2022-03-14

Righteous: What Holocaust Rescuers Can Teach Us About a More Altruistic Society

Jill Bodnar

Righteous: What Holocaust Rescuers Can Teach Us About a More Altruistic Society

MFA Capstone Project

https://jillgrecobodnar.com/mfa-project-index

Jill Bodnar

Duquesne University

December 13, 2021

Contents

Chapter 1: The Train to Perugia

"I failed."

There is little despondence that takes the human spirit lower than feeling that one has failed, whether themselves or others. I was in central Italy on the regional border of Tuscany and Umbria, sitting alone on a commuter train for the 30-minute return trip from Terontola back to Perugia. Staring out at the vastness of Lake Trasimeno through the train's smudged window, I was numb. Disappointed in myself. Defeated. The late October sun reflected brilliantly on the lake and my mind drifted off. I remembered reading that in 217 B.C., Hannibal and his army of 40,000 men ambushed the formidable Roman army at this very spot, killing 15,000 soldiers. Many of the men died from drowning in their heavy armor, the viciousness of their attackers, or both. I was distracting myself, trying to forget what just happened the past few hours. It was so fast, and now it was over. A golden opportunity fell into my lap less than 48 hours ago. Now it was over, and I felt like a failure because I had nothing to show for it. I was leaving Perugia the next day so there was no second chance. My dream to carry on a hero's fading story from World War II felt as gray and worn as the dusty old window separating me from the sunshine outside.

It was 2016, and I was studying Italian for a month at a university in the medieval hill town of Perugia. The past few years in Seattle, I had been taking a language class once a week after work with mediocre success stumbling through new vowel sounds and tongue-rolling syllables. Arriving at 5 p.m. each Wednesday evening, my mind was often already at full capacity from my government job planning for and responding to oil spills. The challenge of remembering grammar and vocabulary lessons from week to week did not leave me with a profound literacy of Italian, but the passion was there. My teacher recognized that desire. She suggested I apply for a month-long scholarship to study Italian at a language school in Perugia, Italy, through our Seattle-Perugia Sister City Association. I applied and was thrilled to be awarded one of the spots. An immense

rush of gratitude prevailed as I realized that a dream to immerse in Italian culture could come true. This short sabbatical would mean an entire month without distractions where my only job was to learn Italian.

One of the other reasons that I wanted to explore this particular area was because it was like a living museum to a remarkable story from World War II of the champion cyclist and secretive Holocaust rescuer, Gino Bartali. He had died in 2000 at 85 years, but the sound of his name still warrants hushed reverence in his native Italy: Bartali *L'Eroe* – The Hero. Bartali *Il Pio* – The Pious. Bartali *Il Campione* – The Champion. Bartali who helped save 800 Jews during the Holocaust riding his bicycle stuffed with fake identity documents on secret missions for the Italian resistance. I had heard whisperings of this story long after his death when the English-language press picked it up in the early 2010s. They left me curious, "How could a man contest against the Nazis….and essentially win….saving hundreds of people from the Holocaust…using only his bicycle and hiding documents in its frame?" I thought of my own bike frame and the hollow tubing below the saddle with traces of grit and grease and I wondered how it could possibly store such delicate papers. The story seemed unworldly, and it partially was because I had never been to Europe. This man, Gino Bartali, was a mythical legend in a mythical land. Yet I could not stop thinking about the idea that good could fight evil using non-violence, on a bicycle no less, in the ultimate theater of the Second World War.

My grandfather and great uncle were of Italian descent and had served with the U.S. Army in France.. They returned to their lives and back into their mothers' arms in the small steel mill town of Monessen, Pennsylvania, along the banks of the Monongahela River south of Pittsburgh. They raised their families and never spoke about what they experienced in the war. To me, their lifespan was limited to my own and their history was only as far back as the last raucous Steelers game.

There are glimpses of my grandfather and great uncle's war time efforts passed down through retelling of stories from those still around who know them. Most of the memories are interpreted from the aging black and white photos of them posing in their military uniforms. During the war, my great aunt kept a photo album constructed of black paper pages bound with string. The stiff, delicate pages are now a time capsule pasted with yellowed newspaper clippings of other Monessen and "Mon Valley" servicemen. The pages are carefully arranged with the original small, square Kodak Brownie photos of her husband and my grandfather posing with their mothers as they prepared to leave for basic training. Other photos taken by the Army show them smiling and posing at their base in France. My great aunt carefully wrote notations in blue pen on the photos if she knew where and when they were taken. They show her men with faces as charming as when she last saw them, but nothing of what they saw when the camera wasn't focused or when their eyes closed to sleep. Years after they had passed on, I was astonished to learn at one family gathering that my parents' basement is the current archive to a full-size Nazi flag and wooden box full of Nazi soldier pins and badges my grandfather brought back from France as souvenirs. Nestled in the same box is a guide for the soldiers while on holiday in Nice. I like to think that at some point after Germany's surrender they were able to let loose and enjoy the French Riviera.

Like my grandfather, Gino Bartali never talked about the war. And so, like many tales from this era, Bartali's story is not well known beyond his native country's shores. Voices from this generation are not so loud anymore in our world filled with constant noise competing for our attention. I felt duty bound to find my own version of the story and add to the account during my month in Perugia. The 2012 book, *Road to Valor*, was the first English-speaking book that uncovered the secrets of Bartali's past. Part investigative journalism, part biography, the authors worked for 10 years researching new information about the cycling champion's life to paint the story in riveting detail. I referenced it as canon and used it as a guidebook during my travels. I

imagined the book's cast of characters from the Assisi Network and studied maps to figure out where they lived in pockets of Umbria and Tuscany during the war. I planned out my own sort of reenactment of Bartali's past. After class and on the weekends, I would venture out on my bike into the Umbrian countryside looking for traces of Bartali, for a section of the farm road he may have ridden, chasing his ghost from over 70 years ago. I rode across the valley to the hill town of Assisi and up the same narrow cobble streets to the immense basilica of Saint Francis, its cloisters built like a fortification into the hillside in 1253, yet its inner walls decorated with the bright golds and blues of Giotto's frescos. I hiked through an olive grove under a hot October sun, down to the monastery of San Damiano to glimpse shadows of Bartali as he picked up forged identification papers with Father Rufino Niccacci. I stumbled over words at a local café, asking the owner if they knew of someone who could show me vestiges of Bartali in this town that was so central to his mission. I peered through the gates of the cloistered San Quirico convent where Mother Superior Giuseppina Biviglia hid Jews and was handed fake identification documents from the tanned and muscular Tuscan. I hid from a rainstorm in the doorway of Saint Clare's basilica staring across the piazza for a sign of which storefront hid the secret Brizi family printing press that long ago made crucial fake identification papers for the underground.

But more often than not, I cried under the weight of my own expectations to be allowed to insert myself into this story, at the frustration of not knowing the language, endlessly tossing in a bad dream where I was set on mute, unable to shout out my desire to revive these voices from the past. I cried trying to explain, in stilted Italian, who I was and why I was there as my identity dissipated into irrelevancy in this culture that was not mine. I cried because I assumed what they saw in me was a silly American woman riding a bike on her own in Italy, when they couldn't understand I was passionately pursuing a legend from so long ago.

