



Weiss - Livnat
International Center
for Holocaust Research
and Education



University of Haifa

“The Final Solution to the Jewish Question”: The Nazi Policy of Extermination

Dr. David Silberklang

Course Number: 127.8062

Semester: Autumn 2021

Class Time: Sundays, 12:15 – 15:45

Class Location:

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Office Hours: by appointment

Location:

Tel.: (02) 644-3516 (Yad Vashem)

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Course Description:

The course will examine the development and implementation of the “Final Solution” and various historical theories regarding the Nazis’ decision-making process through reading and analysis of historical literature and some of the key documents from the period. Did Hitler and the Nazi leadership plan to murder the Jews all along, or did they reach this decision at a late date? How and based on what factors was the decision reached? What were the roles of Occupied and Axis societies? What did Jews perceive?

The examination will be thematic, geographical, and chronological, and will raise questions regarding the interconnections between different periods, places, and factors that affected policy-making and responses.

Course Requirements:

Students will write two 5-6-page (double-spaced) analytical response papers on the readings and a term paper on a topic of their choice. The two essays can address readings in weeks 3 – 12. Students with relevant language skills (e.g., German, Polish, Russian, Dutch, French, etc.) can write one of the essays on primary sources or a secondary source in that language. This should be discussed with the instructor. Students also have the option to do a 15-20 minute oral presentation in lieu of one of the written essays.

The term paper topic must be approved by the instructor. Proposals for seminar papers (25-30 pages), or short secondary research papers (10-15 pages) should be submitted by December 15.

Final Grade:

Class participation 20%

Two short papers 40% (20% each)

Final Paper 40%

For those not writing a term paper:

Class Participation 33%

2 Short Papers 66% (33% each)

Required Book:

Christopher R. Browning, *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939 – March 1942* (Jerusalem and Lincoln: Yad Vashem and University of Nebraska Press, 2004)

[available for purchase from Yad Vashem for NIS 100 in English; NIS 50 in Hebrew]

Sources marked with an asterisk [*] can also be found in Hebrew

Week 1, October 17

A. Stages to the Final Solution Intentionalism and Functionalism

Read at least 2 of the following articles:

- Eberhard Jäckel, "Hitler Orders the Holocaust," in idem, *Hitler in History* (Hanover, NH: University of New England Press, 1984), pp. 44-65

Also available in Michael R. Marrus, ed., *The Nazi Holocaust: Historical Articles on the Destruction of European Jews*; vol. 3, *The "Final Solution": The Implementation of Mass Murder* (Westport, CT: Meckler, 1989), pp. 52-73

- Hans Mommsen, "'The Realization of the Unthinkable': The 'Final Solution of the Jewish Question' in the Third Reich," in Gerhard Hirschfeld, ed., *The Policies of Genocide: Jews and Soviet Prisoners of War in Nazi Germany* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1986), pp. 93-144

Also available in Marrus, ed., *The Nazi Holocaust*, vol. 3, pp. 217-264

*- Saul Friedländer, "From Anti-Semitism to Extermination: A Historiographical Study of Nazi Policies toward the Jews and an Essay in Interpretation," *Yad Vashem Studies*, 16 (1984), pp. 1-50

Also available in Marrus, ed., *The Nazi Holocaust*, vol. 3, pp. 301-350

*- Götz Aly, "'Jewish Resettlement': Reflections on the Political Prehistory of the Holocaust," in Ulrich Herbert, ed., *National Socialist Extermination Policies: Contemporary German Perspectives and Controversies* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2000), pp. 53-82

*- Ian Kershaw, "Hitler's Role in the 'Final Solution'," *Yad Vashem Studies*, 34 (2006), pp. 7-43

B. Nazi Anti-Jewish Policies in the Third Reich in Documents, 1933-1939

*From Yitzhak Arad, Yisrael Gutman, Abraham Margalio, eds., *Documents on the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1981):

- Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service, April 7, 1933 + First Regulation for the Implementation of the Law, pp. 39-42
- Nuremberg Laws, September 15, 1935 + First Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law, pp. 77-80
- Establishment of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Vienna, August 1938, pp. 99-101
- Riots of Kristallnacht – Heydrich's Instructions, November 1938, pp. 102-104
- Discussions by the Authorities Following Kristallnacht, pp. 108-115
- Regulation for the Elimination of the Jews from the Economic Life of Germany, November 12, 1938, pp. 115-116

- Regulation for the Payment of an Expiation Fine by Jews Who Are German Subjects, November 12, 1938, p. 117
- SS Views on the Solution of the Jewish Question, "Jews, What Next?" pp. 118-121
- German Foreign Ministry Memorandum on Policy Regarding Jews in 1938, pp. 126-131
- Extract from the Speech by Hitler, January 30, 1939, pp. 132-135
- The Four-Year Plan, Hitler's Confidential Memo on Autarky, August 1936
on line: http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=1551, from *Documents on German Foreign Policy: from the Archives of the German Foreign Ministry* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1957-1964), Series C (1933-1937), *The Third Reich: First Phase, Volume 5: March 5 – October 31, 1936*, Document Number 490, pp. 853-862

Week 2, October 24 Anti-Jewish Policies in the Third Reich and in Europe, 1939-1941

- Frank Bajohr, "The 'Folk Community' and the Persecution of the Jews: German Society under National Socialist Dictatorship, 1933-1945," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 20:2 (Fall 2006), pp. 183-206

* - Christopher R. Browning, *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939 – March 1942* (Jerusalem and Lincoln: Yad Vashem and University of Nebraska Press, 2004), chapter 2, pp. 12-35

* - Dan Michman, "The Jewish Ghettos under the Nazis and Their Allies: The Reasons Behind Their Emergence," in Guy Miron and Shlomit Shulhani, eds., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2009), pp. xiii-xxxix

Documents

*From *Documents on the Holocaust*:

- Instructions by Heydrich on Policy and Operations Concerning Jews in Occupied Territories, September 21, 1939, pp. 173-178
- Identifying Marks for Jews in the Government-General, November 23, 1939, pp. 178-179
- Ban on Changes of Place of Residence by Jews Within the Area of the Government-General, December 11, 1939, pp. 179-180
- From a Discussion on the Compulsory Evacuation of the Jewish Population of the Wartheland to the Government-General, January 30, 1940, pp. 183-185
- Establishment of the Judenräte, November 28, 1939, pp. 191-192
- Extracts from the Warsaw Ghetto Diary of Chaim A. Kaplan, pp. 201-204

- Vermerk: Amtschef und Einsatzgruppenleiterbesprechung, 27 September 1939

- Himmler's "Reflections on the Treatment of Peoples of Alien Races in the East," in Yehuda Bauer, *A History of the Holocaust*, 2nd edition (New York: Franklin Watts, 2001), Appendix, pp. 383-385

- Statuts des Juifs, October 3 – 4, 1940; June 2, 1941 (from Richard H. Weisberg, *Vichy Law and the Holocaust in France* [New York: New York University Press for the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, 1996], pp. 39, 56, 59)

Recommended:

- Wolfgang Benz, "Exclusion as a Stage in Persecution: The Jewish Situation in Germany, 1933-1941," in David Bankier and Israel Gutman, eds., *Nazi Europe and the Final Solution* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2003), pp. 40 – 52
- Christopher R. Browning, "Introduction," in Martin Dean and Geoffrey P. Megargee, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933-1945, Volume 2, Ghettos in German-Occupied Eastern Europe* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press and The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2012), pp. xxvi-xxxix

Week 3, October 31 Ghettos and "Territorial Solutions"

- *Browning, *The Origins of the Final Solution*, chaps 3-4, pp. 36-168
- *Excerpts from: *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* and *The Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, Volume 2, Ghettos in German-Occupied Eastern Europe*. Students should read entries for 2 ghettos in 2 different areas or zones of Nazi control, in both ghetto encyclopedias (4 entries in all) – one ghetto in a medium or large community (more than 20,000 Jews) and one in a small community.

