

## 'The Holocaust: An Unfinished History'

Dialogues in Holocaust Education seminar number 3 with Professor Dan Stone

**Transcript** 

00:00:03.374 --> 00:00:11.319

ANDY LAWRENCE: I'll say good afternoon, everybody, and thanks very much indeed for joining us. For what I think, is going to be a really meaningful session.

00:00:11.765 --> 00:00:29.289

ANDY LAWRENCE: So I'm Andy Lawrence. I'm mostly a history teacher but work part time at the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education. But, more importantly, we're privileged to be joined by Dan Stone, who's Professor of Modern History and Director of the Holocaust Research Institute at Royal Holloway, University of London.

00:00:29.917 --> 00:00:48.410

ANDY LAWRENCE: And by way of very brief and inadequate introduction, Dan's research interests are really broad. They cover the history of fascism from the perspective of the history of ideas, the history of genocide, the history of anthropology, especially the idea of race and theory of history.

00:00:48.925 --> 00:00:53.580

ANDY LAWRENCE: He has published some 90 scholarly articles and 17 books.

00:00:53.590 --> 00:01:00.619

ANDY LAWRENCE: So, Dan, I think you need to work a little bit harder to hop those numbers and perhaps as importantly.

00:01:01.371 --> 00:01:30.589

ANDY LAWRENCE: from our point of view as teachers. sitting alongside Dan's academic excellence is that that I know, and we just chatting about this, that over the last sort of 20 years of my teaching career, Dan has given so much time and putting so much effort to speaking with teachers and to making sure that his, his groundbreaking research has been accessible to those in the classroom. So I think. You know, we're really privileged and honoured to have a slice of Dan's time this afternoon.

00:01:30.856 --> 00:01:36.979

ANDY LAWRENCE: So Dan is going to talk about his brand new book, The Holocaust and Unfinished History. And here it is.

00:01:37.284 --> 00:01:56.780

ANDY LAWRENCE: I've had a read, and I thoroughly recommend it. He's going to talk for about 30 min about half a session, and then we'll open the floor to questions and discussion hopefully. So if a question occurs as Dan speaking, or at the end of his comments. Do, please put a question in in the chat.

00:01:56.780 --> 00:02:07.129

ANDY LAWRENCE: and hopefully we'll get round to all of those and put them to Dan and so on. So without further ado, I'll hand over to Dan.

00:02:08.150 --> 00:02:36.700

DAN STONE: Thank you very much, Andy. Thanks a lot for the invitation and for the kind introduction. I'm sorry I obviously haven't satisfied you by producing enough. But I'll pull my finger out in in future. I want also wanted to say to apologize really to anyone who's heard me give this talk, or a similar one before, but hopefully it'll stimulate some new questions and some new discussion. Despite what?

00:02:36.700 --> 00:02:50.100

DAN STONE: And these said, I mean, it's true that I have spoken at various teacher training sessions and so on. But it's not. I don't really think of it as my role to.

00:02:50.570 --> 00:03:06.490

DAN STONE: You know I'm not a school teacher. So I it's not just not my role. I'm not qualified to tell you how to use this information in in teaching different age groups. So that's, I think, something we can discuss later, if you want.

00:03:06.490 --> 00:03:22.739

DAN STONE: But let me talk a little bit about the book, since that's what Andy's invited me to do, and I'd like to start, if I can, with 2 quotations that I came across in in my recent reading, and the 1st is from September, 1943,

00:03:22.800 --> 00:03:38.438

DAN STONE: when a group of teenagers escaped from the Ghetto in Minsk, in the Western Soviet Union, today the capital of Belarus, and they walked some 100 kilometres to a partisan camp. One of them, Zoya Oboz learns on the on

00:03:38.840 --> 00:03:42.469

DAN STONE: arriving there, that they would probably be the last to attempt the journey.

00:03:42.580 --> 00:03:44.619

DAN STONE: and then wrote, then wrote

00:03:45.020 --> 00:03:48.730

DAN STONE: my acquaintance. Sasha asked me where my sister was.

00:03:48.770 --> 00:03:54.639

DAN STONE: I told him that I had planned to find out where I could go, and then go back to take

her with me.

00:03:54.660 --> 00:03:55.760 DAN STONE : he told me.

00:03:55.780 --> 00:04:05.059

DAN STONE: But we are going to the Nalibolskaya Pushta today, and today they are destroying the Ghetto in Minsk, I cried so much I did not know what to do, where to go.

00:04:05.220 --> 00:04:08.339

DAN STONE: We then walked during the night, and slept during the day.

00:04:08.400 --> 00:04:11.720

DAN STONE: After several days we arrived in the Pushcha or the camp.

00:04:11.750 --> 00:04:18.700

DAN STONE: I had no idea what was going on around me. I felt like I had lost my mind. It dawned on me that I was all by myself.

00:04:19.089 --> 00:04:37.690

DAN STONE: And then a year later. So in 1944, Andre Racu, a Romanian from the village of Scăieni in Bessarabia. What's today, more or less, the Republic of Moldova confessed at his trial by the Soviets, that he had participated in the robbing and killing of Jews, and this is what he said in in his trial

00:04:37.840 --> 00:04:49.840

DAN STONE: during the autumn of 1941. I do not remember exactly what month when the Romanians were driving a column of Jews through Romanian from the village of Scăieni in Bessarabia towards Tarnovo. Some of them completely lost their strength, and could not walk.

00:04:50.040 --> 00:04:58.060

DAN STONE: In this case, after reaching the outskirts of Scăieni, a Romanian officer and 2 soldiers started to shoot those who lagged behind.

00:04:58.100 --> 00:05:12.150

DAN STONE: I approached them, and a Romanian soldier gave me the gun, and I myself killed 3 people, and afterwards I gave to the Romanian officer 500 lei, so he would allow me to undress the dead. He allowed it, and I took the best coat from one Jew.

00:05:12.170 --> 00:05:16.599

DAN STONE: When I brought home the coat and showed it to my wife, she started to scold me.

00:05:16.610 --> 00:05:24.079

DAN STONE: I took that coat and sold it to the resident of Skyen, Rotaru Costa for 1,400. Lei. I did not do anything else.

00:05:24.230 --> 00:05:44.270

DAN STONE: and I'm using those 2 quotations because they seem to me to illustrate something really important that's happened to the historiography of the Holocaust in the last decade or so. And that's in particular. There's been an explosion of scholarship, as I think you probably know, with a focus on Eastern Europe.

00:05:44.270 --> 00:06:00.889

DAN STONE: its most notable characteristics. So in those 2 quotations, you know, you see, one is from Belarus. One is from Romania, and since the accessibility of archives following the end of the Cold War in the former Communist countries of Eastern Europe, there's been this huge explosion of scholarship and of museums Holocaust education, scholarly research centres, new PhD students and so on my PhD students. I always have to now warn them. Andy will remember. That. You know, if you do a PhD. Now you're going to be competing with Eastern European students who can speak 5 languages.

00:06:21.375 --> 00:06:31.820

DAN STONE: And you know there's the scholarships that's come out of Poland and Hungary, and the Czech Republic in particular, is extremely impressive. In

00:06:32.400 --> 00:06:33.760 DAN STONE : Slovakia.

00:06:34.110 --> 00:06:35.370 DAN STONE : Romania.

00:06:35.450 --> 00:06:37.070

DAN STONE: and particularly Bulgaria.

00:06:37.530 --> 00:06:47.689

DAN STONE: to some extent in the Baltic, States, a little bit behind in those the other countries, but nevertheless, a huge amount of stuff that is now being done.

00:06:48.254 --> 00:06:50.920

DAN STONE: We know lots more about the

00:06:50.960 --> 00:07:13.559

DAN STONE: specific ways in which the Holocaust played out across the Eastern European borderlands and in East Central Europe than was true a decade or so ago, and as we know more, and I think this was this was part of the advert for this talk, as we know more about that Holocaust. So the idea of the Holocaust as factory line genocide or industrial genocide becomes less and less tenable

00:07:13.917 --> 00:07:26.079

DAN STONE: the more, at least in the initial stages of the Holocaust. This kind of brutal face to face colonial style, mass murder looks much more to be what we're talking about.