When venturing away from the known tourist enclaves and into the real heart of Italy, the reward is discovering how generous its people are. Some think it's a continuation of a culture that believed in the importance of taking care of strangers during World War II. When word got around the sister-city community that I was interested in learning more about Bartali, I was encouraged to talk with Daniela Borghesi of Perugia's Office of International Relations. Working in the mayor's office, she has been integral to coordinating the Perugia sister-city relationships around the world and was known for often doing the work of three people. We were finally able to meet during my last week in Perugia. Just as I'd been told, she was an impressive woman of action who made the impossible materialize. In the matter of a few hours, she had made some calls to the nearby village of Terontola and, as luck would have it, connected me with Bartali's former bike mechanic, Ivo Faltoni, who still lived there and was an ardent Bartali storyteller. He and a small entourage would be happy to meet me the next day. *"And they do not speak English,"* she reminded me. I had no time to prepare. As I left her office, Daniela waved off my dread that I could barely speak the language and wished me good luck. I wanted more than anything to bottle up this amazing woman's confidence and charisma and take it with me.

That night on the floor of my apartment in a medieval building in Perugia's old town center, I laid out all my maps, photos, and books that had led me to this point hoping they would coach me through the next day. I visualized that the language would flow from my mouth with ease and I would immediately connect with these voices from the past. I figured out how to record on my iPhone and hoped for the best. My stomach was knotted and I slept fitfully. Shyness and introverted tendencies were not an option. Waking up, my brain was heavy and fuzzy, even with the extra coffee. My years of bike racing had taught me enough to know that the body and mind could push through great achievements even with little sleep, so I buckled up my resolve and packed my bag.

Preparing to catch the morning train, I took a few deep breaths, pulled on my vintage leather jacket to wrap a barrier against my insecurities, and stepped out the door to begin my journey.

The Terontola-Cortona train station is in the southeastern corner of Tuscany at the edge of a flat, dry valley. To the west are the famous vineyards and hills of Chianti, and to the east are the foothills of the Umbrian Apennine mountains. There are only four platforms, and arriving passengers descend below them through a tunnel connecting to the main building. As they walk past the café, they see on the wall a bronze bust of Bartali mounted on a large slab of pale grey marble. Its inscription, in Italian, reads:

> *"Here Gino Bartali, great cycling champion, stopped many times while training on the way from Florence to Assisi, in the years 1943-1944 to help men who were victims of racist and ideological persecution during the Second World War."*

The plaque marks the location where the champion would use his fame to distract the Nazis while Jews would use those precious minutes as a clear path to grab their new documents and jump onto a train headed to Allied territory.

That is where Ivo met me with his camel-colored wool sport coat and cap and unmistakable face tanned by a life in the Tuscan sun. We were joined by his friend and fellow journalist, Claudio Lucheroni. Without pause we walked through the small train station's doors and off on my tour. Right away my fears were confirmed as he proceeded to narrate our tour barely stopping for a breath. My comprehension of Ivo's Italian was so elementary that within minutes I knew that I was already failing to do my time with him any justice. He led me from his office, bike shop, and home; he cheerfully chatted nonstop for over an hour. I prayed he was oblivious that I understood nothing. I followed him like a puppy with no idea if he was describing his breakfast or some hidden clue to Bartali's spirit. He was sharply dressed, charismatic and generous, well organized, and obviously excited to have another visitor – an American woman no less - interested in Bartali. He

xeroxed newspaper clippings, showed me vintage race bikes lined along the wall of an attic, and filled my arms with gifts and more books to read while I stood tongue-tied, too nervous to ask questions that had weighed on my mind for years: *"At the end of his life how did Bartali feel about his legacy? What did it mean for his bike to be a tool of non-violence against the Nazis?"* and most of all for me, *"What would he say to people now as they face fear and struggle to find the good in our world?"*

Reality was that my month in Perugia had not transformed me into a talented, multilingual journalist. The opportunity of a lifetime was literally standing by my side and I saw it as a failure, that I had let down the thousands of brave voices from World War II whose numbers were thinning as time marched on. I had initially balked at meeting Ivo, hoping I could return in a year better prepared, but Daniella said of Ivo, *"He's in his 80s now so there may not be another time."*

There was never another time with Ivo. A few days later I was back in Seattle unpacking my suitcase and bags. I sighed heavily at his thoughtfully xeroxed papers and books and stored them away in a large envelope, my life taken over by more pressing matters back in the real world. Over three years later on February 10, 2020, I learned on social media of Ivo's passing and felt struck in the chest. This passionate voice of Bartali and his brave generation who risked their lives to save strangers during the Holocaust was no more. I also realized that I did not fail on that October afternoon near Lake Trasimeno. It took a few years to revisit the special moment that Ivo had given me, even if I did not fully understand at the time. The sharing of an important story, no matter when, is never a failure as long as it eventually begins.

Chapter 2: A Volatile Climate, Then and Now

Background on WWII

Nazi Germany in the 1930s leveraged centuries of existing antisemitism to cultivate an irrepressible climate of discrimination and hate against Jews. Their government-led, nationalist propaganda disguised these measures as protection for German families and their racially pure heritage. Jews were wrongly targeted as people who, left unchecked, would control Germany's economy and compromise the safety of their homeland (Friedberg, Erbelding, & Kelly, 2021).

In 1933 once Hitler had been elected chancellor to lead the Nazi Party, discriminatory rules were enacted against Jews. These included tactics such as preventing Jewish children and young adults from attending schools and universities, and boycotting Jewish-owned businesses. The Nazis exercised humiliation and dehumanization regularly in an attempt to devalue Jews as people, which fed the mob mentality of antisemitism. Jews were excised from their successful lives as doctors, lawyers, educators, and musicians, or from their simple, happy lives as homemakers and shop owners, stations in life no different from working class people of other nationalities or religions. Their communities of other parents and play yard friends were ripped away leaving them shell-shocked at the changes in their once normal world. In 1935 these discriminatory ideologies were further defined and passed as the Nuremberg Laws and made into a political reality. Jews not following these racial laws in Germany were immediately arrested and sent to a concentration camp. Germans showing sympathy for Jews could be declared insane by psychiatrists and also sent to concentration camps (Fogelman, 1994).

Hitler's power grab progressed across Europe as his Nazi Party collected political collaborators and occupied weaker governments to reconstruct the landscape into a Third Reich domination. This new ruling power implemented the German racial laws in every country under their control. Across Europe, Jews met expulsion from the life and rich culture they had known

for almost 1,000 years as their governments rounded them up into crowded city ghettos, labor camps, and inevitably to their deaths (Batalion & Walker, 2021).

Italy Background

Italy was being ruled by another fascist dictator, Benito Mussolini, who came to power after World War I. He promised a strong, powerful Italy in the wake of WWI, and the nationalists eagerly lined up behind him to literally take over the government in Rome and abolish its parliament in 1922. Proclaimed as "il Duce" (the leader), his methods for obtaining government power were said to be an inspiration to Hitler (Holocaust Encyclopedia, 2021). In 1939, Mussolini and Hitler formed a military and economic alliance, with Italy primed as the Axis power to take control of the Mediterranean region and forge a second Roman Empire.

Like Hitler with the Germans, Mussolini saw Italians as part of the superior race. It was a source of pride for the fascists to present Italian men as "beautiful, healthy, and great athletes." (Jacoby, 2014). This was not, however, what the most famous cyclist in the world and noted anti-fascist had in mind. If anything, Bartali was an athlete devoted to God and Catholic leaders presented him as an alternative to the fascist culture of "violence and machismo" (McConnon & McConnon, 2012). At the 1938 Tour de France, Bartali was under immense pressure from the Italian leaders to win and prove their racist agenda. He did win the grueling three-week race, but at the finish line in Paris in front of his adoring fans and the press, he declined any adulation to the Italian regime. The reticent Bartali "mumbled" an apolitical statement, which was a statement in of itself. The next day he visited a church in Paris dressed in his best suit and laid his Tour de France bouquet of flowers at the feet of the Virgin Mary in what was seen as a gesture of thanks to the Madonna for his win (McConnon & McConnon, 2012).

