

Historical Accuracy in Children's Literature of the Holocaust*

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Introduction

Although a growing number of public and Jewish day schools are incorporating the history of the Holocaust into their secondary and, occasionally, elementary school curricula, the majority of United States students still receive little formal instruction on this subject. Information gleaned from Holocaust novels and memoirs read apart from any formal instructional program is, therefore, usually the main source of knowledge about the destruction of European Jewry available to young people. As almost all of these works are based on the authors' personal experiences, interviews with survivors, or other research, the reader generally assumes that, except for perhaps minor details, the stories told in these memoirs and novels reflect the truth of what happened to the Jews during the Holocaust.

Both Diane Roskies¹ and Margaret Drew,² in examining children's literature about the fate of European Jewry (and in Drew's study, other World War II stories as well), find that a distorted view of history appears when the books are viewed collectively. Roskies's conclusions are that the eighteen books in her sample generally portray assimilated West European Jews who survived, while ignoring the many East European Jews caught in the destruction, and the Jews from all over Europe who met their deaths in World War II. The Germans and other non-Jews in these books, according to Roskies's analysis, are seldom Nazis, and more often than not sympathize with the Jews; they either resist Nazism or are disillusioned with it, but are frightened into compliance with the regime; the anti-Semitism rampant throughout Europe, especially in Eastern European countries, is nowhere apparent. Furthermore, Jewish resistance to the Nazis is emphasized in these stories far out of proportion to its actual occurrence during World War II.

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Drew, whose sample includes more than twice as many books as Roskies's study, forms somewhat different conclusions. Her main point is that the books focus on Christian resistance and romanticize the war as a marvelous adventure story, while little of Jewish physical or spiritual resistance is shown. The stress on heroic rescuers, rather than unfortunate victims, allows authors to "gloss over the harsh aspects of an event and emphasize more positive things—the victories . . . rather than the defeats. . . ."³

This paper is based on a study that includes all books written in or translated into English about the Holocaust, with European settings (i.e., not about the American reaction), published for readers aged ten to fourteen, from the early 1940s through 1986.⁴ These eighty-six works were examined to determine how accurately historical truths are portrayed when the books are considered as a whole, as well as to assess the extent of historical accuracy in each book. The four major topics analyzed in these books for their fidelity to historical fact are the following: (1) the approximate survival rate of European Jewry in these stories; (2) Jewish resistance; (3) the portrayal of non-Jews; and (4) purely factual errors.

Survival Rate of European Jewry

The first area considered was the fate of European Jewry as presented in the books. What does each book indicate happened to European Jewry in general, and/or to the Jews in the country of the book's setting? When viewed together, do the books make clear that the fate of the Jews varied by country—e.g., that most of Danish Jewry escaped while most of Polish Jewry perished? Also, what is the fate of the book's major and minor characters?

In light of Roskies's and Drew's studies, it was expected that when the books under consideration were viewed as a whole, the grim fate of the Jews in World War II would be glossed over and the majority of European Jewry would survive in these works. But this was not quite the case. Over half of the books in the study contain clear state-

ments that most Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe were being killed, or that most Jews in the book's particular setting did not survive the war.

An example of the more global statement about the fate of the Jews occurs in *Star of Danger*: "It was common knowledge that the Germans had imprisoned or exterminated the Jews in each successive country they had overrun."⁵ Likewise, near the conclusion of *The Year of the Wolves*, an old man evokes the figure of six million Jews murdered by the Nazis as he berates the Germans for their war-time guilt.⁶

In about one-fourth of the books, the ultimate fate of European Jewry is not mentioned. In some cases, the story concludes before the end of the war, and thus could not logically contain statements about the eventual fate of the Jews. In other books, mention of the fate of the Jews is simply omitted where one would expect it to occur. For example, *Mischling, Second Degree: My Childhood in Nazi Germany* tells of Ilse Koehn's war-time years as a German girl with a Jewish paternal grandmother—a heritage that might have placed Ilse in danger had her maternal grandparents not forced her mother to divorce her father. To further protect her, Ilse's background is kept from becoming public knowledge, or known even to Ilse herself. As the entire premise of the book rests on the reader's perception that Ilse's Jewish heritage could be her death warrant, it is ironic that nowhere in the book is the fate of German Jewry actually mentioned, aside from a brief account of a round-up of Berlin Jews in 1943.⁷

