

Judaica Collections at the Hoover Institution Archives

Introduction

As one of the largest repositories of primary sources relating to twentieth and twenty-first century European and Russian history, the Hoover Institution Archives has numerous documents concerning Jewish individuals and organizations dispersed throughout its collections. In recent years, in line with other academic institutions, the archives has come to recognize the importance of Judaica, or materials relating specifically to Jews and Judaism, and to consider Jewish culture and history as a major field of research and curatorial interest. Although Hoover has no formal Judaica collection as such, certain collections comprise, either in part or in their entirety, a virtual collection of Judaica-related materials. Some highlights of these materials are presented here in the hope that they will be of interest to scholars and other interested researchers in the field of modern Jewish history.

Russians, Soviets, and Jews

The Intelligentsia and the Culture of Adversity

Irwin T. and Shirley Holtzman Collection

One sizable resource in the archives related to modern Jewish culture is the Irwin T. and Shirley Holtzman collection of materials on Russian literature. For many years, the Holtzmans have collected manuscripts, signed first editions, and memorabilia relating to the Russian writers Boris Pasternak, Isaac Babel, and Joseph Brodsky, all of whom were of Jewish origin (although Pasternak later converted to the Russian Orthodox faith). At present, the Holtzman collection in the Hoover Institution Archives runs to more than 150 manuscript boxes, and increments continue to be added to the collection.

Although Pasternak, Babel, and Brodsky have always been considered Russian Jewish writers, the Jewish dimension of their work has recently come into focus, especially in the case of Babel, who fought on the Bolshevik side in the Russian Civil War, concealing his Jewish identity while serving in a Cossack unit. Babel became famous for *Red Cavalry*, his work based on his Civil War experiences, but not until the posthumous publication of his diaries from the same period did the full dimensions of his inner conflicts during the time of his Red Army service become apparent. In the memorable phrase of Alfred Kazin, Babel was a "Jew on horseback," straddling a number of identities as a Jew, a Russian, and ultimately a writer seeking artistic freedom within the stifling confines of Stalin's Soviet Union, where he was executed in 1940.

The scope and depth of the Holtzman collection's Babel materials allow the critical reception of Babel's work to be examined from the time of his first published stories to the present. The collection shows us changing views of Babel, from his first presentation in the West as a model Soviet writer to his status as a "nonperson" after his arrest and execution during the Stalinist purges and on through to contemporary scholarship, which

attempts to situate Babel as being, simultaneously, a Soviet writer, Russian Jew, and victim of Stalinism.

Babel's Jewish identity is perhaps most evident in stories set in his native Odessa featuring a variety of characters, many of which vary from stereotypical notions of Jews. Chief among these is Benya Krik, the Jewish gangster figure who appears in a number of the Odessa stories. As a whole, these stories illumine the richness and variety of Jewish life in Odessa, but they are not filled with only humor or satire. The story *My First Dovecot* presents a child's eye view of a pogrom before the revolution, a theme made all the more powerful by the innocent perspective of the narrator. In confronting the issue of anti-Semitism, Babel poses the central dilemma for Jews for much of the twentieth century in Eastern Europe: how to survive amid waves of persecution and violence.

Pasternak Family Papers

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Odessa was a vital outpost of Jewish cultural life in the Russian empire and, in addition to Babel, produced a number of important writers, musicians, and artists, including the painter Leonid Pasternak, father of Boris Pasternak. The Pasternak family traced its origins to Sephardic Jews who had settled in Odessa.

The Holtzman collection has important materials relating to the life and works of Boris Pasternak, but the archives also has a separate collection of materials acquired from the Pasternak family itself. The Pasternak family papers contain correspondence, printed matter, and original artwork by Leonid Pasternak, an important Russian impressionist. Along with painting portraits of Russian writers such as Leo Tolstoy, Leonid Pasternak memorialized members of his family, including his son, Boris, and daughter, Josephine.

While he did not generally treat Jewish themes in his art, Leonid Pasternak did make an important trip to Palestine in 1924, sketching scenes of Jewish and Arab life there. Some of his original sketchbooks from this trip, which are in the Pasternak family papers, reveal an artist sensitive to his surroundings, recording his impressions of what was undoubtedly an exotic locale for a Russian visitor.

Leonid Pasternak died in Britain in 1945. In her later years, Josephine Pasternak became a tireless champion of her father's art and was instrumental in securing the publication of an English translation of his memoirs. The collection contains correspondence between Josephine Pasternak and the famous philosopher Isaiah Berlin about Leonid's work. Berlin, born into a Jewish family in Riga, Latvia (then still part of the Russian empire), owned several Pasternak paintings.

Boris Pasternak is perhaps the best known writer of Russian fiction and poetry of the twentieth century. Although Pasternak's relation to Judaism was not straightforward, he did not renounce his Jewish origins. Like Babel—but in a dramatically different way—he embodied several identities at once, just as his literary production encompassed several genres, sometimes within a single work. The Pasternak family papers contain an early

manuscript of *Doctor Zhivago* (typed by Marina K. Baranovich), which includes the famous “Zhivago poems.”

Gleb Struve Papers

We live, deaf to the land beneath us
Ten steps away no one hears our speeches,
But where there's so much as half a conversation
The Kremlin's mountaineer will get his mention.
"Stalin," 1934, by Osip Mandel'shtam

Poetry has always been accorded an important status in Russian culture and society, and from the time of Pushkin, Russian poets have suffered for their outspokenness. In addition to Pasternak—whose *Doctor Zhivago* could not be initially published in the Soviet Union—the archives has documents relating to other Russian dissident poets. The Gleb Struve papers contain important materials on the Russian Jewish poet Osip Mandel'shtam and his wife Nadezhda.

