

**"Structural Heterogeneity": Global Scientific
Research and the Broken Social Knowledge about
the Shoah in Romania.
An Analysis of Historiography and Commented
Bibliography**

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Abstract

So far the concept of "structural heterogeneity" has hardly been used to describe social spaces of knowledge. The term gained its significance in connection with Third World analyses and dependency theory in the 1970s. For Romania, the sociologist Daniel Chirot (1976) has used the concept to describe the social distortions of Romania's global peripheral integration during the long 19th century. The two Hungarian (economic) historians Istvan Berend and György Ranki (1976), as well as Stefan Welzk (1982) from the German side, have used the same theorem in relation to south-eastern "belatedness". Dependence theory uses the term "structural heterogeneity" to describe the disrupted market structures of peripheral capitalism: in this interpretation the one-sided embedding into the world

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system generates system-induced inability to develop a modern economy and is the reason of social inequality. The coexistence of (a) a strong export orientation in regard to raw materials, (b) a national industry substituting foreign consumer goods protected by customs duties and subsidies, and (c) a significant rural subsistence economy prevents the formation of an interacting economy and democratic structures. While older, Marxist-inspired world system research tended towards protectionist approaches, more recent research emphasizes the chances of properly managed world market integration.

1. The concept of “structural heterogeneity” and its relevance for the analysis of knowledge

In the following I want to show that we can observe a very similar split with regard to Holocaust knowledge on Romania. On the one hand, research has become part of a worldwide endeavor- with quite remarkable results. More and more complex are the findings, and it is hardly possible to reduce all what we know according to the needs of simple textbook certainties. Moreover, without comparison and without recourse to more systematic approaches (social sciences, ethnology, sociolinguistics) research on the subject is hardly any longer possible.

While research into Romanian Holocaust thus has made considerable progress, on the other hand parts of Romanian historiography relating to the subject remain nationally self-referential. The main aim of this approach is indeed that of revisionism, relativization and undermining a theory-oriented, open analysis.

In an opinion poll conducted in 2015 – and this is the third level of my analysis – only 28% of Romanian citizens answered that the Holocaust was also a Romanian phenomenon. This can also be expressed in a different way: More than two thirds of the Romanian population have not yet heard anything about the Romanian dimension of the Holocaust. 69% of all respondents saw Germany as the main culprit of the Romanian part of the Holocaust.¹

¹Institutul Național pentru Studierea Holocaustului din România "Elie Wiesel". 2015. “Sondaj de opinie privind Holocaustul din România și percepția relațiilor interetnice: Mai

At the end of my lecture I will try to explain, how this discrepancy between (a) scientific awakening, (b) national self-reference, and (c) rural local ignorance can be explained. A comparison with Germany (d) will help to identify the particular difficulties which Romania is facing.

A vivid, globalized, well-institutionalized research on the Romanian Holocaust – not yet noticed

1.1. Scientific awakening

1.1.1. 1989-2000: A remarkable though “ethnically” restricted beginning

During the Stalinist dictatorship of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, the Holocaust was not at all an issue to be reported on. It was reinterpreted as a war crime against the Soviet Union. Ceaușescu’s National Socialism interpreted the Romanian Holocaust as the outcome of German Fascism. Only after 1989 the history of the years 1940-1944 could be comprehensively addressed. Of course, the ethnic division of Romania, the search for national self-esteem, the concentration of the political discussion on the communist period caused that the Holocaust topic was taken up only by marginal groups, concretely by researchers of the formerly affected ethnic minorities. It is to them that we owe the first major source editions and summary presentations (Hildrun, 2007).

First to mention are Lya Benjamin (1993-1998) as one might call the Nestor of Romanian Holocaust research and Jean Ancel (1986) as tireless discoverer of sources on the Israeli side. There were first impressing monographs like those of Jean Ancel (1998, 2001-2003, 2016), John Butnaru (1992), Avigdor Shachan (1996), Radu Ioanid (1998) or Victor Neumann (1996, 1999), later also the accounts of Sergiu Nazaria (2005) to be interpreted by his Moldavian context. They all added a special Romanian perspective to the early seminal study of Raoul Hilberg (1990), Viorel Achim (1998, 2009), Petre Matei (2001) and Vasile Ionescu (2000) drew attention to the persecution of the Roma people. Numerous anthologies

appeared in Romania², America³ and Germany⁴ revealing how many researchers familiar with Romanian history were engaged in the topic and what were their findings. Most of them used the sources which had been made available by foremost named researchers (Carp, 1946-1948; 1959-1960; 1991; Lavi, 1960; Popovici, 1962; Arad, 1998; Stanciu and Sergiu, 1991; Calafeteanu, 1993; Lecca, 1994; Zamfirescu and Troncotă, 1994; Iancu, 1998; Șiperco, 1998). In plus there were new important source editions. The minutes of the Council of Ministers allowed a completely new insight into the Romanian policy of persecuting the Jews (Ciucă, 1998-2006). Finally, the first memoirs of the victims were available, inspired by the interest into the subject since 1989 (Ionescu, 2005; Teich, 1958; Safran, 1987; Rosen, 1991; Berk, 1992; Schächter, 1996; Korber-Berco, 1995; Sebastian, 1996; Carmelly, 1997; Bernstein, 1998; Binder, 1998; Haimovitch, 1999; Salomon, 1999; Voinea, 2000; Sarah, 2000). The Elie-Wiesel Commission, founded in 2003, presented its final report just one year later and summarized what was known to the experts about the Romanian Holocaust up to that point.⁵ The method was to uncover the facts. The focus was on Ion Antonescu as the central initiator of violence against the Jews and the Roma and on his collaborators in government, army and administration. This of course was understandable because the central aim was to counter the Antonescu cult of the early 1990s using irrefutable sources and strong arguments.

²Ionescu, Mihail E., and Liviu Rotman, eds. 2003. *The Holocaust and Romania. History and Contemporary Significance*. București: Institute for Political Studies of Defense and Military History; Achim, Viorel, and Constantin Iordachi, eds. 2004. *România și Transnistria: Problema Holocaustului: Perspective istorice și comparative*. București: Curtea Veche.

³Braham, Randolph L., ed. 1994. *The Tragedy of Romanian Jewry*. New York: Columbia University Press; Braham, Randolph L., ed. 1997. *The Destruction of Romanian and Hungarian Jews during the Antonescu Era*. New York: Social Science Monographs.

⁴Hausleitner, Mariana, Brigitte Mihok, and Juliane Wetzels, eds. 2001. *Rumänien und der Holocaust. Zu den Massenverbrechen in Transnistrien, 1941-1944*. Berlin.

⁵Friling, Tuvyah on behalf of Comisia Internațională pentru Studierea Holocaustului în România, ed. 2005. *Raport final*. Iași: Polirom. To be added: Comisia Internațională pentru Studierea Holocaustului în România, ed. 2005. *Documente*. Responsible: Lya Benjamin. Iași: Polirom. A more didactical approach: Florian, Alexandru, Lya Benjamin, and Anca Ciuciu, eds. 2007. *Cum a fost posibil? Evreii din România în perioada Holocaustului*. Editura Institutului pentru Studierea Holocaustului din România "Elie Wiesel": București.

To sum up, only a little more than 10 years after the upheaval of 1989, there was a first broad basis for research on the Romanian Holocaust.

1.1.1. Early more theoretically oriented general outlines, 2000-2006/7

Building on this basis, the first larger, methodological refined general overviews were published. Most of them were written by researchers outside of Romania. These writers had the opportunity to break away from the historical-political debates in Romania and Moldova, some of which were conducted bitterly, and to set their own priorities. Denis Deletant's "Forgotten Ally" still offers probably the best overview of the years 1940-1944 for our context (Deletant, 2006). He meticulously summarizes the state of research, works through all important topics like in a manual and, where necessary, supplements the research with his own findings. He also offers English-speaking readers a translation of important sources. Andrej Angrick has analyzed the intervention of the Einsatzgruppe D in northern Bucovina, Bessarabia and Transnistria (Angrick, 2003). Herwig Baum presented the first thorough comparative, factual analysis of Transnistria under Romanian rule on the one side and the Ukraine under German domination on the other side (Baum, 2011). I myself have tried to decipher the spaces and languages of violence in the years of the Romanian Holocaust (Heinen, 2007).

The results of the more recent overviews have stimulated research in the following years. Let us sum up these insights up to 2006/7:

1. The Romanian Holocaust was unusually complex. Any future research therefore has to face up to this complexity, and make it part of its interpretation.

2. A large number of different actors have to be distinguished. One cannot adequately describe the Romanian Holocaust solely by referring to Antonescu and his entourage, just as one cannot interpret the German Holocaust solely by referring to Hitler. In addition to politics, it is also important to look at the "normal men" (Christopher Browning). I myself have tried to conceptualize this problem by referring to Bourdieu's concept of the social field: Each social field generated different logics of violence: the logic of governmental violence, fascist violence, military violence, administrative violence and collective violence. In addition, we will have to differentiate between German politics and Romanian politics, the German and Romanian military, the German, Romanian and ethnic German mass

murderers, and finally the Romanian and Ukrainian actors of pogroms. They all acted together and on their own in the east of the Romanian territory.

3. As in the German case, we must also analyze very precisely the places of violence. Depending on the political constellation of power, the Romanian Holocaust events differed. The camps on the Bug have to be separated from those on the Dniester. In Cernăuți the situation was again different than in Chișinău etc. And, of course, what happened in Bucharest was not necessarily typical of what happened in the rest of the Old Kingdom, Banat and southern Transylvania.

4. The temporal dynamics must be taken into account. Hildrun Glass has distinguished between a phase of German-Romanian congruence of aims in 1940/41, a phase of divergence in 1942 and a phase of dissent in 1943/1944 (Glass, 2014).

5 What influence did the political and cultural traditions have on what happened? Here we must differentiate between:

a. traditions with regard to violence (political violence in general, fascist violence, military violence, administrative violence, collective violence);

b. traditions of striving for homogenization and the resulting perceptions and decision-making processes;

c. anti-Semitic traditions. In fact Romanian anti-Semitism had many different forms of expression. At Bucharest level alone, there were very different anti-Semitic narratives standing side by side, depending on which regional group of Jews was addressed, depending on the respective time the narrative was made.

6. The Romanian political-cultural context, the often unspecific administrative directives and the "metaphorical language" meant that often the individual had a considerable degree of choice. In this respect, much depended on the attitude of the individual actor, on his concrete perceptions, on his willingness to make decisions, and on the special situation in which he acted. As in the case of Germany, the concept of "agency" is indispensable also for Romania.

7. The language of violence can only be decrypted in the course of the act of violence itself. Thus, holocaust research definitely requires a dense description of the violent practices.

8. Finally, refined research on Romania Holocaust is hardly possible without systematic comparison, without comparing events in individual

villages, cities, and regions, with other words, without a regional approach. In plus we must compare the Romanian Holocaust with what was happening in other countries of South-eastern Europe like Slovakia and Bulgaria. All of these regimes opted for collaboration, and had their own part in the European Holocaust. At the end we have to look at those parts of south-eastern Europe which were under direct German rule.

In summary, in 2006/7, research could refer to a sufficient number of sources and had ample knowledge to draw first conclusions and to specify the issues to be addressed in the following period. In this time to come, it was not the overall interpretation that was of foremost interest, but rather the need to look more closely on regional differences and individual actors. At the same time the perspective had to integrate more than before the perspective of the victims, their way to cope with the atrocities. Thus a bundle of totally new questions were at the front, still to be addressed up to now. It is quite impressive how many studies have been presented in the time from 2006/7 on. In a cautious estimate, I would assume that the total number of new publications since 2006/7 will exceed easily a number of 300 monographs, source publications and essays.

1.2. Old and new questions – even more answers. The unnoticed upswing of Romanian Holocaust research since 2007

Thus let us now turn to the very causes of the flourishing international Holocaust research regarding Romania. In brief, five explanations for its upswing can be singled out: *First*, there evidently is an institutionalization of research efforts. *Secondly*, Romanian Holocaust studies are integrated into an international network. *Thirdly*, the historical scholarship on the Romanian Holocaust has begun to reflect more comprehensively on its methodological approach. *Fourthly*, research has acquired a completely different dynamic because it has greatly expanded in terms of personnel and institutions, and differentiated in terms of content. *Fifthly*, old subjects are treated in a new way and new questions have come to the forefront.

However, in spite of all these fruitful efforts, we have to admit, that general Holocaust and Genocide research has not yet systematically integrated the findings on Romania into its general explanatory approach. And this is true, though Romania stands almost paradigmatically for what Christian Gerlach has characterized as an "extremely violent society"

(Gerlach, 2010). All his buzzwords regarding an appropriate analysis of the Holocaust apply to Romania as well: (1) We have to turn away from the fixation on the state and state politics as the only field of action.(2) There was a variety of different motives by the perpetrators.(3) The perpetrators had different ethnic and national backgrounds.(4) We have to look at manifold groups of victims, not only the Jews.(5) The persecution of the Jews and of the other victims may be characterized as participatory violence.(6) And – as Gerlach also points out – there were different preconditions and strategies of survival on the part of the victims (Gerlach, 2017).

1.2.1. Institutionalization

Perhaps the most important reason for the upswing of Holocaust research on Romania is its organizational institutionalization. At present literature and sources on the Holocaust in Romania are available worldwide, thanks to the Internet, thanks to interlibrary loan. In this respect, the scientific spirit that jumped out of the bottle can no longer be captured.