Ten books in the sample portray escape as the fate of a significant number of Jews in the story's locale. Four of these are about Danish Jewry, most of whom did escape to Sweden, with the aid of Christian Danes who ferried them to safety. Of the other six books in this category, four describe a significant number of Jews who fled Austria or Germany before the war started. In fact, a large percentage of Austrian and German Jews *did* escape their native countries before 1939, and, in some cases, even after the war began; thus, to an extent, this

group of books does reflect the actual fate of a sizable proportion of Austrian and German Jews.⁸

In the books in which many Jews flee the Nazis, their final destination is almost always a country where they will truly be safe from the Nazi onslaught, such as the United States or England. In reality, many Jews fled to such supposedly safe countries as France or Holland, only to later find themselves once again under Nazi rule.

Of the remaining books in the sample, a few present a combination of fates: escape or survival in hiding for some Jews, and annihilation for many others. Other books make vague statements that terrible things are happening to European Jewry, but do not provide a clear picture of what actually occurred. For instance, in *The Empty Moat*, Elizabeth thinks that the Jews of Amsterdam she sees deported will not return: "For many the end of the war, if and when, would come too late. They were too old and too weak and too young and too frail to survive."⁹ But Elizabeth thinks only that these defenseless Jews will not be able to stand the vigors of the Westerbork transit camp. She knows nothing of the gas chambers of Auschwitz, and neither does the reader from the information provided in this work.

An examination of the fate of the Jews by country as portrayed in the books in the sample reveals that collectively, the books come close to mirroring the actual fate of European Jewry. For example, all but one of the fifteen books with Polish settings make clear that most of the Jews of Poland were murdered. Similarly, nine of the twelve books about Holland make it clear that many Dutch Jews perished, while in fact, approximately seventy-five per cent of Dutch Jews were killed.

Briefly stated, an analysis of children's literature of the Holocaust for statements reflecting the fate of the Jews in various Nazi-occupied countries reveals that, in contrast to what might be expected from previous studies, a clear majority of children's books about the Holocaust do not spare their readers from knowledge about the ultimate fate of European Jewry during World War II. A different picture emerges, however, from the examination of the fate of specific characters presented in these books. Although many authors include statements that mention the annihilation of most European Jews during the Holocaust, far fewer authors are willing to write about the demise of specific characters in their books.

A study of the fate of the main characters

in these works reveals that in almost one-half of the books, all or most of the important Jewish characters survive. In another one-fourth of the books, there is a mix of characters who either live until the end of the war or lose their lives, while in about fifteen per cent of the books, most, although not all, of the significant Jewish characters perish. The remaining books in the sample do not specify the fate of the individual Jewish characters.

In the books in which most Jewish characters do not survive, these characters, while significant, are almost never the protagonists or the characters in the story through whose eyes the reader views the unfolding events. For example, although the death of the title character in *Friedrich* is the climax of the narrative,¹⁰ we never see the action in the story from Friedrich's perspective, and we identify more with the non-Jewish narrator. This distancing mechanism is effective, in that Friedrich's death, while poignant, is not unbearable for the child reader.

Yet another picture emerges when one examines the fate of the minor characters in these stories. Authors were much more likely to allow their minor characters to perish than their major characters. Although the heroes and heroines of these books usually survived, some, if not most, of their friends and relatives did not.

The pattern that emerges from this analysis is that the majority of authors of children's books about the Holocaust (1) are reluctant to incorporate the deaths of major characters into their works, (2) are more likely to depict minor characters as perishing in World War II, and (3) more often than not, give a relatively accurate portrayal of the fate of the Jews in any one locale. Does this pattern constitute a distortion of the historical record? What could account for this pattern of describing Jewish survival in World War II in books for young people?