Despite the fascist stronghold of the government and its citizens, Italy's attitude toward Jews before 1943 was exceptionally open and accepting. In 1933 there were approximately 50,000 Italian Jews and they were considered fully assimilated into the Italian culture and society. The

antisemitic laws adopted by the Italian fascists in 1938, such as barring Jews from many jobs and jailing foreign Jews, were rarely enforced by local authorities who were accustomed to looking the other way (Holocaust Encyclopedia, 2021).

As the German racial laws became more enforced in other countries in the late 1930s and early 1940s, foreign Jews discovered they could enter Italy on a tourist visa and find a rare haven of acceptance. Somewhat paradoxically, the fascist government readily accepted foreign Jews. Historians believe that Mussolini did not want to "damage Italy's international image" or potentially receive backlash with the millions of Italians living abroad. They also believe that foreign Jews were seen as a much-needed injection in the national economy (Primo Levi Center). The DELASEM (Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants) Jewish refugee relief agency in Genoa became well known across Europe for helping Jewish refugees. After they arrived, foreign Jews were sent to one of the many internment camps throughout Italy that DELASEM supported. These were more like small villages where families could live as normal a life as possible together, with regular meals, schools, and synagogues.

Italy formally entered the war with Germany in 1940 by declaring war against England and France, and invading Greece and Egypt to begin laying claim to the Mediterranean. Bartali was enlisted in the Italian army in 1940, but a medical condition prevented him from active duty and he was assigned as a courier at a military airfield on Lake Trasimeno and allowed to continue racing and training (Holocaust Encyclopedia). In September 1943, however, everything changed. The Allies finally took control of southern Italy and Mussolini was removed from power. The Germans were not ready to lose this strategic peninsula and countered by retrieving Mussolini from his jail cell and fully occupying major cities in the north such as Rome, Florence, and Milan. Italy was split into the occupied Italian Social Republic north of Salerno, and the Allied territory to the south.

This occupation by Germany meant immediate deportation of all Jews. While they had hidden in relative safety in the country, mountains, and camps, now there were ghetto round ups and trains with one-way path to Poland extermination camps. Noted writer and Holocaust survivor, Primo Levi, had been captured and taken to an internment camp near Modena, but when it was taken over by the Nazis, he and the others were transported to Auschwitz. Out of 650 Italian Jews from this camp, only 20 of them survived (Primo Levi Center). The DELASEM and its supporters went underground in desperate attempts to help the thousands of Jews who were hiding in Italy. The action necessary to protect and save the Jews went into effect immediately.

Netherlands Background

The entire eastern border of The Netherlands is shared with Germany and the Nazis wanted to annex a population they considered their "Aryan brothers" (Strobos, 1988) and bring them back to their "kindred Germanic tribe." The Dutch government tried to negotiate changing from a neutral country to an independent Nazi state, but Hitler wanted them under the Reich as quickly as possible (Paldiel, 1993). In May 1940, the small coastal country was invaded by the German military. The Dutch military's aging artillery left it out-classed. On the fourth day, German bombs dropped on Rotterdam, destroying the city and leaving 80,000 people homeless. The Dutch surrendered in five days and their leaders went into exile in London.

In other countries invaded by Germany, such as France and Denmark, a military-led government was set up with German military leaders. It was common knowledge that they did not always rule with such authority as Nazi Gestapo commanders in an installed civil government. Unfortunately, The Netherlands had this new civil government led by ruthless Nazi leaders devoted to Hitler and ready to implement his agenda. There was no hesitation enacting Hitler's racial laws and there were ample Dutch civil servants and citizens willing to cooperate (Paldiel, 1993).

Tina Strobos of Amsterdam was 19 years old when she joined the Dutch Resistance. In her testimony, she remembers that the Nazis at first tried to win her country's trust, but over time they slowly began to reveal their ruthlessness. Jews were required to register, and some were sent to forced labor camps or gathered into ghettos. By the fall of 1942 they were required to wear yellow "Jewish Stars" to segregate them from the non-Jewish Dutch citizens. There were curfews and raids, and Jews were being shot in the streets. Nazis stood on rooftops surrounded by barbed wire and with machine guns pointed below looking for anyone to shoot. Strobos was left stunned by "the effort and time and manpower these Gestapos employed to catch Jews" (Strobos, 1992). The dense urban areas were rife with Nazi collaborators, and they thought nothing of sending thousands of troops to small villages to arrest or kill Jews. The North Sea to the west and Germany to the east made escape nearly impossible.

> "The craziness started right the first day. When you say, 'How did our lives change?' It changed overnight. I remember waking up from the sound of airplanes, and the telephone rang at 5:30, 6:00 in the morning, and my aunt said, 'Don't be upset,but the war has started.' And that's how it changed…Rotterdam was bombed, and 5 days later we surrendered, and the suicides began. We had many Jewish friends, and many suicided and many started going hiding because they thought that was necessary." (Strobos, 1992)

Jews had lived in The Netherlands for centuries. They found a Dutch tradition for tolerance and little antisemitism that allowed for generations of families to assimilate easily into the population (Paldiel, 1993). However, there was a Dutch right-wing movement that began aligning with Hitler's racist agenda in the 1930s and resented the influx of Jewish refugees from other countries. When the Nazi occupation was in full swing, the Netherlands was full of collaborators. Special police units were formed by the Nazis to hunt for Jews, resistance workers, and rescuers, filling their days with terror (Paldiel, 1993). Jews tried to row to England or kill themselves. The

person next door thought nothing of betraying his or her neighbors merely by noticing an increase in the amount of garbage being thrown out (Fogelman, 1994).

The Netherlands' geography is mostly flat with vast open fields for agriculture. There were no mountains or dense forests for Jews or partisans to hide like they would in most other European countries. To the west likes the North Sea, and their other borders were Germany and occupied Belgium (Fogelman, 1994). Anyone trying to escape was trapped by the geography of their surroundings.

At the beginning of the war, there were approximately 140,000 Jews in the Netherlands, half who lived in Amsterdam. When the deportations began in summer 1942, many registered Jews embarking for the Westerbork transit camp believed they would be sent to a labor camp in Germany or Poland with their family, and that this was a better option than trying to hide and split up. Strobos said that as connected as they were in the underground, no one knew how bad it was for the Jews once they left Westerbork. They assumed Jews were treated badly in labor camps and never seen again, but they only learned of the gas chambers after the war. Over 107,000 (75%) of 140,000 Dutch Jews were sent through Westerbork to Auschwitz or Sobibor camps never to survive (Holocaust Encyclopedia, 2021).

Denmark Background

Like The Netherlands, Denmark was also occupied by Germany in the spring of 1940, but it was a far different situation. The Danes were allowed to maintain their own government and police forces because Germany wanted to keep good relations with their "fellow Aryans" to obtain food from their farms and use their ports for transportation of wartime materials. They never went to war, and this came to the Danes' advantage later.

> "We didn't like to be occupied. In fact, we never cared much for Germany under the Nazi and it's a historical fact that Denmark had been invaded by Germans in history many, many

times, so we didn't have any great love for the Germans. Not even before they became Nazis." (Dyby, 1991)

Denmark also had very few Jews in its population, around 7,500 (0.2%). Knud Dyby, a police officer and rescuer working for the Danish Underground, describes Jews in Denmark as mostly merchants and farmers who were well-liked and accepted by the otherwise homogenous society. The Danish government did not require their Jews to register or relinquish any of their businesses or property. It wasn't until 1943 when the Danes engaged in more active sabotage against their occupiers that Germany declared martial law and finally struck out against Jews and any resisters.