Numerous institutions support research on the subject: the Washington Holocaust Museum with its microfilmed archive holdings replaces numerous government documentation centers in Romania, Germany and the Ukraine. The same applies to Yad Vashem in Israel. Since long the *Centrul pentru Studiul Istoriei Evreilor din România* "Wilhelm Filderman" (Bucharest) has been stimulating and supporting research on the Romanian Holocaust. The founding of the *Institutul Național pentru Studierea Holocaustului din România "Elie Wiesel"* has permanently anchored research on this subject in Romania itself. Most of the publications edited by the Institute are written in English. At the major universities in Romania there are centers on Jewish history and culture which also address the history of the Holocaust. (The *Centrul de studii ebraice Goldstein-Goren* at the University of Bucharest for instance, or the *Centrul de Istoria Evreilor și Ebraistică* at Iași, or the *Institutul de Iudaistică și Istorie Evreiască, Dr. Moshe Carmilly* at Cluj-Napoca). In Germany, the *Institut für Zeitgeschichte* in Munich and the *Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung* in Berlin have published studies and source editions on Romania. In France, the *Centre de Recherches et d'Études Juives et Hébraïques*, Montpellier, has initiated numerous studies and editions of

sources. We still have to add to this impressive list those publishers who have made Romanian Holocaust history the subject of their publishing programs: *Editura Hasefer* in Bucharest, for example, *Yad Vashem Publications* or *Hartung-Gorre Verlag* in Konstanz. Internationally recognized journals repeatedly address topics of the Romanian Holocaust. First of all, certainly, one has to mention the journal of the *Elie Wiesel Institute Holocaust. Studii și cercetări*, most of its articles being published in English. On an international level I would add the *Holocaust Studies*, the *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, *The Journal of Holocaust Research* (= *Dapim: Studies on the Holocaust*), the *Yad Vashem Studies*, the *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah* and the *Journal of Genocide Research*. Especially striking is that the vast majority of these journals were first published about 1990, thus providing an internationally flourishing forum for Romanian Holocaust research.

Let us add literature and documents easily available on the Internet, as mentioned, and we get the picture of a well-established, differentiated, closely interwoven research field which can't be any longer controlled and manipulated by political means. This is all the more true as a large part of the literature I mention in this article has also been translated into Romanian, English, German, etc.⁶

1.2.2. Internationalization

How do these international networks contribute to the consolidation of research on the Romanian Holocaust? They define the standards by open critique (book reviews for instance), they support young researchers to get into the subject (summer schools), they foster research by publishing sources, articles and books, and they ease the research by collecting archival material.

The requirements regarding the competences of the researchers are comparatively high. They should have excellent language skills, an appropriate overview on international Holocaust research, methodological skills, openness towards questions of social and cultural theory, and of course, access to a whole bundle of institutions, libraries, journals – and the Internet.

⁶ I mention the editions I have read. But often there are also other versions in English, Romanian etc.

In this respect, some Moldovan historians have come to the fore. By breaking out of their respective cultural surrounding, marked by ethnic conflicts, and more and more becoming involved into international research-networks, prominent researchers have gained world-wide influence. Vladimir Solonari teaches now at the University of Central Florida, Orlando, USA (Solonari, 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2009, 2010, 2013, 2014, 2016, 2017a, 2017b, 2019). Diana Dumitru received the American Political Science Association's Mary Parker Follett Award for her comparative study of collective violence in Bessarabia and Transnistria (Dumitru, 2008a, 2008b, 2010, 2011; Dumitru and Johnson 2011b; Dumitru, 2012a, 2012b, 2014a, 2014b; Dumitru and Negura, 2014; Dumitru, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c, Dumitru, 2017). Both, Vladimir Solonari and Diana Dumitru, have been fellows of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and of the Imre Kertész College in Jena. Svetlana Suveica researches in Regensburg at the Leibniz-Institut für Ost- und Südost-Europaforschung (Suveică, 2015, 2017). The advantage of these researchers, who – as mentioned – all originally come from Moldova, certainly lies in the fact that they had to prove themselves in an international environment if they wanted to succeed and that they fluently speak Romanian as well as Ukrainian and Russian, but also German, English, and French. The same is true for many other “young” Romanian researchers, some of them former students of the Central European University, Budapest.

1.2.3. Reflection on theory and methodology

While at the beginning, in the 1990s, research on the Romanian Holocaust concentrated on the very “facts” and tried to demonstrate an involvement of Romanian politics into the crimes, presently there has started a much broader approach starting with a methodological discussion. One of the questions asked is, how do we make sources speak? What value do the different sources have: archive sources (Ancel, 2003; Botoșineanu, 2015; Shapiro, 2013; Steinhart, 2012), court files under communist rule (Dumitru 2014a, 2016a, Muraru, 2018; Solonari, 2014), memoirs (Babeș, 2016; Bărbulescu, 2014; Hirsch and Spitzer, 2010; Ionescu, 2009; Majstorović, 2018), diaries (Babeș, 2015), oral history (Dumitru, 2009), photos (Ciuciu, 2011; Hirsch and Spitzer, 2009; Ioanid et al., 2017), press (Gușu, 2011; Stone, 2017)? What are the preconditions and possible insights of comparing

different regions and states? (Solomonari, 2014; Dumitru, 2016c; Frusetta, 2011; Gerlach, 2010, 2017; Naimark, 2001; 2017; Pohl, 2013; Snyder, 2015; Stoian, 2011; Steinhart, 2015; Ther, 2011). How do we work out the individual motives of violence? (Chioveanu, 2007; Solonari, 2014) Actually, research on the Romanian Holocaust has meanwhile integrated many of the approaches, global Holocaust and Genocide studies have developed (Heinen, 2007, 2011).

Finally, research discusses the question how events in Romania can be adequately conceptualized? By this it tries to give an appropriate answer to recent nationalistic Romanian historiography which has argued that there has been a persecution of Jews in Romania, but no Holocaust! Thus, it is to clarify the definition of the Holocaust in the light of latest international research.⁷ We will have to come back to this later.

The regularly published research reports regarding the Holocaust in Romania take a different approach to the reflection of facts, method, concepts and theory. By publicly discussing strengths and weaknesses of historical findings these reviews put research into its historical context. They define the state of art. And they open up new, revealing questions (Cașu, 2017; Clark; Dumitru, 2008a, 2008b, 2012a, 2017; Friling, 2016; Glass, 2007, 2008; Hausleitner, 2004; Würzburg et al. 2010; Ihrig, 2009; Suveică, 2017; Burmistr, 2012; Geissbühler, 2016; Mihok, 2009; Vago, 2011).

Summing up, research on the Romanian Holocaust has become the subject of a globalized “normal science” that reflects its methods, fosters criticism, reveals its basic theoretical assumptions, and has by this become part of the global Genocide and Holocaust research.

1.2.4. Normalization of research – edited sources, bibliographies, maps and other tools

If up to the year 1990 only a few researchers have shaped our knowledge about the Romanian Holocaust - Andreas Hillgruber (1954), Martin Broszat, Raul Hilberg (1990), for instance, today the number of researchers working on the topic is hard to keep track of. Students, postgraduates, professors - the personnel tableau has become much more differentiated, and here we

⁷For a balanced Israeli view on the problem: Fisher, Ronit. 2012. “Between Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide: An alternative Analysis of the Holocaust of Romanian Jewry.” *Yad Vashem Studies* (40): 157–196. My own approach: Heinen, Armin. 2007. *Rumänien, der Holocaust und die Logik der Gewalt*. 187-190. München: Oldenbourg.

have another reason why the Romanian Holocaust has become a "normal" historical subject.

As it is typical for "normal research", a wide variety of different tools are available to foster studies all over the world. These include bibliographies such as that of the University of Jerusalem (*Search Engine for Antisemitism Studies*⁸) and the *Bibliografia istorică a României* respectively the *Anuarul istoriografic al României*⁹, which has its own section on the history of the Jews in Romania. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum offers access to a wide range of materials. The *Europäische Historische Bibliographie* as well gives access to different specialized online catalogs and bibliographies. It is almost impossible to keep track of the number of source publications since 2005. We may differentiate between general source editions (Bărbulescu et al. 2013; Cărare, 2011; Cioflâncă, 2019, Degeratu, 2014; Dogaru, 2011; Iancu, 2018; Ioanid, 2006, 2017; Mallmann et al., 2011; Rotman, 2008; Shapiro, 2015; Solomon, 2016; Trașcă, 2007, 2010, 2017; Vainer, 2013), diaries and memoirs (Abraham et al., 2014; Baruch, 2017; Bessler, 2015; Carmely, 2014; Chebana, et al, 2011; Chiriță and Pesate, 2013; Cohen, 2018; Filderman, 2015; Furtună, 2018; Govrin, 2018; Grilj, 2013; Hirsch, 2010; Hoișie, 2015; Hoișie-Korber et. Al., 2014; Ioanid, 2011; Jagendorf, 2009; Ličvornik, 2012; Pippidi, 2014; Rajninger, 2012; Ranner, et. Al., 2012; Udler, 2005). They define the common ground of historiography. And indeed a defined public stock of sources is

⁸Hebrew University. "RAMBI: Index of Articles on Jewish Studies." Accessed May 20, 2019. <http://web.nli.org.il/sites/nli/english/infochannels/catalogs/bibliographic-databases/rambi/pages/rambi.aspx>.

⁹Unfortunately the *Bibliografia Istorică* is not really up-to-date. Last volume: Academia Română, ed. 2011. *Bibliografia istorică a României, 2009 - 2010*. With the assistance of N. Edroiu. http://www.history-cluj.ro/Istorie/Ro/BIR/BIR_XIII.pdf. Accessed September 22, 2019. A new version of the *Bibliografia* is published under the guidance of BCU Cluj, ed. 2011 - 2014: *Anuarul istoriografic al României, Vol I - Vol IV*: http://dspace.bcucluj.ro/jspui/bitstream/123456789/52432/3/ANUARUL_ISTORIOGRAFIC_AL_ROMANIEI_2011.pdf; http://dspace.bcucluj.ro/jspui/bitstream/123456789/52434/3/ANUARUL_ISTORIOGRAFIC_AL_ROMANIEI_2012.pdf http://documente.bcucluj.ro/web/bibdigit/docbcu/documentare/Anuarul_istoriografic_al_Romaniei_2013.pdf; https://www.bcucluj.ro/sites/default/files/public/images/doc/air_2014.pdf – Of some additional help is Rolinest making possible a search of different Romanian University OPACs at the same time: <http://rolinest.edu.ro>.

fundamental for historical research. After many decades, the *Institut für Zeitgeschichte* in Munich has published a source edition that sets new standards. Hildrun Glass has edited the chapter on Transnistria (Hoppe and Hildrun, 2011), Mariana Hausleitner the chapter on Romania itself (Hutzelmann et al., 2018), both of them experts in the field. Special encyclopedias help to get a first orientation on Romanian working camps and ghettos (Burmistr, 2009; Miron and Sholomit, 2014). There are maps and media collections, some of them easily accessible on the Internet,¹⁰ chronologies and statistics (Rozen, 2004). First manual contributions define the generally accepted knowledge (Fisher, 2011).

To sum up, we can speak of a new start in Holocaust research on Romania since 2005 and of a clear differentiation of its efforts. This applies to the development of a suitable infrastructure, to the number of researchers engaged in the topic and to the resources available to historians.

1.2.5. Questions asked and answers given

What applies to the general framework applies as well to the different perspectives on the Romanian Holocaust.

The old questions are still topical, but above all the nuances are of interest: The anti-Semitic language and actions against Jews and other groups in the time of the legionary national state have been addressed (Benjamin, 2006, 2013); the Jewish policy under Antonescu still is of interest (Chioveanu, 2012; Deletant, 2012 ; Volovici, 2011) the German influence on events in Romania. What emerges in the end is quite surprising: Hildrun Glass not only shows that Romanian Jewish policy determined its agenda to a great extent autonomously, which confirms the previous considerations, but also that the contradictions of polycratic Nazi rule collided particularly sharply at the Romanian periphery. There were not only the SS and Nazi advisors who set an example, but also those German civil servants who used the freedom of the periphery and the lack of knowledge at the Berlin headquarters to deliberately lead Romanian Jewish policy in

¹⁰United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. "Romania: Articles, Maps, Media, Photos." <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/search?query=Romania&languages%5B0%5D=en&page=2>. Accessed September 08, 2018. Yad Vashem. 2018. "Yad Vashem." <http://www.yadvashem.org/holocaust.html>. Accessed September 08, 2018. S.a. Mihok, Brigitte. 2009. "Orte der Verfolgung und Deportation." In *Holocaust an der Peripherie: Judenpolitik und Judenmord in Rumänien und Transnistrien 1940-1944*, edited by Wolfgang Benz and Brigitte Mihok, 71–80. Berlin: Metropol.

another direction, thereby saving tens of thousands of lives: Fritz Schellhorn, Consul at Czernowitz, pointed out to the German economic interests and achieved that at least part of the Jews could remain in the capital of Bukovina. Kurt Welkisch, a Soviet agent and resolute opponent of National Socialism, used most probably his position as a press attaché to warn the public of the deportation of Jews to Poland writing a rude anti-Jewish article which was reproduced in the *Bukarester Tageblatt* (Glass, 2014; Chioveanu, 2007; Görlich, 2009; Iordachi and Ottmar, 2015).

Still in discussion is the question how the strong anti-Semitic traditions of Romania have influenced the Romanian Holocaust (Cârstocea, 2014; Chioveanu, 2007; Dumitru, 2016c; Fisher, 2012; Geissbühler, 2013). In order to delineate the facts more precisely, we do have to distinguish between (a) the more general idea of ethnic homogenization and (b) definitely anti-Semitic motivated prejudices and acts against the Jews, finally (c) differing expressions of anti-Semitism and violent action according to the respective social field, time and place (Heinen, 2007).

(a) In an important study Vladimir Solonari has investigated 2009 the political traditions of ethnic homogenization. Since the founding of the Romania state, he argues, the political efforts aiming at the homogenization of the Romanian territory have been directed not only against Jews, but against all minorities, including Ukrainians and Germans. According to Solonari, Bukovina and Bessarabia in 1941 were thought to become models of Romanian purity and Romanian culture after the Regat had recaptured both regions (Solonari, 2009; Hausleitner, 2001, 2005; Achim, 2002, 2009; Ancel, 2000; Benjamin, 2014, 2015; Florian, 2010; Solonari, 2006; Turda, 2009; Voicu, 2004).

(b) The Odessa-massacres as many other acts of physical violence at the beginning of the war represent a very different social logic. They reflect all elements of a self-fulfilling radical language making the Jews “judo-Bolshevist” inhuman monsters (Heinen, 2007). Anti-Semitic furor at the beginning of the Second World War rose to almost unlimited rage reflecting the traumata Romanian society had been confronted with since 1940 and which had been coded as sneaky war of the Eastern Jews against

Romania. Mariana Hausleitner (2016), Mihail Chioveanu (2007) and Ronit Fisher (2012) have stressed this emotional side of anti-Semitic violence.

