Representatives; saved approximately 100 Jews)
Montenegro	1	Petar Zankovic
Turkey	1	Selâhattin Ülkümen
Vietnam	1	Paul Nguyen Cong Anh
Total	**23,788**	As of 2011

ANNEX E: ADDITIONAL DATABASE EXAMPLES

Archive Of Interviews With Child Survivors Of Holocaust Received By Oral History Division Of Hebrew University's Harman Institute

Children in the Lodz Ghetto being rounded up for deportation to the Chelmno death camp.

Jerusalem, April 10, 2011 – An invaluable archive of more than 1,500 oral testimonies from child survivors of the Holocaust, collected in numerous countries over the past 30 years, has been received by the Oral History Division of the Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

The collection of testimonies, which is known as the Kestenberg Archive of Testimonies of the Child , was conveyed to the Harman Institute by Dr. Fogelman and Dr. Helene Bass-Wichelhaus of the International Study of Organized Persecution of Children, located in New York City, who had sought an appropriate archival home for the recordings.

Initiators of the project were Dr. Judith S. Kestenberg (1910-1999) and her husband, Milton Kestenberg (1910-1991). Dr. Judith Kestenberg was the founder of Child Development Research in the US in 1961, working with children and parents for the prevention of mental disorder and developmental problems. In 1981, the Kestenbergs, working with many associates, began traveling all over the world within the framework of what was named the International Study of Organized Persecution of Children project, interviewing 1,531 child survivors of the Holocaust as well as children of Nazis and observers of child persecution.

The interviews were conducted in various countries, including: the United States, Germany, Israel, Australia, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, Canada, the Czech

Republic, Holland, France, Hungary, Poland, Russia, Yugoslavia and various countries in South America.
Until the early 1980s, many child survivors of the Holocaust did not see themselves as survivors. Often this was because they had been told and believed that children do not suffer the long-term effects of trauma as do adults. They believed that their fragmented memories could be set aside and they could get on with their lives. But it became evident that they could not escape the long-term effects of loss of family and home, exposure to severe and prolonged violence, being in hiding, and loss of a childhood.

As one child survivor explained, "*At first I wanted only to forget. Now, many years later, I want to understand myself better, to connect with other child survivors, and find ways how our experiences can help others.*"

The Oral History Division of the Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University began collecting oral testimonies for the purposes of historical research in 1959, with the assistance of pioneering scholars such as Professors Yehuda Bauer, Dov Levin and Haim Avni. These early interviews, covering a wide range of subjects and conducted according to highly professional standards, assured the institute the status of being the foremost academic collection of oral documentation in Israel.

Today, this collection of more than 9,000 interviews in 20 languages constitutes a unique treasure of Jewish memories. It includes testimonies on the Holocaust that were conducted when the reservoir of survivors (especially those who were adults during the war) was much larger and their memories less affected by the passage of time than today.

Most of the interviews in the Kestenberg archive that has now become part of the Harman Institute collection have been transcribed. Several books and research projects have already been done using the material. At present, the material has not been digitized and is not easily available to researchers, but there are plans to do so with initial help from the Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah, Paris, France

ANNEX F: LIST OF HOLOCAUST MEMORIALS AND MUSEUMS AROUND THE WORLD

There is good news and bad news 60 years after the efforts to annihilate a people. The good news is that the Holocaust is being taught at many schools in recognition of its' importance as a pivotal historical event, completely rearranging Europe, and creating millions of displaced people. It raises philosophical issues of global significance: how could this have happened? In the schools, it is framed in terms of tolerance, bullying, as examples of speaking out when evil is happening.