Poland Background

The Germans sought to expand their empire and redeem themselves after World War I. They invaded Poland in 1939 from the west and the south in a military blitz, while in a coordinated effort, Russia invaded from the east a few weeks later. The Polish army was brave in its fight, but ultimately overpowered in a few days. World War II had officially begun. The western Poland provinces were annexed to the German Reich; the eastern ones given to Russia and Lithuania; and the middle was called the "General Government." Their plan was to extinguish Jews and other minorities and make Poland expanded "living space for Germans" (Yad Vashem). Only Poles with German blood were treated fairly and welcomed into the fold. The rest of the native Poles faced their own racial injustices and deportations. They were removed from their villages and replaced by Germans, the towns were given German names, the Polish language was banned, and any German could shoot a Pole for almost no reason. They were rounded up like the Jews and sent to labor camps to support the war and Germany's expansion, but these were not meant as long-term living conditions. By the end of the war, two million native Poles were killed (Paldiel, 1993).

Jews living within the annexed areas were sent to the General Government to live in ghettos. Those already living in the region were removed from their businesses and homes, and

publicly humiliated as they transferred to their new destinations. Nazis would taunt them in the street, make them shave the beards of Orthodox Jews as public shaming, and have public hangings. They were ordered to wear "Jewish Stars" to distinguish them from other citizens and easily target them for abuse (Yad Vashem). As the horror of their new lives took shape, in 1941 the first extermination camp within the General Government began its function at Chelmno. A few months later, Sobibor, Belzec, and Treblinka opened and Auschwitz and Majdanek added assembly line killings to their camps (Yad Vashem). These six camps are where millions would be sent for the Nazis' ruthless annihilation of innocent people.

Leaders of Allied countries, including U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, were aware as far back as 1938 of the plans for Jewish persecution, but despite causes for concern, they would not lift their tightening immigration quotas (Karn, 2012). Even though alarms by European officials grew louder with mounting evidence of ghettos, round ups, and dead-end railways to concentration camps, the Allied leaders did not see the oppression of Jews as a priority. Once the U.S. officially joined the Allied war effort in December 1941, winning the war was the only thing in their sights and the Jews suffered for it.

The Diplomatic Spy and the Allies

Jan Karski of Poland became one of the most courageous diplomats of World War II. Tall and lean from a youth full of outdoor activity, he grew up in a socially privileged Catholic family in Lodz and spent his summers traveling around Europe and skiing its mountains. His adventures dialed in his command of multiple languages and nurtured his curiosity for government diplomacy. His family instilled in him a sense of social justice and tolerance for others from different backgrounds (Yad Vashem). At school his classes in government included other teens from different backgrounds, including Jews, with whom he developed strong friendships. His education at Lwow University launched his career as a multilingual civil servant in Poland's Ministry of

Foreign Affairs. When Germany invaded in 1939, his love for his country led him to join the Polish army, but it was easily overpowered by the Germans invading from the west and then by the Russians from the east. After escaping capture by the Russians, the 28-year-old fled to Warsaw and joined the underground (Kaufman, 2000).

Karski's new identity was as a crucial courier and spy between the Polish government-in-exile in Paris and London, and the Polish underground. His legendary photographic memory was a blessing and a curse. To bear witness to the atrocities and report back to Allied leaders, the underground arranged to sneak Karski into the Warsaw ghetto through a newly dug tunnel. What he saw horrified him and was burned into his memory:

> "In ''Shoah,'' Claude Lanzmann's classic documentary about the Holocaust, he would tell of seeing many naked dead bodies lying in the streets, and describe emaciated and starving people, listless infants and older children with expressionless eyes. He remembered watching from an apartment while two pudgy teenage boys in the uniforms of the Hitler Youth hunted Jews for sport, cheering and laughing when one of their rifle shots struck its target and brought screams of agony." (Kaufman, 2000)

Next, the underground bribed Ukrainian guards to take Karski into an Izbica concentration camp:

> "Mr. Karski heard keening cries of men and women and thought he smelled burning flesh. Soon he witnessed the arrival of several thousand starving and frightened Jews who had been brought to the camp from Czechoslovakia. He watched as their valises and bags were taken away from them. Then he saw Jews being beaten and stabbed.
>
> Ranks of uniformed men pressed the crowd onto waiting box cars that had been coated with quicklime. Those who fell or fainted or who could not move were thrown into the cars. When no more bodies could fit inside, the doors were shut. Mr. Karski was told

> that the trains were heading for a camp not far away where their human cargo would be led into gas chambers. But he was also told that sometimes the trains were just left on sidings until those inside starved or suffocated." (Kaufman, 2000)

Karski risked his life traveling in and out of German-occupied Poland with microfilm hidden in hollowed-out keys to report to his Polish government-in-exile in London (Kaufman, 2000). His diplomatic status bought him meetings with Allied leaders in England and the United States to report what was happening to the Jews. He found, however, that while the Allied leaders were sympathetic, their priority was militaristic. Their strategy was to win the war and Joseph Stalin's confidence, preventing Russia from collapsing, and then fold it into the United Nations.

> "My reports concerning the Jews, almost every individual was sympathetic, but I reported to the most powerful Allied leaders. They were leaders of the governments, of the nations. They discarded their conscience, their personal feelings, which might have been sympathetic towards the Jews. They rejected, they were passive, they provided rationale which seemed valid. The situation was the Jews were totally helpless. The war strategy was military defeat of Germany, destruction of Germany industry and war potential for all the territories. No side issues were supposed to interfere. In that military strategy, total crushing of the Nazi Third Reich. The Jews had no country of their own, no government, no army, no representatives in the inter-Allied war councils. As fighters they were fighting but they had no identity. They were fighting in the Polish underground." (Karski, 1988)

In meetings with intelligence officers, Karski proposed they draft an official declaration to the German citizens with his information of the camps, ghettos, data, and statistics. The German people could put pressure on their government to stop the Holocaust, or they would otherwise be held accountable by the Allies. Karski also recommended bombing important German infrastructure such as railroads and military camps. An official he spoke with countered that these

non-military actions would give the appearance that the war was provoked by the Jews and was being managed by international Jewry. Countries like France would wonder why this effort on the Jews, but not other oppressed people. This lack of support from military leaders set the Jewish people up to fight on their own, which they did mightily as individuals and underground or partisan groups, but they were never destined to succeed without intervention or their own government identity (Karski, 1988).

Despite Karski's efforts, Germany took control of western and eastern Europe and their Final Solution to the so-called "Jewish Question" became pervasive and accepted. While the Holocaust began as antisemitic legislation and persecution of Jews in an attempt to rid them from German territories in the 1930s, the Final Solution was the last stage of the Holocaust (Holocaust Encyclopedia, 2021). From 1941 to 1945, the Nazis worked with inhumane efficiency to operate five camps in occupied-Poland as assembly line-style killing sites: Chełmno, Bełżec, Sobibór, Treblinka, and Auschwitz-Birkenau. The deportation of Jews from across Europe to ghettos and then to camps went unquestioned by government officials and citizens. Millions became complicit.