(c) But there were not only different forms of anti-Semitism, its manifestations varied also, depending on time and place: I myself have worked out in a yet unpublished essay that the diversity of anti-Semitic narratives and the very different ways in which Jewish groups were linked to the Bucharest leadership explain quite well the different approaches of Romanian politics towards Jews in Transnistria, in Bucovina, in Bessarabia, in the Banat, in the Regat, etc.¹¹

Regarding the military (Trașcă, 2010; Popa, 2018), the Gendarmerie or the indigenous actors (Clark, 2017; Solonari, 2007; Trașcă, 2010), it will be necessary to take a much closer look at what happened on a local level than most historians aimed at up to now. Vladimir Solonari has outlined that indigenous murderers (ethnic Germans, Ukrainians) hired by the Romanian authorities in the Golta district were less motivated by anti-Semitic prejudices than by hatred of communism. "Hating soviets – killing Jews" he summarizes his central thesis (Solonari, 2014). On the other hand, there were no real pogroms in Transnistria. Diana Dumitru explains this fact by showing that anti-Semitic violence was much less widespread among the general population of Transnistria than in Bessarabia during the years of Soviet rule (Dumitru, 2016c). Vladimir Solonari (2016) has another explanation to this fact. He argues that the social networks of anti-Semitic agitators had been destroyed during Soviet time. From his point of view, the concept of Judo-communism appealed to large parts of the local population in Transnistria too.¹² Quite obviously we need more studies on this question using micro-historical approaches.¹³

¹¹Armin Heinen, Explaining the Romanian Holocaust. A view on Cultural Geography, Narratives and Social Networks (Mai 2018 – to be published).

¹²Vladimir Solonari's book review on Dumitru, *The State, Antisemitism, and Collaboration*, in *Hungarian Historical Review*, 5 ((2016), 924-928. <https://www.recensio.net/rezensionen/zeitschriften/hungarian-historical-review/2016/4/ReviewMonograph557606341/@@generate-pdf-recension?language=de>. Accessed September 25, 2019.

¹³For a first elaborated approach s. Solonari, Vladimir. 2019. *A Satellite Empire: Romanian Rule in Southwestern Ukraine, 1941-1944*. Ithaca New York: Cornell University Press.

Jean Ancel and Lya Benjamin still dealt with the Romanian Holocaust in its entire breadth. Today's research is much more specialized: For the old empire (the Regat) forced labor (Degeratu, 2014; Trașcă, 2010; Bărbulescu, 2009, 2011, Bărbulescu et al., 2013; Chioveanu, 2012; Climescu, 2012; Csösz and Attila, 2013; Degeratu, 2009, 2012; Pohl and Tanja, 2013), general living conditions, (Aftodor, 2009; Babeș and Florian, 2014; Bălan, 2016; Iancu, 2013; Kara, 2016) the anti-Semitic press (Voicu, 2014) as well as expropriations and job-dismissals have been taken into consideration. Ștefan Cristian Ionescu's *Jewish Resistance to "Romanianization", 1940-44* shows how economic concerns actually set limits to the persecution of the Jews. Even German authorities intervened in favor of Jews when the economic efficiency of important companies was threatened by Romanianization. Above all, however, the Jews themselves organized a successful resistance, be it that they denied the legal basis of orders, and this was quite promising in view of the contradictory legal situation, be it that they cooperated with ethnic Romanians who supposedly took over the business from the outside, while it was actually continued by the Jewish owner. There were many possibilities for "camouflage", and it was not always clear who benefited and how. Only that the actual goal was not achieved: It was quite clear to every attentive observer that the state was dissolving more and more. In an effort to complete the nation, to modernize the economy from above, the Romanian state collapsed in cliques of profiteers, cynical commentators on political events and energetic obstructers (Ionescu, 2015; Ancel, 2008; Hausleitner, 2004; Ionescu, 2011, 2014; Warter and Liviu, 2017).

Turning to the Bukovina, the different phases of the Holocaust events have been examined more closely (Solonari, 2010). Simon Geissbühler has described the acts of violence at the beginning of the war (Geissbühler, 2013, 2015; Angrick, 2003; Burgan, 2018; Florian, 2010; Geissbühler, 2014; Hausleitner, 2016; Heymann, 2011; Heymann, 2010; Ioanid, 2011; Poliec, 2019, Rodal, 2016; Trașcă, 2010). The ghetto in Cernăuți has attracted attention (Cărare, 2015, 2011; Cremers, 2014; Geller, 2004; Surovtsev, 2011; Ranner et al., 2019; Rudel, 2002), as did the deportations to Transnistria (Cărare, 2011, 2013; Florian, 2013; Vynokorova, 2010). The

same applies to Bessarabia.¹⁴ In addition to the violent excesses at the beginning of the war, the deportations and the special situation of the ghetto in Chişinău¹⁵ are well documented.

The Banat and Southern Transylvania have been investigated above all, because the planned deportation of the Jewish population to the Polish extermination camps could be prevented in the very last minute. Numerous

¹⁴Burgan, Camille. 2018. "The Role of Ordinary People: A Study of the Narratives of Romanian Jewish Survivors regarding the Participation of Romanian Citizens in Pogroms during World War II." Master's Thesis, Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Political and Economic Studies, University of Helsinki; Cărare, Liviu. 2011. "Ororile totalitarismului: Mărturii documentare lagărele de transit Securenii şi Edineţ (1941)." In *Spaţiul românesc între democraţie şi totalitarism*, edited by Adrian Viţalariu, Iulian Ghercă, and Liviu Carare, 205–22. Iaşi; Junimea; Dumitru, Diana. 2012. "Vecini în vremuri de restrişte: Atitudini faţă de evrei în Basarabia şi Transnistria în 1941-1944." In *Al doilea război mondial: Memorie şi istorie în Estul şi Vestul Europei*, edited by Diana Dumitru, Igor Caşu, Andrei Cuşco, and Petre Negură, 44–74. Chişinău: Cartier; Geissbühler, Simon. 2014. "'He spoke Yiddish like a Jew'. Neighbor's Contribution to Mass Killing of Jews in Northern Bukovina and Bessarabia, July 1941." *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 28 (3): 430–49; Govrin, Yosef. 2018. *Im Schatten der Vernichtung: Erinnerungen an meine unbeschwerte Kindheit in Bessarabien und Czernowitz, die bittere Verbannung in Transnistrien und die illegale Einwanderung nach Eretz Israel 1930-1947*. Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre; Ioanid, Radu. 2011. "La Bessarabie et la Bucovine, Juillet-Novembre 1941: Le sort de Juifs. Premiers massacres et déportations en Transnistrie. Les récits de témoins oculaires." *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah* (104): 173–233. <https://www.cairn.info/revue-revue-d-histoire-de-la-shoah-2011-1-page-173.htm>. Accessed May 26, 2019; Poliec, Mihai I. 2019. *The Holocaust in the Romanian Borderlands: The Arc in the Romanian Borderlands*. NY: Routledge; Solonari, Vladimir. 2006. "'Model Province'. Explaining the Holocaust of Bessarabian and Bukovinian Jewry." *Nationalities Papers* 34: 471–500; Solonari, Vladimir. 2007. "Patterns of Violence: The Local Population and the Mass Murder of Jews in Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, July–August 1941." *Kritika-Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 8 (4): 749–87; Udler, Robin. 2005. *The Cursed Years: Reminiscences of a Holocaust Survivor*. Pittsburgh: Rubin Udler.

¹⁵Cărare, Liviu. 2011. "The Jews from the Chişinău Ghetto: Case Study: The Ghidighici Massacre (August 1941)." *Holocaust. Studii şi Cercetări* 3 (4): 74–83; Heymann, Florence. 2011. "Passer la guerre à Cernauti (Czernowitz), Juin 1941-Mai 1945." *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah* (194): 233–98. <https://www.cairn.info/revue-revue-d-histoire-de-la-shoah-2011-1-page-293.htm>. Accessed May 26, 2019; Roitman, Alexandru. 2015. "Ghetoul din Chişinău: De la înfiinţare până la evacuare (25 Iulii 1941-12 Octombrie 1941)." In *Pogromul de la Iaşi şi Holocaustul în România*, edited by Carol Iancu and Alexandru-Florin Platon, 181–94. Iaşi: Editura Universităţii "Al. I. Cuza"; Shapiro, Paul A. 2015. *The Kishinev Ghetto, 1941 - 1942: A Documentary History of the Holocaust in Romania's Contested Borderlands*. Tuscaloosa: The Univ. of Alabama Press

reasons have been put forward for this indeed remarkable fact by research. They all are well summed up by Mariana Hausleitner.¹⁶ I myself have emphasized above all the social factors. One year after the start of the war, the better integrated Jewish elites in Banat, Transylvania and the Regat were able to set in motion a successful opposition to this terrible German demand.¹⁷ Other studies are offering a general overview on Jewish living in South-Transylvania or investigate the different forms of forced labor.¹⁸

Understandably, much more publications deal with the situation in Transnistria.¹⁹ Formally the province was under Romanian rule. Actually it was a highly precarious area, in which many claims to power overlapped.

¹⁶ Hausleitner Mariana. 2018. Einleitung. Rumänien, in *Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden durch das nationalsozialistische Deutschland 1933-1945: Vol 13: Slowakei, Rumänien, Bulgarien*, edited by Barbara Hutzemann, Mariana Hausleitner, and Souzana Hazan, 64-67. Berlin: de Gruyter.

¹⁷ Heinen, Armin. 2007. *Rumänien, der Holocaust und die Logik der Gewalt*. 78-89. München: Oldenbourg.

¹⁸ Boia, Stelian. 2010. "Holocaustul evreilor Transilvaniei de sud între anii 1940-1944." *Studii de științe și cultură "Vasile Goldiș"*, Arad 6 (2): 73–81; Borkin, David. 2018. "Munca obligatorie ca dimensiune a holocaustului în România? Studiu de caz: Banatul românesc." http://studium.ugal.ro/articole_studium/articole_studium11/1111_borchin.pdf. Accessed September 25, 2019; Neumann, Victor. 1999. *Istoria evreilor din Banat*. București; Neumann, Victor. 2015. "Les juifs du Banat et du sud de la Transylvanie pendant la Shoah." In *Du génocide des Arméniens à la Shoah: Typologie des massacres du XXe siècle*, edited by Gérard Dédéyan and Carol Iancu, 381-395. Toulouse: Éd. Privat; Schatteles, Tibor. 2014. *The Jews of Timișoara*. Bukarest: Hasefer.

¹⁹ On Transnistria in general: Baum, Herwig. 2011. *Varianten des Terrors: Ein Vergleich zwischen der deutschen und rumänischen Besatzungsverwaltung in der Sowjetunion 1941 - 1944*. Berlin: Metropol; Deletant, Dennis. 2010. "Transnistria: The Romanian Solution to the Jewish Problem." In *U.S.-Romanian Relations in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Ernest H. Latham, JR., 107–26. Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană; Dumitru, Diana. 2012. "Vecini în vremuri de restriște: Atitudini față de evrei în Basarabia și Transnistria în 1941-1944." In *Al doilea război mondial: Memorie și istorie în Estul și Vestul Europei*, edited by Diana Dumitru, Igor Cașu, Andrei Cușco, and Petre Negură, 44–74. Chișinău: Cartier; Solonari, Vladimir. 2019. *A Satellite Empire: Romanian Rule in Southwestern Ukraine, 1941-1944*. Ithaca New York: Cornell UP.

The SS defined its part of power,²⁰ the *Wehrmacht*,²¹ the *Volksdeutsche Selbstschutz*,²² the Romanian army, the Romanian Gendarmerie, the local police forces. The resulting dynamics of violence has been researched amply by Vladimir Solonari. Summing up Solonari comes to the conclusion that there has developed a new consensus: “Firstly, the initial aim of Romanian deportation of Jews to Transnistria was their later removal from the Romanian zone of occupation, into German-occupied Ukraine beyond the Bug River. Secondly, Romanian leaders, although not refraining from ordering massacres of Jews on several occasions, or condoning such massacres if carried out by local autonomous actors, nevertheless never completely accepted the German understanding of the ‘Final Solution’ as a

²⁰ Angrick, Andrej. 2003. *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion, 1941-1943*. Hamburg: Hamburger Ed.; Mallmann, Klaus M, Andrej Angrick, Jürgen Matthäus, and Martin Cüppers, eds. 2011. *Die "Ereignismeldung UdSSR" 1941: Dokumente der Einsatzgruppen in der Sowjetunion*. Darmstadt: WBG.

²¹ Achim, Viorel. 2013. “Die Zwangsarbeit der deportierten Juden und Roma für die Wehrmacht in Transnistrien.” In *Zwangsarbeit in Hitlers Europa: Besatzung, Arbeit, Folgen*, edited by Dieter Pohl and Tanja Sebta, 271-292. Berlin: Metropol.