While some authors undeniably portray a more positive fate for their characters—and at times for the general population of Jews in the story's setting—than could be deemed historically accurate, many others appear to be doing no more than following the lead of writers of Holocaust memoirs and fiction for adults. In the category of fictionalized memoir/autobiographical fiction, which accounts for many literary works about the Holocaust, it is obvious that the survivor authors almost always have survivor protagonists. There are thus extremely few Holocaust novels for adults in which the protagonist perishes.¹¹

Even those who oppose any distortion of historical facts in books about the Holocaust or other historical fiction for young people would have a hard time convincing most experts on children's literature that it is necessary to portray the demise of the protagonist, even if this would be the most historically likely event. Not only did *some* Jews actually survive, but it may also be too much to ask young readers to accept the death of all characters whom they have come to care about and identify with in these books.

What effect does this portrayal of Jewish survival in World War II, found in books for young people, have on the readers of such works? Both Roskies and Drew, after reading as many or more works than the average young reader interested in Holocaust literature, formed the impression that far more Jews survive in these works than they did in real life, and that the harsh reality of extermination was played down. But the results of the present study demonstrate that many authors do make clear that most Jews did not survive the war. It is certainly possible that the young reader would ignore the general statements made about the demise of most of European Jewry and focus on the more uplifting prospect of Jewish survival during this time, as embodied by the survival of the major characters against overwhelming odds. Thus, even the child who knows, on one level, that millions of Jews perished in World War II, might come to believe, through the reading of children's literature on the Holocaust, that numerous Jews escaped from death during the Holocaust years, or at least that escape was highly possible.

Jewish Resistance

The second topic analyzed in the study was the portrayal of Jewish resistance during World War II in Holocaust literature for children. Many historians are now of the opinion that physical resistance against the Nazis, while not widespread, was probably more prevalent than is generally known. Early accounts of Jewish resistance, or lack thereof, came from German, not Jewish, sources, as most Jews who offered armed resistance were eventually killed and left no written record of their deeds. The facts that (1) most non-Jews gave little resistance to the Nazis, and (2) Jews who fought in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of 1943 resisted the German army in hand-to-hand combat longer than any other conquered European country are often alluded to by historians and others exploring the extent of Jewish resistance throughout Nazi-occupied Europe.¹² Most historians also note that the spiritual

responses offered by the Jews of Europe were even more widespread. Although some debate exists concerning exactly what type of action—or inaction—should qualify as spiritual or passive resistance, many would agree with Milton Meltzer's assessment:

The simple act of living on became a form of passive resistance. Many expressed that resistance by carrying on their traditional religious life . . . and their cultural activities in the ghettos. Others hid from the enemy as long as they could. Some bore children as if to say, No matter what you do, the generations will go on.¹³

The juvenile books were analyzed to determine the accuracy of their portrayal of Jewish resistance in World War II. If these stories did not reflect historical reality, one would have expected to find that the limited physical resistance actually offered by the Jews is either widely exaggerated or virtually ignored, and that the widespread spiritual resistance which really occurred is downplayed in the stories. Although physical resistance is described in many of the books, it does not seem to be portrayed more often in these works than it occurred in real life, and explanations are often given for the lack of active resistance by Jews. Furthermore, the considerable spiritual resistance manifested by European Jewry is described by a majority of authors.

Over one-third of the books examined include examples of Jews actively resisting the Nazis, such as *Uncle Misha's Partisans*, *Mottele*, and *Gideon*. Although some books in this category emphasize the active resistance of Jews against the Nazis, many others that describe physical resistance make clear that these instances were limited.