Severely critical of Stalin, as evidenced in the lampoon above, Osip Mandel'shtam paid dearly for his candor, perishing in the Soviet gulag in 1938. His widow later wrote an important memoir of the period of Stalinist repression, *Hope against Hope*. Both Mandel'shtams were close friends of the Russian poet Anna Akhmatova, and their friendship and collaboration in the Acmeist movement and afterward is an example of the many instances in which Jewish and non-Jewish artists were linked together in a common purpose in Russian intellectual life.

Besides Mandel'shtam, the Gleb Struve papers have material on the Russian Jewish writers Isaac Babel, Joseph Brodsky, and Mikhail Kantor, as well as material on a large number of non-Jewish writers.

An interest in nonconformist literature, produced by Jews and non-Jews alike, was an important aspect of the rise of an avowedly dissident movement in the Soviet Union. In the case of the poet Joseph Brodsky and Anna Akhmatova, there was personal contact between the younger dissidents in the 1960s and an older generation of writers. Despite hopes raised by the relative liberalization of culture in the Khrushchev years, government repression of dissident voices in the Soviet Union continued. In December 1963, Brodsky was arrested by Soviet authorities; he was then put on trial and eventually convicted of being a “parasite.” He was sentenced to a five year term of labor, but after protests from a number of Russian intellectuals, Brodsky was allowed to return to Leningrad after serving two years of his sentence.

Brodsky's life and work are substantially represented in the Holtzman collection. In fact, Irwin T. Holtzman was one of two people who welcomed Brodsky upon his arrival in the United States in 1972. In exile in the West, Brodsky began to write his poetry directly in English, and achieved considerable renown as both poet and public intellectual, winning the Nobel Prize for literature in 1987. In doing so, he joined his compatriots Alexander

Solzhenitsyn, who won in 1970, and Pasternak, who had been forced by Soviet authorities in 1958 to decline the honor. Brodsky, however, differed markedly from the two other writers, both in tone and in terms of his politics. As with the case of Babel, the Holtzman collection provides a documentary record of the nuances and differences among members of the Russian intelligentsia, whether Jewish or non-Jewish.

Andrei Siniavskii Papers

A few years after Joseph Brodsky encountered the wrath of the Soviet state, two Russian intellectuals, Iulii Daniel and Andrei Siniavskii, were put on public trial for "anti-Soviet" writings. Their trial in 1966 was a watershed moment in the history of the dissident movement in the Soviet Union, marking an end to the thaw in cultural life initiated under Khrushchev. Like Brodsky, Daniel and Siniavskii were also linked to the earlier generation of nonconformist writers: friends of Pasternak's in his final years, they served as pallbearers at Pasternak's funeral. Daniel was Jewish, while Siniavskii, though not being Jewish himself, used a Jewish pseudonym ("Abram Tertz," the name of a legendary outlaw from Odessa) for his literary writings that were smuggled out of the Soviet Union and published in the West. For years the KGB did not know the real identity of Tertz.

The Siniavskii-Daniel case became a cause célèbre in the West. But even with the protests of Western intellectuals, Daniel and Siniavskii were sentenced to terms of hard labor. In 1973, Siniavskii was allowed to emigrate to the West, settling in Paris, where he lived and wrote until his death in 1996. Daniel, who was both a poet and translator, suffered from ill health in his later years and died in what was still the Soviet Union in 1989.

The Andrei Siniavskii papers contain important materials on the Daniel-Siniavskii trial, Iulii Daniel individually, and Siniavskii's life and work. Among the papers are drafts of Siniavskii's early novel, *The Trial Begins*, which alludes to the prevailing climate of paranoia and official anti-Semitism in the last period of Stalin's rule. Also included in the papers are Siniavskii's numerous writings on Russian literature, his accounts of his own experience as a dissident, and his many lectures on Soviet culture and society. As a critic, Siniavskii wrote with considerable sensitivity about the history of the often uneasy relationship between Russian Jews and Gentiles.

Olga Carlisle Papers

The Olga Carlisle papers are another important resource on the history of Russian literature and on cultural politics in the Soviet Union and among Soviet writers in exile. Carlisle played an important role in securing the publication in the West of the works of dissident Soviet writers, most famously Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago*. Carlisle herself has written widely on the subjects of Russian literature and politics, including articles on Pasternak and Babel, which are in her collection in the archives. An extensive correspondence series in the collection includes letters to and from many Russian literary

personalities, among them Jews. Additionally, there are some letters and photographs relating to Osip Mandel'shtam and his widow, Nadezhda.

The history of Russian Jewish intellectuals in the Soviet period is not only one of persecution and repression, of course. Like other Russians, many Jews served the Stalinist state; even Babel, whose life ended at the hands of a state executioner, can be seen as a victim of his own illusions about the Soviet state. Many other Jews, more lucid perhaps than Babel about the nature of Stalinism, perished in the purge trials of the 1930s and in the Soviet gulag. Perhaps the most vivid account of the gulag experience was written by Eugenia Ginzburg, a Russian Jew whose books *Journey into the Whirlwind* and *Within the Whirlwind* predated Solzhenitsyn's account of Soviet repression by decades. Ginzburg survived the gulag, and her son Vassily Aksynov became an important nonconformist writer in the 1960s and 1970s. Materials on Aksynov are in the Gleb Struve papers and Olga Carlise papers.

Important holdings, especially the Archives of the Soviet Communist Party microfilm collection, document many facets of the Stalinist system, including the regime's attitudes toward the so-called Jewish question. The Stalinist party opposed Zionism while promoting the so-called Jewish Autonomous Region in Birobidzan in Soviet Central Asia.