²² Angrick, Andrej. 2009. “Zur Bedeutung des 'Sonderkommandos R' und des 'Volksdeutschen Selbstschutzes' bei der Ermordung der Juden in Transnistrien.” In *Holocaust an der Peripherie: Judenpolitik und Judenmord in Rumänien und Transnistrien 1940-1944*, edited by Wolfgang Benz and Brigitte Mihok, 81–93. Berlin: Metropol; Angrick, Andrej. 2009. “Zur Bedeutung des 'Sonderkommandos R' und des 'Volksdeutschen Selbstschutzes' bei der Ermordung der Juden in Transnistrien.” In *Holocaust an der Peripherie: Judenpolitik und Judenmord in Rumänien und Transnistrien 1940-1944*, edited by Wolfgang Benz and Brigitte Mihok, 81–93. Berlin: Metropol; Binder, Hermann. 1998. *Aufzeichnungen aus Transnistrien: (September-Dezember 1942)*. München: Südostdeutsches Kulturwerk; Buchsweiler, Meir. 1984. *Volksdeutsche in der Ukraine am Vorabend und Beginn des Zweiten Weltkrieges - ein Fall doppelter Loyalität*. Gerlingen: Wallstein; Ehrenburg, Ilja, and Wassili Grossmann. 1996. *Das Schwarzbuch. Der Genozid an den sowjetischen Juden*, hrsg. v. Arno Lustiger. Hamburg; Fleischauer, Ingeborg. 1983. *Das Dritte Reich und die Deutschen in der Sowjetunion*. Stuttgart; Görlich, Frank. 2009. “Volkstumspropaganda und Antisemitismus in der Wochenzeitung 'Der Deutsche in Transnistrien', 1942-1944.” In *Holocaust an der Peripherie: Judenpolitik und Judenmord in Rumänien und Transnistrien 1940-1944*, edited by Wolfgang Benz and Brigitte Mihok, 95–110. Berlin: Metropol; Popa, Klaus. 2016. “Das Sonderkommando "R" der "Volksdeutschen Mittelstelle" der SS in Transnistrien, 1941-1944.” *Halbjahresschrift für südosteuropäische Geschichte, Literatur und Politik* 28 (1-2): 92–119; Steinhart, Eric C. 2012. “Creating Killers: The Nazification of the Black Sea Germans and the Holocaust in Southern Ukraine, 1941-1944.” *Bulletin of the GHI* 50: 57–74; Steinhart, Eric C. 2015. *The Holocaust and the Germanization of Ukraine*. New York: Cambridge UP.

total physical elimination of European Jewry, and, after some hesitation, turned down German entreaties to take part in such an enterprise (October 1942).” The inconsistency of Romanian action against the Jews in Transnistria was the reflection of varying circumstances, remaining state structures, “absence of a fanatical instrument of genocide” as the German SS and the obvious agency of the acting individuals.²³

²³ Solonari, Vladimir. 2016. “Explaining the Dynamics of Romanian ‘Policy’ Towards the Jews in Transnistria.” *Journal of Genocide Research* (17): 1–21. Here: 3, 15; Solonari, Vladimir. 2017. “On the Persistence of Moral Judgment: Local Perpetrators in Transnistria as seen by Survivors and their Christian Neighbors.” In *Microhistories of the Holocaust*, edited by Claire Zalc and Tal Bruttman. 190–208. New York, Oxford: Berghahn; Solonari, Vladimir. 2017. “A Conspiracy to Murder: Explaining the Dynamics of Romanian ‘Policy’ Towards Jews in Transnistria.” *Journal of Genocide Research* 19 (1): 1–21; Solonari, Vladimir. 2019. *A Satellite Empire: Romanian Rule in Southwestern Ukraine, 1941-1944*. Ithaca New York: Cornell UP. Similar arguments have been put forward by Suveică, Svetlana. 2015. “The Local Administration in Transnistria and the Holocaust: Two Case Studies.” *Holocaust. Studii și Cercetări* 7: 97–108.

The pogroms in Dorohoi,²⁴Galați,²⁵Bucharest,²⁶ Iași²⁷ and Odessa²⁸ are, as in the past, still the subject of research, as are the systematic killings in the Județ Golta.²⁹

²⁴Muraru, Alexandru. 2017. "The Beginning - First Massacres against the Jews in the Romanian Holocaust: Level of Decision, Genocidal Strategy, and Killing Methods regarding Dorohoi and Galați Pogroms, June-July, 1940." In *Microhistories of the Holocaust*, edited by Claire Zalc and Tal Bruttman. Oxford: Berghahn; Solomovici, Teșu, ed. 2013. *Istoria antisemitismului din România: Pogromurile de la Dorohoi (1 Iulie 1940), București (21-23 Ian. 1941) și Iași (28-29 Iunie 1941)*. București: Editura Tesu.

²⁵ Muraru, Alexandru. 2017. "The Beginning – First Massacres against the Jews in the Romanian Holocaust: Level of Decision, Genocidal Strategy, and Killing Methods Regarding Dorohoi and Galați Pogroms, June-July, 1940." In *Microhistories of the Holocaust*, edited by Claire Zalc and Tal Bruttman. New York, Oxford: Berghahn.

²⁶ Ancel, Jean. 2006. "Pogromul de la București: Influențe germane, reacții interne și repercusiuni asupra politicii regimului fascist față de evrei." In *Violență și teroare în istoria recentă a României*, edited by Institutul Național pentru Studierea Holocaustului din România "Elie Wiesel", 21–38. București; Babeș, Adina. 2011. "Prelude to Assassination. An Episode of the Romanian Holocaust." *Holocaust. Studii și Cercetări* 3 (4): 58–73; Benjamin, Lya, ed. 2013. *Strategii comunitare de supraviețuire în contextul statului național legionar: Documente 1940-1941*. Bukarest: Hasefer; Cazan, Marius. 2016. "Social Profile of the Perpetrator." *Holocaust. Studii și Cercetări* 9: 33–44; Cazan, Marius. 2017. "The Bucharest Pogrom: New Archive Documents." *Holocaust. Studii și Cercetări* 10: 9–29; Cazan, Marius. 2018. "The Participation of the Legionary Workers in the Bucharest Pogrom." *Holocaust. Studii și Cercetări* 10 (11): 53–87; Ciofăncă, Adrian. 2016. *75 de ani de la pogromul din București (21-23 Ianuarie 1941)*. București: CSIER. <http://www.csier.jewishfed.ro/documente/brosura/pogrom.pdf>. Accessed October 07, 2019; Ciuciu, Anca. 2011. "Les images du pogrom de Bucarest (21-23 janvier 1941)." *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah* 194: 99–119; Clark, Roland. 2017. "Fascists and Soldiers: Ambivalent Loyalties and Genocidal Violence in Wartime Romania." *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 31 (3): 408–32; Gușu, Cosmina. 2011. "Analyse d'une tragédie: La représentation du pogrom de Bucarest dans la presse de l'époque." *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah* 194: 75–97. <https://www.cairn.info/revue-revue-d-histoire-de-la-shoah-2011-1-page-75.htm>. Accessed May 26, 2019; Institutul Național pentru Studierea Holocaustului din România "Elie Wiesel", ed. 2006. *Violență și teroare în istoria recentă a României*. Bukarest; Solomovici, Teșu, ed. 2013. *Istoria antisemitismului din România: Pogromurile de la Dorohoi (1 iulie 1940), București (21-23 ian. 1941) și Iași (28-29 iunie 1941)*. Bukarest: Editura Tesu; Țăgșorean, Carmen. 2015. "Testimony over Time: The Fascist Rebellion in Bucharest in Words and Pictures (January 21-23, 1941)." *Philobiblon* 20 (1): 45–66; Țăgșorean, Carmen. 2015. "The Assault on the Bucharest Jewish Community during the Legionary Rebellion, as seen by the Press." *Holocaust. Studii și Cercetări* 7 (8): 43–56; Tiengo, Gario. 2009. "The Pogrom of Bucharest: Originality and Resemblance in the Contemporary European Context." *Holocaust. Studii și Cercetări* 1.

More than in the past there is a rising interest in the destiny of the victims themselves and especially their strategies for survival. For this we can refer to encyclopedias and monographs on the Romanian ghetto system in

²⁷Ancel, Jean. 2001. "The Jassy Pogrom – June 29, 1941." In *Rumänien und der Holocaust. Zu den Massenverbrechen in Transnistrien, 1941-1944*, edited by Mariana Hausleitner, Brigitte Mihok, and Juliane Wetzel, 53–67. Berlin; Cioflâncă, Adrian (Hrsg.). "Pogromul de la Iași." <http://www.pogromuldelaiasi.ro/> Accessed February 11, 2019; Eaton, Henry L. 2013. *The Origins and Onset of the Romanian Holocaust*. Detroit, Mich: Wayne State UP; Eaton, Henry L. 2016. "The Story created afterward: Iasi 1941." In *Romania and the Holocaust: Events - Contexts - Aftermath*, edited by Simon Geissbühler, 41–57. Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag; Iancu, Carol, and Alexandru-Florin Platon, eds. 2015. *Pogromul de la Iași și Holocaustul în România*. Editura Universității "Al. I. Cuza": Iași; Solomovici, Teșu, ed. 2013. *Istoria antisemitismului din România: Pogromurile de la Dorohoi (1 iulie 1940), București (21-23 ian. 1941) și Iași (28-29 iunie 1941)*. București: Editura Tesu; Trașcă, Ottmar. 2007. "Das Judenpogrom von Jassy/Iasi (28.-30. Juni 1941)." *Halbjahresschrift für südosteuropäische Geschichte, Literatur und Politik* 12 (2): 42–48; Trașcă, Ottmar, ed. 2010. "Chestiunea evreiască" în *documente militare române: 1941 - 1944*. Iași: Inst. European; Voicu, George, ed. 2006. *Pogromul de la Iași 28-30 iunie 1941: Prologul Holocaustului din România*. Iași: Polirom.

²⁸In addition to the studies by AnceI, Solonari and others: Raškoveckij, Michail M. 2006. *Istorija Cholokosta v Odesskom regione: Sbornik statej i dokumentov*. Odessa: Studija Negociant.

²⁹Deletant, Dennis. 2005. "Aspects of the Ghetto Experience in Eastern Transnistria: The Ghettos and Labor Camp in the Town of Golta." In *Ghettos 1939-1945: New Research and Perspectives on Definition, Daily Life, and Survival. Symposion Presentations*, edited by United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 15–66. Washington; Dumitru, Diana. 2019. "Genocide for "Sanitary Purposes"? The Bogdanovka Murder in Light of Postwar Trial Documents." *Journal of Genocide Research* 21 (2): 155–77; Solonari, Vladimir. 2014. "Hating Soviets – Killing Jews: How Antisemitic were local Perpetrators in Southern Ukraine, 1941-42?" *Kritika- Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*. 15: 505-534; Solonari, Vladimir. 2017. "A Conspiracy to Murder: Explaining the Dynamics of Romanian 'Policy' Towards Jews in Transnistria." *Journal of genocide research* 19 (1): 1–21. Solonari, Vladimir. 2019. *A Satellite Empire: Romanian Rule in Southwestern Ukraine, 1941-1944*. Ithaca New York: Cornell UP.

general,³⁰ on individual ghettos and camps, and in particular on Vapniarka³¹ and Moghilev-Podolsk³².

³⁰Burmistr, Svetlana. 2009. "Transnistrien". In *Der Ort des Terrors. Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager: Vol. 9. Arbeitserziehungslager, Ghettos, Jugendschuttlager, Polizeihäftlager, Sonderlager, Zigeunerlager, Zwangsarbeiterlager*, edited by Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel. 9 vols, 390–416. München: C.H. Beck; Miron, Guy, and Sholomit Shulhani. 2014. *Die Yad-Vashe-Enzyklopädie der Ghettos während des Holocausts*. Göttingen: Wallstein-Verl.; The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, and Joseph R. White, eds. 2018. *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933-1945: Vol. 3: Camps and Ghettos Under European Regimes aligned with Nazi Germany*. Washington: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum; Angrick, Andrej. 2013. "Transnistrien: Nicht länger der vergessene Friedhof?" In *Arbeit in den nationalsozialistischen Ghettos*, edited by Jürgen Hensel and Stephan Lehnstaedt, 297–320. Osnabrück: fibre; Bărbulescu, Ana. 2014. "Official Order and Ritual: Disobedience in Transnistria's Ghettos." *Sfera Politicii* (182). <http://revistasferapoliticii.ro/sfera/182/art14-Barbulescu.php>. Accessed January 03, 2019; Bărbulescu, Ana. 2015. "Parallel Worlds of the Holocaust in Romania: Legitimizing, Witnessing, and Avoiding Death." *Holocaust. Studii și Cercetări* 7 (8): 185–204; Burmistr, Svetlana. 2011. "Ghettos, Arbeitslager, Arbeitskolonien – Typologie und Problematik der Zwangslager in Transnistrien." In *Nationalsozialistische Zwangslager: Strukturen und Regionen; Täter und Opfer*, edited by Wolfgang Benz, 112–36. Dachau: Verl. Dachauer Hefte; Burmistr, Svetlana. 2011. "Holocaust in Transnistrien: Eine arbeitsteilige Täterschaft." In *Bewachung und Ausführung: Alltag der Täter in nationalsozialistischen Lagern*, edited by Angelika Censebrunn-Benz, 69–86. Berlin: Metropol-Verl.; Degeratu, Laura Ioana. 2011. "Types of Ghettos. Comparative Study." *Holocaust. Studii și Cercetări* 3 (4): 84–100; Deletant, Dennis. 2005. "Aspects of the Ghetto Experience in Eastern Transnistria: The Ghettos and Labor Camp in the Town of Golta." In *Ghettos 1939-1945: New Research and Perspectives on Definition, Daily Life, and Survival. Symposium Presentations*, edited by United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 15–66. Washington: USHMM. https://www.ushmm.org/m/pdfs/Publication_OP_2005-08.pdf. Accessed: September 27, 2019; Geller, Iacov. 2004. *Rezistența spirituală a evreilor români în timpul holocaustului, 1940 - 1944: Viața economică, educația și cultura, asistența socială, religia, rabinatul, salvarea refugiaților și emigrarea în Israel*. București: Hasefer; Mihok, Brigitte. 2009. "Orte der Verfolgung und Deportation." In *Holocaust an der Peripherie: Judenpolitik und Judenmord in Rumänien und Transnistrien 1940-1944*, edited by Wolfgang Benz and Brigitte Mihok, 71–80. Berlin: Metropol; Ofer, Dalia. 2009. "The Ghettos in Transnistria and Ghettos under German Occupation in Eastern Europe: A Comparative Approach." *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus* 25: 30–53; Offer, Miriam. 2019. "Coping with the Impossible: The Developmental Roots of the Jewish Medical System in the Ghettos." In *Jewish Medicine and Healthcare in Central Eastern Europe: Shared Identities, Entangled Histories*, edited by Marcin Moskalewicz, Ute Caumanns, and Fritz Dross. 261–77. Cham: Springer; Vynokorova, Faina. 2010. "The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941-1944: A Review of the Source Documents

Ana Bărbulescu has analyzed the Transnistrian ghetto situation from an intriguing sociological perspective. Relating to the Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben she defines sovereignty as an ability to define clear legal boundaries. The sovereign is the one who has the power to exclude men from all legal rights, to outlaw people. In this sense, the Jews deported to Transnistria were "*Homines Sacri*", protected only by God. Whoever killed Jews was not punished on earth. What was special about Transnistria, however, was that in addition to the state of emergency and the total institution of the ghetto, there were spaces of relative protection. The "*Homines Sacri*" were able to establish their own social structures of partial protection. This was the case, for example, on holidays, when they could successfully claim their human being. However, this was also the case, when it was possible to establish social relations with the Romanian guards or with the Ukrainian environment, which replaced arbitrariness with social relations of giving and taking.³³

at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive." *Holocaust and Modernity. Studies in Ukraine and the World* 2 (8): 18–26. http://www.holocaust.kiev.ua/Files/golSuch2005/Vynokurova_Eng.pdf. Accessed September 27, 2019.

