

Diminishing the Holocaust: Scholarly Fodder for a Discourse of Distortion

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The Holocaust, like all historical events, did not unfold in a vacuum. It fits into several intersecting contexts. Significantly, it is part of the continuum of Jewish history, the continuum of (primarily) European history, the specific histories of the countries and regions in which it took place, and more narrowly, World War II and its antecedents and repercussions.

In addition to its historical context, the Holocaust is also frequently an element in discussions of various phenomenological categories. To a certain extent this can be seen as a natural outgrowth of the emergence of the Holocaust as the watershed event of the twentieth century and the yardstick by which we measure evil. More than a quarter of a century has passed since one of the preeminent scholars of the Holocaust, Yehuda Bauer, felt compelled to launch a journal that coupled the Holocaust with the broader concept of genocide: *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*. The link between these two subjects predates the inauguration of that journal by nearly forty years. It really began with the adoption of the Genocide Convention by the United Nations on December 9, 1948. That, in turn, grew out of the work of Raphael Lemkin, who formulated the legal concept of genocide, to a large degree in response to the crimes perpetrated against the Jews in World War II. He was also influenced by the Armenian genocide that had taken place a generation earlier.¹

It is not only the concept of genocide to which the Holocaust has been closely associated for many years. Issues of human rights are also frequently discussed in the context or proximity of the Holocaust. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations the day after the Genocide Convention was ratified, is also a reaction to the horrors of World War II, at the heart of which lies

the Holocaust.² Today the Holocaust is frequently integrated into discourse about human rights and discrimination on grounds of race, ethnic origin, sex and sexual orientation, and age, especially in the European Union.³ One current expression of this connection is the museum being constructed at Mechlin, the former transit camp from which 25,000 Jews and several hundred Roma from Belgium were dispatched to Auschwitz-Birkenau. The museum will have a permanent core exhibition about the Holocaust in Belgium and will have rotating exhibits that will be focused on issues of human rights.

Thus, the consideration of the Holocaust in wider contexts is hardly a new phenomenon. What is new is that some scholarly discussion about the Holocaust and its connections is finding its way into and feeding a highly politicized public discourse about the place of the Holocaust in history. This public discourse is not geared toward furthering our knowledge of the Holocaust and related subjects. Rather it is essentially manipulative in nature, and is frequently used either to dodge responsibility for the crime or to point an accusatory finger at Israel. Unlike the crude movement to deny the Holocaust, what is happening now is subtler; much of it can be placed under the rubric of “diminishing the Holocaust.” In other words, by presenting the Holocaust or aspects of it, but giving them short shrift, or by uncritically equating the Holocaust with other events, the impact of the Holocaust is diluted and its gravity lessened.

Equating the Holocaust with Stalin’s crimes and drawing direct parallels between it and the Israeli–Palestinian conflict are two of the most blatant current motifs that diminish the Holocaust. The conflation of Nazi and Soviet crimes is a mainstream occurrence in much of the post-Communist world. Hungary, for example, has its *Terror Háza* [House of Terror] in Budapest, a “must-see” museum dedicated to commemorating both crimes in one breath, with an emphasis on Soviet crimes. The concept of the “double genocide” is how a great many people in the Baltic States understand their history from the start of World War II until the fall of the Communist regimes.⁴

The use of Nazi images and references to describe Israeli attitudes and actions as part of the conflict in the Middle East is so commonplace in some quarters that it causes nary an eyebrow to be raised.⁵ Scholars with serious academic credentials who intentionally or unintentionally abet the diminution of the Holocaust constitute a new and distressing addition to the public voices that engage in this diminishment. In that context, it is worth examining this issue through the prism of historical literature, which is the building block of popular knowledge and often sets the tone of the discourse.

Histories of World War II have not always reflected the actual weight and importance of the Holocaust. Many of the significant early publications, such as Basil Liddell-Hart's *The Other Side of the Hill*⁶ and Winston Churchill's magnum opus, the series *The Second World War*,⁷ give it little attention. Still, a few attempts at making the crimes against the Jews part of the wider historical discourse did occur even in some of the initial literature. As early as 1940 Frank Owen authored *The Three Dictators: Mussolini, Stalin, Hitler*,⁸ which offered a collective biography of the three dictators who were then partners, and cites Hitler's early anti-Jewish measures. But, it is at the end of the 1980s that Gerhard Weinberg's *A World at Arms*⁹ became the first major scholarly study of the war that included extensive discussion of the Holocaust and set a standard for the integration of the two.