By the late 1940s and early 1950s, in the waning years of Stalin's dictatorship, the Soviet state had become overtly anti-Semitic. A propaganda campaign was launched in 1953, this time involving the so-called Jewish Doctors' Plot, which existed only in Stalin's paranoid mind. Prior to this, a wave of repression had been unleashed against the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, an organization that until 1948 had been officially promoted by the Soviet government. These measures led to the imprisonment and, in a number of cases, the execution of those arrested. The likelihood of another great purge was averted only by Stalin's death in 1953.

Scientists for Sakharov, Orlov and Shcharansky Records

In the late Brezhnev period, many Jewish citizens of the USSR sought to emigrate to the West and to Israel. In most instances, the Soviet state refused such requests, giving rise to a class of people known as *refuseniks*. The struggle of these people in the face of their loss of Soviet citizenship, and the official limbo in which they existed as a result, became a concern of the dissident movement in the Soviet Union and of human rights organizations in the West.

In the archives are the records of one such organization, formed by scientists in the United States, which attempted to support Soviet dissidents and the right of Soviet Jews to emigrate from the USSR. The Scientists for Sakharov, Orlov and Shcharansky records have extensive materials relating to the treatment of Jews in the USSR and on the dissident movement, which involved non-Jews and Jews alike. Andrei Sakharov and his wife, Elena Bonner, herself Jewish, played a prominent role in this movement. When Sakharov was sent into internal exile in the city of Gorky, the movement and its

supporters in the West sought his release and that of others who had been imprisoned. The collection contains printed and videotaped speeches by Bonner, as well as photographs of her and Sakharov. Also included are photographs and a videotaped interview with Natan Shcharansky, who eventually was allowed to emigrate to Israel, where he became a government minister.

Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Records

During the cold war, radio stations funded by the U.S. government reported on the dissident movement in the Soviet Union, broadcasting programs into the USSR and, in some cases, hiring Russian émigrés who had been part of the dissident movement as part of their staff. The voluminous Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty broadcast records and corporate records contain materials on all aspects of Soviet cultural life in the 1960s and 1970s, including programs featuring writers such as Vassily Aksynov, Julian Panich, Andrei Siniavskii and the popular poet and singer, Aleksandr Galich.

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty reported on the refusenik movement and on the human rights movement identified with Sakharov and Bonner. In addition to those programs, the RFE/RL collections have a number of photographs of dissident Soviet writers and human rights activists, including Jewish ones. There are also materials in this collection concerning the situation of East European Jews in general and on the activities of American Jewish organizations in support of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

For more information about this collection please visit the RFE/RL records web site.

Jews and Politics in the 20th Century

From the Bund to the anti-Nazi resistance

Just as one cannot speak in monolithic terms about Jewish art and literature, no single type of Jewish politics has existed in the modern period. Jews have participated in the political life of many countries and across the ideological spectrum. The Hoover Institution Archives has many collections that touch on Jews in politics, but only certain, specifically Jewish organizations and movements are relevant to a survey of Judaica-related holdings in the archives.

One such organization was the Jewish Bund (Allgemeyner Idisher arbeyterbund in Lita, Poylen un Rusland in its transliterated Yiddish form), which played an important role in the history of the Russian revolutionary movement in the decades before 1917. As its name indicates, the Bund was active in the areas (Poland, Lithuania, and Russia itself) of the Russian empire with the largest Jewish populations, primarily in the original Pale of Settlement, to which the Jews had been historically restricted by tsarist decree.

The Bund sought to emancipate Jewish workers on the basis of a program of emancipation in the context of the overthrow of tsarist rule and the establishment of socialism. Thus the Bund, which was considered to be part of the broad Social

Democratic movement, was ideologically opposed to Zionism, whose goal was not social revolution but the establishment of a separate Jewish homeland, a project eventually pursued in Palestine. On the left, the Bund's insistence on the necessity of a specifically Jewish workers' organization brought it into conflict with other currents of the socialist movement, in whose ranks many Jews could also be found but whose ideologies stressed the unity of the working class beyond national or ethnic differences.

Boris I. Nicolaevsky Collection

The Boris I. Nicolaevsky and the Okhrana (Russia. Department politsii. Zagranichnaia agentura (Paris)) collections have significant materials on the Bund's membership, activities, and publications. The documents from the Paris branch of the Okhrana (the tsarist secret police) reveal official attitudes towards the Bund, and contain files on individual Bund members, as well as summaries of Bund correspondence intercepted by the Okhrana. The Bund was especially active in the events of the 1905 revolution, participating in strikes and meetings and in organizing self-defense groups to protect Jews during the ensuing wave of pogroms instigated by forces loyal to the tsar.

Materials in the Nicolaevsky and Okhrana collections document the climate of anti-Semitism prevalent in parts of the Russian empire during the 1905 period and afterwards, including newspaper accounts of pogroms and trials of Jewish personalities and reactions to these events in both the European press and the publications of the émigré Russian revolutionary movement. The archives also has a copy of the notorious police forgery, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, that was used to inflame opinion against the Jews in the Russian empire and elsewhere, and is still used in anti-Semitic propaganda today.

Rosa Luxemburg and Leon Trotsky Collections

Anti-Semitism under tsarist rule is one important explanation for the high level of participation of Jews in the Russian revolutionary movement and for the enthusiasm with which the 1917 overthrow of tsarism was greeted by many Jews. In the archives are extensive materials concerning the Russian revolution and European radicalism at the time, including two collections pertaining to Rosa Luxemburg and Leon Trotsky, leading revolutionary personalities who were both Jewish. Luxemburg, who was born in Poland, participated in both the German and Russian revolutionary movements; the Luxemburg-Jacob papers contain a number of letters written by and to her during her imprisonment in Germany. The Trotsky collection contains a significant number of Trotsky's writings, and several other collections possess important materials on Trotsky and Trotskyism, including the Nicolaevsky collection.