Documents

- An Anonymous Letter Forwarded to Himmler Regarding a Deportation of Jews to Eastern Poland, March 1940, http://www1.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%205061.pdf
- Order to establish the Lublin Ghetto, March 20, 1941

*From Documents on the Holocaust:

- Deportation of Jews from Austria to Nisko (Lublin), October 1939, pp. 143-144
- Instructions for the Deportation of the Jews from the Palatinate (Pfalz), October 1940, pp. 145-147
- Escape of Jews from Poland to the Soviet Union at the Beginning of the War, pp. 189-191
- Report by Uebelhoer on the Establishment of the Ghetto in Lodz, December 10, 1939, pp. 192-195
- Directives Issued by the Head of the Department for Jewish Affairs on Policies Concerning Treatment of Jews in the Government-General, April 6, 1940, pp. 195-197
- The Madagascar Plan, July 1940, pp. 216-218
- From a Speech by Frank on the Madagascar Plan, July 12, 1940, p. 218
- Regulation for the Ban on Jewish Emigration from the Government-General, November 1940, pp. 219-220
- Order by Fischer on the Establishment of a Ghetto in Warsaw, October 2, 1940, pp. 220-221

Week 4, November 7 1941 – Shooting the Jews

- Gerhard Weinberg, *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II*, New Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), chapter 5, pp. 264-309

[The same chapter from the first edition of this book may also be used]

* - Yitzhak Arad, *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union* (Jerusalem and Lincoln: Yad Vashem and University of Nebraska Press, 2009), chaps. 8-9, pp. 88-121

* - Browning, *The Origins of the Final Solution*, chaps 6-7 (with Jürgen Matthäus), pp. 213-308

- Yehoshua Büchler, "Kommandostab Reichsführer-SS: Himmler's Personal Murder Brigades in 1941," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 1:1 (1986), pp. 11-25

Week 5, November 14 The First Six Months of Murder – Documents

*From *Documents on the Holocaust*:

- Extracts from a Report by Einsatzgruppe A in the Baltic Countries, 1941, pp. 389-393
- Göring Orders Heydrich to Prepare a Plan for the "Final Solution to the Jewish Problem," July 31, 1941, p. 233
- Supplementary Regulations for the Ban on Changes of Residence by Jews in the Government-General, October 15, 1941, p. 181
- Report by Einsatzgruppe C, November 3, 1941, in Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham, eds., *Nazism: A History in Documents and Eyewitness Accounts, 1919-1945*, Volume 2, *Foreign Policy, War and Racial Extermination* (New York: Schocken and University of Exeter Press, 1984), pp. 1095-1096
- The Jäger Report, December 1, 1941, in Ernst Klee, Wili Dressen, and Volker Reiss, eds. *"The Good Old Days": The Holocaust as Seen by Its Perpetrators and Bystanders* (New York: Free Press, 1988), pp. 46-58
- Order Banning the Emigration of Jews from the Reich, October 1941
http://www1.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%203264.pdf
- Report on the Shooting of Jews and Gypsies, November 1, 1941
http://www1.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%205320.pdf
- Report by Police Officer Salitter, December 11, 1941
http://www1.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%203288.pdf

Lithuania as a Case Study:

- David Bankier, *Expulsion and Extermination: Holocaust Testimonials from Provincial Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2011), pp. 16-41; 96-160 (choose sections)

- Kazimierz Sakowicz, *Ponary Diary 1941 – 1945: A Bystander's Account of a Mass Murder*, edited by Yitzhak Arad (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 11-43
- Nathan Cohen, "The Destruction of the Jews of Butrimonys as Described in a Farewell Letter from a Local Jew," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 4:3 (1989), pp. 357-375

Week 6, November 21

The Spread of the Murder, 1941-1942

- * - Browning, *The Origins of the Final Solution*, chaps 8-9, pp. 309-423
- * - Shmuel Krakowski, *Chełmno, A Small Village in Europe: The First Nazi Mass Extermination Camp* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2009), pp. 21-80
- * From *Documents on the Holocaust*:
 - Protocol of the Wannsee Conference, January 20, 1942, pp. 249-261

Week 7, November 28

"Operation Reinhard"