³¹Bărbulescu, Ana. 2016. "Life, Death, and Survival in the Vapniarka Camp." *Holocaust. Studii și Cercetări* 8 (9): 73–91; Degeratu, Laura Ioana. 2015. "The Camp in Vapniarka: Detention, Survival, Memory." *Holocaust. Studii și Cercetări* 7 (8): 29–42; Shapiro, Paul A. 2013. "Vapniarka: The Archive of the International Tracing Service and the Holocaust in the East." *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 114–37; Spitzer, Leo, and Marianne Hirsch. 2011. "'Solidarité et souffrance': Le camp de Vapniarka parmi les camps de Transnistrie." *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah* (194): 343–68.

³²Hausleitner, Mariana. 2013. "Überleben durch Korruption: Das Ghetto Mogilev-Podolskij in Transnistrien, 1941-1944." In *Lebenswelt Ghetto: Alltag und soziales Umfeld während der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung*, edited by Imke Hansen, Katrin Steffen, and Joachim Tauber. 242–66. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz; Jagendorf, Siegfried. 2009. *Das Wunder von Moghilev: Die Rettung von zehntausend Juden vor dem rumänischen Holocaust*. Berlin: Transit.; Tibon, Gali. 2016. "Am I my Brother's Keeper? The Jewish Committees in the Ghettos of Mogilev Province and the Romanian Regime in Transnistria during the Holocaust, 1941-1944." *Dapim: Studies on the Holocaust* 30 (2): 93–116; Tibon, Gali. 2016. "Two-Front Battle: Opposition in the Ghettos of the Mogilev District in Transnistria, 1941-44." In *Romania and the Holocaust: Events - Contexts - Aftermath*, edited by Simon Geissbühler, 151–70. Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag.

³³ Bărbulescu, Ana (Bărbulescu). 2015. "Parallel Worlds of the Holocaust in Romania: Legitimizing, Witnessing, and Avoiding Death." *Holocaust. Studii și Cercetări* 7 (8): 185–204.

Hannah Arendt has bitterly condemned the work of the so-called *Judenräte* out of her desperation. For Romania, however, the situation seems to be much more complicated. Not only were there different ways of Jewish self-assertion and solidarity with one another. The activities of the *Judenzentrale* (*Centrala Evreilor din România*), the Nazi-initiated Jewish organization, as well as the unofficial, but still efficiently working former representation of Romanian Jews (*Confederația Societăților Evreiești din România*), the Zionists and other groups also require precise analysis. However, initial progress has been made in this area too, though we still lack much more in depth going analyses.³⁴

The ghetto experience in Transnistria is primarily addressed by Israeli researchers. In the "East Romanian camps" we find all the problems that have aroused misunderstanding and distrust since Hannah Arendt's criticism

³⁴Geller, Iacov. 2004. *Rezistența spirituală a evreilor români în timpul holocaustului, 1940 - 1944: Viața economică, educația și cultura, asistența socială, religia, rabinatul, salvarea refugiaților și emigrarea în Israel*. Bukarest: Hasefer; Ophir, Ephraim. 1991. "Was the Transnistrian Rescue Plan Achievable?" *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 6 (1): 1–16; Vago, Bela. 1979. "The Ambiguity of Collaborationism: The Center of the Jews in Romania, 1942-1944." In *Patterns of Jewish Leadership in Nazi Europe 1933-1945: Proceedings of the Third Yad Vashem International Historical Conference Jerusalem April 4-7 1977*, edited by Yisrael Gutman and Cyntia J. Haft, 287–309. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem. Vago, Bela. 1981. "Contrasting Jewish Leadership in Wartime Hungary and Romania." In *the Holocaust as Historical Experience: Essays and Discussion*, edited by Yehuda Bauer and Nathan Rotenstreich. New York: Holmes & Meier; – Babeș, Adina. 2015. "Jewish Life in Bucharest at the Time of the Holocaust." *Holocaust. Studii și Cercetări* 7 (8): 15–28; Benjamin, Lya. 2010. "Leadership-ul comunitar în România în perioada holocaustului (1940-1944)." *Holocaust. Studii și Cercetări* 2 (3): 69-83; Benjamin, Lya. 2012. "The Relations between Dr. W. Filderman and Marshal Ion Antonescu during the Deportation of the Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina (October-December 1941)." *Holocaust. Studii și Cercetări* 4 (5): 35–47; Benjamin, Lya, ed. 2013. *Strategii comunitare de supraviețuire în contextul statului național legionar: Documente 1940-1941*. Bukarest: Hasefer; Filderman, Wilhelm. 2015. *Memoirs and Diaries, Vol 1: 1900-1940, Vol: 1940-1952*. Edited by Jean Ancel. 2 vols. Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center; Iancu, Carol. 2007. *Alexandre Safran: Une vie de combat, un faisceau de lumière*. Montpellier: Univ. Paul Valéry; Iancu, Carol. 2009. "Solidaritatea cu evreii deportați în Transnistria: Comisia de ajutorare, Alexandru Șafran, Joint-ul și Crucea Roșie Internațională." *Holocaust. Studii și Cercetări* 1 (2): 9–33; Iancu, Carol, ed. 2010. *Alexandru Șafran și Șoahul neterminat în România: Culegere de documente (1940-1944)*. Bukarest: Hasefer; Leibovici, Shlomo. 2015. "Conducerea evreilor din România în perioada Șoahului." In *Pogromul de la Iași și Holocaustul în România*, edited by Carol Iancu and Alexandru-Florin Platon, 165–74. Editura Universității "Al. I. Cuza": Iași.

of the Jewish Councils. The term "Jew", after all, brought together very different groups: Jews from South Bucovina, Jews from North Bucovina, Jews from Dorohoi, from Bessarabia, from Transnistria, from Ukraine. The solidarity of the Jewish inhabitants was initially directed at their own community of origin. This was the only way to organize survival. There were personal conflicts, cultural differences. And different abilities to secure one's own life in a space of conflict between German, Romanian and Ukrainian culture! Sarah Rosen's reflection on the ghetto in Dschurin describes how the cynicism of survival led the pen of the journalist Eliezer Lipman Kunstadt.³⁵ Gali Tibon reports on inner conflicts in the Jewish ghetto.³⁶ And Vadim Altskan impressively describes how Dr. Adolph Hirschmann organized a strict ghetto system. Punishing Jewish fellow-believers by his own hands if they were not disciplined and worked hard he obviously served the interests of the Romanian and German rulers. However, at the same time he saved the lives of more than 3,000 Jews arrested in the Zhmerinka Ghetto.³⁷ In Transnistria, to sum up, the leaders of the Jewish communities did indeed ensure the survival of their "subjects", albeit in obvious gradations.³⁸

The Roma policy and the fate of the approximately 25,000 Roma affected can be regarded as a special field of research today.³⁹ Here, too, our

³⁵ Rosen, Sarah. 2016. "The Djurin Ghetto in Transnistria through the Lens of Kunstadt's Diary." In *Romania and the Holocaust: Events - Contexts - Aftermath*, edited by Simon Geissbühler, 131–50. Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag.

³⁶ Tibon, Gali. 2016. "Two-Front Battle: Opposition in the Ghettos of the Mogilev District in Transnistria, 1941–44." In *Romania and the Holocaust: Events - Contexts - Aftermath*, edited by Simon Geissbühler, 151–70. Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag.

³⁷ Altskan, Vadim. 2012. "On the Other Side of the River: Dr Adolph Hirschmann and the Zhmerinka Ghetto, 1941–1944." *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 26: 2–28. See also: Ploscariu, Iemima D. 2019. "Institutions for Survival: The Shargorod Ghetto during the Holocaust in Romanian Transnistria." *Nationalities Papers* 47 (1): 121–35.

³⁸ Geller, Iacov. 2004. *Rezistența spirituală a evreilor români în timpul holocaustului, 1940 - 1944: Viața economică, educația și cultura, asistența socială, religia, rabinatul, salvarea refugiaților și emigrarea în Israel*. București: Hasefer; Jagendorf, Siegfried. 2009. *Das Wunder von Moghilev: Die Rettung von zehntausend Juden vor dem rumänischen Holocaust*. Berlin: Transit.

³⁹ In addition to the already mentioned literature: Achim, Viorel. 2007. "Romanian Public Reaction to the Deportation of Gypsies to Transnistria." In *The Roma: A Minority in Europe: Historical Political and Social Perspectives*, edited by Roni Stauber and Raphael

knowledge has been considerably expanded, confirming the picture of a highly complex context of events. Other persecuted groups, minorities and sects, with the exception of the communists, have hardly come into view up to now.

To end this overview: There are not many studies on the traumata of the victims, and their own way of coping with the past. But in the last end there are some.⁴⁰ Another approach to this question is looking at the Holocaust literature. And indeed the Romanian Holocaust has induced a special way of looking at the Holocaust which oscillates between Paul Celan's "Todesfuge" and Hilsenrath's "Nacht".⁴¹

Vágó, 89–102. Budapest: CEU Press; Achim, Viorel. 2009. "Die Deportation der Juden nach Transnistrien im Kontext der Bevölkerungspolitik der Antonescu-Regierung." In *Holocaust an der Peripherie: Judenpolitik und Judenmord in Rumänien und Transnistrien 1940-1944*, edited by Wolfgang Benz and Brigitte Mihok, 151–60. Berlin: Metropol; Haupt, Gernot. 2006. "Deportation rumänischer Roma nach Transnistrien, 1942-1944. Neuengamme, 1.-3.2006." <http://www.ifsoz.org/content/download/pdf/061201neuengamme.pdf>. Accessed September 13, 2019; Ionescu, Vasile. (2005). "Deportări din România." <https://rm.coe.int/deportari-din-romania-fise-de-informare-despre-istoria-romilor/16808b1c2c>. Accessed September 09, 2019; Solonari, Vladimir. 2013. "Ethnic Cleansing or "Crime Prevention"? Deportation of Romanian Roma." In *The Nazi Genocide of the Roma: Reassessment and Commemoration*, edited by Anton Weiss-Wendt, 96–119. New York, Oxford: Berghahn; Thorne, M. Benjamin. 2011. "Assimilation, Invisibility, and the Eugenic Turn in the "Gypsy Question" in Romanian Society, 1938-1942." *Romani Studies* 21 (2): 177–205. <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.819.7260&rep=rep1&type=pdf>. Accessed June 03, 2019; Tyaglyy, Mikhail. 2013. "Nazi Occupation Policies and the Mass Murder of the Roma in Ukraine." In *The Nazi Genocide of the Roma: Reassessment and Commemoration*, edited by Anton Weiss-Wendt, 120–52. New York, Oxford: Berghahn.

⁴⁰ Ciuciu, Anca Aurelia. 2009. "Kinder des Holocaust: Die Waisen von Transnistrien." In *Holocaust an der Peripherie: Judenpolitik und Judenmord in Rumänien und Transnistrien 1940-1944*, edited by Wolfgang Benz and Brigitte Mihok, 187–93. Berlin: Metropol; Furtună, Adrian-Nicolae. 2012. "Social Representation of the Roma Deportations to Transnistria." *Holocaust. Studii și Cercetări* 4 (1): 115–39; Ionescu, Ștefan. 2005. "The Boom of Testimonies after Communism: The Voices of the Jewish Holocaust Survivors in Romania, 1989-2005." *Studia hebraica* 5.357-380; Prot, Katarzyna. 2012. "Strength of Holocaust Survivors." *Journal of Loss and Trauma* 17 (2): 173–86.

⁴¹ Bauer, Markus. 2002. "Exil und Holocaust in Rumänien: Am Beispiel von Edgar Hilsenrath (und F.Th. Scokor)." In *Deutsche Regionalliteratur im Banat und in Siebenbürgen im Vielvölkerraum*, edited by Horst Fassel, 179–86. Tübingen: Inst. für Donauschwäbische Geschichte und Landeskunde; Brecheisen, Claudia. 1993. "Literatur des Holocaust: Identität und Judentum bei Jakov Lind, Edgar Hilsenrath und Jurek Becker." Diss. Augsburg; Colin, Amy Diane. 1991. "A Tragic Love for German: Holocaust Poetry

from the Bukovina." *Cross currents* 10: 73–84; Colin, Amy Diane. 1991. *Paul Celan: Holograms of Darkness*. Bloomington: Indiana UP; Corbea-Hoişie, Andrei, Grigore Marcu, and Joachim Jordan, eds. 2010. *Immanuel Weissglas: 1920-1979 : Studien zum Leben und Werk*. Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre; Felstiner, John. 2014. *Paul Celan: Eine Biographie*. München: Beck; Gellhaus, Axel, and Peter Rychlo, eds. 2000. *Paul Antschel. Paul Celan in Czernowitz*. Marbach: Dt. Schillerges; Glajar, Valentina, and Jeanine Teodorescu. 2011. *Local History, Transnational Memory in the Romanian Holocaust*. Palgrave Macmillan; Heinen, Armin. 2010. "Mordes Ordnung: Vom richtigen Tod und dem Zynismus des Überlebens. Isak Weißglas' Aufzeichnungen vom "Steinbruch am Bug" als Schlüssel zur Deutung der buchenländischen Transnistrien-Literatur." In *Immanuel Weissglas: 1920-1979 : Studien zum Leben und Werk*, edited by Andrei Corbea-Hoişie, Grigore Marcu, and Joachim Jordan, 127–47. Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre; Hilsenrath, Edgar. 1990. *Nacht*. München: Piper; Kraft, Thomas, ed. 1996. *Edgar Hilsenrath: Das Unerzählbare erzählen*. München: Piper; Kremer, S. Lillian, ed. *Holocaust Literature: An Encyclopedia of Writers and their Work*. London: Routledge; Malaparte, Curzio. 2010. *Kaputt: Roman*. 2. Ed. Frankfurt/M.: Fischer; Mihok, Brigitte. 2006. "Edgar Hilsenraths Roman 'Nacht' im historischen Kontext, in: Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung, 15." *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung* 15: 335–44; Patterson, David, ed. 2002. *Encyclopedia of Holocaust Literature*. Westport, Conn.: Oryx Press; Pop, Yehoshafat. 2014. "A Journey into the Intellectual World of the Romanian Jew Mihail Sebastian and his Testimony during the Fascist Years." *Holocaust. Studii şi Cercetări* 6 (7): 59–92; Rykhlo, Petro. 2011. "History and Personal Fate in the German-Speaking Lyrics of Bukovina." *Holocaust and Modernity. Studies in Ukraine and the World* 2 (8): 99–116. http://holocaust.kiev.ua/news/jurnal_nodostup/Rykhlo_Eng.pdf; Schlesak, Dieter. 2005. *Zeugen an der Grenze unserer Vorstellung: Studien Essays Portraits*. München: IKGS-Verl. <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0010/bsb00107537/images/>. Accessed May 20, 2019. Stenberg, Peter. 1982. "Memories of the Holocaust. Edgar Hilsenrath and the Fiction of Genocide." *Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 56: 273–89; Sebastian, Mihail. 1996. *Jurnal: 1935 - 1944*. Bucureşti: Humanitas; Stiehler, Heinrich. 1979. *Paul Celan, Oscar Walter Cisek und die deutschsprachige Gegenwartsliteratur Rumäniens: Ansätze zu einer vergleichenden Literatursoziologie*. Frankfurt/M.: Lang; Teodorescu, Jeanine, and Valentina Glajar, eds. 2011. *Local History, Transnational Memory in the Romanian Holocaust*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan; Weißglas, Immanuel. 1947. *Kariera am Bug*. Bukarest: Cartea Românească; Waldman, Felicia. 2015. "Mémorialisation de la Shoah en Roumanie dans le cinéma, le théâtre, la littérature et l'architecture postcommuniste." In *Pogromul de la Iaşi şi Holocaustul în România*, edited by Carol Iancu and Alexandru-Florin Platon, 205–24. Editura Universităţii "Al. I. Cuza": Iaşi.