The Third Reich fully occupied countries such as Poland to the east and the Czech provinces of Bohemia and Moravia to the south in their quest to expand their German empire (Holocaust Encyclopedia, 2021). To the west, they infiltrated governments in the Netherlands, France, Belgium, and Denmark. They swayed countries bordering Russia, from to Hungary to Bulgaria, to join their Axis alliance, which also led to the deportation of Jews and minorities from their native lands. Inconceivable in hindsight, Allied countries, Europeans, and even Jews were often in denial about the extent of the atrocities until it was too late. By the time Germany surrendered in May 1945, the Nazis' unchecked disregard for human life left six million Jews of all ages and social status murdered, in addition to another 3 million non-Jewish "undesirables,"

such as the disabled, homosexuals, gypsies, and those who disagreed with their policies (Yelich-Biniecki & Donley, 2016).

The Importance of Continuing Holocaust Stories

Our society today is bristling with racial and ethnic divisions and religious conflicts similar to those in 1930s Europe. While not the ethnic cleansing of Nazi Germany's Final Solution, today's level of hate and intolerance is a new enemy stylized for the 21st century. It is fed endlessly by cable news and streaming podcasts that host alt-right provocateurs as legitimate commentators, unregulated social media platforms where conspiracy theories and fake news seek out vulnerable users, and white nationalists who have gained as much normalcy as khaki-wearing, suburban middle-class neighbors. Their messages seep into every dark corner of the country and anyone open or gullible enough to listen. Their calls to action, however farfetched the conspiracy theory may be, will invariably capture the attention of a few circling even further out on the fringe with nothing to lose. They continue to be emboldened by a former American president who lifted the Proud Boys to mainstream lexicon and ensured the public that there were "very fine people" at the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia (Coaston, 2019). During a 2021 online discussion with other Holocaust educators, Lauren Bairnsfather, Ph.D., of the Holocaust Center of Pittsburgh observed after watching the January 6, 2021, Capitol Hill insurrection that at a national level "people seem emboldened in their antisemitism" (Bairnsfather, Myers & Schamis, 2021).

Bairnsfather's concerns are far too real. In 2018 on a gray October morning with rain puddling on treelined streets, her peaceful Pittsburgh neighborhood became the location of the largest killing of Jews in the United States. A white nationalist armed with an AR-15-style assault rifle and at least three handguns stormed up the stairway and through the entrance of the Tree of Life Synagogue during a peaceful Saturday morning service. He killed 11 innocent worshippers (Robertson, Mele & Tavernise, 2018).

The shooter eventually surrendered after battling with SWAT teams who immediately answered the calls of an active shooter and bravely fought to save as many lives as possible. Subsequent investigations found that on an alt-right social media site, the shooter had discussed his hatred for Jews and a non-profit group, HIAS, which helps refugees of many nationalities and religions coming to the U.S. He blamed the HIAS (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society) for bringing "hostile invaders" into the country and that he was "going in," presumably to take matters into his own hands (Robertson et al., 2018). Ironically, HIAS is a 137-year-old refugee aid agency that assisted DELASEM's efforts to help Jews in Italy during WWII.

The Tree of Life shooting was a grave episode in what the Anti-Defamation League civil rights group has been tracking for years. In 2019 they reported a 12% rise in antisemitic incidents from the year before, the most since it began tracking incidents over forty years ago (Diaz, 2020). In the past five years, 63% of Jews in the United States have experienced or witnesses an antisemitic incident (Anti-Defamation League, 2021). These include assault, harassment, and vandalism. This tense environment is compounded by younger generations who seem unaware and cannot recall facts of the Holocaust.

A 2018 survey of 1,350 Americans on the Holocaust provided distressing results, particularly from the generation with ages 18-34. The New York Times reported:

- 31% of Americans, and 41% of millennials, believe that two million or fewer Jews were killed in the Holocaust; the actual number is around six million.
- 41% of Americans, and 66% of millennials, cannot say what Auschwitz was.
- 52% of Americans wrongly think Hitler came to power through force.

Other surveys show:

- One in 10 thinks that the Jews actually caused the Holocaust.
- Nearly 25% said they thought it was a myth or had been exaggerated (Sherwood, 2020).

A board member of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, who commissioned the 2018 survey said, “As we get farther away from the actual events…it becomes less forefront of what people are talking about or thinking about or discussing or learning.” He adds, “If we wait another generation before you start trying to take remedial action, I think we’re really going to be behind the eight ball.”

These alarming trends have Holocaust survivors, researchers, educators, and even state legislators raising the importance of including Holocaust studies in all levels of education. Whether and how they are implemented, however, varies state to state, township to township, and teacher to teacher. Some schools actively prioritize Holocaust education that includes visits from the few living survivors, taped testimonies, carefully led discussions, and vetted readings that provide essential context of this complex time in history. However, as these surveys indicate, this level of attention is not the norm across the country. For millions of students, the Holocaust is taught as a brief, 45-minute, uncomfortable chapter when reviewing World War II history. Holocaust remembrance leaders question whether there are consequences to this lack of commitment to Holocaust education.

Ivy Schamis from Parkland, Florida, was teaching her Holocaust studies class at Marjory Stoneman Douglas high school when a 19-year-old shooter hunted down and killed 17 people in her school. Schamis and her class huddled behind the classroom door fearing the worst. If the shooter had broken through her door, she decided that her last words to him would be, “I love you.” Fortunately, she never had to face him. Later, she learned that the shooter’s gun magazines were stickered with swastikas. Trying to reconcile why someone could live with so much hate, Schamis has given a lot of thought on whether education could have been reversed his views. At a round table discussion on Holocaust education, she says:

> "I do think about what if that student had that class? I don't know, obviously we'll never know…but I would have liked to even have the chance to try to have broadened the horizons of someone who seemed so small minded." (Bairnsfather et al., 2021)

In response, Rabbi Jeffrey Myers from the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh considers the shooter from the event that he survived and the absence of Holocaust education in our country:

> "You have to pause and wonder for a second, stop to perhaps consider, is it possible that when his family came to the United States, perhaps there might have been a Jewish group who helped get his family settled in some shape or form. Is that possible and you just don't know your history? So yeah, the connection is there." (Bairnsfather et al., 2021)

Today's youths are a third generation distant. They no longer see the direct effects of World War II from family who served as soldiers or were survivors. For many American students it has become an abstract event they see remade in a Hollywood film or in a history book. Far removed from the European theater where the war occurred, it was an event that happened "over there." For disadvantaged families and students, Europe is often a place that will remain unknown and inaccessible during their lives. Even in Europe, the memories fade. Heavily bombed areas have been rebuilt to fit the modern world, or they have become a memorial or museum to visit once on a school field trip. Some locals see the historic sites as places to avoid because they are considered tourist destinations.

The brazen nationalist and antisemitism movements locally and around the world have troubled and unnerved those who lived through the Holocaust. According to Dr. Marie Baird of Duquesne University, survivors feel a strong commitment, especially in the Jewish community, to keep their stories going. Their children are also dedicated to these memories because they grew up with the stories and know the lifelong impact these stories have made. They know the effects of the war and the expectation that we cannot allow the Holocaust to happen again.

In her classes and at speaking events about the Holocaust, Dr. Baird has found that the key for younger generations to connect to the atrocities of history is to make it personal and relevant; otherwise, it becomes another myth. As Dr. Baird emphasized, it is important to keep the stories of survivors and rescuers going and also to make the story personal to the reader.