- * - Yitzhak Arad, "'Operation Reinhard': Extermination Camps of Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka," *Yad Vashem Studies*, 16 (1984), pp. 205-240
- * - Dieter Pohl, "The Murder of the Jews in the General Government," in Herbert, ed., *National Socialist Extermination Policies*, pp. 83-103
- Peter Witte and Stephen Tyas, "A New Document on the Deportation and Murder of Jews during 'Einsatz Reinhardt', 1942," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 15:3 (Winter 2001), pp. 468-486

Read 2 of the following articles:

- * - Rachel Feldhay Brenner, "The Anatomy of Rescue: The Wartime Diary of Aurelia Wyleżyńska, 1939-1944," *Yad Vashem Studies*, 40:1 (2012), pp. 23-47
- * - Jan Grabowski, "Rural Society and the Jews in Hiding: Elders, Night Watches, Firefighters, Hostages and Manhunts," *Yad Vashem Studies*, 40:1 (2012), pp. 49-74
- * - Alina Skibińska and Jakub Petelewicz, "The Participation of Poles in Crimes against Jews in the Świętokrzyskie Region," *Yad Vashem Studies*, 35:1 (2007), pp. 5-48
- * - Havi Ban-Sasson and Lea Preiss, "Twilight Days: Missing Pages from Avraham Lewin's Warsaw Ghetto Diary, May-July 1942," *Yad Vashem Studies*, 33 (2005), pp. 7-60

* - Lea Prais, "An Unknown Chronicle: From the Literary Legacy of Rabbi Shimon Huberband, Warsaw Ghetto, May-June 1942," *Yad Vashem Studies*, 38:1 (2010), pp. 61-104

*From Documents on the Holocaust:

- Protocol of the General Meeting of the Judenrat in Lublin on March 31, 1942, pp. 269-272
- Proposal for the Sterilization of 2-3 Million Jewish Workers, June 23, 1942, pp. 272-273
- Signed Obligation by SS Men Taking Part in an Extermination Operation to Observe Secrecy, July 18, 1942, pp. 274-275
- Order by Himmler, July 19, 1942, for the Completion of the "Final Solution" in the Government-General, pp. 275-276
- Announcement of the Evacuation of the Jews from the Warsaw Ghetto, July 22, 1942, pp. 281-282

- Memo by Fritz Reuter, Lublin, March 17, 1942

- Deportation order, Lublin, March 17, 1942

- Memo by Richard Türk, March 30, 1942

- Letter from Włodawa, June 1, 1942

December 5 **No Class – Hanukkah**

Week 8, December 12 **A Global Solution, 1942-1943 – 1**
(Paper Proposals Due)

Overview

- Peter Longerich, "Policy of Destruction: Nazi Anti-Jewish Policy and the Genesis of the 'Final Solution'," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum lecture, 30pp., <http://www.ushmm.org/m/pdfs/20050726-longerich.pdf>

- Christopher R. Browning, Peter Hayes, and Raul Hilberg, *German Railroads, Jewish Souls: The Reichsbahn, Bureaucracy and the Final Solution* (New York: Berghahn in association with the USHMM, 2020):

* Required: Raul Hilberg, "German Railroads/Jewish Souls," pp. 19-49 (originally published in *Society*, vol. 14, no. 1 (December 1976), pp. 162-174 <http://www.springerlink.com/content/08872h2852v7086j/fulltext.pdf>);

Recommended: entire volume, including

* - Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, revised edition (New York and London: Holmes and Meier, 1985), vol. 2, Chapter 8, opening section of sub-chapter "The Semi-Circular Arc," pp. 543-554 [or 3rd Edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 571-583]

- Extension of the Deportation of Jews from Occupied Countries and Italy
http://www1.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%205221.pdf

In Addition to the Above - Each student should focus on 1 of the following 2 sections:

A. The Third Reich and the “Protectorate”

* - Hilberg, *Destruction*, pp. 407-481 [3rd edition, pp. 424-501]