The end of tsarism and the breakup of the Russian empire created a new situation for Russian, Baltic, and Polish Jews and the political movements that claimed to represent their interests. The Jewish Bund, which quickly found itself being surpassed on its left by the Bolsheviks and others, was largely unable to create a space for itself in the postrevolutionary period. After 1917, the Bund fragmented, with some joining the

Bolsheviks or the Mensheviks and others opposing the consolidation of a single party dictatorship under Lenin.

In Poland, Lithuania, and Latvia, the Bund continued to play an important role in the political and cultural life of the Jewish communities in these newly independent countries, and their rivalries among Bundists, Zionists, and communists continued. Materials in the Polish Foreign Ministry (Poland. Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych) records document the fate of Bund members in World War II. The Nicolavesky collection contains serial issues and correspondence relating to the Bund after the Russian revolution, including editions of the Bund press in exile in New York from as late as the early 1950s.

Many Jews left the Russian empire in the wake of the 1905 revolution, fleeing political repression and the conscription of young men into the tsarist army. After the 1917 revolution, a different emigration began: Jews seeking to escape civil war and the increasingly authoritarian nature of Bolshevik rule. A significant Russian Jewish diaspora emerged in Europe, North and South America, and China.

Rena Krasno and Sino-Judaica Institute Collections

The archives has a number of collections that attest to the cultural vitality of the Russian Jewish community in Shanghai during this period. The Rena Krasno and the Sino-Judaica Institute collections contain memoirs and photographs relating to the Jewish emigration in China from the 1920s through the 1940s. The Rena Krasno papers also have documents pertaining to the arrival in Shanghai of Polish and other European Jews fleeing the Nazi threat and describing the efforts of the Russian Jewish community in Shanghai to assist the influx of these newer refugees.

In addition to the Russian revolution, 1917 was also the year of the Balfour Declaration, which recognized the right of Jews to create a homeland in what was then the British-controlled mandate of Palestine. Zionist immigrants had settled in Palestine since the turn of the century, bringing them into conflict with both the native Arab population and British colonial authorities. The J. C. Hurewitz collection has documents concerning Jewish immigration in Palestine from the 1930s until the founding of Israel, including materials on different components of the Zionist movement, such as the labor Zionist group Poale Zion, which originated in Russia and sought to achieve a synthesis of socialism and Zionism. In Europe, Zionism had been a largely middle class phenomenon.

With the coming to power of Hitler in Germany in 1933, the situation of Jews in that country began to deteriorate. As the Nazis applied their racial doctrines, the political and civil rights of German Jews were curtailed. Nazi policies met with some resistance, but more often the response of the German population was one of passivity or acquiescence. Many German Jews reacted with disbelief, but others saw the threat to their continued existence in Germany posed by Hitler and his party.

The archives has a rare edition of the Jewish Bible, the Pentateuch, published in Germany in 1933. Selected passages of this edition were printed in red, as if to underline the significance of the words and to emphasize their relevance to the predicament faced by the Jews in Germany at this time. One such highlighted passage, in the Book of Deuteronomy, tells Jews that “thine enemies shall dwindle away before thee.”

Rudolf Franz, Kurt R. Grossmann, and Constantine M. Panunzio Collections

After the *Kristallnacht* pogrom in 1938, however, German Jews began to emigrate in large numbers, seeking refuge in other European countries and those countries outside of Europe that would accept them. Several collections in the archives, including the Kurt R. Grossmann papers and Rudolf Franz collection, document the worsening conditions for German and Austrian Jews at this time. Materials on anti-Semitism in Mussolini's Italy and on the general subject of Italian fascism can be found in the Constantine M. Panunzio papers.

David Diamant and Kurt Werner Schaechter Collections

After the Nazis had conquered much of Western Europe, organized resistance to their rule emerged in a number of countries, including France and Holland. Contrary to popular perceptions of Jewish resignation/passivity, Jews played active roles in this resistance, both as couriers and activists in the underground and as fighters.

The David Diamant collection in the archives contains a number of rare and fugitive publications emanating from the French Resistance, including those produced by Jewish resistance organizations. Among such documents are the April 1943 founding declaration of l'Union de la Jeunesse Juive (Union of Jewish Youth) and issues of *Unzer Vort* (Our Word), a clandestine Yiddish publication that circulated in occupied France. Extensive materials on the French Resistance include the Communist-dominated F.T.P.-M.O.I. (Francs-tireurs et partisans–main-d'œuvre immigrée or Franc-tireurs and Partisans-Immigrant Workers) in which Jewish fighters played an important part. The activities of one F.T.P.-M.O.I. detachment, the so-called Groupe Manouchian, became legendary: 23 members of the group, including 11 Jews, were executed by the Nazis.

The history of the Nazi occupation of France was not only one of resistance, however. The role of the collaborationist Vichy regime in the Holocaust has received much scrutiny in recent decades. The Kurt Werner Schaechter collection in the archives contains extensive documentation on Vichy's part in deporting French and other European Jews to the Nazi death camps of Auschwitz and Dachau.

Karl B. Frank Papers

Resistance to the Nazis took many forms, including helping refugees escape from the German-occupied areas of Europe. One such undertaking, organized by Americans and German exiles, led to the creation in New York in 1940 of the Emergency Rescue Committee. Varian Fry, an American businessman who had witnessed the beatings of

Jews while on a 1935 trip to Germany, became the Emergency Rescue Committee's representative in Marseilles, France. Fry and his colleagues helped many refugees, both Jewish and non-Jewish and including many important cultural figures and scientists, escape occupied France.