00:07:26.090 --> 00:07:28.540

DAN STONE: so that you know the genocide of the Jews

00:07:28.560 --> 00:07:51.219

DAN STONE: did culminate in Auschwitz in the spring of 1,944 with the deportation of the Jews of Hungary. But I'll come back to this in a bit, even in the death camps. This idea of industrial genocide is, does not really capture the violence and the brutality of what was what was happening in in those places.

00:07:51.560 --> 00:08:14.059

DAN STONE: The shift to the East in the scholarship also, I think, heightens our awareness that the Holocaust was a continent, wide crime that involved willing participants everywhere, from Scandinavia to Western Europe, to the neutral countries, and to Central and Eastern Europe. So when I will come back to this, but when I talk about collaboration in Eastern Europe. It's not meant to be

00:08:14.300 --> 00:08:29.299

DAN STONE: a specific attack on or on. You know the innate characteristics of Romanians or Hungarians say, because we see exactly the same thing happening in Norway or France or the Netherlands. And it's just a kind of

00:08:29.300 --> 00:08:45.009

DAN STONE: reminder of the shift in our understanding of where the Holocaust took place and who were its primary victims. The basic fact is that fully half of the Jews who were killed in the Holocaust were Polish Jews, that's to say, in

00:08:45.010 --> 00:08:58.629

DAN STONE: using Poland's pre war borders, which would include today parts of Lithuania and parts of Belarus and Western Ukraine. But a focus on the periphery of Europe, and that includes Greece, Norway, and other places

00:08:58.630 --> 00:09:14.309

DAN STONE: also sheds light on the fact that the within the limits imposed by different factors, military circumstances, the strength of the occupation authorities, the cooperation of axis partners, and so on. The Nazis sought to destroy Jews everywhere.

00:09:14.320 --> 00:09:32.670

DAN STONE: So half of the Jews killed in the Holocaust, indeed, came from Poland, but the Nazis sought to destroy even very small communities on the islands of Rhodes or Corfu, or to deport Jews, a thousand Jews from Norway, and so on. And all of these actions were important from the Nazi ideological points of view.

00:09:32.670 --> 00:09:45.459

DAN STONE: The 2 quotations also reveal something else which is the changing attitude to methodology and sources among Holocaust historians, and that also has to do with the changing nature of

00:09:45.460 --> 00:10:07.470

DAN STONE: the historians themselves. Who are the historians writing this this history, so with respect to methodology and sources, you see that though both of those documents are oral testimony given after the war by on the one hand, the victim of Holocaust, by the other hand, a Romanian collaborating perpetrator, and the 1st one.

00:10:07.610 --> 00:10:17.540

DAN STONE: The 1st one is from a youngster is from an oral testimony taken many years after the event by a German historian, Anika Walke, who teaches in the Us.

00:10:17.560 --> 00:10:23.110

DAN STONE: And who interviewed people elderly people in Belarus.

00:10:23.984 --> 00:10:24.790

DAN STONE: This

00:10:25.220 --> 00:10:27.710

DAN STONE: willingness to use oral sources

00:10:27.750 --> 00:10:33.770

DAN STONE: is a major shift in historians attitudes in the last 10 or 20 years from being

00:10:34.320 --> 00:10:45.429

DAN STONE: overly focused on official documents, there's been a very widespread criticism of how we use Nazi documents and an understanding that these are, of course, no

00:10:45.530 --> 00:10:55.439

DAN STONE: no less problematic than so-called intentional documents, i.e. Those given after the events that they describe, such as oral interviews.

00:10:55.560 --> 00:11:02.410

DAN STONE : and the second case is perhaps even more surprising in a way, because it comes from a Red army or a Soviet trial.

00:11:02.410 --> 00:11:28.004

DAN STONE: And of course, during the Cold war. Those documents produced by the Soviets were regarded with extreme suspicion simply, on the whole, disregarded. These cannot be taken seriously as useful sources, because they're produced in the process of the establishment of Communist regimes in Eastern Europe, and therefore they're too ideologically loaded to be of any use to the historian. But several historians, most notably Diana Dumitru, who's

00:11:28.440 --> 00:11:44.039

DAN STONE: was is Moldovan, and taught for many years at the university in in Chisinau and various others have shown that actually, when used carefully, the Red Army Trial transcripts can be extremely useful, that often, although

00:11:44.040 --> 00:12:12.079

DAN STONE: there was often no doubt about what the outcome was going to be in in these trials. Nevertheless, the process of cross examination and investigation, and the use of documents, and so on, was no different from trials being conducted by Western European or British or American authorities, and that therefore those trial transcripts contain some of the most useful information that we have about pretty remote parts of Eastern Europe which there might otherwise be a very limited source base.

00:12:12.470 --> 00:12:18.669

DAN STONE: Both of those historians I've cited, Walke and Dmitru, are women. The shift in

00:12:18.710 --> 00:12:40.369

DAN STONE: historians still tend to be, you know. Nice kind of middle class left liberal blah blah everywhere, across North America and Europe. But there's a huge shift. There's a lot more women writing Holocaust history than there was 10 or 20 years ago. The

00:12:40.370 --> 00:13:02.769

DAN STONE: rise to prominence in recent years of queer studies, history of sexuality, history of emotions, and other what might appear to be fairly arcane, methodological pursuits, such as the turn to material culture or archaeology, and the Holocaust, and so on. These are all

00:13:02.770 --> 00:13:12.290

DAN STONE: diversifications of the scholarship that would not have been taken seriously 20 years ago, you know. Historians, I think then would have said, it's not real history.

00:13:12.320 --> 00:13:15.189

DAN STONE: whereas now there's a much more innovative

00:13:15.200 --> 00:13:36.239

DAN STONE: approach to what counts as a source, and how we go about thinking about the human past, because in principle, as a from a historical point of view, anything that is part of human experience can be historicized. The problem, of course, is how you find sources to do that. So, for example, a colleague in the us. Jacob Floors recently published

00:13:36.320 --> 00:14:03.880

DAN STONE: the most recent book about Treblinka, the Death Camp, and it relies very heavily on history of emotions, and talks a lot about the smell, for example, of the death camp, and how far away it could be smelt, and what impact that had on the environment of the local Catholic Poles, the German occupiers living in the region and so on. It's something that is completely different from what historians might have thought of as history several decades ago.

00:14:04.299 --> 00:14:08.209

DAN STONE: So there's this enormous change. And so when I came to write this book.

00:14:08.697 --> 00:14:23.169

DAN STONE: obviously, I'm presented with a problem which is one that's shared by all Holocaust historians, particularly anyone who wants to write a kind of synthetic narrative of this sort, which is that the literature is mountainous. It's, you know, the Holocaust was a continent wide crime

00:14:23.170 --> 00:14:38.974

DAN STONE: with worldwide ramifications in terms of the history of migration, post war after the liberation where survivors ended up, and so on. The history of the churches, the neutral countries, the responses of NGOs and governments across the world, etc.