1.2.6. In spite of everything: The Romanian Holocaust as a gap in international Holocaust research

To what extent have the findings regarding the Romanian Holocaust been taken up by international Genocide and Holocaust research? A quick look at some of the relevant publications (Friedländer,⁴² Naimark,⁴³ Gerlach,⁴⁴ Snyder⁴⁵) leads to the observation that the Romanian case has not yet been fully integrated into the relevant narratives. While on the one hand the Romanian case can almost be read as paradigmatic for Holocaust events in South-eastern Europe,⁴⁶ on the other hand it has hardly become of real interest to general research. This is all the more astonishing since Hungary has certainly attracted attention in research. The radical phase of the Hungarian Holocaust, however, started only after the invasion of German troops in 1944 while Romania and Bulgaria already had restricted German influence on its Jewish policy in 1942.⁴⁷ The only explanations for this

⁴² Friedländer, Saul. 2006. *Das Dritte Reich und die Juden: Verfolgung und Vernichtung 1933 - 1945*. Schriftenreihe / Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung Bd. 565. Bonn: BPB.

⁴³ Naimark, Norman M. 2004. *Flammender Haß: Ethnische Säuberungen im 20. Jahrhundert*. München: Beck; Naimark, Norman M. 2018. *Genozid: Völkermord in der Geschichte*. Darmstadt: Theiss.

⁴⁴ Gerlach, Christian. 2010. *Extremely Violent Societies: Mass Violence in the Twentieth-Century World*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP; Gerlach, Christian. 2016. *The Extermination of the European Jews*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

⁴⁵ Snyder, Timothy. 2012. *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin*. New York: Basic Books; Snyder, Timothy. 2015. *Black Earth: Der Holocaust und warum er sich wiederholen kann*. München: C.H. Beck.

⁴⁶ For this: Hutzelmann, Barbara, Mariana Hausleitner, and Souzana Hazan, eds. 2018. *Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden durch das nationalsozialistische Deutschland 1933-1945: Vol 13: Slowakei, Rumänien, Bulgarien*. Berlin: de Gruyter (Oldenbourg).

⁴⁷ Aly, Götz, and Christian Gerlach. 2002. *Das letzte Kapitel: Realpolitik, Ideologie und der Mord an den ungarischen Juden 1944/1945*. München: DVA; Braham, Randolph L. 1961. *Eichmann and the Destruction of Hungarian Jewry*. New York: World Federation of Hungarian Jews; Braham, Randolph L. 1963. *The Destruction of Hungarian Jewry: A Documentary Account*. 2 vols. New York: Pro Arte; Braham, Randolph L. 1981. *The Politics of Genocide. The Holocaust in Hungary*. 2 vols. New York: Columbia UP; Braham, Randolph L. 1983. *Genocide and Retribution: The Holocaust in Hungarian-Ruled Northern Transylvania*. Holocaust studies series. Boston: Kluwer; Braham, Randolph L., and Attila Pok, eds. 1997. *The Holocaust in Hungary. Fifty Years Later*. Boulder; Braham, Randolph L. 2000. *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*. Condensed ed. Detroit: Wayne State UP; Braham, Randolph L., and Scott Miller, eds. 2002. *The Nazis'*

neglect of the Romanian case, I assume, is that the Romanian context is not really familiar to the specialists in the field, that the findings are quite complex, that it takes some time to integrate research on Romania into the

Last Victims: The Holocaust in Hungary. Detroit: Wayne State University Press Washington D.C.; Braham, Randolph L. 2013. *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary.* Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern UP; Braham, Randolph L., and András Kovács. 2016. *The Holocaust in Hungary: Seventy Years Later.* Budapest: CEU Press; Burmistr, Svetlana. 2012. "Holocaust in Südosteuropa – Forschungsfragen und Perspektiven." *Südosteuropäische Hefte* 1 (1): 120–22. <http://suedosteuropaeischehefte.files.wordpress.com/2012/04/burmistr.pdf>. Accessed August 30, 2018; Cesarini, David, ed. 1997. *Genocide and Rescue: The Holocaust in Hungary 1944.* Oxford: Berg; Diamant, Manus, and Moshe Meisels. 1995. *Geheimauftrag: Mission Eichmann: Aufgezeichnet von Moshe Meisels.* Wien: J und V; Fischer, Rolf. 1988. *Entwicklungsstufen des Antisemitismus in Ungarn 1867 - 1939: Die Zerstörung der magyarisch-jüdischen Symbiose.* München: Oldenbourg. 1987; Fritz, Regina. 2017. "Eine frühe Dokumentation des Holocaust in Ungarn: Die "Untersuchungskommission zur Erforschung und Bekanntmachung der von den Nationalsozialisten und Pfeilkreuzlern verübten Verbrechen" (1945)." *Zeithistorische Forschungen* (2): 352–68. <https://zeithistorische-forschungen.de/2-2017/id=5496>. Accessed October 08, 2019; Frusetta, James. 2011. "The Final Solution in Southeastern Europe: Between Nazi Catalysts and Local Motivations." In *the Routledge History of the Holocaust*, edited by Jonathan C. Friedman, 264–76. Abingdon: Routledge; Hilberg, Raul. 1990. *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden.* 3 vols. Frankfurt/M. Fischer; Krausz, Tamás. 2006. *The Soviet and Hungarian Holocausts. A Comparative Essay.* Columbia; Mazower, Mark. 2009. *Hitlers Imperium: Europa unter der Herrschaft des Nationalsozialismus.* München: Beck; Mihok, Brigitte, ed. 2005. *Ungarn und der Holocaust: Kollaboration Rettung und Trauma.* Berlin: Metropol-Verlag; Münz, Max. 1958. *Die Verantwortlichkeit für die Judenverfolgung im Ausland: Ein Beitrag zur Klärung des Begriffes der "Veranlassung".* Frankfurt/M. Univ. Diss.; Munkácsi, Erno, Nina Munk, Péter Lengyel, Ernő Munkácsi, Ferenc Laczó and László Csősz, and Péter Balikó Lengyel. 2018. *How It Happened: Documenting the Tragedy of Hungarian Jewry // Documenting the Tragedy of Hungarian Jewry.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press; Segal, Raz. 2016. *Genocide in the Carpathians: War Social Breakdown and Mass Violence 1914-1945.* Stanford studies on Central and Eastern Europe. Stanford: Stanford UP; Szabolcs, Szita. 1995. "Die Todesmärsche der Budapester Juden im November 1944 nach Hegeshalom-Nickelsdorf." *Zeitgeschichte* 22 (3-4): 2–14. http://www.erinnern.at/bundeslaender/oesterreich/e_bibliothek/seminarbibliotheken-zentrale-seminare/abbild-und-reflexion/393_Szita%20Die%20Todesmaersche%20der%20Budapester%20Juden.pdf. Accessed February 28, 2018; United Restitution Organization, ed. 1959. *Judenverfolgung in Ungarn.* Frankfurt: United Restitution Organization; Vági, Zoltán. 2013. *The Holocaust in Hungary: Evolution of a Genocide.* Documenting life and destruction. Lanham, AltaMira Press.

more general overviews and, finally, that a really European approach in the field of Holocaust and Genocide studies is quite new.

Summing up, research on the Romanian part of the Holocaust can be characterized as highly vivid, well institutionalized, internationally interwoven, theory-oriented and methodologically reflected. However, general Genocide and Holocaust research has not yet sufficiently integrated the findings regarding Romania into its own explanatory apparatus. – And nevertheless: we should no longer speak of a "silent Holocaust" (as John Butnaru 1992⁴⁸). The basic knowledge provided by international research on Romania has become "irreducible" ("unhintergebar"). Its basic findings may not be called into question. Global research on the Romanian Holocaust in the last 10 to 15 years has been a success story.

2. National substitution of science (Nationale Substitutionswissenschaft)

While on the one side Romanian and Moldavian historiography has excelled by excellent contributions to the field of Holocaust studies – not all of them yet noticed –, on the other side Romania and Moldova have preserved a strong historiographical tradition which rejects any Romanian involvement into the Holocaust. For what happened in Romania, according to this interpretation, may not be termed properly Holocaust. The persecution of the Jews, the expulsion of the Roma, in this view is a regrettable fact. But in the end it stands for nothing else than direct German intervention, general insecurity and the chaos of war. It was Antonescu who saved the Jews from systematic murder. As a percentage, more Jews survived in the Romanian sphere of power than under the rule of many other collaborative regimes.

Michael Shafir has researched this historiographical tradition intensively and has related it to Romania's political culture. In his view there is a competition of victimhood ("the Romanians" and the "others" who fared better after 1945 than the Romanians themselves). Another argument he puts forward: there is up to now a dominance of the communicative memory over the cultural memory. And then he makes a third point: There seems to be a need in Romania to blame others instead of dealing with one's own agency.

⁴⁸ Butnaru, Ion C. 1992. *The Silent Holocaust: Romania and its Jews*. New York: Greenwood Press.

A critical approach towards Romanian history and of the "we" as a moral actor is still missing.⁴⁹

⁴⁹Shafir, Michael. 2002. *Between Denial and "Comparative Trivialization": Holocaust Negationism in Post-Communist East Central Europe*. Jerusalem: Hebrew Univ.; Shafir, Michael. 2002. *Între negare și trivializări prin comparație: Negarea Holocaustului în țările postcomuniste din Europa Centrală și de Est*. Bukarest: Polirom; Shafir, Michael. 2007. "Holocaust Representation in Transitional Romania: An Updated Motivational Typology." In *Holocaust Memory and Antisemitism in Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Institutul Național pentru Studierea Holocaustului din România "Elie Wiesel", 155–208. București.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/283344258_Holocaust_Representation_in_Transitional_Romania_An_Updated_Motivational_Typology. Accessed May 20, 2019; Shafir, Michael. 2010. *Radio-grafii și alte fobii: Studii contemporane, publicistică și publicică*. Institutul European: Iași; Shafir, Michael. 2011. "In Search of Romanian Negationism: Ion Antonescu Trial." *Studia Judaica Babeș-Bolyai University* 19: 98–110; Shafir, Michael. 2012. "Denying the Shoah in Post-Communist Eastern Europe." In *Holocaust Denial: The Politics of Perfidy*, edited by Robert S. Wistrich, 27–65. Berlin: de Gruyter; Shafir, Michael. 2012. "Istorie, memorie și mit în matritologia competitivă a Holocaust-Gulag." In *Miturile politice în România contemporană*, edited by Sergiu Gherghina and Sergiu Mișcoiu, 297–357. Iași: Institutul European; Shafir, Michael. 2014. "Unacademic Academics: Holocaust Deniers and Trivializers in Post-Comunist Romania." *Nationalities Papers* 42 (6): 942–64; Shafir, Michael. 2016. "Ideology, Memory and Religion in Post-Communist East Central Europe: A Comparative Study Focused on Post-Holocaust." *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies* 15 (44): 52–110. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/304659015_Ideology_Memory_and_Religion_in_Post-Communist_East_Central_Europe. Accessed September 30, 2019; Shafir, Michael. 2016. "Public Discourse and Remembrance: Official and Unofficial Narratives." In *Romania and the Holocaust: Events - Contexts - Aftermath*, edited by Simon Geissbühler, 203–40. Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag; Shafir, Michael. 2017. "Wars of Memory in Post-Communist Romania." In *Of Red Dragons and Evil Spirits: Post-Communist Historiography between Democratization and the New Politics of History*, edited by Oto Luthar, 59–86. Budapest: CEU Press; Shafir, Michael. 2018. "Romania: Neither "Fleishig" nor "Milchig"." In *Holocaust Public Memory in Postcommunist Romania*, edited by Alexandru Florian, 96–150. Indiana: Indiana UP. See also: Eskenasy, Victor. 1994. "The Holocaust and Romanian Historiography: Communist and Neo-Communist Revisionism." In *The Tragedy of Romanian Jewry*, edited by Randolph L. Braham, 173–236. New York: Columbia UP; Florian, Alexandru. 2009. "Anti-Semitic and Holocaust-Denying Topics in the Romanian Media." *Romanian Journal of Political Science* 9 (2): 80–95; Florian, Alexandru. 2011. "Discours négationniste et politique publique de la mémoire depuis 1990." *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah*(194): 531–55; Geissbühler, Simon. 2012. "Staring the Past with Eyes Wide Shut: Holocaust Revisionism and Negationism in Romania." *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs* 6 (3): 126–35; Paul, Andreea-Cătălina. 2013. *Percepția*

My own reflections are going into another direction. I want to reveal the strategies by which the national-autochthonist research is claiming scientific respectability.