Argentina
Museo del Holocausto de Buenos Aires[1] (Holocaust Memorial Museum, Buenos Aires, Argentina)
Australia
The Jewish Museum Holocaust and Research Centre[2] (Melbourne, Australia)
Austria
The Austrian Holocaust Memorial Service
The Judenplatz Holocaust Memorial (Vienna, Austria)
Mauthausen Concentration Camp Memorial,[3] (Mauthausen, Austria)
Belgium
The Jewish Museum of Deportation and the Resistance[4] (Mechelen, Belgium)
Brazil
Holocaust victims memorial at São Paulo cemetery (São Paulo, Brazil)
Bulgaria
The Organization of the Jews in Bulgaria (Bulgaria)
Canada
The Montreal Holocaust Memorial Centre (Montreal, Canada)
The Vancouver Holocaust Education Centre[5] (Vancouver, Canada)
Croatia
The Memorial to the Holocaust of Murdered Serbs and Jews in Jasenovac (Jasenovac, Croatia)
Estonia
Holocaust memorial at the site of Klooga concentration camp (Klooga, Estonia)
Memorial at the site of Kalevi-Liiva (Jägala, Estonia)
France
Musée départemental de Résistance et Déportation[6] (Agen, France)
Musée de la Résistance et de la Déportation (Charente)[7] (Angoulême, France)
Musée de la Résistance d'Anterrieux[8] (Anterrieux, France)
Centre de la résistance et de la déportation du Pays d'Arles[9] (Arles, France)
The Museum of the Resistance and Deportation (Besançon, France)

Musée de la Résistance, de la Déportation et de la Libération du Loir-et-Cher[10] (Blois, France)
Musée de la Résistance de Bondues au Fort Lobau (Nord)[11] (Bondues, France)
Centre Jean Moulin[12] (Bordeaux, France)
Musée de la Résistance et de la Déportation de Bourges et du Cher[13] (Bourges, France)
Centre National d'Etudes de la Résistance et de la Déportation Edmond Michelet[14] (Brive-la-Gaillarde, France)
Mémorial de Caen[15] (Caen, France)
Musée de la Résistance[16] (Castellane, France)
Centre régional de la Résistance et de la Déportation de Castelnau-le-Lez (Hérault)[17] (Castelnau-le-Lez, France)
Musée du souvenir de Châlons (Marne)[18] (Châlons-en-Champagne, France)
Musée de la Résistance, de l'Internement et de la Déportation de Chamalières[19] (Chamalières, France)
Musée de la Résistance Nationale de Champigny-sur-Marne[20] (Champigny-sur-Marne, France)
Musée de la Résistance de Châteaubriant-Voves-Rouillé[21] (Châteaubriant, France)
Mémorial du Vercors[22] (Vassieux-en-Vercors, France)
Mémorial Charles de Gaulle[23] (Colombey-les-Deux-Églises, France)
Mémorial de l'internement et de la déportation[24] (Compiègne, France)
Musée de la Résistance et de la Déportation[25] (Fargniers, France)
Musée Départemental de la Résistance et de la Déportation de Forges-les-Eaux[26] (Forges-les-Eaux, France)
Musée de la Résistance, de la Déportation et de la Seconde Guerre mondiale[27] (Frugières-le-Pin, France)
Musée de la Résistance et de la Déportation de l'Isère[28] (Grenoble, France)
Maison d'Izieu mémorial des enfants juifs exterminés[29] (Izieu, France)
Musée départemental de la Résistance et de la Déportation (Loiret)[30] (Lorris, France)
Centre d'histoire de la résistance et de la déportation[31] (Lyon, France)
Musée de la Résistance et de la Déportation (Tarn-et-Garonne)[32] (Montauban, France)
Musée Bourbonnais de la Résistance Nationale (Allier)[33] (Montluçon, France)
Musée de l'histoire vivante[34] (Montreuil, France)
Musée de la Résistance et de la Déportation[33] (Nantua, France)
Musée de la Résistance Henri Queuille (Corrèze)[35] (Neuvic, France)
Centre de recherche et d'étude azuréen du Musée de la Résistance Nationale[36] **(Nice, France)**
Centre de la mémoire d'Oradour-sur-Glane, village martyr[37] (Oradour-sur-Glane, France)
Mémorial du Maréchal Leclerc de Hauteclocque et de la Libération de Paris et Musée Jean Moulin[38] (Paris, France)
Musée de l'Ordre de la Libération[39] (Paris, France)