First-hand stories told by Holocaust survivors, rescuers, and those who lived through World War II are becoming more distant with each passing year as these original voices are lost at the end of life. Over 75 years after World War II, each person who dies becomes one less voice to tell their unique experience from this time. A direct relationship has been identified by researchers between those who are two and three generations removed from these survivors' stories and society's lack of understanding the severity of the Holocaust (M. Baird, personal communication, March 11, 2020). Putting a face and voice to a story transcends the student's barrier to grasp "6 million lives" and an array of historical statistics (Lindquist, 2011b). Researchers and educators have found that one of the most effective teaching methods is for students to learn a story with such specific details of the person's experience, and even their personality, that they are able to identify themselves in the story. This connects students with the importance and significance of the Holocaust. (M. Baird, personal communication, March 11, 2020).

Chapter 3: Who Were Holocaust Rescuers

After the War

A collective post-war amnesia set in at the end of World War II. Holocaust survivors and the millions who survived the war closed off their memories and rarely, if ever, spoke of what happened. They rebuilt their lives and moved forward. The International Military Tribunal (IMT) in Nuremberg 1945-46 brought Nazi leaders to court for their war crimes six months after Germany's surrender. The prosecution amounted thousands of documents collected by the Allies, films produced by the U.S. and Russia of concentration camp atrocities, and witness testimony from those within the Nazi Party, military, or German government. The defendants did not deny the evidence or that the crimes against humanity did happen. They did, however, try to plead innocence because they were only following orders, which the IMT would not accept. Of 21 defendants, 19 were convicted and 12 sentenced to death. In the five years after, hundreds of thousands of other Nazis and associates, such as doctors, camp guards, soldiers, and civilians, were tried and convicted (Holocaust Encyclopedia, 2021).

In the late 1950s, the commitment to continuing down this path of justice faded. The world was still weary from the war. Also, the former-Axis countries and many of their citizens continued to deny they had done anything wrong. They had forged and supported the Nazi agenda, but still held that they were victims. A bystander interviewed for a research study in the 1980s claims:

> "In 1933 we had no notion where that would lead. As for collective guilt, I followed orders; I had no choice. The others had the strategic military advantages and won the war. We lack national holidays to celebrate, and German national feelings are still repressed. Much is still not done for the sake of justice. Other countries that have done evil things are not talked about." (Oliner & Oliner, 1990)

Seemingly impossible in hindsight, Germany passed amnesty laws pardoning war criminals (Schwartz, 2021). Most of the Nazis who had been convicted the past ten years were set free, and a generation of denial closed the door.

In the 1960s, however, the children of this generation kicked down the door of silence. Adolf Eichmann, the chief logistician for the Nazi Final Solution who directed the killing of 1.5 million Jews, had escaped U.S. capture, and fled to Argentina in 1946. Not content to allow one of Hitler's biggest henchmen to live free and without accountability, the Israeli Security Service captured him in 1960 and returned him to Jerusalem for trial. The timing was such that the trial gained international interest and exposure. It was one of the first major trials to be broadcast on television around the world and brought the term "Holocaust" to the public living rooms. It was also the first time that Holocaust survivors were able to speak as eyewitnesses about the brutal truth of the Nazi agenda, fully exposing the atrocities towards the Jews (Holocaust Encyclopedia, 2021). The door of denial was not able to be closed any more as the discussion led to more probing questions. Finally, in 1978, the American-made television miniseries, "Holocaust," was watched by 20 million Germans and is considered the tipping point in German attitudes towards their accountability. West Germany's parliament abolished the statute of limitations on war crimes, and young people pressed their parents for answers for why they stood by as accomplices. Text books were updated and new pedagogy was incorporated into classrooms. "Within a few years, tens of thousands of German youth were looking into what had happened in their own hometowns and their own families under the Nazis as part of a nationwide grassroots history movement" (Axelrod, 2019).

The Eichmann trial launched initiatives to collect Holocaust survivor testimonies. These survivors had been quietly holding their stories to their chest, and the brave witnesses at the high-profile trail inspired them to finally tell them (Holocaust Encyclopedia, 2021). At the same time,

the Israeli World Holocaust Remembrance Center, Yad Vashem, reignited its mission to preserve the stories of rescuers and recognize them with the title, Righteous Among the Nations. Yad Vashem was established in 1953 in Jerusalem as a memorial to Jews who died in the Holocaust. Although their original mandate was to preserve these stories for historic integrity, for the previous ten years that commitment had waned because "no one wanted to dwell on those dark times" (Fogelman, 1994). After the Eichmann trial and as survivors opened up, Yad Vashem became invigorated to continue its mission and redirect the existing memory from a painful era to one of rescuers and hope.

Who Were The Rescuers

Yad Vashem describes rescuers as the Righteous Gentiles; non-Jewish people throughout Europe, also living through the horrors of the war, but who summoned their moral courage to take "great risks," sacrificing their own safety to save Jews (Yad Vashem). They were not cast from the archetypical hero who pursues and trains for a life of death-defying action, such as a soldier or fireman, or who by chance finds themself with an opportunity to save a drowning victim. Nor were the rescuers' actions finite, socially approved, or only endangering themselves (Oliner, 1990).

They were a different breed of heroes, compelled by a deep sense of moral responsibility that engaged an exceedingly rare altruistic behavior during a wartime setting, defined as "helping another voluntarily, at considerable cost and without expectation of external reward" (Oliner & Oliner, 1990). They were the exception to the normative behavior of bystanders, the "mitlaufer" who followed the current. An estimated 300 million Europeans did not go to trial for war crimes or acts against humanity, or even to be described as "monsters." Nevertheless, they stood by and were complicit in enabling the Nazi environment to flourish by staying silent, choosing to be indifferent to the propaganda, not hearing the fear in the voices of their neighbors, and even by

taking over Jewish businesses and homes (Schwarz, 2021). As Auschwitz survivor, Elie Wiesel, said, it “is not the cruelty of the oppressor, but the silence of the bystander.”

> "In those times there was darkness everywhere. In heaven and on earth, all the gates of compassion seemed to have been closed. The killer killed and the Jews died and the outside world adopted an attitude either of complicity or of indifference. Only a few had the courage to care. These few men and women were vulnerable, afraid, helpless - what made them different from their fellow citizens?… Why were there so few?… Let us remember: What hurts the victim most is not the cruelty of the oppressor but the silence of the bystander…. Let us not forget, after all, there is always a moment when a moral choice is made…. And so we must know these good people who helped Jews during the Holocaust. We must learn from them, and in gratitude and hope, we must remember them." (Elie Wiesel)

Rescuers were never comfortable being called heroes, but from the outside they met the same challenges as the Joseph Campbell hero’s journey:

> “A hero ventures forth from the world of common day into a region of supernatural wonder: fabulous forces are there encountered and a decisive victory is won: the hero comes back from this mysterious adventure with the power to bestow boons on his fellow man.”

Rescuers were of all ages and strata of society: university professors, illiterate peasants, urban cosmopolitan, teachers, religious clergy, servants, policemen, and doctors. Their views of religion, politics, and even antisemitism varied widely. They were a typical cross-cut of European life in the 1930s and 40s where no one stood out from anyone else. Lest one think that rescuers were naturally good natured and prim, researcher Eva Fogelman’s experience from interviewing them also found: “Sneaks, thieves, smugglers, hijackers, blackmailers, and killers. A womanizer,

manipulator, seasoned briber, habitual liar, shameless forger, anti-Semite, tramp, and murderer" (Fogelman, 1994).