First of all, it is noticeable that everything that I have explained in the first part of my paper does not apply to the specific Romanian ethno-national form of Holocaust-research. The revisionist historiography is not internationally networked. The international Genocide and Holocaust research is not considered a central reference (only older German variants of it). The very topic of the autochthonic approach is defending the moral greatness of an imagined Romania. As I have outlined earlier, Holocaust research on Romania began as an exposition of facts. That was the impetus of Jean Ancel or Lya Benjamin. In this direction they were enormously successful. Thus it is not surprising that the Romanian autochthonous substitute of historiography finds its opponent in this older Holocaust research, while the newer research hardly is taken up.

How actually does this autochthonous Romanian substitution of historiographical research function? I will pick up the example of a quite normal book and a rather secondary question. It is about the role of the Orthodox Church in the years of the Holocaust. Florin Stan, sure not a hardcore nationalist, a former curator at the Marine Museum and now *Consilier* at the *Arhivele Diplomatice ale MAE*, engages into the problem of the Holocaust and the role of the Church during this time in his book *Situația evreilor din România între anii 1940-1944*.⁵⁰ The title itself is quite significant, because it is not about “the situation of the Jews” in the years

Holocaustului în România post-comunistă: Discurs politic și atitudine civică. Cluj-Napoca: Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai. Teză de doctorat; Voicu, George. 2011. “L’attitude des intellectuels roumains face à la Shoah et à sa mémoire dans la Roumanie post-communiste.” *Revue d’Histoire de la Shoah* (194): 583–618; Voicu, George. 2018. “Post-Communist Romania’s Leading Public Intellectuals and the Holocaust.” In *Holocaust Public Memory in Postcommunist Romania*, edited by Alexandru Florian, 41–71. Indiana: Indiana UP.

⁵⁰Stan, Florin C. 2012. *Situația evreilor din România între anii 1940 - 1944*. Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut. On the revisionist critique of Jean Ancel see: Petcu, Adrian Nicolae. 2005. “Despre o altă istorie a vieții religioase din Transnistria.” In *istorie și societate: În memoria Profesorului Valeriu Florin Dobrinescu*, Vol. 2, edited by Stela Cheptea, Horia Dumitrescu, and Marusia Cîrstea, 477–500. București: Mica Valahie; On „methodology”: Stan, Florin. 2009. “Metodologia cercetării istoriografice privind evreii din România în anii celui de-al doilea război mondial.” *Analele Universității "Dunarea de Jos" Galați* seria 19, tom 8: 131–50.

1940-1944, but about history, about pogroms, deportations, murders, perpetrators and victims, about changing policies and altering mentalities. I would like to contrast Florian Stan's remarks with the analyses of Ion Popa, a dissertation he wrote at the University of Manchester.⁵¹ Florian Stan begins with a bibliographical outline, which, however, is not a real research report, but a list of books with short comments. At this place Stan mentions Jean Ancel's critical perspective on the Romanian Orthodox Church adding that Ancel's own publishing house disavowed his position as not reliable. But what really is criticized, which arguments of Jean Ancel are to be disapproved? This remains in the dark. Stan then offers a brief summary of statements of the Orthodox Church since the 1920s, and of course this results in a list of declarations quite comprehending to the Jews by individual bishops and priests. A coherent methodical approach cannot be discerned. Quite differently Ion Popa. His statements about the role of the Orthodox Church in the Holocaust years result from the reading of church magazines and the protocols of court cases after 1944. According to these sources an ideological involvement of the church in the violence against the Jews seems clearly provable, which does not mean that the Orthodox Church has not successfully prevented undue political border crossings of the state into the religious sphere. (Legal ban on the baptism of Jews for instance!) And of course there were priests and bishops who, out of Christian thinking, fought for the interests of humanity. I myself have explained elsewhere how in individual cases a whole arsenal of cultural meanings and symbols clashed with each other and finally could be mobilized for the benefit of the Jews. We have on the one side a whole bundle of different kinds of anti-Semitism – cultural anti-Semitism, socio-economic anti-Semitism, Christian-motivated anti-Semitism – all of them part of Orthodox thinking. But of course there was also the idea that all humans were the children of God. In a direct conversation with the Transylvanian Metropolitan Nicolae Bălan, Chief Rabbi Alexandru Șafran succeeded in persuading the Patriarch against his earlier will to stand up for

⁵¹ Popa, Ion. 2017. *The Romanian Orthodox Church and the Holocaust*. Indiana: Indiana UP.

the innocent Jews in Banat and southern Transylvania, submitting to the Patriarch and appealing to his religious consciousness.⁵²

Let us summarize our reflections: The national-Romanian substitution of historical research operates from the motive of defending against foreign influences, which it judges to be illegitimate and harmful. It looks at the globally intertwined Holocaust research as a threat to Romania's own cultural and political development. With this it aims at a general feeling of moral overload. Only selectively when it fits to its own purposes it takes note of the international research to the Romanian holocaust. Conceptually, this revisionist Romanian historiography defines the Holocaust as the German persecution of the Jews with Auschwitz as its central site of crime. And it is therefore that it rejects the term Holocaust for Romania. (Persecution of Jews! – Sure! – But no gasification!) However, global Holocaust and Genocide studies since long have reached to the conclusion that the Holocaust must be regarded as a European phenomenon, and the torturing and killing of Jews and other minority groups was not confined to the Polish extermination camps. Sure, the Holocaust was initiated by Germany. But without the local anti-Semitism and local xenophobia, without the wartime-related idea of getting rid of the Jews by using violence, the German perpetrators would not have been able to carry out their work in other countries as they did. European Holocaust was more than Auschwitz. Thus the autochthonous historiography is using its own language and its own definitions. Consequently it uses its own methodological approach. Hinting at individual examples it is creating a completely different story than international research. This alternative narrative is less burdensome for the national master narrative than the findings of global research. The nimbus of truth, the long quoting of sources, the reference to one's own objectivity by renouncing refined methodical and theoretical approaches, last but not least the obfuscation of arguments prevent any critical discussion with global Holocaust and Genocide research. It thus seals itself off in regard to international research, but gains plausibility vis-à-vis the nationally minded Romanian public. Obviously its explanations are far less complex, better integrated into the Romanian political culture than those of the internationally oriented “normal science” on Holocaust events in

⁵² Heinen, Armin. 2007. *Rumänien, der Holocaust und die Logik der Gewalt*. 77-79. München: Oldenbourg.

Romania. The national-Romanian substitution of historical research thus is still able to design a coherent national history, while the international Holocaust research can only present complex, in part contradictory images.

3. A culturally divided society

What do "the Romanians" know about the Holocaust? I have already quoted the 2015 opinion poll. In this survey, 28% of the Romanian population had not yet heard about the Romanian dimension of the Holocaust. Among those who agreed that the Holocaust had also taken place in Romania, 80% said: Holocaust means the "deportation of Jews to the German camps". 47% associated the term with the "mass extermination of Jews". In other words, in the memories of the interviewees, the events in northern Transylvania were more present than in Romania itself. How small the knowledge about the Holocaust events in Romania actually is becomes clear by the attribution of the Romanian part of the Holocaust to the fascist Legion "Archangel Michael", although this organization had been smashed by the military under Antonescu in January 1941.⁵³

Another opinion poll in 2017 confirms the findings of 2015 in many respects, with only 10% of respondents considering the Holocaust of individual significance. Television as a source of information on the subject lost much of its influence, while the Internet gained ground. The blame for the policy of persecuting the Jews continues to lie primarily with the Germans. However, there is a striking difference between the rather well informed inhabitants of the big cities and the well-educated on the one side – and inhabitants of the countryside and the less educated on the other side. In the countryside and among those with a more general education, the Holocaust is almost of no importance.⁵⁴ These findings would support the thesis of a structural heterogeneity of knowledge. The rural area and the

⁵³Institutul Național pentru Studierea Holocaustului din România "Elie Wiesel". 2015. "Sondaj de opinie privind Holocaustul din România și percepția relațiilor interetnice: Mai 2015." www.inshr-ew.ro/ro/files/proiecte/Sondaje/Sondaj_opinie-INSHR-iunie_2015.pdf. Accessed September 10, 2018.

⁵⁴Institutul Național pentru Studierea Holocaustului din România "Elie Wiesel", ed. 2017. *Sondaj de opinie privind Holocaustul din România și percepția relațiilor interetnice*. www.inshr-ew.ro/ro/files/Kantar_TNS_Raport_INSHR_2017.pdf. Accessed September 10, 2018.

lower strata of society– isolated from the heated discussions of the national centers and global metropolises– may be coined as areas of cultural subsistence. In short, my thesis of structural heterogeneity would fit to the empirical findings.

Of course, the 2017 survey can also be interpreted differently. According to this survey, the number of those who associated the Holocaust not only with Germany but also with the camps and ghettos in Transnistria rose from 20% to 25%. Also by five points (from 28% to 33%), the number of those increased who linked the Holocaust with Romania. Overall, it can be said that today about one third of the Romanian population has an adequate picture of the years of the Holocaust on the Romanian territory (deportation of Jews and Roma to Transnistria, death by hunger and disease, murderous attacks on Jews in the East at the beginning of the war and during the first war winter, expropriations, restriction of civil liberties in the Regat etc.). While on the one hand Antonescu is increasingly seen as responsible for the Romanian dimension of the Holocaust, the number of those who blame the Jews themselves has risen from 5% to 18%. Obviously, Romanian society is deeply divided and – it is still more divided. The very question remains whether the gap between the different social groups in the end can be bridged.

4. Structural heterogeneity – Coming to terms with the past in Germany and Romania

4.1. “Modernization” or “structural heterogeneity”?

Let us summarize our findings up to this point. Obviously there is a striking coexistence of different discursive strands (Diskursstränge). In a first approach, we have observed a globalized, well institutionalized, flourishing research on Romanian Holocaust – and with this a globalized, ever deeper and refined knowledge on this subject. Secondly, there is a national substitution of historical writing that conducts its own defensive battle for national ends. And thirdly, there is a local split of knowledge related to different social and ethnic intellectual groups. Like scientific research, the Romanian society is divided: between (a) globalized, urban elites, (b) nationally-minded, urban right-wing torch-bearers, and (c) rural and less educated self-sufficients.

The facts as described can be interpreted in two directions: (a) as a quite natural situation, since coming to terms with the past and anchoring it into the cultural memory simply takes time; (b) as an expression of a society that lacks spaces of common communication and common values.

Certainly, it can be noted that the anchoring of the Holocaust into Romanian cultural memory has made enormous progress. This includes the founding of the *Elie Wiesel Institute* in Bucharest but also the other centers coping up with the Holocaust scientifically. But it also includes monuments, commemorative plaques, conferences at the Romanian Academy, study material for the universities and textbooks for schools. In short, one could argue that the decisive first steps have been taken and that it is necessary to wait until the new structures unfold their effect.

The other possible interpretation, however, is that of structural heterogeneity. It leads to a much more pessimistic assessment. In order to explain the facts, I would like to briefly refer to the history of Germany and its coming to terms with the past. If in the end in West-Germany we observe a rather successful moral learning this was due to a number of very specific historical circumstances.

4.2. Coping with the past in West-Germany: favorable preconditions

To begin with, the political situation of West-Germany after 1945 was quite obvious. There was no real strong competition of victimhood, due to the intervention of the allies. There was hardly any doubt about guilt.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ The number of books and articles dealing with coping with the past in Germany is almost overwhelming. Here just a small selection: Art, David. 2006. *The Politics of the Nazi Past in Germany and Austria*. New York: Cambridge UP; Assmann, Aleida. 2013. *Das neue Unbehagen an der Erinnerungskultur: Eine Intervention*. C.H.Beck; Bästlein, Klaus. 2016. "Zeitgeist und Justiz: Die Strafverfolgung von NS-Verbrechen im deutsch-deutschen Vergleich und im historischen Verlauf." *ZfG* 64 (1): 5–29; Bauerkämper, Arnd. 2012. *Das umstrittene Gedächtnis: Die Erinnerung an Nationalsozialismus Faschismus und Krieg in Europa seit 1945*. Paderborn: Schöningh; Becker, Manuel. 2013. *Geschichtspolitik in der "Berliner Republik": Konzeptionen und Kontroversen*. Wiesbaden: Springer; Bergem, Wolfgang, ed. 2003. *Die NS-Diktatur im deutschen Erinnerungsdiskurs*. Opladen: Leske & Budrich; Eitz, Thorsten, and Georg Stölzel, eds. 2009. *Wörterbuch der Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, 2 Vols. Darmstadt 2007: WBG; Fischer, Torben, and Matthias N. Lorenz, eds. 2007. *Lexikon der 'Vergangenheitsbewältigung' in Deutschland. Debatten- und Diskursgeschichte des Nationalsozialismus nach 1945*. Bielefeld: Transcript; Forner,

Research on the Holocaust began in the 1950s, first as a fact-finding exercise and later, at the end of the 1960s, as a study of the dynamics of violence. The victims themselves came into view only at the end of the 1970s. And only then the Holocaust did become part of the national narrative. The media played a major role in this. There were only three television channels. Few newspapers and magazines determined the national discourse. And the fact that one had to learn from the past, that Germany had to bear responsibility for its history, was a consensus despite all political differences. The consciously constructed moral distance towards the GDR even fostered this point. And something else has to be added: Since the 19th century, the German national master narrative has seen "Germany" as an actor in history. In this respect, Germany has always belonged to the main, active part of Europe, while the Southeast-European master-narratives rather emphasized the limited scope for action, the passive victim-like logic of national history. As Annamaria Duceac Segesten has argued international norms shape the Self-presentation of countries like Romania much more than Germany.⁵⁶In

Sean A. 2014. *German Intellectuals and the Challenge of Democratic Renewal: Culture and Politics after 1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP; Herf, Jeffrey. 1997. *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys*. Cambridge: Harvard UP; Kansteiner, Wulf. 2006. In *Pursuit of German Memory: History Television and Politics after Auschwitz*. Ohio: Ohio UP; König, Helmut. 2003. *Die Zukunft der Vergangenheit: Der Nationalsozialismus im politischen Bewußtsein der Bundesrepublik*. Frankfurt: Fischer; Metzler, Gabriele. 2018. *Der Staat der Historiker: Staatsvorstellungen deutscher Historiker seit 1945*. Berlin: Suhrkamp; Moeller, Robert G. 2003. *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press; Reichel, Peter. 2001. *Vergangenheitsbewältigung in Deutschland: Die Auseinandersetzung mit der NS-Diktatur von 1945 bis heute*. München: Beck; Timmermann, Heiner, ed. 2010. *Vergangenheitsbewältigung in Europa im 20. Jahrhundert*. Berlin: LIT; Withuis, Jolande. 2010. *The Politics of War Trauma: The Aftermath of World War II in Eleven European Countries*. Amsterdam: Aksant; Wittlinger, Ruth, and Steffi Boothroyd. 2010. "A "Usable" Past at Last? The Politics of the Past in United Germany." *German Studies Review* 33 (3): 489–501; Wolfrum, Edgar. 1999. *Geschichtspolitik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Der Weg zur bundesrepublikanischen Erinnerung, 1948–1990*. Darmstadt: WBG.