Centre de documentation juive contemporaine & Mémorial de la Shoah, (Paris, France)
Musée de la Résistance[40] (Peyrat-le-Château, France)
Musée de la reddition de Reims[41] (Reims, France)
Musée pyrénéen de la Résistance et de la Libération, dans l'Ariège[42] (Rimont, France)
Centre Historique de la Résistance en Drôme et de la Déportation de Romans[43] (Romans-sur-Isère, France)
Musée de la Résistance en Morvan[44] (Saint-Brisson, France)
Mémorial de la Résistance et de la Déportation de la Loire[45] (Saint-Étienne, France)
Musée de la Résistance bretonne[46] (Saint-Marcel, France)
Le Centre européen du Résistant déporté au Struthof[47] (Natzwiller, France)
Musée de la Résistance et de la Déportation[48] (Tarbes, France)
Musée de la Résistance et de la Déportation de Picardie[49] (Tergnier, France)
Musée Départemental de la Résistance[50] (Thônes (La Balme-de-Thuy), France)
Centre Régional Résistance et Liberté (Deux-Sèvres)[51] (Thouars, France)
Musée départemental de la Résistance et de la Déportation[52] (Toulouse, France)
Musée vauzélien de la Résistance Nationale (Nièvre)[53] (Varennes-Vauzelles, France)
Musée départemental de la déportation et de l'internement[54] (Varilhes, France)
Mémorial de la Résistance[55] (Vassieux-en-Vercors, France)
Musée de la Résistance (Rosine Perrier)[56] (Villargondran, France)

Germany

The Jewish Museum Berlin (Jüdisches Museum Berlin), in Berlin, Germany
Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe (Berlin, Germany)
Französische Kapelle des Oflag VI A (Soest, Germany)

Greece

Holocaust memorial outside of the archaeological site of Kerameikos (Athens, Greece)

Hungary

The Budapest Holocaust Memorial Center, (Budapest, Hungary)

Israel

The Ani Ma'amin Holocaust Museum (Jerusalem)
Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority (Jerusalem, Israel)
The Forest of the Martyrs (Jerusalem)
The Ghetto Fighters' House (Western Galilee, Israel)
Massuah- Institute for Holocaust Studies (Tel-Yizhaq)

Italy

Museo della Deportazione (Prato, Italy)

Macedonia

Memorial center of the holocaust of the Jews of Macedonia in Skopje, Macedonia

Netherlands

The Anne Frank House (Amsterdam, Netherlands)