Approximately three-fourths of the books in the sample describe incidents in which Jews offer what is commonly termed passive, or spiritual, resistance. For instance, in *The Boys who Saved the Children*, Ben keeps a diary in the Lodz Ghetto,¹⁴ although the Nazis had forbidden such activities, and the factory workers secretly gather to say *kaddish*, the Jewish prayer for the dead, even though, as Ben relates, "If the Nazis had caught us, I am sure every one of us would have been shot."¹⁵

Approximately one-third of the books surveyed address themselves specifically to the absence of resistance among the Jews during the Holocaust. Although a wide variety of explanations is offered, the most frequently cited rationale for lack of Jewish

resistance in these books is the gradual and insidious traumatization and dehumanization of the Jews by the Nazi regime. By the time the Jews realize that compliance with Nazi edicts cannot ensure their survival, and that more drastic measures are called for if any Jews are to have a chance to survive, many have neither the physical nor the emotional stamina to resist.

Rose Zar gives several searing examples of this phenomenon in *In the Mouth of the Wolf*. Ruzska, passing as the daughter of a false father in Krakow, offers to get her father similar papers so that he can escape from the Piotrkow ghetto as well. But Mr. Guterman has no will to live after his wife and younger daughter have been deported, and he refuses Ruzska's help, not wishing to prolong an existence that had lost meaning for him. Ruzska herself finds it difficult to return to Krakow after seeing her father: "My only wish was to remain in the ghetto with my father and my friends, sharing whatever time I had left with them."¹⁶ Only at her father's insistence does Ruzska eventually return to Krakow. This frequently emphasized rationale for lack of resistance in the stories—that of the Nazis' dehumanization of the Jews so that they no longer have the physical or emotional ability to fight back—is also one of the most frequently cited reasons by historians and survivors.¹⁷

Portrayal of Non-Jews

The third area examined for fidelity to historical truth of children's literature about the Holocaust was the portrayal of non-Jewish characters. Is it made clear in these books that anti-Semitism existed throughout Europe, although the extent of it varied from country to country? Is it also made clear that even in the absence of pronounced anti-Semitism, most non-Jews did not make efforts to rescue Jews because of indifference to the fate of the Jewish people, or because of pressure to comply with the Nazi regime's prohibitions against contact with Jews? Do many books describe the rescue of Jews by a small but significant number of Christians?

Each book was examined to determine whether anti-Semitism was ascribed to individual significant characters as well as to the story's general locale. Slightly over one-third of the books surveyed depict general populations that are highly anti-Semitic or mainly anti-Semitic with some notable exceptions. For example, the author of *The Twins* depicts a Poland rampant with anti-Semitism. Firer expresses bewilderment that the Poles go even further than the German occupiers request in

persecuting the Jews: "The Germans had robbed the Poles of Poland, yet the Poles were still eager to cooperate with the Germans in tormenting the Jews."¹⁸ The settings of books such as *The Twins*, in which the population as a whole is almost exclusively anti-Semitic, are primarily countries that most historians agree were extremely hostile to Jews during this time, such as Poland, Germany, Austria, and the Ukraine.

Conversely, a little more than one-third of the books describe settings in which there is virtually no or little anti-Semitism. Over one-third of these books with little to no apparent anti-Semitism are set in the countries previously mentioned, which were in fact quite hostile to European Jewry. For instance, in *Dark Hour of Noon*, not only is every Christian in Radom, Poland concerned with the fate of the Jews, but despite the threat for hiding Jews, "an underground network sprang up. People with access to records erased recent births. Death certificates were forged, especially for young children with Aryan appearance."¹⁹ The reader must wonder if this can be the same Radom that survivors of the Holocaust were forced to flee after the war because of the "hostility of the Polish population" to Jews who had managed to escape their war-time persecutors.²⁰

Of course, there were Polish Christians who rescued Jews. But when anti-Semitism is totally absent in a book with a Polish setting, except for the "outside Nazi agitators," an historically skewed picture results.

Of the remaining books in the study, some depict a population with both anti-Semitic and pro-Jewish sentiments, or that is simply indifferent to the fate of the Jews. Other books in this category do not deal with anti-Semitism at all.