Holocaust rescuers found themselves helping Jews for days, months, and years never knowing when the end would come. They hid strangers in their attics, cellars, or monasteries; printed false identification documents; provided transport to safe territory; smuggled food and medicine; took babies from their mothers who were destined for crowded train cattle cars and a gas chamber. They lied. They lived in secrecy. They were triggered to act now and find a solution later. Their rescue activities varied from country to country and situation to situation. Secrecy was paramount. In a special category of rescuer was Jan Karski, the spy for the Polish Underground and government-in-exile. His actions were unlike other rescuers who worked to save individuals or small groups of Jews. Karski took extreme risks sneaking into the Warsaw ghetto and the Izbica concentration camp, and traveling internationally with hidden documents to alert world leaders of the truth of what the Nazis were doing to all Jews of Europe.

As Germany was occupying Italy and sending it into turmoil, Bartali received a note from his friend, Cardinal Elia Dalla Costa, of Florence. The cardinal was working with DELASEM to hide and provide fake identification documents to thousands of Jews who were hiding within his region's religious buildings and trying to flee to neutral countries or the Allies in southern Italy. Bartali's years of training while working for the Army provided him a consistent story to work clandestinely as a courier for the Assisi Network between Florence and Assisi, and as far as Rome and Genoa. Hidden within the frame of his bicycle were false identification papers that he would deliver to others in his network or directly to Jews fleeing occupied Italy. If stopped by the Nazis along his route, his notoriety gave him the excuse that he was training to win great races after the war (McConnon & McConnon, 2012). At other times, his mission was to ride to Genoa to pick up money provided by a lawyer to aid the network's efforts (MacMichael, 2010). From 1943 to 1944,

it is estimated that he rode at least 40 missions for the Assisi Network (MacMichael, 2010). His friend, Ivo Faltoni (2011), remembers:

> "By accepting this assignment, he showed that he loved his neighbor more than himself, regardless of the risk he ran for himself and his family. Unaware of all his long training sessions in a period without competitions, to those who asked him, 'Why?' he replied, 'I have to keep training. One day this hell will end."

His successful bike racing career afforded him the money to own a few properties in Florence. During the German occupation, he hid Jewish family friends in one of his buildings and also supplied the family's mother with false identification so she could leave their hiding place for water and food (Yad Vashem, 2021). A humble and deeply religious Catholic with the nickname Il Pio (the Pious), Bartali frequently prayed for guidance and protection for his family as he was gripped with fear when he left on his missions and saw what was happening to others (McConnon & McConnon, 2012).

Tina Strobos of the Netherlands was a 19-year-old medical student at a university in Amsterdam. After the German occupation, her sorority became active in the Dutch Underground. They were a well-organized group of like-minded intellectuals who never bought in to Hitler's propaganda. They read *Mein Kampf* in school and understood where he wanted his agenda to fall, although they never had information and could not conceive the extent of gas chambers extermination. They were well trained in all aspects of resistance and saving Jews. Strobos knew how to be interrogated, what papers to obtain, how to arrange a hiding space in her house, how to plan an escape route.

> "You couldn't just go on the roof because they would put barbed wire on eachside of the road, and machine guns, and they would even have somebody onthe rooftops watching. It's

impossible to believe the effort and time and manpower these Gestapos employed to catch Jews." (Strobos, 1992)

The Dutch underground often communicated in code on the phone when contacting each other for assignments. Strobos' underground work included picking up Jewish children, hiding contraband like radio senders and gun, transporting Jews to the Belgian border with fake passports so they could take the underground railroad through France to neutral Spain. Along with her mother and grandmother, like many Dutch non-Jews in the crowded urban centers, they hid Jews in their house with specially designed spaces built by a carpenter from the underground. They also coordinated and rehearsed escape routes into neighboring buildings. Rescuers were living in a world of self-preservation, antisemitism, and desperation. There was no telling how long the war would last or whether a neighbor would report them to the Gestapo.

"[Strobos] In 1942 we had to sign a loyalty oath, and none of us did at the university, and that drove us underground. We had an underground medical school and classes in my house and other people's and hospitals. And I continued studying as much as possible that way. So the schools closed and I had purposely joined a sorority, even though I'm not that kind of person. You know they can be a little bit snobby, you know those upper class snobs. Wasn't my circle really. But the sorority I joined was wonderful. There were a couple of Jewish girls in my sorority. And that whole sorority was a network for hiding Jews and finding placements, getting money, passports, food cards, whatever was needed. So I had a fantastic network.

[Interviewer] So was that the beginning of your own personal involvement?

No, as I said we were involved from day one in all kinds of activity. Getting false passports for people, hiding people in the underground, I was involved right from the start. And I was also in a group of students. We studied *Mein Kampf*, we studied Marx, and they

> became very active, and they scared me to death, frankly, because they all had guns. I'm a very non-violent person and I separated myself from them. They were all killed, all ten of them. Sort of a cell. There were three underground groups and that was the militant group. I separated myself from that group and became very involved with the women's students who were involved with the LO geared to hiding people and non-violent action. But occasionally I did things for the others. I hid weapons, I transported radio senders and weapons occasionally. And if these people needed a hiding place we hid them too." (Strobos, 1988)

The rescuers worked unnoticed, often in clandestine community groups or religious networks in pockets spread across Europe, but sometimes alone. They were not affiliated in an organized, European-wide network, and they seldom knew of other rescue efforts outside their trusted circle. Across the board, they were modest and downplayed their role, brushing aside the label of "hero." When asked about the danger of helping Jews in Poland in particular, a common theme to rationalize their action was presented as follows:

> "(They) minimized the heroism of their actions…by emphasizing that the dangers emanating from Jewish rescue were only a part of an overall threatening environment. They pointed out that people could and did die for nothing at all. They argued that, since life was full of constant and unexpected perils, helping Jews was just one additional reason for dying. Compared to the ever-present threats, aid to Jews was not as dangerous and hence not as extraordinary as some tend to see it." (Tec, 1986)

Their collective impulse towards altruistic behavior, however, amounted to an inspiring troupe of humanitarians who risked everything to save terrified Jewish friends and strangers from death, yet asked for nothing in return. When a door opened to find a Jew pleading for safety or their underground network made the call for help, they acted upon their moral impulse to help

another person first and to make a plan later (Baron, 2019). Irene Gut Opdyke was a Christian Pole nursing student whose life was forever disrupted by the German invasion. Because she was young and healthy, she was taken by Germans to work as a kitchen and laundry manager at their headquarters in Tarnopol. She found herself in charge of Jews who were selected from the nearby labor camp to work under her supervision.

> "See, when the Germans took over really distant cities they took all the Jewish people and segregate them. Like machines they did take out heart and soul. Those that could work and those that could not work. Those that could work they put them separate in work barracks, it was slave labor. And those that could not work, the old, the children, the this, they took them and forced them to be in ghetto for later disposal." (Opdyke, 1993)

Her upbringing in a caring family created a willingness to help the Jews who also became her friends. It began with providing them with extra food from the kitchen and evolved into warning them about raids, hiding them behind blankets in the laundry room, stuffing them into the air duct of a Nazi commander's bathroom, hiding them in a Nazi villa, and driving them to a forest to hide in a newly built bunker, and regularly visiting hundreds of Jews in the woods with food and clothing.

> "[Opdyke]: I was so scared. I was so scared because at that time I was already helping the Jewish people in the laundry room. In the laundry room we had 12 Jewish people.
>
> [Interviewer]: And how were you helping them?
>
> [Opdyke]: Well many times I borrowed extra food you know. I brought the clothes to be washed. Food was no problem because there were you know in the diner there were butter and bread and whatever cookies and fruit and whatever. Another thing, too, when I met them you know at first they didn't trust me. You know that is understandable. But when we start speaking and I told them that I am alone and I don't know where my parents are

and this, they trusted me and they start telling me story of their broken lives, about their families and everything.