Poland
The Auschwitz Jewish Center (Oświęcim, Poland)
South Africa
The Cape Town Holocaust Center, Cape Town, South Africa
Sweden
The Stockholm Holocaust Monument (Stockholm, Sweden)
United Kingdom
Beth Shalom Holocaust Centre (Nottinghamshire, England)
The Imperial War Museum Holocaust Exhibition in London
The Institute of Contemporary History and Wiener Library (London)
The Hyde Park Holocaust memorial, in Hyde Park, London.
United States
The William Breman Jewish Heritage & Holocaust Museum (Atlanta, Georgia, U.S.)
The Dallas Holocaust Museum/Center for Education & Tolerance (Dallas, U.S.)
The Children's Holocaust Memorial and Paper Clip Project at Whitwell Middle School (Whitwell, Tennessee, U.S.)
The Cybrary of the Holocaust
The Dallas Holocaust Museum/Center for Education & Tolerance (Dallas, U.S.)
The Desert Holocaust Memorial (Palm Desert, California, U.S.)
The El Paso Holocaust Museum and Study Center, (El Paso, Texas, U.S.)
The Florida Holocaust Museum (St. Petersburg, Florida, U.S.)
The Holocaust Awareness Museum and Education Center, (Philadelphia, PA, U.S.)
The Holocaust History Project
The Holocaust Memorial Center (Detroit, U.S.)
The Holocaust Memorial on Miami Beach (Miami Beach, U.S.)
The Holocaust Memorial at California Palace of the Legion of Honor (San Francisco,U.S.)
The Holocaust Museum Houston (Houston, U.S.)
The Holocaust and Tolerance Museum (Chandler, Arizona, U.S.)
Illinois Holocaust Museum and Education Center (Skokie, Illinois, U.S.)
The Jewish Foundation for the Righteous
Liberation (Holocaust memorial), bronze statue at New Jersey's Liberty State Park
The Museum of Tolerance (Los Angeles, U.S.)
The New England Holocaust Memorial (Boston, U.S.)
The New Mexico Holocaust & Intolerance Museum (Albuquerque, New Mexico, U.S.)
The Nizkor Project
Oregon Holocaust Memorial (Portland, Oregon)
The Simon Wiesenthal Center (Los Angeles, California, U.S.)
The Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation at University of Southern California (Los Angeles)
The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (Washington, D.C.)
The Virginia Holocaust Museum (Richmond, Virginia, USA)

Museum of Jewish Heritage (New York, New York, U.S.)
Holocaust Center of Northern California (San Francisco, California, U.S.)
Holocaust Museum Houston (Houston, Texas, U.S.)
Holocaust Memorial for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, U.S.)

ANNEX G: ARTICLE ON THE INTERNATIONAL TRACING SERVICE AND GITA BAACK AS BENEFICIARY

OTTAWA CITIZEN

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The secrets of Bad Arolsen

For more than half a century, six warehouses in Germany that housed 30 million documents on the Holocaust were kept hidden from the world. After a long and fierce fight, the doors to Bad Arolsen were finally thrown open and, as ANDREW DUFFY writes, its secrets.

For more than 50 years, no one even knew for sure what was held on Bad Arolsen's 26 kilometres of shelving.

For six years, Paul Shapiro lobbied furiously — in Washington and across Europe — to open six warehouses in central Germany where a huge store of Second World War-era documents remained under lock and key.

The Bad Arolsen archive had been assembled by the International Tracing Service (ITS) to understand what happened to 17.5 million people victimized by the Nazis. Its records spoke to the fate of Jews, slave labourers, political prisoners, homosexuals, Gypsies.

The ITS helped families and survivors retrieve information from voluminous German records. But the tracing service considered the records "personal information" and access to them was severely restricted.

It meant that the collective evidence offered by the archive's 30 million documents was not available to historians, academics or . No one even knew for sure what was held on Bad Arolsen's 26 kilometres of shelving.

Paul Shapiro, director of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum's Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, considered it his moral duty to change that fact. Beginning in 2001, he worked relentlessly to open the archive before the Holocaust's survivor generation passed into history.

"I felt an obligation to the survivors who I knew and the survivors who volunteer here at the museum and the survivors who came to see me, pleading: their voices had never been listened to in this matter," Shapiro says. "If there was something I could do, well, I was going to do it."

Shapiro had his staff research and compile a list of ITS records. He lobbied the U.S. State Department to take a tougher diplomatic stand on the issue. He turned up international pressure by granting interviews to reporters and documentary filmmakers.

In February 2006, he bluntly told the New York Times: "Hiding this record is a form of Holocaust denial."Shapiro's unstinting efforts proved critical in overcoming one bureaucratic wall after another. Finally, in November 2007, the 11-country commission that controls the archive unanimously agreed to throw open Bad Arolsen's doors.
The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum even secured the right to obtain a complete digital copy of the ITS holdings.

Shapiro, who will be in Ottawa next week to discuss the significance of the archive, says the records cache is so massive — and so badly organized — that research into its secrets remains in its infancy.