Among the more recent publications about the war from a broad perspective of geography and time is *The Taste of War: World War II and the Battle for Food*, by Lizzie Collingham.¹⁰ Collingham is a research fellow at Cambridge, and her study, as its title indicates, is not a book that focuses on the Holocaust per se. Nevertheless, her discussion of Nazi food policies comprises a significant part of her book, and of course one cannot discuss Nazi food policies without addressing the persecution of the Jews during the Holocaust. Be that as it may, the food policy concerning Jews in the war actually is a rather minor part of Collingham's presentation of Nazi food policies. Her focus, when she writes about Nazi Germany, is the way in which the military and civilian authorities mercilessly commandeered food from the local residents in their areas of occupation in the East, and somewhat less ruthlessly, but still quite callously, took foodstuffs from the conquered nations in the West. She explains that especially in the East, German policies called for the military and occupation forces to live off the local land. Collingham writes poignantly and piercingly of how this led the Germans not only to seize the harvest—which quickly resulted in massive hardship and starvation—but also to steal seeds for planting and farm animals for meat. Consequently, farmers could not produce new food during the coming year. This meant not only terrible suffering for the locals; it also meant that the military and occupation authorities could not continue to live off the land when they became bogged down in Soviet territory in a losing battle that lasted for three years.

Collingham's book is not only about Nazi Germany. She writes a great deal about Britain and its empire, the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan, and China, showing how food was a crucial factor in each of these places. Moreover, she demonstrates quite clearly that callousness toward populations that were not the core concerns of these nations—such as British imperial subjects, Chinese non-combatants, and people conquered by the Japanese—was frequently deadly. The overall impression from Collingham's often fascinating study (which is based on secondary sources and not documentation) is that millions starved throughout the

war because of the policies of the major players, and that only the US (and to a far lesser extent Great Britain) came out better off due to their food provision efforts and policies during the period.

German food policy toward Jews is mentioned in the book, particularly the meager allotment of calories in the Warsaw Ghetto, as well as in extermination and labor camps. However, Collingham says little about the central issues regarding Jewish labor and food. For example, she does not expound upon the fact that official German declarations were sometimes made stating that Jewish laborers had to be fed better for the sake of the war effort but that in reality, this was generally not the case.

A critical problem is that Collingham she does not make a clear enough distinction between the treatment of the Jews and others who starved during the war years, owing to the rapacious policies of the central characters. She seems to suggest that the starvation of 15 million Chinese—owing to the intersecting actions of the Chinese Nationalists, the Chinese Communists, and the Japanese occupation—is no different than the death of Jews in the Warsaw ghetto. Of course there are certain similarities—starvation is starvation, heartlessness is heartlessness, and this all happens during the war—but there is a tremendous difference in context and intentions. At its root, the Jews who starved to death in the Warsaw ghetto and many other venues died because of a utopian Nazi ideology that saw the Jews as the foremost enemy of the German people and ultimately of all mankind.

In today's climate of public discourse, the fact that Collingham does not adequately compare and contrast the differences between victims of food policies, especially Holocaust victims and others, makes her book open to misuse by those who would do so intentionally. In her study all the main protagonists look bad and all the victims look the same. Therefore, readers might well end up asking why there is so much talk about Jews starving to death in the Holocaust, when everyone was afflicted with malnutrition.

Many works on genocide include discussion of the Holocaust. Among them is the recently published monograph by Donald Bloxham, a professor at Edinburgh University. Bloxham has written a very provocative book, *The Final Solution: A Genocide*,¹¹ which has engendered a spirited discussion in the pages of a recent issue of the *Journal of Genocide Research*,¹² among other venues.

Bloxham states in his introduction that his book is an exercise meant “to blend analysis of the internal dynamics of the Final Solution, consideration of other Nazi racial policies and the broader context of other genocides.”¹³ His in-depth discussion of the Final Solution in this framework is groundbreaking. Intentionally

eschewing the voices of victims, especially Jewish victims, Bloxham echoes sentiments expressed by Henry Huttenbach in his article “Comparative Genocide Studies and the Future Directions of Holocaust Research.”¹⁴ There, Huttenbach calls for a moratorium on Holocaust studies in order to allow the voices of other genocide victims to emerge. As Omer Bartov correctly points out in the *Journal of Genocide Research*, it is precisely the voices of Holocaust victims and the research, writing, and discussion of the Holocaust that have paved the way for discussion of other genocides. In his own defense, Bloxham explains that he takes the approach he does in order to focus on the perpetrators.