* - Wolf Gruner, “Poverty and Persecution: The Reichsvereinigung, the Jewish Population, and Anti-Jewish Policy in the Nazi State, 1939-1945,” *Yad Vashem Studies*, 27 (1999), pp. 23-60

- Eichmann Informs Jews of Deportations from Austria and of Theresienstadt
http://www1.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%204679.pdf

B. Western Europe, Scandinavia, the Middle East, and North Africa

* - Hilberg, *Destruction*, pp. 554-679 [or 3rd edition, pp. 583-723]

- Order to Wear the Yellow Star, Netherlands, April 28, 1942
http://www1.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%202430.pdf

- German, French, and Jewish Organizations in Occupied France
http://www1.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%205226.pdf

- Eichmann Memo to Rademacher, June 22, 1942
http://www1.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%202429.pdf

And 1 of the following articles:

* - Klaus-Michael Mallmann and Martin Cüppers, “‘Elimination of the Jewish National Home in Palestine’: The Einsatzkommando of the Panzer Army Africa, 1942,” *Yad Vashem Studies*, 35:1 (2007), pp. 111-141

- Michael R. Marrus, “Coming to Terms with Vichy,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 9:1 (Spring 1995), pp. 23-41

* - Liliana Picciotto, “Statistical Tables on the Holocaust in Italy, with An Insight on the Mechanism of the Deportations,” *Yad Vashem Studies*, 33 (2005), pp. 307-346

* - Insa Meinen, “Facing Deportation: How Jews Were Arrested in Belgium,” *Yad Vashem Studies*, 36:1 (2008), pp. 39-72

- Peter Romijn, “The War, 1940-1945,” in J.C.H. Blom, et al., eds., *The History of the Jews in the Netherlands* (Oxford: Littmann Library of Jewish Civilization, 2002), pp. 296-335

Each student should focus on 1 of the following 2 sections:

A. The Balkans – Serbia, Greece, Croatia, Slovakia

* - Hilberg, *Destruction*, pp. 679-742 [or 3rd edition, pp. 723-792]

- Menachem Shelach, "Sajmište – An Extermination Camp in Serbia," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 2:2 (1987), pp. 243-260

- Yehoshua Büchler, "The Deportation of Slovakian Jews to the Lublin District of Poland in 1942," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 6:2 (1991), pp. 151-166

- Andrew Apostolou, "'The Exception of Salonika': Bystanders and Collaborators in Northern Greece," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 14:2 (Fall 2000), pp. 165-196

- Instructions to the Jewish Community of Salonika on Wearing the Yellow Star
http://www1.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%202421.pdf

- German Instructions on Organizing the Jewish Community of Salonika
http://www1.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%202405.pdf

B. The Balkans – Bulgaria, Romania

* - Hilberg, *Destruction*, pp. 742-796 [or 3rd edition, pp. 792-853]

- The Evacuation of the Jewish Population from the Banat
http://www1.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%205327.pdf

- Plan for the Extermination of Romanian Jewry, Gustav Richter
http://www1.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%205402.pdf

- Ethan J. Hollander, "The Final Solution in Bulgaria and Romania: A Comparative Perspective," *East European Politics and Societies*, 22 (2008), pp. 203-248

- Dennis Deletant, "Transnistria and the Romanian Solution to the 'Jewish Problem'," in Wendy Lower and Ray Brandon, eds., *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), pp. 156-189

* - Diana Dumitru, "The Attitude of the Non-Jewish Population of Bessarabia and Transnistria to the Jews during the Holocaust: A Survivors' Perspective," *Yad Vashem Studies*, 37:1 (2009), pp. 53-83

Week 10, December 26

A Global Solution, 1942-1944 – 3

Each student should focus on 1 of the following sections:

A. Hungary

* - Hilberg, *Destruction*, pp. 796-860 [3rd edition, pp. 853-920]

Robert Rozett, "Hungary and the Jews. From Golden Age to Destruction, 1895-1945," *Online Encyclopedia of Mass Violence*, <https://www.sciencespo.fr/mass-violence-war-massacre-resistance/fr/node/3023>

* - Judit Molnár, "The Foundation and Activities of the Hungarian Jewish Council, March 20 - July 7, 1944," *Yad Vashem Studies*, 30 (2002), pp. 93-123