"But what is there," he says, "is much more diverse, much richer, with much greater potential for research, understanding and education, than anyone ever imagined before."

As Allied forces advanced across Europe in 1945, soldiers collected scores of documents from concentration camps, forced labour sites, prisons, transit camps and Gestapo offices.

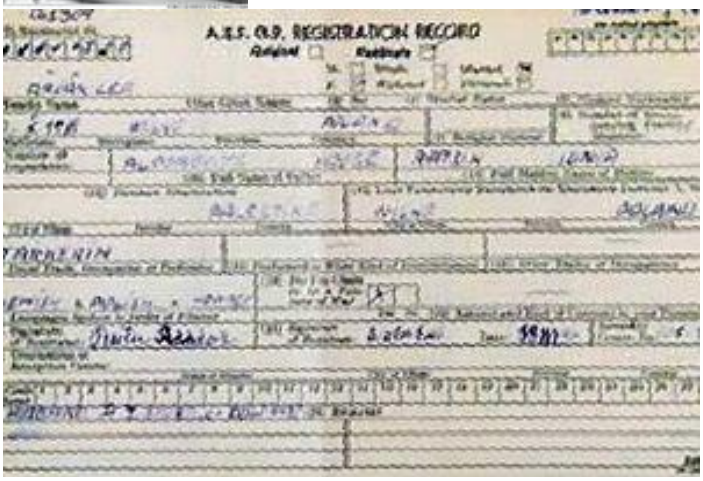
The Allied command designated a former SS barracks in the central German town of Bad Arolsen as a repository for the material. The collection ballooned in the postwar years with records from displaced persons, orphaned children and overseas emigrants. Its closely-held secrets are now being mined by people from around the world.

Ottawa's Gita Baack is one of those who have turned to the archive for help in understanding the still unresolved story of her own family.

Baack was born in a displaced person's camp in Wasserburg, Germany. Her father, Zalman "Sam" Arian, a Polish Jew from Krakow, lost his first wife and two children, aged 4 and 3, in the Holocaust. He escaped Krakow and joined a Polish army unit on the Eastern Front where he met and later married Lea Alperowicz, Baack's mother.

Several months ago, Baack wrote to the ITS archive, asking if it had any information about her parents or her half-siblings. Sadly, the archive could not tell her anything about the two children. But the archive did send her three DP registration cards with details about her mother, father and herself.

"I can't tell you how huge that was for me," says Baack, an Ottawa consultant and doctoral student. "It's kind of like my birth certificate."



Gita Baack, above and at left in a childhood family photo, turned to the Bad Arolsen archive for help researching her family's history. There was sadly no information about her half-brother, in the picture above, but she received three 'displaced person's registration cards' for her mother, father and herself. 'I can't tell you how huge that was for me,' she says.

The Bad Arolsen archive holds more than 50 million pages of material including work cards that detail the individual job histories of concentration camp prisoners, property cards that record goods and clothing taken from prisoners, Gestapo files on named suspects, transport lists of people taken to death camps and labour camps, and "death books" that record the fate of slave labourers who succumbed to their work conditions.

The material opens a revealing window on the grinding, daily routine of concentration camps. The camps had been designed to extract as much labour as possible from people the Nazis considered disposable "assets."

The archive tells of horrors large and small.

Records from the Mauthasen concentration camp show that the Reich Security Main Office ordered the Waffen-ss to shoot 48 prisoners at two-minute intervals on April 20, 1942 to mark Adolf Hitler's birthday.

Documents from Buchenwald concentration camp show that thousands of Hungarian-Jewish children were sent as slave labourers to the Nazi's "super weapons" complex at Mittelbau-dora in the last months of the war; the children were valued for their ability to work in confined spaces.

The name of "Frank, Annaliese Marie" — better known as diarist Anne Frank — appears only once in the archive, on a list of Jews being transported from Amsterdam to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. Frank would die there of typhus at the age of 15.