Bloxham has done very good journeyman’s work in synthesizing many aspects of the most up-to-date discussion regarding the Final Solution. Like Collingham’s study, his is also essentially a work based on secondary sources. Going into much detail, Bloxham demonstrates how pragmatic considerations profoundly affected the unfolding murder of the Jews. He discusses the role of ideology at length in several chapters and its place in the Holocaust and other genocides. He writes:

...the regime’s racism and antisemitism, layered upon varying thicknesses of such prejudices in central Europe—and, for Germany’s auxiliary killers, eastern Europe—had done some of the groundwork in preparing these men for the idea that Jews, Romanies, and Slavs might “have” to be killed. After all, in every one of the instances of inter-group violence mentioned in these pages, the violence was committed against a backdrop of social cleavage and stereotype, and whether or not any given individual subscribed to the stereotypes, he or she was inevitably aware of the social significance of them.¹⁵

Yet one of his main arguments about the perpetration of the Holocaust is that ideology was not an omnipotent driving force, and that other concerns sometimes overrode it. He demonstrates that where the Germans had fuller control, in the occupied East or the Netherlands, they carried out the murder most thoroughly, but where they had allies or more complex types of occupation regimes, other considerations pushed the Final Solution aside. He concludes that not everywhere was the murder of all Jews the first and unassailable priority of the Nazis. In turn this goes to his discussion against the uniqueness of the Holocaust, which he says often rests on the idea that the Nazi genocide of the Jews was different from all others because of its relentless single-mindedness.

One cannot seriously dispute the facts presented by Bloxham of how Nazi persecution of the Jews played out in different venues at different times. Moreover, one cannot dispute the debunking of the simplistic notion that murdering the Jews immediately was always the top priority everywhere, all the time, once the Final

Solution became policy. But history writing is, above all, the presentation of a narrative based on facts (as best as they can be determined) and the interpretation of those facts so as to place the narrative in context. Therefore, one can certainly take issue with Bloxham's interpretation and conclusions. Many scholars of the Holocaust believe that the role of ideology is at the core of the decision to murder the Jews. It may be said that its direct impact fluctuated in different situations, and even when the Nazis and their accessories gave in to other considerations and did not murder Jews immediately, they were merely postponing the murder to which their ideology and the course of events led them. Because everything played out on the continuum of time and the flow of events, they ultimately would not be able to complete their ideologically motivated policy of the Final Solution for all Jews everywhere.

Although the following examples from Bloxham's book are minor, in the sense that they take up little space and are not at the heart of the book, both should give attentive readers cause for pause. In the first chapter of the book, which enumerates Europe's history of violence, Bloxham notes that Christian Spain persecuted both Jews and Muslims.¹⁶ That is true, but he does not mention the crucial difference between the two groups: Jews in Spain were persecuted only because of their religion (and even after their conversion to Christianity, since their sincerity was doubted), whereas Muslims were persecuted in large part because of the war for the control of Spain waged between Muslims and Christians. This kind of "shopping list" presentation is indicative of the superficiality that can arise when one tries to paint complex events with a broad brushstroke. Those who consciously diminish the Holocaust employ this kind of flattening out in their discussion.¹⁷

A sort of throwaway line in the same chapter (with which Bartov also takes issue in his discussion of the book in a *Journal of Genocide Research* forum) relates to the 1948 Arab–Israeli war. Bloxham writes: "...in another former Ottoman province, Palestine, the nascent Israeli state forced the dispersal of large numbers of Arabs and went on to deny them the right of return."¹⁸ This statement is, to say the least, problematic. Since it is devoid of context and nuance, it places the entire Palestinian refugee issue on Israel's shoulders. As scholarship by researchers such as Benny Morris demonstrates, the situation was much more complex. Palestinians fled out of fear, or because their leaders encouraged them to do so, believing they would defeat Israel shortly and return home, and also because given this situation, the Israel Defense Forces decided to push people out, sometimes violently.¹⁹ The weightier problem is that in a book that focuses on the Holocaust and seeks to place it in the realm of a wider discussion of genocide, this suggests to the reader that there is a parallel between the Holocaust and Palestinian tragedy, and it gives ammunition to those who like to term Israelis "Nazis." It also aids those who would

like to shirk responsibility for their role in the Holocaust by pointing a finger at Israel so as to say: “You Jews are no better than we are.”