Another key instigator of the Emergency Rescue Committee was Karl B. Frank, a German socialist in exile in the United States better known under his pseudonym, Paul Hagen. The Karl B. Frank papers in the archives include Frank's speeches and lectures on the Nazi threat, as well as his correspondence with Fry and other leading figures involved in efforts to aid refugees fleeing the Nazis. Neither Frank nor Fry were Jewish, but their actions demonstrated solidarity with all those whose lives were endangered by the Nazis, including those at greatest risk, the Jews.

The Holocaust

Catastrophe, Memory, and the Historical Record

The Holocaust (Shoah as it is referred to in Hebrew) is the most important and tragic event in modern Jewish history, the dimensions of which are still being felt. Millions of Poles, Russians, Gypsies, and countless others perished as the result of Nazi Germany's campaigns of military conquest, but it does not diminish this human catastrophe to recognize that hatred of the Jews had a special place in Hitlerian ideology. The Nazis aimed at the total destruction of the Jewish population of Western and Eastern Europe.

Raphael Lemkin Mimeograph

The word genocide dates only from 1943. It was devised by Raphael Lemkin, an émigré lawyer of Galician Jewish background who sought a precise term to denote an atrocity on the scale of the Nazi efforts to annihilate the Jews. Lemkin had studied the mass killings of Armenians by Turks as the Ottoman empire collapsed; as World War II unfolded, he sought to warn the world of the lethal consequences of Nazi policy. The archives' Raphael Lemkin mimeograph is his translation of regulations used by German military governments in occupied Europe in the early phase of the war. Lemkin became an advocate for an international treaty against genocide, which was approved by the United Nations in 1948.

Having long recognized the importance of collecting materials that document the Holocaust, the Hoover Library and Archives contain substantial holdings on the subject. In 1980, Hoover curator of the West European Collection, Agnes F. Peterson, compiled an annotated list of archival materials relating to the Holocaust, which has been updated since to reflect more recent acquisitions of such materials. When some wish to deny the Holocaust's ever having taken place, archival documents become ever more important as a means of establishing the historical record.

Donald McClure Papers and Tomas Glanc Collection

Some archival materials relating to the Holocaust include: architectural plans and prisoner lists from the Dachau concentration camp, both donated by Willem Houwink, a former Dachau prisoner; documents pertaining to the Buchenwald concentration camp in the Donald McClure papers; and a firstperson account of the Auschwitz death camp written by Julius Zon, a Polish prisoner. The Thomas Glanc collection contains rare memorabilia pertaining to the Theresienstadt ghetto in Nazi-occupied Czechoslovakia. The Hoover Library and Archives also have a complete set of the records of the international military tribunal established at Nuremberg to judge Nazi war criminals.

Daniel Lerner and William R. Philp Collections

The archives' collections relating to the Nazi Party (under its official name, the Nationalsozialistische deutsche Arbeiter-Partei) and its leaders, Hitler, Himmler, and Göring include the Daniel Lerner collection, which has a large number of German documents captured by the American army at the end of World War II. Among those are ones specifically dealing with Nazi policies toward the Jews. That collection also contains the transcripts of interrogations of German prisoners of war and other materials relating to the rise of nazism in Germany. The William R. Philp collection has similar materials concerning the early growth of the Nazi movement, including documents detailing the attempted assassination of Hitler on July 20, 1944.

Jan Karski Papers

Various aspects of the Holocaust are still subject to historical debate, including the Allied response to news of the existence of death camps such as Auschwitz. Among the first informants about the Nazi genocide was the Polish resistance fighter Jan Karski, who personally briefed Churchill and Roosevelt, giving them reports from Jewish organizations in Poland, as well as his own eyewitness accounts of Nazi atrocities in the Warsaw ghetto. The Jan Karski papers document Karski's trip to the United States in 1943 and contains microfilm copies of Polish underground publications and photographs from the German occupation of Poland. Also in the collection are materials relating to Karski's account of his wartime missions, *Story of the Secret State*.

A number of collections specifically concern the Warsaw ghetto uprising of 1943, when Jews fought back against the German security forces. Documents relating to this rebellion, which was brutally suppressed, can be found in the Polish embassy in Great Britain (Poland. Ambasada (Great Britain)) and Polish Information Ministry (Poland. Ministerstwo Informacji i Dokumentacji) records. The Polish Information Ministry records also include more general accounts of the extermination of Jews in Nazi-occupied Poland.

The Wladyslaw Anders papers contains over 18,000 personal accounts and questionnaires relating to Poles imprisoned and deported during the Soviet occupation of eastern Poland between 1939 and 1941. Among these are numerous testimonies concerning Jewish prisoners and deportees. There are similar personal accounts of life

during the Soviet occupation of Poland and concerning Jews deported by the Soviets in the Polish Information Ministry records.

Ona Simaite Papers

One person who risked her life to help those who were victims of Nazi persecution was Ona Simaite, a Lithuanian woman who used her professional credentials as a librarian to enter the Vilna ghetto and aid Jews trapped there. Simaite, a non-Jew, was eventually arrested by the Germans and sent to the Dachau concentration camp; she survived and settled in France. Before her death in 1970, she was recognized as one of “the righteous among nations” by the Yad Vashem Holocaust museum in Israel. The Ona Simaite papers include her handwritten account of conditions in the Vilna ghetto between 1941 and 1944, as well as materials pertaining to her life in France after the war.

Other accounts in the archives by Holocaust survivors include the unpublished memoirs of Michael Stone, a Latvian Jew who emigrated to the United States after the war. Materials in the Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty broadcast and corporate records deal with responses by Soviet-era writers to the Holocaust, including Yevgeny Yevtushenko's famous poem “Babi Yar,” which directly addresses the massacre of Jews in the Ukraine during the war, and Anatolii Kuznetsov's documentary novel on the same subject. In the Gleb Struve papers are some materials relating to Paul Celan, a poet of Romanian Jewish origin who wrote a celebrated literary response to the Holocaust.