Medical records show that one camp guard was so officious that he detailed the number and size of lice taken from the heads of prisoners.

Still other documents tell the tragic story of a young Dutchman, Cornelis Brouwenstijn, who was arrested in 1944 at the age of 22 for having a radio in Nazi-occupied Holland. Radios were banned because they could pick up overseas broadcasts. He was sent to a concentration camp near Neuengamme, Germany, and never seen again by his family. His mother wrote letters for years after the war, desperately seeking information about him.

Brouwenstijn's death was not confirmed until 1949. It is believed he died when SS guards evacuated 8,000 Neuengamme prisoners onto two ships, which were then bombed by Allied pilots who thought they were supply boats.

Paul Shapiro has examined many of the archive's records and finds their inhumanity chilling. Slave labourers were consumed by German industry like any other commodity; human beings were reduced to numbers and statistics.

"The Nazis recorded it all in detail, he says, because they wanted to show they were succeeding. There hasn't been a time when I've gone into this material when I haven't been astounded," says Shapiro.

"Whatever the question is, there is a graphic piece of evidence somewhere unlike what you've seen before: be it on medical crimes, use of forced labour, abuse of children, war criminals."

'Every time that I see a family today learn something that makes a difference to them, on the one hand, I'm happy that they're learning it, but on the other hand, my blood pressure goes up even more than before, because this is happening after three-quarters of the survivor generation has already passed away.'
PAUL SHAPIRO

Although relieved that Bad Arolsen's secrets are now being shared, Shapiro remains disturbed by what was lost during the half century that the archive remained inaccessible.

It's still hard to fathom, he says, that 11 democratic countries could have kept the archive closed for so long.

"There were times during the battle to open this material that I was tremendously angry, just morally outraged," Shapiro says.

The ITS commission includes the U.S., Germany, Italy, Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Greece, Israel, Poland and Luxembourg.

Their decisions were made by consensus, which meant significant policy shifts were fraught with difficulty. Legal issues also raised roadblocks.

By the late 1990s, for instance, the German government had already paid about $80 billion in compensation for Nazi crimes and was concerned about opening the Bad Arolsen files without first resolving the question of legal liability for any new revelations.

But the moral and political force of U.S. arguments eventually carried the day.

The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum now has an almost complete digital copy of the archive. It is answering questions from survivors around the world, while investing in technology and personnel to make the archive more accessible.

It could be years, however, before the database is fully searchable.

Shapiro says the Bad Arolsen archive was so poorly organized and catalogued that many survivors previously received incomplete or inaccurate information. Many had to wait years for any kind of answer.

Some families have recently learned the date of a relative's death; others have discovered the existence of previously unknown burial plots.

"Every time that I see a family today learn something that makes a difference to them, on the one hand, I'm happy that they're learning it," he says.

"But on the other hand, my blood pressure goes up even more than before, because this is happening after three-quarters of the survivor generation has already passed away."

Shapiro, who last year won Germany's highest civilian honour for his activism and research, calls the Bad Arolsen archive a "dagger in the heart for Holocaust deniers."

Its' files, he says, offer proof of a massive Nazi network of death camps, labour camps and ghettos. Holocaust museum researchers have already identified 22,000 such sites in Nazi-occupied Europe — many more than scholars previously thought existed.

Says Shapiro: "The records at ITS make it clear, if someone said to you, 'I had no idea what was going on,' that would be pretty hard to believe. Because there were so many sites, they weren't far from your home."

ANNEX H: DECLARATION OF THE STOCKHOLM INTERNATIONAL FORUM ON THE HOLOCAUST

Source: http://www.holocausttaskforce.org/

The members of ITF are committed to the Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust, which reads as follows:

The Holocaust (Shoah) fundamentally challenged the foundations of civilization. The unprecedented character of the Holocaust will always hold universal meaning. After half a century, it remains an event close enough in time that survivors can still bear witness to the horrors that engulfed the Jewish people. The terrible suffering of the many millions of other victims of the Nazis has left an indelible scar across Europe as well.