Perhaps the most talked- and written-about book that feeds the popular discourse regarding the equation of the crimes of Hitler and Stalin is the very readable and sometimes gripping *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*, by Yale University professor Timothy Snyder.²⁰ This work is a study of the murderous events that occurred in the territories of present-day Poland, Belarus, and Ukraine in the years just before, during and after World War II. Here, as in the Baltic countries, the current equation of the two criminal regimes by those with a political and social agenda has become more intense than ever. The hands of those with a political and social agenda equating the two regimes have been strengthened. This is so especially since the decision was taken by the European Parliament to commemorate Nazi and Stalinist crimes together on August 23, the anniversary of the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. It was that agreement that set the stage for the Nazi-Soviet partition of Poland in autumn 1939 and later the Soviet takeover of the Baltic states and northern Bukovina (Romania). Among other things, this public discourse is part of the very problematic search in former Soviet Eastern Europe for a past on which they can capitalize.

A central theme of this narrative parrots the old canard that the Jews are to blame for Communism. According to that argument, Jews en masse collaborated with the Soviets and were complicit in their crimes. This is the so-called *Zydokomuna* stereotype, which continues to enjoy wide credence in certain circles in Poland and elsewhere in East-Central Europe. If Jews are guilty of crimes similar to those of the Nazis, so the logic goes, then crimes committed by the Jews’ neighbors in the Holocaust are contextualized and therefore their guilt and responsibility are lessened.

Reading through Snyder’s book, there is no doubt that he does do what he sets out to, namely, examine the geographic area of what he terms the “Bloodlands,” from the early 1930s through the end of World War II and its aftermath, even touching on Polish antisemitism in 1967–68. Like the other two books already discussed, this, too, is essentially a book of historiography and integration, since the overwhelming sources Snyder cites are from other publications, and there is only a sprinkling of primary source material.

The strength of *Bloodlands* is the exercise in which Snyder engages—examining this one area over an expanse of years. This informs the reader of the complexity of the situations in which a series of violent and bloody brutal acts against civilians were carried out. For scholars and students of the Holocaust, this background is essential. Issues Snyder raises, such as the portrayal of how Ukrainian peasants

suffered through a vicious German occupation after they had just emerged from the famine engendered by forced collectivization and the wave of terror in 1937–38, are crucial to understanding their behavior under German rule. His discussion of the targeting of Polish nationals in the wave of terror is forceful, and again helps elucidate the later mindset of organizations such as the *Armia Krajowa*—especially toward Jews. To this end, Snyder elucidates the idea of the *Żydokomuna* and the role this idea had in the gaining local support for the murder of the Jews.²¹

Although Snyder manages to avoid the pitfall of oversimplification, he still does not always draw distinctions clearly enough. For example, he writes about the “contempt” of life that made the mass death of Soviet soldiers in German prisoner of war camps possible, and the death of Slavs, Asians, and Jews in those camps.²² He does not explain, however, that regarding the death of Jewish prisoners, there was much more than contempt at play; the mere fact that they were Jewish doomed them first and foremost.

Another example is in Snyder’s presentation of the Nazis’ anti-partisan crusade in Belarus in 1942. He demonstrates that both Jews and non-Jews were killed by the same methods and that anti-partisan activities by definition always included killing Jews. He describes the brutal destruction of entire villages suspected in some way of aiding the partisans, even though the murdered villagers were frequently innocent bystanders. Although the methods of killing were the same and the outcome was that thousands of innocent non-Jews were murdered, there is a very important distinction to be drawn between their fate and the fate of their murdered Jewish neighbors: All Jews were slated for murder simply because they were Jews, whereas the residents of destroyed villages were murdered because of the partisan activities in the region and the brutal and immensely disproportionate Nazi response to those activities.²³ Of course here, too, there is an element of Nazi racism, since as Slavs, these villagers were certainly expendable to the Nazis, who did not weep or agonize over their fate. They were, however, certainly not victims of a policy akin to the Final Solution.