Celan's poem “Todesfuge” (Death fugue) contains the repeated phrase “Death is a master from Germany.” Most historical approaches to the Holocaust have necessarily focused on German responsibility for the atrocities. More recent scholarship on the subject, however, includes an examination of participation in the Holocaust of elements other than German ones, specifically, those local collaborators and allies who abetted the Nazis. Historians in many countries, from West European ones such as France to various East European countries in the post-Soviet period, are seeking to establish a more accurate record of what occurred in German-occupied territories during World War II.

Anti-Jewish violence, including pogroms, also occurred in countries allied with Nazi Germany, not always at the instigation of the Germans. In 1970, the Hoover Press published one of the first English-language books devoted to the subject of the fascist allies of the Nazis in Eastern Europe: *The Green Shirts and the Others: A History of Fascism in Hungary and Romania*, by Nicholas M. Nagy-Talavera, who used the resources of the Hoover Library and Archives.

Several collections relate to Vichy France and its officials, many of whom sought to exculpate themselves after the war for their role as collaborators. In the Gaston Bergery, René de Chambrun, Marcel Déat, and Georges Albertini collections are examples both of self-justifying writings and objective information concerning Vichy policies toward the Jews.

Pierre Gamburg Papers

An altogether different perspective on the French experience in World War II is provided by the Pierre Gamburg papers, which consist mostly of his diaries. Gamburg, a French lieutenant and a Jew, was held in German prison camps between 1940 and 1945. As a prisoner of war, Gamburg was protected by the Geneva conventions and was largely unaware of the fate of European Jews, although he became increasingly concerned about the fate of his family in France as time went on. Gamburg's diaries provide poignant details concerning the conditions he endured during his captivity and record the attitudes exhibited by imprisoned French officers toward the Jews in their ranks, who were held on a separate prison floor. Thanks to the generous support of Françoise Gamburg Fleishhacker, a transcription of the French original and an English translation of the diaries were made available in 2004.

Certain collections in the archives specifically concern contemporary scholarship on the Holocaust. The *Holokausta Izpetes Problemas Latvija* proceedings contain materials from a Holocaust conference in Riga, Latvia, in 2000, including conference papers, videotape recordings of conference sessions, and local press coverage. There is also a textbook used in the curriculum of Latvian public schools to teach about the Holocaust, including events that took place in Latvia under German occupation. In addition to the Riga conference, the archives also has two collections pertaining to earlier academic conferences on the Holocaust, one at Harvard University in 1988 and another at San Jose State University in 1977.

The question of accountability for the Holocaust began with the end of World War II and it may never be fully adjudicated, in either a legal or moral sense. There is, however, a historical record of instances in which Nazi officials were brought to justice. In addition to the Nuremberg trial materials mentioned previously, the archives has sound recordings of excerpts of Adolf Eichmann's trial in Israel in 1961. This trial attracted international attention, and it was also the subject of *Eichmann in Jerusalem* by Hannah Arendt, a refugee herself from Nazi Germany. In her book, Arendt advanced the thesis of "the banality of evil" to describe how seemingly ordinary people could allow themselves to become participants in, or accessories to, mass murder.

Eric Voegelin Papers

Arendt enjoyed a long career as a public intellectual in the United States and Europe, with her scholarly concerns often focusing on political violence in the twentieth century. Her early work *The Origins of Totalitarianism* sought to describe Stalinism and nazism as twin phenomena, different in crucial respects but similar in others. The Eric Voegelin papers include that philosopher's correspondence with Arendt. The Sidney Hook papers contain Hook's correspondence with, and his writings about, Arendt. A friendly exchange of letters between Arendt and Eric Hoffer is in the Hoffer papers.

Jewish Intellectuals in the United States

Left, Right, and Centrist

Hannah Arendt was only one of many Jewish intellectuals—artists, writers, philosophers, and numerous scientists, the most famous of whom was Albert Einstein, the leading theorist of modern physics—who came to the United States in flight from Hitler and the Nazis. Einstein helped initiate the Manhattan Project, which led to the creation of the first atomic bomb; after World War II, he became a prominent advocate for peace and nuclear disarmament.

Sidney Hook Papers

The Sidney Hook papers include Hook's correspondence with Einstein from 1937 until 1952, covering subjects ranging from politics to education. Also in his collection are writings by Hook about aspects of Einstein's life and work. Additional materials about Einstein, including correspondence and writings by and about Einstein, can be found in the Karl Popper papers.

The archives has several collections of Jewish American writers and political activists, especially those who are often referred to as "the New York Intellectuals," a broad term that encompasses a group of individuals prominent in American cultural life in the mid-twentieth century, many of whom were Jewish. The term has often been used specifically to describe those who had been youthful radicals in New York in the Depression era, often participating in the international communist movement, but as anti-Stalinists sympathetic to the positions of Leon Trotsky or other figures in the opposition to Stalin. Frequently, these same intellectuals, although not all, adopted more conservative positions in later years.

Sidney Hook was one such New York intellectual of Jewish background. Starting out as a Marx scholar, he ended up as a vigorous opponent of communism, and was an animator of the Congress on Cultural Freedom, which played an important role in the cultural politics of the cold war. The Sidney Hook papers include Hook's writings on a large variety of topics, including those related to his early interest in Marxist philosophy.

Jay Lovestone, Herbert Solow, and Bertram D. Wolfe Papers

The archives' collections pertaining to figures among the New York intellectuals include such Jewish American personalities as Jay Lovestone, Herbert Solow, and Bertram Wolfe.