The magnitude of the Holocaust, planned and carried out by the Nazis, must be forever seared in our collective memory. The selfless sacrifices of those who defied the Nazis, and sometimes gave their own lives to protect or rescue the Holocaust's victims, must also be inscribed in our hearts. The depths of that horror, and the heights of their heroism, can be touchstones in our understanding of the human capacity for evil and for good.

With humanity still scarred by genocide, ethnic cleansing, racism, anti-semitism and xenophobia, the international community shares a solemn responsibility to fight those evils. Together we must uphold the terrible truth of the Holocaust against those who deny it. We must strengthen the moral commitment of our peoples, and the political commitment of our governments, to ensure that future generations can understand the causes of the Holocaust and reflect upon its consequences.

We pledge to strengthen our efforts to promote education, remembrance and research about the Holocaust, both in those of our countries that have already done much and those that choose to join this effort.

We share a commitment to encourage the study of the Holocaust in all its dimensions. We will promote education about the Holocaust in our schools and universities, in our communities and encourage it in other institutions.

We share a commitment to commemorate the victims of the Holocaust and to honour those who stood against it. We will encourage appropriate forms of Holocaust remembrance, including an annual Day of Holocaust Remembrance, in our countries.

We share a commitment to throw light on the still obscured shadows of the Holocaust. We will take all necessary steps to facilitate the opening of archives in order to ensure that all documents bearing on the Holocaust are available to researchers.

It is appropriate that this, the first major international conference of the new millenium, declares its commitment to plant the seeds of a better future amidst the soil of a bitter past. We empathize with the victims' suffering and draw inspiration from their struggle. Our commitment must be to remember the victims who perished, respect the survivors still with us, and reaffirm humanity's common aspiration for mutual understanding and justice.

ANNEX I: COMPANIES THAT COLLABORATED WITH THE NAZIS

Kodak. During World War Two, Kodak's German branch used slave laborers from concentration camps. Several of their other European branches did heavy business with the Nazi government. Wilhelm Keppler, one of Hitler's top economic advisers, had deep ties in Kodak. When Nazism began, Keppler advised Kodak and several other U.S. companies that they'd benefit by firing all of their Jewish employees. (Source: The Nation)

Hugo Boss. In the 1930s, Hugo Boss started making Nazi uniforms. The reason: Hugo Boss himself had joined the Nazi party, and got a contract to make the Hitler Youth, storm trooper and SS uniforms. That was a huge boon for Hugo Boss... he got the contract just eight years after founding his company... and that infusion of business helped take the company to another level. The Nazi uniform manufacturing went so well that Hugo Boss ended up needing to bring in slave laborers in Poland and France to help out at the factory. In 1997, Hugo's son, Siegfried Boss, told an Austrian news magazine, "Of course my father belonged to the Nazi party. But who didn't belong back then?" (Source: New York Times)

Volkswagen. Ferdinand Porsche, the man behind Volkswagen and Porsche, met with Hitler in 1934, to discuss the creation of a "people's car." (That's the English translation of Volkswagen.) Hitler told Porsche to make the car with a streamlined shape, "like a beetle." And that's the genesis of the Volkswagen Beetle... it wasn't just designed for the Nazis, Hitler named it. During World War Two, it's believed that as many as four out of every five workers at Volkswagen's plants were slave laborers. Ferdinand Porsche even had a direct connection to Heinrich Himmler, one of the leaders of the SS, to directly request slaves from Auschwitz. (Source: The Straight Dope)