00:14:40.170 --> 00:14:41.080

DAN STONE: so

00:14:41.890 --> 00:15:02.300

DAN STONE: the literature on the Holocaust. As a result is written, the sources are in practically every European language, and the literature that's written about it by historians is also in every language of Europe, and beyond. No one can read all those languages, plus Hebrew, Yiddish, etc. It's impossible, and no one should pretend that they that they can. So

00:15:02.350 --> 00:15:23.799

DAN STONE: you have to try and find strategies for staying on top of what's being published, and manage as best as as you can, and that's part of the reason why I called the book an unfinished history. I think in in general, all history is unfinished in the sense that, particularly in the sense that the

00:15:24.290 --> 00:15:53.569

DAN STONE: topics in the past that exercise us the most in the present, emotionally, politically, and so on. Are those that generate most the most literature. It's a kind of paradox, you might think. Oh, we don't need another book on the Holocaust, because there are loads already, and of course there are loads already, but it's because it's an important subject that we keep coming back to and keep rewriting it. And in that sense all history is contemporary history, by which I mean the questions that we ask about the past are always ones that are loaded with our concerns in the present. And so writing this book

00:15:53.760 --> 00:16:20.820

DAN STONE: now was rather different from how what I would have done 10 or 20 years ago. You know my concerns now about the rise of fascism in across Europe. The shift towards the far right in the Republican party in America changes in Holocaust, memory, politics, and let me. This is before the war in Gaza. But you know, obviously, memory politics in in Israel. Palestine also

00:16:20.840 --> 00:16:25.300

DAN STONE: impacted on the book in a way that wouldn't have been quite the same

00:16:25.320 --> 00:16:30.819

DAN STONE: 10 or 20 years ago. So in that sense, history is unfinished, but I also mean it in a

00:16:30.850 --> 00:16:35.519

DAN STONE: in a strictly historical sense with respect to the Holocaust, that the

00:16:35.720 --> 00:16:57.470

DAN STONE: one of the biggest areas of scholarly production in recent years has been what we might call aftermath studies. So the period after 1,945, and what becomes clear immediately is that the Holocaust did not simply end in 1,945 in it. Obviously, of course, with respect to the victims, their post war trajectories are

00:16:58.350 --> 00:17:15.550

DAN STONE: important in their own right in terms of how you go about tracing what happened to people after their liberation, and the experience that they had in DP Camps, or returning home trying to rebuild their lives, emigrating, being resettled in 3rd countries, and so on. They were

00:17:15.640 --> 00:17:29.729

DAN STONE: for the most part physically and psychologically ill, and in many cases remain so for the rest of their lives. And so the impact on them. The survivors personally, is an ongoing history, and of course the Holocaust remains

00:17:29.820 --> 00:17:58.780

DAN STONE: a live issue for us today, 80 years later, for all sorts of reasons that we can discuss. You know there are new museums still being built at the moment in in Amsterdam, in Bucharest, supposed to be a new museum site in in Babiyah, in Ukraine, there are new scholarly initiatives. There are new commemorative initiatives, educational initiatives, and so on. And clearly, Holocaust politics.

00:17:59.072 --> 00:18:20.980

DAN STONE: We only have to think about the response to the war in Ukraine and the war in Gaza, and look at the invocation of the Holocaust and Nazism in both cases, to see how the Holocaust continues to shape memory politics across the world in all sorts of important ways. So in that sense history remains unfinished and remains in. You know this is an important topic for many people, for many reasons.

00:18:21.130 --> 00:18:27.520

DAN STONE: I'll just say a little bit about the book and I wanted in in the book then to write

00:18:28.190 --> 00:18:33.390

DAN STONE: something a bit different from existing histories which are either huge.

00:18:33.775 --> 00:18:37.679

DAN STONE: I mean very impressive books, but complex and difficult to read.

00:18:38.080 --> 00:18:39.540

DAN STONE: all the

00:18:39.550 --> 00:18:52.770

DAN STONE: the sort of seminar studies type, simple introductions, and I wanted to write something that took for granted that the reader already knew a little bit about the subject. Not a lot, but enough to not have to explain really basic stuff, and treated the

00:18:53.190 --> 00:19:11.839

DAN STONE: the reader as an intelligent reader. That's to say, it wouldn't just provide a narrative of events, though it does that, but also interrupted the narrative with more analysis, because I think that one of the problems of history, writing in particularly with respect to the Holocaust. But not only is that it gives the illusion of objectivity.

00:19:11.840 --> 00:19:24.280

DAN STONE: suggesting that the text wrote itself, you know this is the past as it really was, whereas history is always written by somebody with their own biases and inclinations, and so on and proclivities. And it's important to think that the

00:19:24.280 --> 00:19:33.910

DAN STONE: historians should explain what they're doing as they go along. And so I've tried to interrupt the text in in that way as I go. But what I really wanted to do was to

00:19:33.960 --> 00:19:55.760

DAN STONE: presents to people who think they know about the Holocaust a series of misunderstandings and misperceptions, and say, Look here, there's some really important aspects of the Holocaust that we haven't really got right, especially in terms of, I think, the way it's commemorated in in the public realm. This is something that you know my late colleague, David Cesarani, pointed out in his final book, but didn't really

00:19:56.085 --> 00:20:12.340

DAN STONE: set it out in the same kind of way that I've done in in this book, and there a few. I'll just highlight a few of these now, and we can talk about them afterwards if you like. The 1st is that the Holocaust is about more than Germans and Jews, that the

00:20:13.410 --> 00:20:17.550

DAN STONE: for obvious reasons, that's to say that the Nazis controlled

00:20:17.560 --> 00:20:43.789

DAN STONE: Germany from 1,933 to the start of well, from until 1,938, when Austria became part of the 3rd Reich, and then the incorporation of the Czech lands, and so on. But before the war we're talking obviously about the history of Jews and Germans. Nevertheless, as soon as we start talking about the Holocaust proper, it becomes quickly clear that the German Jews made up

00:20:43.830 --> 00:20:59.160

DAN STONE: no more than at the very most something like 5% of the total number of Jews killed in in the Holocaust. And this is why I invoked the shift to the East just a moment ago in in the historiography, because more Jews from the city of Warsaw.

00:20:59.300 --> 00:21:05.700

DAN STONE: capital of Poland, were murdered in the Holocaust than the number of Jews from the whole of Western Europe.

00:21:06.200 --> 00:21:19.099

DAN STONE: And so this focus on German Jews. It's driven by certain things, the availability of sources, the huge amounts of sort of documentation that the Nazi regime produced

00:21:19.120 --> 00:21:20.290

DAN STONE: the

00:21:20.970 --> 00:21:23.350

DAN STONE: sense of. I suppose

00:21:24.100 --> 00:21:46.720

DAN STONE: those victims being like us. This emphasis on, you know, middle class bourgeois assimilated German Jewish families. Obviously the Anna Franks family, albeit in Amsterdam, but nevertheless, of course, of German origin, are the archetypes. Here people who we can relate to the majority of the victims of the Holocaust. Those killed in Eastern Europe were poor

00:21:47.131 --> 00:22:07.038

DAN STONE: traditional Jews living in small villages into the shtetls of Eastern Europe people who, on the whole, did not look like us, who didn't think like us, and about whom we know very little, and it's hard to relate to those people in in the same kind of way, and so the predominance of the German Jewish

00:22:08.000 --> 00:22:22.299

DAN STONE: image of victimhood is is very hard to shift. But the what I mean by that, of course, is not that we shouldn't think about the German Jews, but that we need to also think about who else was killed in in the Holocaust?

00:22:22.410 --> 00:22:33.039

DAN STONE: That's with respect to victims when it comes to perpetrators. I need to be very clear here. I've put a lot of stress in the book about Continent. Wide collaboration.

00:22:33.050 --> 00:22:40.070

DAN STONE: Nevertheless, the vast majority of the Jews killed in the Holocaust were killed by somebody German.

00:22:40.080 --> 00:22:59.959

DAN STONE: by which I mean German or Austrian, i.e.. You know, an Aryan from the 3rd Reich during the Holocaust. Nevertheless, the Jews of many parts of Europe would not have come into the Germans. Hands were not for the actions of local collaborators, so the gendarmerie in in France, the police in Norway.

00:23:00.298 --> 00:23:15.510

DAN STONE: the collaborating National Socialist movement and the Civil Service and the police in the Netherlands. The gendarmes and the police in Hungary, and so on. When the Jews of Hungary were deported in the spring of 1,944

00:23:15.510 --> 00:23:44.109

DAN STONE: responsible for that operation was Eichmann and his so called Zonda commando. This special squad of about 200 men and 200 men were not responsible for deporting 437,000 Hungarian Jews on their own they, you know, they coordinated it, but the roundups were carried out by Hungarian policemen, just as the Jews of Paris were rounded up by French police. So

00:23:44.390 --> 00:23:45.710

DAN STONE: this

00:23:45.950 --> 00:23:57.240

DAN STONE: I spent a lot of time on collaboration, because one of the things this is one of the, if you like, present tense aspects of the book, is that when it comes to thinking about contemporary

00:23:57.440 --> 00:24:10.809

DAN STONE: politics in Europe, the shift to the right in Austria, in Italy, in parts of Eastern Europe, you know the current worries about what's happening in Croatia or in Slovakia and elsewhere.