The overall impression one gets from Snyder’s book is that 14 million people who died in the Bloodlands died against the same backdrop—the ideologies and concomitant murderous policies of the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany. But when one examines the nuances, it is clear that this generalization does not really hold water. For example, one can readily see that a Polish child who died during Stalin’s massive deportation of Poles from Eastern Galicia in the months leading up to the German invasion of the Soviet Union did not die for the same reason as a Jewish child who managed to escape a murder action in a ghetto in that same locale in 1942, and was hunted down, caught, and shot. The nuances here are

important and Snyder should have highlighted the differences as boldly as he does the similarities.

Although the discussion of the Holocaust in its wider contexts is fraught with potential pitfalls, that does not mean that it is not possible or that it should be avoided. Such a presentation is made by Alexander Prusin, associate professor of History at the New Mexico Institute of Mining and Technology, who has authored *The Lands Between: Conflict in the East European Borderlands, 1870–1992*.²⁴ Prusin's monograph has much in common with *Bloodlands* but also some essential differences. Among other things, the time frame examined in his book is obviously much broader than Snyder's and the region he discusses is somewhat different.

One of Prusin's strengths is that he avoids entering into comparative victimization. Perhaps the most salient reason he avoids equating situations is the focus of his inquiry. Primarily, he is concerned with how the unfolding policies of the major powers in the region affected the nationalism of the various groups there and how, in turn, this contributed to ongoing variations of brutality and violence between those groups. Although from the late 1930s onward both the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany "aimed at the total altering of their respective domains and turned the Borderlands into the testing grounds for massive relocation of population, state-terror on an unprecedented scale, and ferocious internal conflicts,"²⁵ this does not mean that they did things the same way. Under Stalin, the goal was to destroy all vestiges of national identity and to integrate the native populations into the Communist system.²⁶ In other words, Stalin wanted to alter the identity of the people and "Sovietize" each individual. As for Nazi Germany, the thrust was on "Germanizing the lands, *not* the people" [*italics in the original*].²⁷

Within this wider framework, Prusin explains the forces that fed tribalism in the Borderlands region, and in particular those that pitted the Poles, Ukrainians, Latvians, and Lithuanians against one another, and virtually everyone against the Jews. He explores the veracity of the claim that all Jews supported the Soviet occupation of the region and collaborated with the Communists. Demonstrating that in the areas acquired during the war, individual Jews in significant numbers took part in the Soviet regime, as did many others, Prusin sets forth the main reasons that compelled Jews to support the Communists. Among these were the trauma from the virulent antisemitism sponsored by the pre-Soviet regimes, justifiable fear of the Nazis, and an initial belief that more equal treatment and advancement in society was possible under the Soviets. By explaining the context and proportions of Jewish involvement in the Soviet occupation, he debunks the myth of *Żydokomuna*.²⁸

Prusin does not pull any punches in discussing the role of the local inhabitants of all ethnicities in the initial pogroms that came on the heels of the German invasion in the summer of 1941 and their subsequent complicity in the Final Solution. As such, he takes an additional, great step away from oversimplified equations. Referring to Jan T. Gross' seminal book, *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne Poland*,²⁹ which describes the role local Poles played in the murder of their Jewish neighbors, Prusin terms this reality the "Jedwabne State."³⁰ He plainly sets out the factors that led the locals to collaborate in the murder of the Jews. Perhaps chief among these was the fact that the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union "created a particularly murderous environment...whereby antisemitism and anti-Jewish violence were officially structured and integrated into the emerging pattern of the Holocaust... [And] the Axis ideological crusade against 'Judeo-Bolshevism' fully coalesced with the aspirations of the Latvian, Lithuanian or Ukrainian nationalist groups..."³¹ Like Bloxham, Gross demonstrates that ideology alone did not account for their role in the murder: "The 'Jedwabne State' revealed that anti-Jewish violence thrived in the psychological and emotional atmosphere poisoned by radical ideologies and by a plethora of motives far remote from ideology and politics but camouflaged as the craving for national liberation."³² However, unlike Bloxham, he does not interpret this as downplaying the impact of ideology.

The last part of Prusin's book deals with the postwar period. Here, too, by highlighting the context of Soviet crimes against the people of the Borderlands, especially the civil war that broke out soon after the end of World War II, Prusin manages to discuss processes without engaging in unwarranted comparisons. His ability to discuss a region in which there was massive violence over a long period of time without making glib equations stands out as a thoughtful example of how to approach an integrated presentation of events and trends.