From the general depiction of the non-Jewish inhabitants of Nazi-occupied Europe in children's books, it can be concluded that a little over one-third of the books show mainly anti-Semitic populations, about the same proportion describe mainly pro-Jewish populations, and the remaining works depict non-Jewish populations with mixed sympathies or indifference toward Jews, or they do not deal with anti-Semitism at all. The books that portray heavily anti-Semitic populations are set primarily in countries whose populations during the Holocaust are considered to have been quite anti-Semitic, but over one-third of the books that describe non-Jews as favorably disposed to Jews are set in countries widely acknowledged to have had very anti-Semitic populations.

Books that depict populations with mixed sympathies, or that do not deal with the issue, are set in a wide variety of countries, some considered anti-Semitic during World War II and some not.

A radically different portrait emerges when one examines anti-Semitism as it appears among the books' significant characters, as opposed to the sentiments of the general locales in which the stories take place. In slightly over one-half of the books in the study, the major characters are generally not anti-Semitic. Only about one-sixth of the books present most or all significant non-Jewish characters as anti-Semitic. The remaining books of the sample do not deal with anti-Semitism among the major characters at all, or portray characters with mixed sentiments. The issue of anti-Semitism is a potentially sensitive one and may be difficult for some writers to describe to young readers. How does one explain, for example, that a formerly kind and trusted neighbor could be only too eager to loot the home of a Jewish friend as soon as the Nazis had given approval for such acts?²¹

Authors of Holocaust literature for young people have been much more willing to ascribe anti-Semitism to the general population than to specific characters, perhaps in the belief that children would be more accepting and less horrified at such portrayals. Alternatively, in a work such as *Four from the Old Town*,²² it was easier for the author to describe the intense anti-Semitism of one character, the teacher Adolf Nowak, as the poisonous element in Polish society, than to make clear that many other Poles must have shared his hatred of Jews as well.

Although among the books there are many examples of people who are not willing to rescue Jews or who actively seek to betray them because of anti-Semitic feelings, it is far more common to read in these works about the enormous pressures placed on citizens of Germany and other Nazi-occupied countries to comply with the Hitler regime, and therefore to avoid hiding or aiding Jews. In fact, approximately two-thirds of the books contain statements indicating that non-Jews would be killed or arrested for any activity against the Third Reich, which included hiding or helping Jews. One such example occurs in *Friedrich*, when those in the bomb shelter beg the warden Herr Resch to allow the Jewish boy Friedrich, hiding from the Nazis in Germany, to enter during an air raid. But Resch threatens to report them to the authorities if they continue to insist, and so they fall silent.²³

The threat of death or arrest was not found

to be a major deterrent to characters wanting to help desperate Jews, however. Most books containing statements specifying that Christians would place themselves in great danger while hiding Jews demonstrate that while some characters obey the Nazi edicts, many others do not, or they depict characters who at first comply with Nazi decrees, but then change their minds and rescue Jews.

For instance, nearly every non-Jewish German adult in Mara Kay's *In Face of Danger* conspires, under the threat of being reported to the Gestapo, to help the (Jewish) Weiss family to freedom. Frau Meixner and Dr. Fromm hide the Weiss girls while the blockführer's wife warns them that the Gestapo are coming to search for them; Frau Oberin, head of St. Gertrude's convent, hides the Weiss girls' mother (among other Jews), while a hospital orderly agrees to hide Herr Weiss; an unnamed Gestapo agent has saved Jews from concentration camps; and a Nazi colonel helps Meixner, Fromm, and Oberin out of Gestapo clutches after the Weisses make their spectacular escape.²⁴ (It is difficult to recognize the Germany of 1938 in this book.)

It is clear that a far greater proportion of Jews found non-Jewish rescuers in children's literature than did their real-life counterparts. The readers of these books could easily form the impression that many Gentiles helped their Jewish neighbors, while in actuality, relatively few European Jews were able to escape death through the assistance of the non-Jewish populace.