00:24:10.880 --> 00:24:30.859

DAN STONE: A lot of this has to do with a kind of resentment at Holocaust memory being imposed on those countries by the EU or outsiders. There's a very strong kind of antisemitic tinge to many of these of these criticisms, and so trying to

00:24:31.280 --> 00:24:47.019

DAN STONE: establish what actually happened in in these places is, I think, of real importance. The main example and I devote a few pages to it in the chapters is Romania, and I think that's particularly important in the English speaking context, because.

00:24:47.343 --> 00:25:02.880

DAN STONE: I've given a number of talks about the book in in different places since it was published, and it's quite clear to me that most people know very little about what happened in in Romania, and I think it deserves more treatment, because

00:25:02.880 --> 00:25:20.629

DAN STONE: Romania is different from other parts of Europe, insofar as it was not occupied by the 3rd Reich, it was an independent sovereign country, allied to the 3rd Reich, so part of the axis, but on which the Germans also depended. It wasn't a 1 way street. The germs depended on the Romanians for oil.

00:25:20.630 --> 00:25:46.839

DAN STONE: which gave the Romanians considerable leverage over Berlin and in the initial stages of the Holocaust. So the Romanians provided the second largest military force alongside the Wehrmacht to invade the Soviet Union in June, 1941, and the Romanians under Jon Antonescu, were responsible for killing more Jews than any regime apart from Nazi, Germany. What's also interesting about the Romanians, though, is that

00:25:47.220 --> 00:26:12.060

DAN STONE: after the autumn of 1942 they did a complete volte-face, and having deported Jews to the area of Ukraine, that they occupied that they called Transnistria initially, with a plan to deport them to Bełżec, which never happened, so many were killed or died of neglect. In Transnistria. They did a complete volte-face, and declined to deport any more Jews

00:26:12.468 --> 00:26:31.021

DAN STONE: to Transnistria, and even allowed surviving Jews to return to Romania, so that at the end of the war. Although Romania was responsible for killing more Jews than any other country apart from Germany, it also had the largest surviving Jewish population in Europe, much to the surprise of

00:26:31.750 --> 00:26:55.240

DAN STONE: Jews fighting with the Red Army, or the Jewish brigades of the British Army, and so on. This kind of astonishment at finding the Jewish community of Bucharest, for example, almost completely intact. So it's a very complicated history, particularly when you factor in then the memory politics of the Communist years and post Communist period in Romania. But it's one that is important, not least, because.

00:26:55.240 --> 00:27:05.679

DAN STONE: although its name hardly resonates with English. Speaking in the English speaking world, the lot. The single largest massacre of the Holocaust, larger than Babiyah.

00:27:05.680 --> 00:27:27.550

DAN STONE: larger than Operation harvest Festival at Majdanek took place at a village called Bogdanovka, on the banks of the Bug River in what's today Ukraine, on the outermost edge of Romanian occupied Transnistria and Christmas and New Year, 1941, 42, where something like 48,000 Jews were murdered.

00:27:27.550 --> 00:27:53.150

DAN STONE: shot by mostly Ukrainian militia and Volksdeutsche so ethnic Germans from the region, but under Romanian authority. And this, I think, is some. This is just one of numerous massacres that took place in in that region. And so this needs to be much, much better known. I think the second thing that I wanted to stress in the book was that and I think this is

00:27:53.250 --> 00:28:10.849

DAN STONE: still a real confusion in the public memory of the Holocaust is that concentration camps are not synonymous with the Holocaust. The history of the concentration camps in Germany is one that's changed enormously from the establishment of Dachau in 1,933,

00:28:11.020 --> 00:28:23.290

DAN STONE: through to the liberation of Belsen and other camps in 1,945. The concentration camp system proper, that's to say, the camps run by the Ss's inspectorate of concentration camps

00:28:23.290 --> 00:28:42.579

DAN STONE: was not established in order to kill Jews, and was not established even to hold Jews. It was established 1st of all to hold the so called enemies of national Socialism, Communist, Social Democrats, and so on, which included Jews who had a particularly rough time as inmates in those years, because they were Jews.

00:28:42.934 --> 00:29:01.719

DAN STONE: But Jews as such, were not targeted in those camps, and from the mid 19 thirties when Himmler started building up the camp system. The main victims were so called a-socials, prostitutes, beggars, vagrants, and so on. People who were considered to be a threat to the purity of Aryan society

00:29:02.043 --> 00:29:21.470

DAN STONE: also again, including some Jews, but not Jews, who were targeted primarily because they were Jews. And then during the war, you see, an influx of Polish or Czech political prisoners, and so on. There's really very little connection between the concentration camp system and the Holocaust, except for the fact that the Ss. Guards are trained at Dachau.

00:29:21.530 --> 00:29:34.729

DAN STONE: and in the exceptional cases of Auschwitz and Majdanek, both of which combined the functions of concentration, camp and extermination camp and slave labour Camp, the other the death camps proper

00:29:34.960 --> 00:29:53.080

DAN STONE: Helmeno, the operation Reinhard Camps of Bełżec, Sobibor, and Treblinka were outside of the inspectorate concentration camps. They were Ss run, but they were not run by. The Ikr was a separate institution. The confusion, I think, comes from the end of the war.

00:29:53.100 --> 00:30:17.340

DAN STONE: when huge numbers of Jews who had been in camps further east were sent on forced evacuations, the so called death marches and ended up in camps in Germany proper, Dachau, Buchenberg, Sachsenhausen, Belsen, Mauthausen, Flossenburg, Ravensbrück, where they were found by the liberating forces in the spring of 1945 and the sense of these places as

00:30:17.420 --> 00:30:21.159

DAN STONE: Holocaust camps, I think, comes from that period.

00:30:21.310 --> 00:30:35.730

DAN STONE: and we can talk more about that, particularly in in the British context. The significance of Belsen is obviously one that has great resonance up until up until today. And that takes me to the final thing that I wanted to talk about in in the book.

00:30:35.790 --> 00:30:37.840

DAN STONE: and that's the importance of

00:30:38.160 --> 00:30:46.969

DAN STONE: death marches and sub camps for understanding the Holocaust, because these are topics that they, if you read Holocaust memoirs.

00:30:48.390 --> 00:30:50.270

DAN STONE: They're places that crop up a lot.

00:30:50.370 --> 00:30:53.290

DAN STONE: But when in the synthetic histories they're often

00:30:53.420 --> 00:30:58.959

DAN STONE: dealt with very superficially or missing altogether. And I think that's because they.

00:30:59.000 --> 00:31:03.649

DAN STONE: they somehow don't fit with the narrative. If the narrative of the Holocaust is

00:31:03.770 --> 00:31:21.730

DAN STONE: categorization, ghettoisation, deportation, and murder, then how come there are suddenly all these Jews in these little sub lay sub camp, these slave labour sub camps in the autumn of 1944. What are they? What are they doing there? And you know how come these people end up surviving the war.

00:31:21.750 --> 00:31:48.559

DAN STONE: And so it's quite a complex history that again, even just those camps run by the Ss. There's probably over a thousand sub camps attached to the main camps, places with names like Christianstadt, Janinagrube, Neu-Dachs, Eintrachthütte, Blechhammer all sorts of places that have been largely forgotten, mostly quite small, from a few 100 to in some cases 3 or 4,000 inmates.

00:31:48.961 --> 00:31:54.579

DAN STONE: Run by the main camp. So Auschwitz or Gross Rosen, or wherever it might be.

00:31:54.580 --> 00:32:12.110

DAN STONE: but where the Ss. Rented out Jews to local firms usually working in ammunitions or aeronautics, or sometimes in agriculture, and the reason they were created was simply because of the chaotic state of the German war economy in the late stages of the war.