⁵⁶ Duceac Segesten, Anamaria. *The Holocaust and International Norm Socialization: The Case of Holocaust Education in Romania*. Lund: Lunds Universiteit. <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/4705/571f9f1dff95865a757f913ca355da185b20.pdf>.

Accessed September 28, 2019. See also: Blomqvist, A.E.B. 2016. "De nationella berättelsernas kraft: Avsaknaden av genuina uppgörelser i Ungern och Rumänien och historikernas roll." *Historisk Tidskrift* 136 (3): 441–71; Ciobanu, Monica. 2015. "The Challenge of Competing Pasts." In *Post-Communist Transitional Justice: Lessons from*

Twenty-Five Years of Experience, edited by Lavinia Stan and Nadya Nedelsky, 148–66. New York: Cambridge UP; Cioflâncă, Adrian. 2019. "History, of the Holocaust in Romania: 15 Years since the Publishing of the Report of the International Commission." May 16. <https://podcasts.ceu.edu/content/history-holocaust-romania-15-years-publishing-report-international-commission>. Accessed May 21, 2019; Florian, Alexandru. 2007. "Holocaustul ca subiect legislativ." In *Holocaust Memory and Antisemitism in Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Institutul Național pentru Studiarea Holocaustului din România "Elie Wiesel", 137–54. București. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/283344258_Holocaust_Representation_in_Transitional_Romania_An_Updated_Motivational_Typology. Accessed May 20, 2019; Florian, Alexandru. 2009. "Anti-Semitic and Holocaust-Denying Topics in the Romanian Media." *Romanian Journal of Political Science* 9 (2): 80–95; Florian, Alexandru, ed. 2018. *Holocaust Public Memory in Postcommunist Romania*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana UP; Florian, Alexandru, and Cosmina Gușu. 2007. *Manifestări de antisemitism și negare a Holocaustului în mass-media din România: Analiză de mesaj 2005-2006*. București; Glass, Hildrun. 2007. "Historiographie und Politik: Die Aufarbeitung der Massenverbrechen an den Juden im rumänischen Herrschaftsbereich." *Südosteuropa* 55: 276–300; Gușu, Cosmina. "Reprezentarea unei tragedii: Holocaustul în România, între istorie și memorie (concepte și direcții interpretative)." *Buletinul Centrului, Muzeului și Arhivei istorice a Evreilor din România* 2012 (14-15): 226–43; Gușu, Cosmina. 2009. "Reflectarea Holocaustului în Revista "Magazin istoric" (1967-1989)." *Holocaust. Studii și Cercetări* 1 (1): 151–60; Kelso, Michelle, and Daina S. Egitis. 2014. "The Holocaust Commemoration in Romania: Roma and the Contested Politics of Memory and Memorialization." *Journal of genocide research* 16 (4): 487–511; Laignel-Lavastine, Alexandra. 2004. "Fascism and Communism in Romania: The Comparative Stakes and Uses." In *Stalinism and Nazism: History and Memory Compared*, edited by Henry Rousso, Richard J. Golsan, and Lucy B. Golsan, 157–93. Lincoln, Neb.: Univ. of Nebraska Press; Owen-Jones, Caderyn. 2019. "Romania." In *Holocaust Remembrance Project*, edited by William Echikson. <https://de.scribd.com/document/398273804/Istra%C5%BEivanje-o-revizionizmu>. Accessed January 28, 2019; Simion, Adrian. 2014. "Problema holocaustului reflectată în paginile Revistei România Mare în perioada anilor 1990-2000." *Terra Sebus - Acta Musei Sabesiensis* 6: 529–49. http://www.academia.edu/9939127/Adrian_SIMION_Problema_Holocaustului_reflectat%C4%83_%C3%AEn_paginile_revistei_Rom%C3%A2nia_Mare_%C3%AEn_perioada_anilor_1990-2000_The_Holocaust_as_Reflected_in_the_Pages_of_Rom%C3%A2nia_Mare_Magazine_in_1990-2000_. Accessed February 13, 2019; Voicu, George. 2011. "L'attitude des intellectuels roumains face à la Shoah et à sa mémoire dans la Roumanie post-communiste." *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah* (194): 583–618; Waldman, Felicia. 2008. "Vom Tabu zur Anerkennung Rumänien, die Juden und der Holocaust." *Osteuropa* 58 (8/10): 497–504; Waldman, Felicia, and Mihai Chioveanu. 2013. "Public Perceptions of the Holocaust in Postcommunist Romania." In *Bringing the Dark Past to Light: The Reception of the Holocaust in Postcommunist Europe*, edited by John-Paul Himka and Joanna B. Michlic, 451–86. Lincoln, Neb.: Univ. of Nebraska Press.

this view the establishing of a new Holocaust discourse after 2000 is only the result of external pressure, *forme fără fond*, forms without substance. The findings of international Holocaust research are thus counteracted by delegitimizing the new scientific approaches, the monuments, the schoolbooks,⁵⁷ the institutes. These narratives rebel against “victimhood” imposed from outside, and in this sense the anti-Semitic, ethnically self-referential plot has been at least partly integrated into the national Romanian narratives up to now. With Germany after 1945 it was different. Germany's role in history meant that it had to cope with its past in an exemplary way and strive for moral leadership. The idea that Germany

⁵⁷ Baier, Hannelore. 2001. “Die Wahrnehmung der Judenverfolgung in Rumänien.” In *Rumänien und der Holocaust. Zu den Massenverbrechen in Transnistrien, 1941-1944*, edited by Mariana Hausleitner, Brigitte Mihok, and Juliane Wetzels, 167–77. Berlin; Bărbulescu, Ana. 2015. “Discovering the Holocaust in our Past: Competing Memories in Post-Communist Romanian Textbooks.” *Holocaust Studies* 21 (3): 139–56; Boia, Stelean-Ioan, and Ioan Marius Grec. 2016. *O istorie a Holocaustului european: Cazul României*. Arad: “Vasile Goldiș” UP; Chioveanu, Mihai. 2005. *Holocaustul: Un avertisment al istoriei*. București: IRIR. <https://de.scribd.com/doc/86126971/Holocaustul-un-avertisment-al-istoriei-prof-Mihai-Chioveanu>. Accessed October 02, 2019; Duceac Segesten, Anamaria. *The Holocaust and International Norm Socialization: The Case of Holocaust Education in Romania*. Lund: Lunds Universitet. <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/4705/571f9f1dff95865a757f913ca355da185b20.pdf>. Accessed September 28, 2019; Florian, Alexandru. 2004. “Manualul Holocaustului în România între contestare și susținere.” *Studie Hebraica* 4: 165–70; Horbath, Nina Maria. “Holocaust und Vergangenheitspolitik in Rumänien.” Masterarbeit, Universität Wien. Accessed December 12, 2018. <http://othes.univie.ac.at/38130/>; Ionescu, Vasile. (2005). “Deportări din România.” <https://rm.coe.int/deportari-din-romania-fise-de-informare-despre-istoria-romilor/16808b1c2c>. Accessed September 09, 2019; Kelso, Michelle. 2013. “‘And Roma were Victims, too’: The Romani Genocide and Holocaust Education in Romania.” *Intercultural Education* 24 (1-2): 61–78; Misco, Thomas. 2008. “‘We did also save People’: A Study of Holocaust Education in Romania after Decades of Historical Silence.” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 36 (2): 61–94; Petrescu, Florin. 2007. *Istoria evreilor: Holocaustul. Manual pentru liceu*. Ed. 2. București: Editura: Didactică și Pedagogică; Radosav, Maria. 2015. “L’enseignement de la Shoah dans les collèges et les lycées: Une expérience roumaine.” In *Du génocide des Arméniens à la Shoah: Typologie des massacres du XXe siècle*, edited by Gérard Dédéyan and Carol Iancu, 559–65. Toulouse: Éd. Privat; Waldman, Felicia. 2009. “Der Holocaust in den post-kommunistischen rumänischen Schulbüchern.” In *Holocaust an der Peripherie: Judenpolitik und Judenmord in Rumänien und Transnistrien 1940-1944*, edited by Wolfgang Benz and Brigitte Mihok, 213–22. Berlin: Metropol.

must never again become the cause of inhuman brutality and violence is one of the founding genes of the Federal Republic.

The singularity of the West-German preconditions for dealing with the past becomes evident by comparing with the eastern part of Germany. There a new Right is proving to be increasingly successful. The GDR refused to come to terms with the past in any way comparable to the West. The moral and cultural reappraisal of the West was opposed by a socio-structural new beginning in the East. The communist idea was, that with changing the power structure, and thus with an end to the “German misery” Germans would become self-conscious, happy, socially oriented, new democratic heroes. Some of the former GDR inhabitants proved to be democratic heroes indeed, some others became disoriented nationalists. They believe in the competence of the nation state and explain, whatever is going wrong, by undue foreign influences. As a result, after 1989 we discover the same phenomena as in Romania: a competition of victimhood and a lack of knowledge about the past.

Our comparison with East Germany suggests that for Romania it is even more difficult to change its political culture: In Germany there is no national substitute of history writing, not even in East Germany. The public media are firmly in the hands of West German companies. Newspapers and magazines still play an important role as mediators of information and as forum for political debates. Politicians and civil society react decisively to any attempt to belittle the Holocaust. When right-wing AfD-boss Alexander Gauland has described the Nazi era as “only a bird's-shit in 1,000 years of German history”, the majority of people were shocked and disgusted, although certainly more in West Germany than in East Germany.

Other structural phenomena in Romania are comparable with what we find in Germany. There is today a rich, almost overabundant offer of television programs, which have as a result to dissolve the nation as a political community which discusses its central questions. The Internet divides society into closed spaces of knowledge and world views, and by this strengthens prejudices. More than seventy years of history have pushed the era of Fascism into the background. Economic prosperity is highly unequally distributed and thus the moral of the rulers seems to be highly immoral. In short, in Germany, too, we observe dissolution of society with regard to fundamental values. The significance of National Socialism as a

negative foil loses its power of persuasion. Almost 70% of East Germans are mistrusting democracy and almost 30% are xenophobic.⁵⁸In this sense, there seems to be no real big difference to Romania.

4.3. Structural heterogeneity as a danger to Holocaust remembrance: Challenges for a democratic Romanian society

However, in my view, the problems Romania is facing are even more complex. To hope for “normalization” in the course of time might be too optimistic. Romanian society obviously is even more divided than Germany has been in the past. And the endeavor of coping with the past at a time when there is an end to master-narratives doesn’t make it easier. It will be a real challenge to make out of the globalized Holocaust research with its extremely complex approaches a self-conscious critical narrative. The Romanian specialists in the field are all asked for many very good ideas to make the Holocaust a national place of remembrance instead of a project of an enlightened, globally oriented elite.

Thus Holocaust-remembrance in Romania requires even more efforts than in the German case. In West-Germany, coming to terms with the past started with the post-war trials under allied supervision – not so in Romania.⁵⁹And though in the 1950s the cold-war discourse triumphed, since

⁵⁸<https://www.idz-jena.de/wsddet/rechtspopulistische-einstellungen-in-ost-und-westdeutschland-1/>. Accessed October 10, 2018. In 2019 52% of the East-Germans answered in a poll not to be contempt with democracy in Germany. *Die Zeit*, October 2, 2019, 2.

⁵⁹Florian, Alexandru. 2007. “Holocaustul ca subiect legislativ.” In *Holocaust Memory and Antisemitism in Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Institutul Național pentru Studierea Holocaustului din România “Elie Wiesel”, 137–54. București. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/283344258_Holocaust_Representation_in_Transitional_Romania_An_Updated_Motivational_Typology. Accessed May 20, 2019; Glass, Hildrun. 2001. “Die Rezeption des Holocaust in Rumänien, 1944-1947.” In *Rumänien und der Holocaust. Zu den Massenverbrechen in Transnistrien, 1941-1944*, edited by Mariana Hausleitner, Brigitte Mihok, and Juliane Wetzels, 153–65. Berlin; Gușu, Cosmina. 2010. “Emergența memoriei colective a Holocaustului în România, 1944-1947.” In *Noi perspective în istoriografia evreilor din România*, edited by Liviu Rotman, Camelia Crăciun, and Ana-Gabriela Vasiliu, 270–98. Hasefer: București; Muraru, Andrei. 2018. “Romanian Political Justice: Holocaust and the Trials of War Criminals: The Case of Transnistria.” *Holocaust. Studii și Cercetări* 10 (1): 89–184; Weber, Petru. 2011. “La justice dans la Roumanie d’après guerre: Les procès des criminels de Transnistrie.” *Revue d’Histoire de la Shoah* (194): 445–60.

the 1970s it had the media system on its side. Revisionism encountered a broad democratic front of opposition. West-German society did have time to approach this difficult topic. The creation of an anti-anti-Semitic consensus across society as a whole coincided with a broad expansion of the educational system and economic prosperity.

For Romania, on the other hand, there is a great danger of cementing its structural heterogeneity of knowledge. This means that the coexistence of a highly innovative, global research on the one side, a nationalist substitution of historical writing and a local split of intellectual interest on the other side will not be resolved, but rather consolidated over time. Stressing the other side of the problem: There is quite a danger of cementing the structural heterogeneity between internationally minded social elites, nationally minded city dwellers and locally oriented less educated people. Certainly, Romania's integration into the European context may be of help. And yet: Apparently, the project of coping with the past regarding the Romanian part of the Holocaust requires even greater efforts and intelligence than in Germany 1945-1989.