Bayer. During the Holocaust, a German company called IG Farben manufactured the Zyklon B gas used in the Nazi gas chambers. They also funded and helped with Josef Mengele's "experiments" on concentration camp prisoners. IG Farben is the company that turned the single largest profit from work with the Nazis. After the War, the company was broken up. Bayer was one of its divisions, and went on to become its own company. Aspirin was founded by a Bayer employee, Arthur Eichengrun. But Eichengrun was Jewish, and Bayer didn't want to admit that a Jewish guy created the one product that keeps their company in business. So, to this day, Bayer officially gives credit to Felix Hoffman, a nice Aryan man, for inventing aspirin. (Source: Alliance for Human Research Protection, Pharmaceutical Achievers)

Siemens. Siemens took slave laborers during the Holocaust and had them help construct the gas chambers that would kill them and their families. Good people over

there. Siemens also has the single biggest post-Holocaust moment of insensitivity of any of the companies on this list. In 2001, they tried to trademark the word "Zyklon" (which means "cyclone" in German) to become the name a new line of products... including a line of gas ovens. Zyklon, of course, being the name of the poison gas used in their gas chambers during the Holocaust. A week later, after several watchdog groups appropriately protested vehemently, Siemens withdrew the application. They said they never drew the connection between the Zyklon B gas used during the Holocaust and their proposed Zyklon line of products. (Source: BBC)

Coca-Cola, specifically Fanta. Coke played both sides during World War Two... they supported the American troops but also kept making soda for the Nazis. Then, in 1941, the German branch of Coke ran out of syrup, and couldn't get any from America because of wartime restrictions. So they invented a new drink, specifically for the Nazis: A fruit-flavored soda called Fanta. Long before Fanta was associated with exotic women singing an awful jingle, it was the unofficial drink of Nazi Germany. (Source: New Statesman)

Ford. Henry Ford is a pretty legendary anti-Semite, so this makes sense. He was Hitler's most famous foreign backer. On his 75th birthday, in 1938, Ford received a Nazi medal, designed for "distinguished foreigners." He profiteered off both sides of the War -- he was producing vehicles for the Nazis and for the Allies.

Standard Oil. The Luftwaffe needed tetraethyl lead gas in order to get their planes off the ground. Standard Oil was one of only three companies that could manufacture that type of fuel. So they did. Without them, the German air force never could've even gotten their planes off the ground. When Standard Oil was dissolved as a monopoly, it led to ExxonMobil, Chevron and BP, all of which are still around today. (But fortunately, their parent company's past decision to make incredible profits off of war have not carried on.) (Source: MIT's Thistle)

Chase Bank. A lot of banks sided with the Nazis during World War Two. Chase is the most prominent. They froze European Jewish customers' accounts and were extremely cooperative in providing banking service to Germany. (Source: New York Times)

IBM. IBM custom-build machines for the Nazis that they could use to track everything... from oil supplies to train schedules into death camps to Jewish bank accounts to individual Holocaust victims themselves. In September of 1939, when Germany invaded Poland, the "New York Times" reported that three million Jews were going to be "immediately removed" from Poland and were likely going to be "exterminated." IBM's reaction? An internal memo saying that, due to that

"situation", they really needed to step up production on high-speed alphabetizing equipment. (Source: CNet)

Random House Publishing. Random House's parent company, Bertelsmann A.G., worked for the Nazis... they published Hitler propaganda, and a book called "Sterilization and Euthanasia: A Contribution to Applied Christian Ethics". Bertelsmann still owns and operates several companies. Random House drew controversy in 1997 when they decided to expand the definition of Nazi in Webster's Dictionary. Eleven years ago, they added the colloquial, softened definition of "a person who is fanatically dedicated to or seeks to control a specified activity, practice, etc." The Anti-Defamation League called that expanded definition offensive... especially when added by a company with Nazi ties... they said it, quote, "trivializes and denies the murderous intent and actions of the Nazi regime... it also cheapens the language by allowing people to reach for a quick word fix... [and] lends a helping hand to those whose aim is to prove that the Nazis were really not such terrible people." (Source: New York Observer, ADL)