00:32:12.150 --> 00:32:27.359

DAN STONE: What this meant was that the number of forced labourers who'd been brought in from Eastern Europe, non Jews who'd been brought in as civilian forced labourers couldn't really be increased. There were no more people to forcibly bring back. And so Nazi ideology was

00:32:27.510 --> 00:32:47.710

DAN STONE: kind of put on ice attenuated briefly, so that young fit Jews could be taken from the camps, primarily Auschwitz, but also from the woods Ghetto, and used as slave labourers. This was not some kind of humanitarian act on the part of the Ss. These were basically the dead on leave. The thinking was, we'll use these people for this brief period.

00:32:48.049 --> 00:33:02.980

DAN STONE: We need them for the war effort, and we'll deal with them later. And of course large numbers of them died because they were, of course, not treated properly. It's not exactly conditions that promoted productivity. Nevertheless, the sub camps were not death camps.

00:33:02.980 --> 00:33:29.510

DAN STONE: and the people in them were given slightly better conditions than they would have had at Auschwitz or Gross Rosen main camp. And so we're talking here about people who were figured as men and women in the Nazi documents, but were often children, you know, teenagers aged between 14 and 18, who were young enough and fit enough to get through those last months of the war in the sub camps, and then to endure the rigors of the death marches and

00:33:29.510 --> 00:33:35.669

DAN STONE: the death marches themselves are also not, are not easy to incorporate into this general narrative, because

00:33:35.720 --> 00:33:42.170

DAN STONE: they're a very bizarre phenomenon. You see, at the end of the war Himmler issues this order to the Ss. That

00:33:42.330 --> 00:33:50.301

DAN STONE: concentration camp inmates shouldn't fall alive into the hands of the Allies, by which he means primarily the Red Army

00:33:50.730 --> 00:33:59.919

DAN STONE: And in January, 1945, there are about 714,000 registered concentration camp prisoners in the IKL camp system.

00:33:59.940 --> 00:34:01.610

DAN STONE: About a 3rd of them

00:34:01.640 --> 00:34:09.060

DAN STONE: die or are killed on route. On these evacuation marches between January and April or May, 1,945. It's completely senseless.

00:34:09.568 --> 00:34:14.050

DAN STONE: They're massacred in every small village across Central Europe.

00:34:14.190 --> 00:34:32.988

DAN STONE: and they die in huge numbers. People who just can't make it anymore are left at the side of the road, or a or a shot and after the war there, there are these maps produced by the new mayors in across Germany and Central Europe, showing where non German nationals died. And so we can. We. You know, we have quite a lot of information about these about these people.

00:34:33.510 --> 00:34:34.520 DAN STONE : but the

00:34:35.440 --> 00:34:47.539

DAN STONE: the death marches have been understood by historians like Goldhagen and others as the final stage of the Holocaust, and I don't think that makes much sense, because if the Nazis wanted to kill everybody, they had the means at their disposal to kill everybody. But they didn't.

00:34:47.650 --> 00:34:49.890

DAN STONE: They killed people who couldn't keep up.

00:34:50.050 --> 00:34:55.951

DAN STONE: And they there were some notable massacres. On some of the routes the forest of

00:34:56.429 --> 00:35:04.630

DAN STONE: the Below Forest, the Gardelegan massacre, and others. In the spring of 1,945, but

2 thirds of the

00:35:04.770 --> 00:35:06.020 DAN STONE : camp inmates.

00:35:06.320 --> 00:35:12.899

DAN STONE: not all Jews, of course, but 2 thirds of the inmates survived until the end of the war, and so how to incorporate this into

00:35:12.990 --> 00:35:37.429

DAN STONE: a narrative history of the Holocaust is quite a tough question. I think. It has to do with the chaos of the collapsing 3rd Reich. The chaos of the collapsing concentration camp system, the kind of sense of rage and humiliation and shame felt by the guards. At the end of the war. The similar feelings among the inmates. They knew that the end was near, but they were still dying.

00:35:37.898 --> 00:35:39.939 DAN STONE : And so it felt like

00:35:40.050 --> 00:36:07.829

DAN STONE: a kind of continuation of the Holocaust. But it was not systematic in the same way that the killing process had been up until that point, and so some of the best literature on the death marches, draws on so anthropology or sociology to try and understand what was what was happening. But I it's complicated. But I tried to incorporate it into the book, just to remind people that the names of these places that you might come across in memoirs. Primo Levy is the most famous example. You know, we know that he was in Auschwitz, but people forget.

00:36:07.830 --> 00:36:30.319

DAN STONE: But he was based at Auschwitz, 3 Monowitz, which was the administrative center of the Auschwitz sub camp, of which there were about a hundred. And so it's a reminder that this was an important part of the history of the Holocaust and I've spoken now for like just over 30 min. I think I'll stop there, you know. That's just an example of 3 of the I think you know misunderstandings that have

00:36:30.320 --> 00:36:40.809

DAN STONE: crept in for good historical reasons into our understanding, and I've tried to kind of point out ways in which we might rethink some of these issues. So I'll stop there, Andy. Thank you very much.

00:36:40.980 --> 00:37:01.719

ANDY LAWRENCE: Dan, thanks. Thanks ever so much for that. That's a wonderful tool to force a wonderful overview of the book. And your research and crucially, I think the the kind of the misunderstandings and misconceptions, and some that we may may have. So what I'd like to do now is to invite anybody with questions

00:37:02.267 --> 00:37:18.309

ANDY LAWRENCE: or thoughts or reflections. That I'd like to put to Dan to type those into the chat, and hopefully we'll be able to pick those up and put those to Dan. But whilst people are doing that. I just had a kind of a thought, or or rather

00:37:18.510 --> 00:37:20.050

ANDY LAWRENCE: as a teacher.

00:37:20.411 --> 00:37:22.730

ANDY LAWRENCE: You presented me with a problem.

00:37:23.267 --> 00:37:28.440

ANDY LAWRENCE: Because I now realize that I need to complicate

00:37:28.610 --> 00:37:50.159

ANDY LAWRENCE: what I'm teaching. So I realized that you know, I'm not teaching enough about this. The shift eastwards. I'm not teaching enough about the Holocaust on the margins in places like Corfu and Rhodes. I'm not teaching enough about Bogdanov. I'm not teaching enough about death marches, and so on.

00:37:50.160 --> 00:38:07.200

ANDY LAWRENCE: But I've only got a limited amount of time, so can you can you recommend is, is there are there like perhaps booked enough? Are there sort of case studies that we can that we can focus on that? We can access as English, British. history, teachers.

00:38:07.506 --> 00:38:25.600

ANDY LAWRENCE: and other subjects are. Are there these case studies that we can access that we can then use to complicate the narrative, and how we teach our students to to get away from, from the misconceptions and misunderstandings and the misrepresentations that that we might be doing in in the classroom. If that makes sense.

00:38:26.490 --> 00:38:30.250

DAN STONE: It does. And I appreciate very much that this is a really

00:38:30.290 --> 00:38:48.380

DAN STONE: difficult problem that you know, the history of the Holocaust is one small part of the history curriculum, and that you and the students have plenty of other things that they have to deal with. So I know this is a very difficult problem to deal with. I would say.

00:38:48.490 --> 00:38:53.640

DAN STONE: I mean, I do think it's really important that the students understand that the

00:38:53.690 --> 00:38:58.820

DAN STONE: that Poland was the heart of the Holocaust, and that the majority of the victims

00:38:58.860 --> 00:39:19.690

DAN STONE: came from and were murdered in Poland, and also that the so called Holocaust by bullets. You know the shootings that took place before the creation of death camps in the Eastern European borderlands, the Western Soviet union that killed somewhere between a million and a million and a half Jews is also something that should be should be stressed.

00:39:19.740 --> 00:39:25.860

DAN STONE: I think the there's no reason not to talk about the death camps. But the focus on the death camps alone

00:39:26.010 --> 00:39:34.642

DAN STONE: does not capture what happened in in the Holocaust. I think that's really crucial. So I you know, I would say, talk about the Holocaust by bullets.