There is no question that there is a need to understand the Holocaust in its wider, and overlapping and intersecting contexts. It is no less important, however, that scholars make a concerted effort to engage in such exercises without feeding the tendentious facets of the current public discourse. To do so they must be aware of that discourse, the sensitivities and nuances of their subject, and of how their writings can be misused. Most importantly, they must make sure that they not only highlight commonalities between situations, events, and processes, but draw clear distinctions as well. Concomitantly, readers must remain critical to avoid accepting distortions — whether intentional or not. The diminishing of the Holocaust does a grave disservice — to say the least — to the victims and the survivors. Diminishing the Holocaust is a misrepresentation of historical events and processes that damages our attempts to analyze and understand them. This severely hampers efforts to derive even a modicum of wisdom, whether for individuals or societies as a whole, from the cataclysm — the effects of which still reverberate with us today.

Notes

- ¹ Uriel Tal, "On the Study of the Holocaust and Genocide," in *Yad Vashem Studies*, XIII (1979), 7–52.
- ² See the history of the document on the UN website, www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/history.shtml.
- ³ For example, Israel and the EU have now held five bilateral seminars on these subjects in which the Holocaust has taken a prominent place.
- ⁴ Dovilė Budrytė, "'We Call it Genocide': Soviet Deportations and Repressions in the Memory of Lithuanians," Robert Seitz Frey (ed.), *The Genocidal Temptation: Auschwitz, Hiroshima, Rwanda, and Beyond* (New York, 2004), pp. 79–101.
- ⁵ Robert Rozett, *Approaching the Holocaust, Texts and Contexts* (London, 2005), pp. 125–158.
- ⁶ B.H. Liddell Hart, *The Other Side of the Hill* (London, 1951).
- ⁷ Winston Churchill, *The Second World War*, 12 vols. (London, 1948–1964).
- ⁸ Frank Owen, *The Three Dictators: Mussolini, Stalin and Hitler* (London, 1940).
- ⁹ Gerhard L. Weinberg, *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II* (Cambridge, 1989).
- ¹⁰ Lizzie Collingham, *The Taste of War: World War II and the Battle for Food* (London, 2011).
- ¹¹ Donald Bloxham, *The Final Solution: A Genocide* (Oxford, 2009).
- ¹² *Journal of Genocide Research*, XIII: 1,2 (2011).
- ¹³ Bloxham, op. cit., p. 12.
- ¹⁴ Henry Huttenbach, "Comparative Genocide Studies and the Future Directions of Holocaust Research," *The Holocaust: Memories, Research, Reference*, Robert Hauptman and Susan Hubbs Motin (eds.) (Binghamton, 1998), pp. 89–98.
- ¹⁵ Bloxham, op. cit., p. 294.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 47.
- ¹⁷ As Irwin Cotler has written: "If every moral outrage is deemed to be the Holocaust, then nothing is, and the Holocaust becomes nothing as well," *Montreal Gazette*, January 31, 2009.
- ¹⁸ Bloxham, op. cit., p. 108.
- ¹⁹ Benny Morris, *1948* (New Haven, 2008).
- ²⁰ Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (New York, 2010). For a critical review of this book, see Alexander J. Groth, *The Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, V:2, 123–128.
- ²¹ Snyder, op. cit., pp. 194–195.
- ²² *Ibid.*, p. 181.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 240–244.
- ²⁴ Alexander Prusin, *The Lands Between: Conflict in the East European Borderlands, 1870–1992* (Oxford, 2010).
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 132.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 175.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 138–140.

²⁹ Jan Tomasz Gross, *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* (Princeton, 2001).

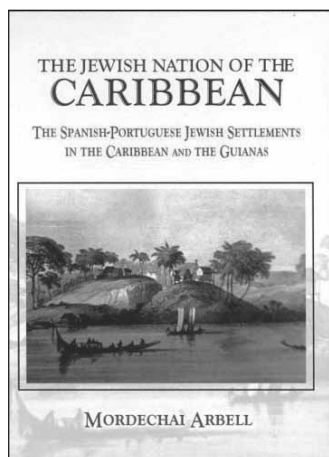
³⁰ Prusin, op. cit., p. 150.

³¹ Ibid., p. 154.

³² Ibid., p. 160.

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