Wolfe wrote one of the first English-language histories of the Russian Revolution, *Three Who Made a Revolution*, and he and his wife Ella had personal experience of the Soviet Union in the early years of Stalin's rule. Later, the Wolfes spent time in Mexico, where they became acquainted with Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo, who was of German Jewish descent on her father's side. Significant materials relating to Rivera and Kahlo are in the Wolfe papers.

The Herbert Solow papers include his extensive correspondence series, as well as speeches and writings from both his radical period and his later career as an editor of

Fortune magazine. In his early writings, Solow was a left-wing critic of Zionism, having visited Palestine in the 1930s; in his later years, he became firmly pro-Israeli.

The career of Jay Lovestone differs from those of other New York Jewish intellectuals in that much of it was conducted outside the public limelight. Having been in the leadership of the early Communist Party U.S.A., Lovestone abandoned leftist politics in the early 1940s, when he began to work on behalf of the American Federation of Labor, becoming its foreign policy expert. For nearly four decades, beginning at the height of the cold war, Lovestone took part in many American-financed initiatives in Europe, Africa, and Latin America, seeking to expand U.S. influence and to bolster anticommunist forces, especially among trade unions in those parts of the world. The large Lovestone papers are an important documentary source for researchers interested in the cold war politics of American labor and in Lovestone himself.

The increasing conservatism of a number of prominent Jewish American intellectuals is at the heart of today's "neo-conservative" movement in U.S. politics and foreign policy. Characterized by a strong attachment to Israel, and a belief in a strong U.S. military posture in the world, neo-conservatives came to the fore in Ronald Reagan's administration and achieved renewed prominence in the administration of George W. Bush. The Sidney Hook papers contain his correspondence with a number of individuals who helped develop a neo-conservative current in American politics, among them Nathan Glazer, Irving Kristol, Midge Decter, and Norman Podhoretz.

Other Jewish American intellectuals did not make such dramatic shifts from the political left to the right or were never on the left to begin with. Left-wing Jewish American intellectuals are represented in various collections, including those pertaining to the Trotskyist movement (Socialist Workers Party records, Library of Social History collection) and the new left in general (New Left collection). Leftist Jewish Americans opposed the Vietnam War and, in many instances, also took a critical view of Israeli policies after 1967. Attitudes toward Israel and Zionism were to become an important dividing line among Jewish intellectuals in the United States and elsewhere.

Israel

Pro and Con

The most important political development for the Jewish people after World War II was the proclamation of the state of Israel in 1948. Zionist migration to the Jewish holy land had been going on for decades, but the Holocaust accelerated the process, bringing large numbers of Jewish refugees from Nazi-occupied Europe to what was then the British mandate of Palestine.

Before World War II, Zionism had never been the dominant movement among European and Russian Jews, but for many Jews the Holocaust vindicated the idea of founding a Jewish state as both a refuge and a political expression of Jewish identity. Jewish opinion remained divided over the nature of Zionism, but for a majority, Israel became a symbol

of hope and Jewish renewal, one deserving financial and political support. For a minority, Israel seemed to be either a country condemned to perpetual conflict with its Arab neighbors or the embodiment of an anachronistic Jewish nationalism running counter to assimilationist trends in the United States and Europe.

J. C. Hurewitz Collection

The J. C. Hurewitz collection has important materials on the early phase of the Zionist immigration to Palestine, including the various political tendencies within the Zionist movement itself. Some publications in the collection pertain to Zionist labor organizations such as the Histadrut, Habonim, and Poale Zion, which were explicitly socialist in their orientation. The Wladyslaw Anders papers, which deal with Polish military forces under Anders's command during World War II, also has a number of documents relating to conditions in Palestine before the creation of Israel (there is even an account of a ca. 1943 visit to a kibbutz).

Materials in the Hurewitz collection also concern the extreme right wing of the Zionist movement, the followers of Vladimir (Zeev) Jabotinsky's brand of so-called Revisionist Zionism. In Palestine, the right-wing Zionists had both a political organization, the Herut, and an armed underground, the Irgun Zvai Leumi, whose most famous member was Menachem Begin, a future prime minister of Israel. The Irgun fought against British rule in Palestine and against the native Palestinian Arabs who opposed the creation of Israel, acquiring a controversial reputation in the process. Materials by and about the Irgun Zvai Leumi and another armed rightwing Zionist organization, the Stern gang, are in the Hurewitz collection.

Other documents in the Hurewitz collection provide an Arab perspective on the creation of Israel, including publications from pro-Arab organizations in the United States. In these writings, the creation of Israel is viewed as a process entailing the dispossession and expulsion of the Palestinian Arab population.

The declaration of Israeli independence was followed by the 1948 Israeli-Arab war; both the Jack M. Seymour and Howard Everard Koch collections contain materials concerning this conflict. There are also archival materials relating to the Suez Crisis of 1954, when France, Britain, and Israel invaded Egypt, including examples of speeches by Gamel Abdel Nasser, the then Egyptian leader.

A number of archival collections contain materials on the 1967 Israeli-Arab war, among them the Christopher Temple Emmet Jr. papers. The Israeli bombing of the American naval vessel *Liberty* is the subject of several collections in the archives, including the U.S.S. *Liberty* Veterans Association collection. Speculation among historians continues as to the exact circumstances surrounding this event.

Friedrich von Hayek and Milton Friedman Papers

Following the 1967 Israeli-Arab war, and the resulting occupation by Israel of the West Bank and Gaza, debates about Israeli policy began that continue to this day. Both Jewish and non-Jewish writers have expressed a wide range of opinions on the Middle East conflict and its possible resolution. The Austrian economist and philosopher Friedrich von Hayek, a non-Jew, corresponded with Menachem Begin, then prime minister of Israel, to propose that Jerusalem be given an international status in any peace settlement. Their exchange of views is contained in the correspondence series of the Hayek papers and increment. Materials relating to Israel and its economy are also in the Milton Friedman papers. The Middle East conflict was the subject of a number of television programs in William F. Buckley's *Firing Line* series, and these are contained in the *Firing Line* broadcast records.