* - László Karsai, "The 'Jewish Policy' of the Szalasi Regime," *Yad Vashem Studies*, 40:1 (2012), pp. 119-156

B. USSR, Ukraine, Belorussia

* - Arad, *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union*, chaps. 18-22, pp. 251-311

- John-Paul Himka, "The Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Holocaust," Paper prepared for the forty-first national convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Boston, 12-15 November 2009, 28 pp.
http://www.academia.edu/1071581/The_Ukrainian_Insurgent_Army_UPA_and_the_Holocaust

- Karel Berkhoff and Marco Carynnyk, "The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Its Attitude toward Germans and Jews: Iaroslav Stets'ko's 1941 *Zhyttiepyis*," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 23, no. 3-4 (1999), pp. 149-184

- Martin Dean, *Collaboration in the Holocaust: Crimes of the Local Police in Belorussia and Ukraine, 1941-44* (New York: St. Martin's Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2000), chaps. 4-5, pp. 60-104

Week 11, January 2 Auschwitz-Birkenau

* - Yisrael Gutman, "Auschwitz – An Overview," in Yisrael Gutman and Michael Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1994), pp. 1-33

* - Raul Hilberg, "Auschwitz and the Final Solution," in Gutman and Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*, pp. 81-92

* - Leo Eitinger, "Auschwitz – A Psychological Perspective," in Gutman and Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*, pp. 469-482

* - Robert Jay Lifton, "Medicalized Killing in Auschwitz," in Israel Gutman and Avital Saf, eds., *The Nazi Concentration Camps: Structure and Aims, The Image of the Prisoner, The Jews in the Camps* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 207-233

* - Nathan Cohen, "Diaries of the Sonderkommandos in Auschwitz: Coping With Fate and Reality," *Yad Vashem Studies*, 20 (1990), pp. 273-312

Week 12, January 9

Forced Labor and the Final Solution

Wolf Gruner, *Jewish Forced Labor under the Nazis: Economic Needs and Racial Aims, 1938-1944* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2006), Conclusion, pp. 276-295

Donald Bloxham, "Jewish Slave Labour and Its Relationship to the 'Final Solution'," in John K. Roth and Elisabeth Maxwell, eds., *Remembering for the Future: The Holocaust in an Age of Genocide* (London: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 163-186

* - Felicja Karay, "The Conflict among German Authorities over Jewish Slave Labor Camps in the General Government," *Yalkut Moreshet*, 2 (2004), pp. 221-245

* - Yisrael Gutman, "The Concept of Labor in Judenrat Policy," in idem, ed., *Patterns of Jewish Leadership in Nazi Europe 1933-1945* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1979), pp. 151-180

Sara Bender, "Jewish Slaves in Forced Labour Camps in Kielce, September 1942 – August 1944," *Polin*, 23 (2011), pp. 437-463

Week 13, January 16 Summing Up

Korherr Report

<http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/eng/English42.pdf>

Odilo Globocnik's Summary Reports on "Operation Reinhard," in *Trials of War Criminals Before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1950), pp. 538-545; 704-709; 714-720; 725-731

"The Final Solution to the Jewish Question": The Nazi Policy of Extermination

Guidelines for Writing Assignments

Response Papers:

Students are asked to write 2 response papers for the course. Each response paper should be approximately 5-6 pages long, double-spaced (4-5 pages if in Hebrew).

Students are permitted to do an oral presentation in place of one of the written response papers. Written response papers are done individually; oral presentations can be done by two students together.

A sign-up sheet for response papers/oral presentations will be sent around several times during the first few weeks of the semester. There is no limit to how many students can write a response paper on a given item; but only one oral presentation per item.

Response papers and oral presentations are meant to analyze aspects of the reading for a given class and highlight a few points that the student deems important. Generally, more than one source from the reading should be addressed in the response paper, and the sources can be viewed in comparative analysis, or as complementary to each other and in such case can be used to weave together a particular story that the sources help elucidate.