00:39:35.940 --> 00:39:37.520 DAN STONE : Talk about

00:39:38.440 --> 00:39:41.130

DAN STONE: Poland as the epicentre of the Holocaust.

00:39:41.140 --> 00:40:10.269

DAN STONE: Talk about the death camps, and then maybe supplement that with a case study from, let's say, France or the Netherlands on the one hand, and then maybe Romania, or hunger, or Hungary. On the other hand, because you don't want to give the impression, I think, to students in Britain. That's it's also too easy to do that. The Eastern Europe is full of, you know, superstitious peasants who like kill people at the drop of a hat. The kind of behavior that you see in Eastern Europe is driven by the nature of the Nazi occupation.

00:40:10.270 --> 00:40:18.099

DAN STONE: There's a kind of lawlessness in Eastern Europe that isn't the case in Western Europe. Whether Nazis think of the Western Europeans.

00:40:18.100 --> 00:40:45.420

DAN STONE: particularly in Northern Europe and the Netherlands as being racially kin, and therefore they try to accommodate the locals to some extent. But places like Transnistria from the Romanian point of view, or Poland under German occupation are basically like colonial spaces. Where anything goes. They're lawless zones, and that encourages locals, too, to behave in ways that they otherwise would not ordinarily do so. I would

00:40:45.840 --> 00:41:08.043

DAN STONE: complement any kind of case study on Eastern Europe with one from Western Europe as well, because there's no shortage of collaboration from regimes through to institutions and individuals in in Western Europe. You know the in in France the Vichy regime is the only part of Western Europe. Where Jews are deported.

00:41:08.840 --> 00:41:26.209

DAN STONE: well, the what the Nazi demand to pre-empt to deport Jews is pre-empted by by the Vichy regime. You know they set up their own laws, antisemitic legislation before the Nazis required them to do so, and so on, and that you could compare that, for example, with Slovakia.

00:41:26.210 --> 00:41:40.866

DAN STONE: where, in 1,941. This, the Flinkad regime, is the 1st in Central Eastern Europe to ask the Germans to take their Jews to deport them and murder them. So you know, there are interesting parallels to be to be drawn

00:41:41.160 --> 00:41:44.670

DAN STONE: with respect to very specific case studies.

00:41:45.140 --> 00:41:49.809

DAN STONE: Maybe Emma or others in the audience would know better that I think there are.

00:41:49.970 --> 00:41:56.790

DAN STONE: I mean, there's plenty of scholarly literature. How much of that has been translated into material that's appropriate for school use.

00:41:56.860 --> 00:42:02.260

DAN STONE: I don't really know at the moment, is the answer. But I think

00:42:03.790 --> 00:42:06.870

DAN STONE: probably with respect to Romania. Not very much.

00:42:07.223 --> 00:42:11.180

DAN STONE: But I think it was in principle it should be possible to do that.

00:42:12.240 --> 00:42:15.370

ANDY LAWRENCE: Lovely thanks very much. And just to kind of follow on from that.

00:42:15.570 --> 00:42:19.179

ANDY LAWRENCE: Could you perhaps talk a little bit about ideology?

00:42:19.648 --> 00:42:30.529

ANDY LAWRENCE: And how much there's the need for teachers to focus on and to develop their students understanding of Nazi archaeology. And because we're talking about.

00:42:30.780 --> 00:42:37.380

ANDY LAWRENCE: you know, a continent wide. Genocide here. What sort of focus should be on our geology?

00:42:37.540 --> 00:43:02.090

DAN STONE: That's also complicated. And you know you, you've read the book. So you've seen. I spend the 1st like 3 chapters, mainly talking a lot about Nazi ideology, because I think that not because I'm an intentionalist of the old school that that thinks that you know Hitler wrote in Mein Kampf that he wanted to get rid of the Jews, and therefore that's why the Jews were murdered. Things are rather more complicated than that. But unless you understand why the Nazis had

00:43:02.090 --> 00:43:15.759

DAN STONE: the Nazi leadership, at least had this obsession with the Jews. In the 1st place, you also will never understand why it was the Jews that were targeted. So a kind of functionalist argument of a sort of radical version that, says the Nazis, ended up merging the Jews

00:43:15.760 --> 00:43:21.100

DAN STONE: by accident or despite themselves, I think is not tenable. But

00:43:21.390 --> 00:43:48.999

DAN STONE: you have to find you have to negotiate a path between a really simplistic form of intentionalism and a radical form of functionalism. And there, I think, what's really important is to understand. 1st of all, the seriousness of Nazi ideology. This is very complicated, I think. First, you know, for school kids in 2024 to get their heads around. Say, yeah, actually, the Nazis believed in this total nonsense. You know, I get my students to read Mein Kampf

00:43:49.060 --> 00:43:54.099

DAN STONE: undergraduates. I'm talking about 30 year undergraduates through. Not all of it. But to read, you know, passages from Mein Kampf.

00:43:54.260 --> 00:44:01.410

DAN STONE: And I think I mean, it just seems laughable today. It's so stupid and boring and so trying to get

00:44:01.590 --> 00:44:08.290

DAN STONE: like kids to understand that the Nazis meant. What they said is, I think, the 1st challenge, but then I think, to try and

00:44:08.470 --> 00:44:11.820

DAN STONE: ascertain who believed this.

00:44:11.830 --> 00:44:18.080

DAN STONE: And it's not the case. I think, a la Goldhagen, that we have to say that 80 million Germans all thought

00:44:18.120 --> 00:44:47.839

DAN STONE: in some kind of the history was driven by some metaphysical clash between Aryan and non Aryan forces. It's not true. Nor is it true that non Jews everywhere in Europe thought the same. What's really important in this case is that the Nazi leadership stratum, and in particular, as the years passed, the SS, Hitler, Himmler, Heydrich, Eichmann, Muller, and the SD Intellectuals, and so on. They did believe this stuff.

00:44:47.850 --> 00:44:50.169

DAN STONE: and they were the people in charge.

00:44:50.550 --> 00:45:12.990

DAN STONE: When you go down and look at other Nazi or state institutions. In the 3rd Reich, when you look at collaborating institutions of auxiliary policemen, for example, in Ukraine or the Baltic States, down to the level of individuals. You know, peasants looting their Jewish neighbours homes in in Ukraine. They didn't have to be anti Semites in that sense. They might have held

00:45:13.665 --> 00:45:15.849

DAN STONE: kind of religiously absorbed

00:45:16.010 --> 00:45:24.250

DAN STONE: notions about Jesus Christ killers in in parts of Ukraine and the Baltic States, and so on. But that ordinarily would not have been enough

00:45:24.410 --> 00:45:49.640

DAN STONE: to allow people to murder or rob their neighbours. The circumstances of the Nazi occupation provided that what's important is that people who were not necessarily driven by this metaphysical, like killiastic anti Semitism, nevertheless slipstreamed the Nazis, and there was enough opportunism and venality everywhere across Europe to mean that people were willing to join in.

00:45:49.660 --> 00:45:58.800

DAN STONE: even if they didn't necessarily believe in in the true Nazi sense. But you know the Nazi regime only was only around for 12 years, but the amount of material

00:45:59.120 --> 00:46:04.739

DAN STONE: that the Nazis left kind of scholarly, anti Semitic research institutes

00:46:05.600 --> 00:46:20.600

DAN STONE: the ways in which you know the journals, in in every subject, from archaeology through to mathematics, the ways in which antisemitism pervaded everything that the Nazis touch is really astonishing, and the amount of documentation that keeps appearing

00:46:20.900 --> 00:46:26.979

DAN STONE: is absolutely remarkable. So it's a challenge. But you, I think you can.

00:46:27.230 --> 00:46:31.679

DAN STONE: You can get, I think school kids and students to understand that this was.

00:46:32.050 --> 00:46:41.510

DAN STONE: This is what was different about Nazi Germany from, let's say, other fascist regimes. This is a total obsession with the Jews. And this this was the lens through which almost everything was understood.