Factual Errors

The above analysis of the historical veracity of children's literature of the Holocaust reveals how the events of that period are depicted by the books as a whole. In assessing the books' fidelity to historical truth, however, it is also important to determine how accurate individual books are in their historical detail. Two-thirds of the books included in the sample have at least one or two factual errors, while almost twenty percent contain as many as four or five factual errors, or errors of such import that the knowledgeable reader must at least question the author's perception of other aspects of the story.

Some errors loom larger than others. Few young people or even fairly knowledgeable adults reading *Miriam* will be aware that while the author states that five hundred Jews from Norway went to the gas chambers,²⁵ almost twice that number of Norwegian Jews actually perished.²⁶

Other errors involving better-known facts may be noticed by more readers. For example, several books contain references to death camps or crematoria in Germany; the six extermination camps (as opposed to concentration and labor camps) were, in reality, all located in Poland. In *The School with a Difference*, the narrator states that the cattle trucks deporting a Jewish family are headed for Germany, and she elsewhere relates that deportation "will mean Germany and the crematoria."²⁷ Similarly, Jews from the French transit camp of Drancy are sent to Germany in *The House of Four Winds*,²⁸ while Drancy actually served as the chief transit camp in France for Auschwitz, located in Poland.²⁹ The particular role of Poland as host to the annihilation is thus ignored in these stories.

Other books contain numerous distortions of the historical record, which can be disturbing to knowledgeable readers, and which educators and librarians ought to be aware of before recommending these works to young readers for the purpose of broadening their understanding of the Holocaust. In *Heart of Danger*, for instance, there are so many factual errors that it is difficult to credit the tale with informing the reader of anything about the actual plight of European Jews. It is easier to view the novel simply as a good adventure story, whose author, writing immediately after the end of World War II, should be commended for exploring the issue of the Holocaust long before it became a frequent topic in children's books.

Conclusions

Although, when viewed as a group, children's books about the Holocaust are not entirely faithful to historical truth, they do not present as ahistorical a picture of the Jewish experience in World War II as previous researchers analyzing more limited samples than the present study have noted. The following are this researcher's main conclusions:

(1) Many books in the sample indicate that the majority of European Jews, or Jews from a particular Nazi-occupied country, perished in the Holocaust, and it is made clear that the fate of the Jews varied from country to country. But few significant Jewish characters in these stories meet their deaths, perhaps creating the impression that many more Jews were able to survive World War II than was historically the case.

(2) Instances of physical resistance are not described in the books out of proportion to their probable real occurrence during World War II. Incidents of spiritual

resistance, prevalent during the Holocaust, are often portrayed in these stories as well. Many writers for children are concerned with explaining the lack of active resistance by Jews during this time.

(3) Although the books do include numerous descriptions of anti-Semitism, they feature far more depictions of general populations that are not anti-Semitic than is considered accurate by most historians. The majority of non-Jewish characters in these works also harbor pro-Jewish sentiments. Furthermore, although the authors clearly describe the danger in helping Jews, far more rescuers disregard risks to save Jews in these stories than can have actually done so during the war. Surely one of the most important issues raised by an examination of the Holocaust is the numbing power of totalitarianism; a false picture is presented when so many people are depicted as able to overcome government-sponsored terror and to dissociate themselves from the anti-Semitism widespread in much of Nazi-occupied Europe.

(4) Factual errors abound in the books studied, but in about four-fifths of the books, the errors do not seriously flaw the story. The remaining one-fifth of the books containing serious factual errors must, however, be of concern to those who expect young people to obtain a reasonably accurate picture of the Holocaust years through their reading of children's literature. Errors of fact do not add to our understanding of the Jewish experience during World War II, and it is hardly necessary to rearrange facts, or to invent information about the Holocaust, to tell a good story—as the authors who have created works with both literary appeal and fidelity to historical truth have proven.