Eric Hoffer Papers

The state of Israel has had numerous defenders in the United States and elsewhere, by no means all of them Jewish. For example, the noted American social philosopher Eric Hoffer was a strong advocate of Israel and wrote several widely reprinted pieces on the topic, copies of which are in the Hoffer papers. There are also collections pertaining to pro-Israeli politicians, including that of Samuel I. Hayakawa, which contains Israel-related materials dating from Hayakawa's service on the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The archives has a number of collections that present alternative viewpoints on Israeli policies, especially regarding the Palestinians. In addition to the Alfred M. Lilienthal papers, which are mainly concerned with opinion in Arab countries, several small collections pertain to the Palestine Liberation Organization. Also in the archives are papers of U.S. politicians, such as Paul N. "Pete" McCloskey and Paul Findley, who were critical of American support for Israel.

Conclusion

The diversity of Jewish experience has encompassed many currents and tendencies and many ways of being Jewish in the world. For instance, the large cultural difference between Ashkenazic and Sephardic Jews underscores the heterogeneous nature of Jewish history. Other significant dividing lines within that history are: between secular and religious notions of Jewish identity, between assimilation and separatism, and between tradition and modernity.

Jews have always viewed themselves as the "people of the Book," specifically referring to the Torah, and to Talmudic study, but also more generally to the importance of literacy and recorded memory in Jewish culture. As a consequence, Jews have produced an enormous intellectual output, constituting an extensive account of themselves and their history. Jewish scholarship has had an impact on many fields, not least on the subject of how Jewish identities have been constructed, both historically and in the modern era.

In recent years, American universities, including Stanford, have established departments and programs of Jewish studies to acknowledge that an identifiably Jewish culture and history can be the subject of both scholarly investigation and an academic curriculum. Despite the ancient roots of many Jewish traditions, the field of Jewish studies is relatively new, and its parameters have yet to be precisely defined. Undoubtedly, the materials found in the Hoover Institution Library and Archives will provide some of the necessary documentation for research in this field.

With Jewish diversity has come a variety of approaches to understanding that history, ranging from chronological accounts of communities within the Jewish diaspora to broad comparative studies of major events in Jewish history. Recently, for example, the Holocaust has been analyzed by historians in relation to other examples of genocide and mass political violence, from the Stalinist gulag to ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia. Such comparisons have not diminished the Holocaust's horror as an event of unparalleled and systematic violence against the Jewish people, but have helped to deepen an understanding of the roots and impact of this tragedy.

Archival records can be used for many purposes, including the ones outlined above. What is important is that they are maintained, and augmented, in a continuing process of collecting original writings, artifacts, images, and fugitive materials that may otherwise disappear from the historical record. Acquiring such documents and making them available for research are the primary missions of the Hoover Institution Library and Archives, which depend primarily on the generosity of donors to increase their holdings, including materials on modern Jewish culture and history.

List of Collections

Anders (Wladyslaw) papers

Brickman (William W.) papers

Carlisle (Olga Andreyev) papers

Chodakiewicz (Marek Jan) papers

Diamant (David) collection

Emmet (Christopher Temple) papers

Erman (Irma C.) papers

Fait (Margaret Eleanor) papers

Frank (Karl Boromaüs) papers

Frank (Ludwig E.) papers

Franz (Rudolf) collection

Friedman (Milton) papers

Gaffney (Thomas St. John) papers

Gamburg (Pierre) diaries

Grossman (Kurt R.) papers

Hayek (Friedrich A. von) papers

Hoffer (Eric) papers

Holocaust and the media conference proceedings

Holokausta izpetes problemas Latvija conference proceedings

Holtzman (Irwin T. and Shirley) collection

Hook (Sidney) papers

Hurewitz (J. C.) collection

International Rescue Committee records

Karski (Jan) papers

Katz (Friedrich) collection

Krasno (Rena) papers

Landauer (Carl) papers

Larsons (M. J.) papers

Lemkin (Raphael) mimeograph

Lerner (Daniel) collection

Levaco (Benjamin Michael) papers

Lilienthal (Alfred M.) papers

Lipset (Seymour Martin) papers (collection closed)

Lovestone (Jay) papers

Luxemburg-Jacob papers

McClure (Donald) papers

Nicolaevsky (Boris I.) collection

Nissim (Matook Raymond) papers

Panunzio (Constantine M.) papers

Pasternak family papers

Poland. Ambasada (Great Britain) records

Register of the Poland. Ministerstwo Informacji i Dokumentacji records

Polish Information Center (New York , N.Y.) records

Popper (Sir Karl Raimund) papers and incremental material

Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty broadcast records and corporate records

Rogger (Hans) papers

Rothschild (Lothar) papers

Russia Departament politsii Zagranichnaia agentura (Paris) collection

San José Conferences on the Holocaust proceedings

Schaechter (Kurt Werner) collection

Scientists for Sakharov, Orlov and Shcharansky records

Simaite (Ona) papers

Siniavskii (Andrei) papers

Sino-Judaic Institute collection

Solow (Herbert) papers

Stone (Michael) typescript

Struve (Gleb) papers

Thompson (Dorothy) miscellaneous papers

Trotsky (Leon) collection

Voegelin (Eric) papers

Volkov (Leon) papers

Vulfsons (Mavriks) papers

Wallenstein (Gerd D.) papers

Wisniewski (Tomasz) photograph collection

Wolfe (Bertram David) papers

Wood (E. Thomas) papers

-David Jacobs, Hoover Institution Archives, ca. 2006