For research articles or chapters, analytical discussions in response papers can address any of a number of aspects of the readings, such as (but not limited to) the types of sources used by the researcher and how these influence the findings or the way the subject is addressed; the way sources are selected or quoted by the researcher; the discipline from which the researcher examines the subject and how this influences the scholar's analysis; the time frame, geographic scope, or other framework in the articles/chapters and how these influence the discussion and findings, etc.

For response papers based extensively on primary sources, the contextual questions addressed in class discussion on how to read a document (usually in the second session of the class) should be addressed in the response paper, as should the content questions.

Response papers are due on the day that the particular subject is scheduled to be taught in class.

Referat Papers:

Referat papers are 12-15-page papers (double-spaced) based on secondary research (published sources). The student will write on a topic of her/his choice, but only once the topic has been approved by the instructor. It is preferable that the student write on something that interests her/him, and the instructor wants to be sure that the topic is doable (e.g., that there are sufficient but not overwhelming sources in languages that the student reads).

The paper should have a clear research topic(s) or question(s), and it should raise and explain the topic/question in the introductory discussion. It should be clear to the reader relatively early in the paper what the paper intends to address.

The paper is meant to be analytical, relating to particular historical events, circumstances, or places, or to other aspects of the history of the event (e.g., psychology, art, photography, etc.).

Students must submit a paper proposal by the date indicated on the syllabus (approximately the eighth or ninth class session). The proposal should include a 1-2-paragraph summary/description of the topic and a preliminary bibliography. The student is not expected to have already read and analyzed the sources in the preliminary bibliography, but rather to have done a preliminary search for sources and to demonstrate a familiarity with what some of those sources are. The instructor can help guide the student to relevant sources. The bibliography will likely change as the student progresses with the work on the paper.

There is no minimum number of sources; the number of sources to be used depends on the topic and the nature of the sources. Students are expected not to rely solely on sources available on the internet. Not everything has been scanned.

Seminar Papers:

Seminar papers are ca. 25-page papers that involve either a combination of primary and secondary sources, or a thorough historiographical discussion. The student will write on a topic of her/his choice, but only once the topic has been approved by the instructor. It is preferable that the student write on something that interests her/him, and the instructor wants to be sure that the topic is doable (e.g., that there are sufficient but not overwhelming sources in languages that the student reads).

Primary sources are generally found in archives. Interviews are also primary sources. Whereas many archives have uploaded much of their collections to their websites, others have uploaded only parts (often very small parts). Therefore, a seminar paper will often require spending time in one or more archives in Israel. A student is of course permitted to use archives outside Israel (e.g., the student might wish to consult an archive in her/his home country while visiting there during the year), but this is not a requirement.

The paper should have a clear research topic(s) or question(s), and it should raise and explain the topic/question in the introductory discussion. It should be clear to the reader relatively early in the paper what the paper intends to address.

Students must submit a paper proposal by the date indicated on the syllabus (approximately the eighth or ninth class session). The proposal should include a 1-2-paragraph summary/description of the topic and a preliminary bibliography. The student is not expected to have already read and analyzed the primary or secondary sources in the preliminary bibliography, but rather to have done a preliminary search for sources and to demonstrate a familiarity with what some of those sources are and where they can be found. For example, a student planning to use archives should be able to indicate which archives will be consulted and some of the record groups that will be examined. The instructor can help guide the student to relevant sources. The bibliography will likely change as the student progresses with the work on the paper.

The paper should have a clear research question(s) or topic(s), and the paper should raise and explain the topic/question in the introductory discussion. It should be clear to the reader relatively early in the paper what the paper intends to address.

A primary source-based seminar paper can elucidate a little-known aspect of the Holocaust, or perhaps analyze a known aspect from new angles.

For many topics, a knowledge of at least one additional language beyond English and/or Hebrew is necessary.

A historiographical seminar paper requires a thorough examination and analysis of the historiography of a subject. Such a paper might, for example, address the development over time of the research on the particular subject, or the debates among scholars regarding the topic.

There is no minimum number of sources for a seminar paper, but a handful of documents found on the internet, or several secondary sources will generally not be considered sufficient.