00:46:41.670 --> 00:46:42.360

DAN STONE: Yeah.

00:46:42.360 --> 00:46:48.026

ANDY LAWRENCE: Thank you that that's really fascinating. A couple of questions from the from the chat.

00:46:48.460 --> 00:46:55.530

ANDY LAWRENCE: So with reference to a continental wide genocide in Europe. Where does the experience in Africa.

00:46:55.540 --> 00:46:57.910

ANDY LAWRENCE: Algeria, Tunisia, for example, fit in.

00:46:58.060 --> 00:47:21.659

DAN STONE: Oh, that's a very good question. And there are debates about this. And there's been some quite recent. There's an there's an interesting book that was published a few years ago, called the Holocaust in North Africa, edited by Omar Boom and Sarah Abrevaya Stein, who are both historians at UCLA and boom is of Moroccan origin, and writes about this, what's it's complicated? Because the French colonies

00:47:21.660 --> 00:47:36.800

DAN STONE: were occupied at different times by the Germans and the Italians, and so on. But you see, particularly in Tunisia and Algeria, to some extent for brief periods under Nazi occupation, the Jews. They're not rounded up and murdered.

00:47:36.870 --> 00:47:39.380

DAN STONE: Nevertheless, the Jews are

00:47:39.410 --> 00:47:42.785

DAN STONE: targeted in the sense that

00:47:43.610 --> 00:48:04.070

DAN STONE: they're not exactly Ghetto eyes, but their movements are restricted. In some cases property is stolen. In some cases there are Jews sent off to work in pretty harsh labour camps in the Sahara, where numbers quite large numbers die, and Jews of North African origin, who are in France

00:48:04.270 --> 00:48:10.529

DAN STONE: during the Nazi occupation, are also caught up and deported and murdered. So

00:48:10.730 --> 00:48:11.140

DAN STONE: I'm

00:48:11.610 --> 00:48:25.040

DAN STONE: I don't really have the chronology straight in my head. To be honest, to give you a very detailed answer here, but because the periods of occupation between the and the shift in occupation of diff. The different French colonies.

00:48:25.336 --> 00:48:41.930

DAN STONE: Is, is changes quite rapidly over short periods of time, I guess I mean, apart from Tunisia, Algeria is the most important case, because, unlike the other parts of North Africa, Algeria, from the French point of view was not a colony, but was part of metropolitan France. You know it was split into 3 Department

00:48:42.283 --> 00:49:01.350

DAN STONE: who returned MPs to the National Assembly in Paris and the history of Nazi.

Occupation in Algeria is crucial for understanding what happened later. The Algerian Independence movement and the war in Algeria from 1,954 to 62, because, of course, from the French point of view.

00:49:01.675 --> 00:49:13.710

DAN STONE: it wasn't a war at all. You know. We talk about this as the Algerian Civil War, or the You know the and the Algerian, the RPF. And the Algerian War for independence. But the

00:49:14.380 --> 00:49:15.880 DAN STONE : French regarded

00:49:16.180 --> 00:49:18.339

DAN STONE: the war in Algeria as a police action.

00:49:18.360 --> 00:49:47.770

DAN STONE: and lots of there were lots of former French intellectuals like Sartre and former quite famous deportees like Jermaine, Tileon and David Rousse, who'd been deported and kept in Nazi camps as French political prisoners during the war, who were then some of the most outspoken critics of the French behavior in Algeria during the war. So there is a very intimate connection between.

00:49:48.320 --> 00:50:03.359

ANDY LAWRENCE: Alright brilliant, thank you. No. Another question from the chat Poland Senate approved a controversial bill in 2,018, making it illegal to accuse the post national state of complicity in Nazi Holocaust. What your thoughts on this.

00:50:03.690 --> 00:50:15.480

DAN STONE: Well, that's now changed because the since the Donald Tusk Government took over some months ago in in Poland. That's no longer the case. And so I think things have changed. You're talking to Polish colleagues who

00:50:16.010 --> 00:50:31.799

DAN STONE: had a pretty tough time of it in in recent years. That has. That's not the case. What it showed, I think, was that Communist habits die hard. This idea that in the age of the Internet, a nation state

00:50:31.830 --> 00:50:45.553

DAN STONE: can decree that people can only say certain things about the past is insane for starters. It's like this Communist notion that we can, you know who controls the past controls the presence, you know, straight out of Orwell and

00:50:46.290 --> 00:50:53.509

DAN STONE: It remains the case, however, just because of funding patterns in Poland that there's been a lot of Government money given to

00:50:54.120 --> 00:51:00.729

DAN STONE: for example, the Pilecki Institute, which works on rescue and

00:51:01.570 --> 00:51:20.589

DAN STONE: Catholic Poles who saved and hid Jews during the Holocaust. And of course this is this is historically accurate. There were people who did this, it was nevertheless, very much a minority experience, and so that what you see is a kind of subtle revisionism going on in in Poland, that is, a

00:51:20.590 --> 00:51:42.180

DAN STONE: deemphasizes any sense of collaboration in in the Holocaust to emphasize assistance and rescue on the part of Gentiles in Poland. And it's not that those things are not true, but that the balance excuse me, the balance has gone wrong somewhere. What's more worrying at the moment, I think, is what's happening in Croatia.

00:51:42.180 --> 00:52:03.799

DAN STONE: where the current government is attacking the administration of the Jasenovac, a camp complex Jasenovac, which was a camp complex of 5 camps grouped together under the name of Jasenovac. It's about 60 miles outside of Zagreb is one of the few examples of

00:52:03.800 --> 00:52:22.444

DAN STONE: a concentration and death camp run by one of Germany's allies. It was run by the Croats, by the Stasia regime in in the independent States of Croatia, during the war, which was is usually figured as a Nazi puppet state, but actually had quite a lot of room for manoeuvre, and was an independent fascist movement and the current

00:52:22.750 --> 00:52:45.150

DAN STONE: Well, the director recently stood down under attack from the current government. And I've actually been corresponding with a colleague in in Rijeka, in in Croatia, who's been filling me in on current government attacks on memory, politics in in Croatia. So things in Poland have got a little better.

00:52:45.320 --> 00:53:08.660

DAN STONE: But elsewhere in in Central and Eastern Europe. But not only there, of course, we see a kind of subtle revisionism creeping in Hungary is, I think, the most egregious example, but I think you know, when you look at who's in government, in, in Italy and in other parts of Western Europe? Clearly, the western parts of the continent are not immune from these pressures, either.

00:53:09.030 --> 00:53:13.270

ANDY LAWRENCE: Sure brilliant. Thank you. Thanks for your insight on that. Another question.

00:53:13.807 --> 00:53:30.339

ANDY LAWRENCE: When looking at the personal side of testimony, how important do you believe it is to discuss groups such as the Judenrat and the Sonderkommando in classrooms today? And how would you suggest doing so without the risk of blurring lines of complicity and Jewish involvement in their own fate.

00:53:30.820 --> 00:53:33.048

DAN STONE: Ha! It's a really hard question.

00:53:33.790 --> 00:53:39.068

DAN STONE: I mean, it depends what age group you're talking to. I suppose? I think

00:53:39.680 --> 00:53:57.269

DAN STONE: for all kids from the age of I don't know. 14 upwards. I would have thought that the idea of the grey zone of the lack of ethical clarity in many parts of this history is something that can be discussed. And I think kids can understand that.

00:53:58.041 --> 00:54:02.259

DAN STONE: The nature of persecution is such that it doesn't make people noble.