As librarians, we are often expected to provide supplemental materials for Holocaust curricula that should enrich, not mislead, students and teachers. We should try to make available to young people a variety of books that, *together*, reflect the wide panorama of events of the Holocaust. Now that there are so many fine non-fiction works about the Holocaust for children, we should encourage teachers to incorporate these books into their curricula, along with the fictional treatments. The novels and memoirs will always be important; by focusing on individual lives, they create an emotional impact that makes real what is almost incomprehensible. But let us try to choose books that reflect historical reality, not myths and falsehoods. As Arnošt Lustig has said, the truth is important not only for us now, but for future generations.

Notes

1. Diane K. Roskies, *Teaching the Holocaust to Children: A Review and Bibliography* (New York: Ktav, 1975), pp. 27–32.
2. Margaret A. Drew, "Bibliography," in Margot Stern Strom and William S. Parsons, *Facing History and Ourselves: Holocaust and Human Behavior*, rev. ed., vol. 9 ([Brookline, Massachusetts: Facing History and Ourselves National Foundation], 1978); revised and reprinted separately as Margaret A. Drew, *Facing History and Ourselves: Holocaust and Human Behavior—Bibliography/Filmography* (Brookline, Mass.: the Foundation, 1982), pp. 2–4, 6–14. Drew does not make clear how many books she actually examined; in her bibliography she lists only books that she recommends, although some are recommended with serious reservations. 46 books are recommended for junior high school students; fourteen of those listed are not about Jews or World War II. Other sections of this extensive bibliography list purely non-fiction works for children, and books for adults.
3. Drew, p. 6.
4. Fiction, memoirs, and the hard-to-define categories of fictionalized memoirs and autobiographical fiction were included. Not included were purely non-fiction books, such as Bea Stadler's *The Holocaust: A History of Courage and Resistance* (New York: Behrman, 1973; rev. ed. 1974). Also not included were books that deal with the Holocaust and that are set in the United States during or after the war.
5. Jane Whitbread Levin, *Star of Danger* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966), p. 143.
6. Willi Fahrman, *The Year of the Wolves: The Story of an Exodus*, trans. Stella Humphries (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 191.
7. Ilse Koehn, *Mischling, Second Degree: My Childhood in Nazi Germany* (New York: Greenwillow, 1977), pp. 123–124. Although the author notes here that her grandmother died in Theresienstadt—a fact not known to her until after the war—no other Jews or their ultimate fate are discussed.
8. Lucy Dawidowicz, in *The War Against the Jews: 1933–1945* (New York: Holt, 1975), pp. 374–375, estimates that of the 500,000 Jews living in Germany in 1933, 300,000 had emigrated before the war broke out. Of 185,000 Jews in Austria at the time of the Anschluss in March, 1938, about 126,000 had left by the end of 1939.
9. Margaretha Shemin, *The Empty Moat* (New York: Coward, 1969), p. 135.
10. Hans Peter Richter, *Friedrich*, trans. Edite Kroll (New York: Holt, 1970), p. 138.
11. Among the several exceptions to this rule are Andre Schwarz-Bart's *The Last of the Just*, trans. Stephen Becker (New York: Atheneum, 1961), and several works by Arnošt Lustig, including *Darkness Casts No Shadow*, trans. Jeanne Nemcova (Washington, D.C.: Inscape, 1978).
12. Among many works that document Jewish resistance in World War II are Yuri Suhl, ed. and trans., *They Fought Back: The Story of the Jewish Resistance in Nazi Europe* (New York: Crown, 1967; reprint, New York: Schocken, 1975); Reuben Ainsztein, *Jewish Resistance in Nazi Occupied Eastern Europe* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1974), and Isaiah Trunk, *Jewish Response to Nazi Persecution* (New York: Viking, 1979).
13. Milton Meltzer, *Never to Forget: The Jews of the Holocaust* (New York: Harper, 1976), pp. 140–141. Although Yehuda Bauer, in *The Jewish Emergence from Powerlessness* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), p. 27, maintains that by definition, the term resistance should apply only to group, not individual actions, other historians do not appear to exclude individual acts of defiance from the definition of resistance.
14. Margaret Baldwin, *The Boys Who Saved the Children* (New York: Messner, 1981), p. 13.
15. Baldwin, p. 28.
16. Rose Zar, *In the Mouth of the Wolf* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1983), p. 78. Zar feels that her father eventually overcame his traumatization, as he did try to hide during a subsequent selection for deportation to Auschwitz, but was caught and sent to his death. Zar writes of his attempt to hide, "He still had not given up—he still had the spirit to resist. . . ." (p. 194).
17. For example, one witness at the trial of Adolf Eichmann testified, "'Our morale was completely broken. They had prepared us for months on end, so that on hearing their very voices we began shaking and trembling. It was a veritable collective psychosis which one could not overcome. . . .';" cited in Alex Grobman, "Attempts at Resistance in the Camps," in *Genocide: Critical Issues of the Holocaust*, ed. Alex Grobman and Daniel Landes (Los Angeles: Simon Wiesenthal Center, and Chappaqua, New York: Rossel, 1983), p. 245.
18. Ben Zion Firer, *The Twins*, trans. Bracha Slae (New York: Feldheim, 1981), p. 42. See also pp. 55–56 and p. 99.
19. Christine Szambelan-Strevinsky, *Dark Hour of Noon* (New York: Lippincott, 1982), p. 55.
20. "Radom," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1971), vol. 13, col. 1502.
21. Ruth Minsky Sender, *The Cage* (New York: Macmillan, 1986), p. 13.