00:54:02.980 --> 00:54:08.970

DAN STONE: You know, persecuting people, starving them, pitting them against one another

doesn't turn

00:54:08.970 --> 00:54:38.000

DAN STONE: the majority of people into nice human beings, and so in a way, we shouldn't be surprised that since there was no such thing as a homogeneous Jewish community in Europe, there are many different sorts of Jews and Jewish communities, we should, we shouldn't be surprised that Jews turned against one another in circumstances where, doing so was deliberately facilitated by the Nazis. It's no coincidence that the camps were set up in the way they were such that camp societies would were

00:54:38.000 --> 00:54:58.080

DAN STONE: devised to, to pit different groups against one another. National religious class and other categories of people were fighting against one another with specific reference to the Zonda commando and the Juden data. I would say, I think we can be quite clear here that the kind of post war understanding of these groups as

00:54:58.433 --> 00:55:08.690

DAN STONE: somehow collaborators in their in their own fate, is incorrect. That these were groups of people who were victims of the Holocaust just as much as any other.

00:55:08.690 --> 00:55:13.770

DAN STONE: They for the most part, didn't choose those roles. It's perfectly clear that that some

00:55:14.616 --> 00:55:17.154

DAN STONE: Judenrat chairs obviously

00:55:18.736 --> 00:55:21.820

DAN STONE: were

00:55:22.820 --> 00:55:24.040 DAN STONE : unpleasant

00:55:24.420 --> 00:55:25.660 DAN STONE : pieces of work.

00:55:27.410 --> 00:55:35.550

DAN STONE: Rumkowski's abuse of women and girls, the speeches he made, and so on. They

00:55:36.380 --> 00:55:40.132

DAN STONE: tend to make me agree with Hannah Arendt that

00:55:41.730 --> 00:55:49.389

DAN STONE : No one should really have done that job. The classic defence is that you know these are victims. Had the Judenrat not

00:55:49.460 --> 00:56:12.070

DAN STONE: stepped up and taken on the roles that the Nazis demanded, the situation would have been much messier, and Hannah Arendt's position was always yeah. But then, at least, there would have been ethical clarity about this, and I still think there is, I think, no matter how unpleasant some of the things Rumkowski and others did, they were nevertheless not masters of their own destinies. They were put in a situation that was

00:56:12.070 --> 00:56:23.880

DAN STONE: where the Nazis were quite clearly in control. The Nazis made the decisions about the life and deaths of the Ghettos as they did of the members of the sonderkommando and so we see in in many.

00:56:24.170 --> 00:56:47.449

DAN STONE: in those cases, and in many others a kind of grey zone where people did things that they were not proud of. After the war became capos etc, etc, prisoner functionaries of all sorts. Nevertheless, they didn't choose those positions. They feel it was the we have to remember who was ultimately in control of this this whole process. And I think most kids are intelligent enough to understand that.

00:56:47.690 --> 00:56:57.793

ANDY LAWRENCE: Yeah, yeah, no, I think so. Thank you. It gets it gets ever more complicated, doesn't it? It's tremendous. Perhaps we we're moving to the last couple of minutes here.

00:56:58.240 --> 00:57:06.670

ANDY LAWRENCE: Perhaps one final question. From the chat. Whilst there was policy regarding German gay men. What might be said of the experiences of gay women.

00:57:07.650 --> 00:57:25.039

DAN STONE: Hmm. Not a huge amount in many respects, because homosexuality was outlawed. Obviously according to paragraph 175 of the Weimar Constitution, which was simply continued and supplemented by the Nazis, and, as you know, you, as you probably know, gay men were not

00:57:25.160 --> 00:57:40.410

DAN STONE: targeted for annihilation as such, but were sent to concentration camps, where they were denounced as homosexuals, or discovered to be engaged in homosexual activity, which is, of course there's a kind of irony in all in all of this, given that the Nazi movement itself was so

00:57:40.727 --> 00:57:57.559

DAN STONE: homosocial, if not homoerotic. In in many respects the history of the essay. You know that the purge of Rome and and others was based on their kind of degeneracy and homosexuality, and so on. But it was more a kind of break sort of curb on their power.

00:57:57.560 --> 00:58:23.699

DAN STONE: When you look at the rise to of to prominence of the Ss. The Ss's own imagery and rhetoric, and so on, is no less bound up in a kind of homo social way of thinking as well. So there's a whole kind of history of eroticism and sexuality with respect to Nazi perpetration that is, has partly been written, but still there's still more to be written. But it's difficult, of course, without

00:58:24.180 --> 00:58:36.520

DAN STONE: without slipping into sensationalism or voyeurism or prurience. It's a it's a obviously a very difficult topic when it comes to Lesbians. The 3rd Reich, like most authoritarian regimes.

00:58:36.520 --> 00:59:01.449

DAN STONE: wasn't really concerned with Lesbianism in the sense that you know, gay men are a problem because they're preventing the reproduction of the species, and it's a kind of degeneracy. Lesbianism has always been presumed a not really to exist. B to be curable. C. Not to be a threat to the State in in the same way. So gay women were persecuted under the 3rd Reich, again, in in small numbers, where they were denounced, or where

00:59:01.966 --> 00:59:11.263

DAN STONE: they were openly gay or revealed to be gay otherwise, although Lesbianism was denounced. You also.

00:59:11.860 --> 00:59:28.749

DAN STONE: and you see the you know, the usual kind of ideological depictions common to authoritarian regimes of, you know, solid house and breeding lots of children for the glory of the Reich, and so on. It was.

00:59:28.760 --> 00:59:48.899

DAN STONE: It was something that was of minor concern. It doesn't mean there isn't a history of Lesbianism to be written. I mean my! I've got colleagues like Anna Hájková Warwick and others who who've done a lot of important work about why, a queer history of the Holocaust tells us something important about victims and about perpetrators. But Lesbianism as such was not a

00:59:49.610 --> 00:59:58.550

DAN STONE: not a crucial component of Nazi ideology, I would say, and I think one of the things that's important about queer studies if we think of

00:59:59.081 --> 01:00:02.180

DAN STONE: you know, if there were 6 million victims of the Holocaust.

01:00:02.350 --> 01:00:05.100

DAN STONE: we can assume that quite large numbers of those were gay.

01:00:06.090 --> 01:00:06.940

DAN STONE: And

01:00:07.140 --> 01:00:17.289

DAN STONE: sometimes you hear things like, Oh, we can't really do. It's a bit like the echoes of the debates about feminist history in the 19 eighties and nineties. We can't do queer studies because it's somehow insulting to the survivors.

01:00:17.646 --> 01:00:32.029

DAN STONE: You know, it's an intrusion of ideological agendas. It's just woke blah blah so well. How do you know that some of the survivors are not gay? They might actually welcome. This line of inquiry and research, and certainly for students today.

01:00:32.110 --> 01:00:35.430

DAN STONE: It's important to save.

01:00:35.820 --> 01:00:45.820

DAN STONE: You know. Again, it's a way of recognizing their own selves and identities in in things that have happened in the past. So I think it's a. It's an extremely important research agenda.

01:00:46.410 --> 01:01:07.500

ANDY LAWRENCE: Lovely. Thank you. Thank you so much. I think we'll have to draw it to a close. There, we just passed our time. But, Dan, thanks so much for joining us over the last hour. It's been a fascinating hour. It's been a challenging hour. It is certainly led me to ask questions about how I teach and what I teach, and so on in my classroom, and the other thing that really strikes me about the book is

01:01:07.680 --> 01:01:32.249

ANDY LAWRENCE: is that in a, in a single volume? How instructive it is! How good an overview it is in terms of the chronology and the historiography, and the and the recent scholarship that I think we're all aiming to get into our classroom. So, so thank you so much for that. Thank you so much to everybody for joining us and for all your great questions. Thank you to my colleague, Andrew Copeland, for sorting out

01:01:32.250 --> 01:01:44.620

ANDY LAWRENCE: and all the technology making that run so smoothly. And we will return, I think in in a month or 6 weeks time. So again, thanks. So much for joining us and Dan. Thank you ever so much for.

01:01:44.620 --> 01:01:54.299

DAN STONE: Thank you. Thank you so much for having me, and I wish everybody luck with. I know this is very complex historiography. So good luck with you know, bringing some of it into the classroom.

01:01:54.300 --> 01:01:57.420

ANDY LAWRENCE: Brilliant thanks a lot, thanks. Everybody. Have a good evening. Bye, bye.