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4. How does an author obtain a *haskamah*? Is there a standard procedure that an author follows?

5. Does the name of the person giving the *haskamah* affect the sale of materials?

6. In countries with a Chief Rabbinate, is this procedure more controlled?

7. Are there any factors affecting the publication of traditional materials in Israel that are different from those in this country?

8. Are there so-called "vanity presses" that publish original traditional materials?

9. What determines the publication of traditional materials in English translation?

10. Does the growth in the number of traditional materials in English reflect the Baal Teshuvah movement?

11. Opinion: Do you believe that the increase in translation of original works will cause the lessening of the study of original works?

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3. Ktav Publishing House, Inc.
900 Jefferson Street
Hoboken, New Jersey 07030
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4. Kehot Publication Society (Lubavitch)
770 Eastern Parkway
Brooklyn, New York 11213

5. Mesorah Publications, Ltd. (ArtScroll)
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1-800-Mesorah

6. Maznaim Publishing Corporation
(*Torah Anthology*, agent for Mosad Harav Kook)
4304 12th Avenue
Brooklyn, New York 11219
(718) 438-7680

7. S. Goldman—Otzar Hasefarim
33 Canal Street
New York, New York 10002

8. Sepher-Hermon
1265 46th Street
Brooklyn, New York 11219

9. Department for Torah Education and Culture in the Diaspora
515 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10022

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KLEINBURD (Continued from p. 61)

22. Antoni Gronowicz, *Four From the Old Town*, trans. Joseph Vetter (New York: Scribner's, 1944).

23. Richter, pp. 135–136.

24. Mara Kay, *In Face of Danger* (New York: Crown, 1977).

25. Aimee Sommerfelt, *Miriam*, trans. Pat Shaw Iversen (New York: Criterion, 1963), p. 156.

26. Dawidowicz lists nine hundred Norwegian Jews as victims of the Holocaust (p. 403).

27. Yvonne Meynier, *The School with a Difference*, trans. Patricia Crampton (New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1965), pp. 78 and 95.

28. Colette Vivier, *The House of Four Winds*, trans. and ed. Miriam Morton (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1969), pp. 65 and 147.

29. Dawidowicz, p. 362.

Freda Kleinburd is a children's librarian completing a doctoral dissertation on Holocaust literature for children and young people, at Columbia University's School of Library Service.

Appendix B

Directory of Major American Publishers of Traditional/Religious Works

1. Feldheim, Philip, Inc.
200 Airport Executive Pk.

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