And at that time there was a winter, it was cold, I asked Shultz for some blankets. The blankets I give to the Jewish people, they made cover for themselves. We made a hiding place in little in the washroom. There were one wall full of shelves. The shelves were nice and deep. We made the shelves very narrow in some places put the blankets folded so it looks like its full. And then I overheard that Gestapo, Rakita say, 'There will be raids on Wednesday or Friday, don't look for the Jews to come to work you know. We have some cleaning to do.' Well I did have to tell that to my friends. And I noticed that many people did not come, you know. So we created our own little hiding place there. So when I knew they did not go to the barracks.

[Interviewer]: And where was the hiding place?

[Opdyke]: In the laundry room at that time. That was before I hide them. See when you speak you cannot tell that. You know if you half an hour. But, I told them what happened so a few of them did not want to go, so they slept there behind the shelves. And I lock the laundry room. I was responsible and that's it." (Opdyke, 1993)

Rescuers faced their own dangers not only from the Nazis, but from well-intentioned friends and family or bitter neighbors. Having their rescue efforts exposed by someone in their home or neighborhood could lead to everyone they loved and protected being killed in retribution. Unfortunately, exposure or betrayal happened often, and they knew it, yet their moral compass continued to point them to do what they believed was right. Knud Dyby was working as a Danish police officer and also for the underground to get thousands of Jews into fishing boats and safely to Sweden. His identity, essentially as a spy, had to be kept secret and he had several of his own fake identification cards with different names. Still, he could be tipped off:

> "A bookshop owner had reported me for anti-German activities to the German general so I knew I had to be underground, and I lived probably about 16 or 20 different places in Copenhagen. I remember many times I actually had a steel plate inside my door, but even that wasn't enough so I would crawl out of a window and crawl over on the other side of the hallway and sleep in a storage room where I had made a cut so that even if the Germans had come into my apartment I would still be away from it. The most difficult part of it probably was that I had to urinate out of the window, which wasn't easy." (Dyby, 1991)

Rescuers were some of the last to disclose their stories after the war for a number of reasons. They still feared retribution from neighbors and countrymen who believed that aiding Jews had put everyone at risk (M. Baird, personal communication, March 15, 2021). Antisemitism was not resolved; it remained evident through Europe (Koepp, 2019). Both rescuers and bystanders felt betrayed by the other, which led to an exodus of rescuers leaving their native towns or countries for good. Many came out of the war with survivor's guilt, unable to reconcile why they lived while so many others did not (M. Baird, personal communication, March 15, 2021). Finally, most rescuers believed that what they did was nothing special and not worth telling anyone.

Gino Bartali was trained to work in secrecy so not to compromise his associates. Through it all, and especially as his actions were revealed decades later, he never saw himself as more worthy of praise than those who gave their lives, or as anyone else called to perform the same mission. As his granddaughter, Lisa Bartali, said:

> "For 50 years he never wanted to say anything. He had a strong moral sense and to tell of the good done would go against his nature. This is why he repeated that good is done but not said. To be good Christians you don't need to tell what you do… Gino felt part of this rescue network, the DELSAM, he took part in 1943. In this network there were many operators who did good exactly as grandfather did. What was the point? His name would

have caused a sensation. Probably only his name would end up in the papers and he could not allow it. And the parish priests, the friars, the nuns, those who modified and printed the documents? And all the others? They would have ended up in oblivion." (Zago, 2020)

However, even in Denmark where so many came together to help, bitterness still grew between those that helped and those that stood by:

"[Interviewer]: After the war did you talk with your family about all the things you had done?

[Dyby]: No, it wasn't very popular to talk much about it. No, I never talked about it. I mean, it wasn't a secret. They would know that from my new associates that I had made that there was something going on, but after everybody was so happy and they wanted to forget about it. Forget about the whole thing, yeah. About 40 years until we talked about rescues and resistance. We would talk about it among themselves, but not with anybody else. It wasn't popular to talk about. The people who did something, we all did something. The people who didn't do anything they certainly didn't want to hear about it either.

[Interviewer]: Was that hard for you?

[Dyby] There was hard feelings with some people that would demonstrate that they didn't like what was done and it shouldn't have been done, and see what happened now we have to build up our _____ again, we have to do this because you made sabotage, but most of the people knew that we had to help the Allies. But there's always some who said, 'Was that necessary?'" (Dyby, 1996)

Different Countries, Different Dangers

The rescue of Jews was inconsistent in its execution and success across Europe. Researcher Nechama Tec (1995) proposes three reasons why rescue could have been more difficult in some countries more than others. A primary reason was how thoroughly the Germans had inserted

themselves into each occupied country's government. A German military-led government was considered to have less enforcement of racial laws and deportations than a Nazi-led civil government. With complete internal control of a country, such as in Eastern Europe or the Netherlands, the Nazi leaders had no restraints on how to execute their Final Solution. A second factor was the level of antisemitism. In countries such as Poland, with a long history of anti-Jewish propaganda and ideology, it was more acceptable to overlook the treatment for a group of people they already saw as "others." Even Poles with sympathetic tendencies were more influenced by their communities and gave second thoughts to helping. A third factor was the number of Jews in a country, how well they were adapted into its society, and whether they physically appeared more like the non-Jewish citizenry. Amsterdam had a thriving Jewish population of over 70,000 in a very dense area, which made it difficult to keep them hidden. Some areas of Poland, such as Warsaw, had Jews with more blond and light skinned appearances so they could blend in and even carry out resistance actions spying on the Nazis. However, the country also had Jews who had never assimilated into the Catholic society. They continued to dress traditionally and speak Yiddish, which made them all too recognizable when the Nazis arrived in droves (Paldiel, 1993).

Poland's Situation

Poland had 3.3 million Jews before the German invasion, which was the largest Jewish population in Europe. The pervasive sense of antisemitism coupled with a native population dealing with its own struggle to survive did little to breathe sympathy for what they were enduring even as Jews were rounded up from ghettos and shot in mass graves. Rescuer Irene Opdyke recalls in her 1993 video testimony:

> "To this day I can remember. I did see a man with a white beard, white head, looks like rabbi. They were beating him. He was going…I see a beautiful young woman, blond with a little girl. You know, the girl was holding to her and she was wounded in the leg because she was pulling her leg. The child was screaming. And we were standing there and crying.

> Then I did see, you know, a woman with a baby in her arms and I did see one of the Gestapo pull the baby and threw the head to the ground. A nightmare. Unbelievable horror. And I cry and my sister cry. We could not believe our eyes, our soul. What is happening…what is happening. Then when the procession left and they moved them, we were coming down and we could hear shooting from far away. We were moving behind, far away. We did want to know where they go to take them. They took them behind the town. It was shallow grave already dug. They were putting them all around and shooting with machine gun. Some of them were buried alive. They were hardly wounded. The Germans posted soldiers all around so nobody see the crime. We were from far away to see that. There is no way I can even today tell you how it was. Unbelievable." (Opdyke, 1993)

Even if a Jew were to escape from a ghetto, they would need to know where to find pockets of safety and how to avoid informants who were fueled by the Nazi propaganda. These "szmalcowniks" even prevented would-be rescuers from helping (Yad Vashem). Survivor Sam Oliner (1994) recalls that it was difficult to trust anyone knowing that some were out to receive a bounty from the Gestapo for revealing a Jew's location:

> "And so came and knocked on the door and she already heard what had happened because the forest is very close by on clear day down the hill you can see-see its location the approximate location of it. And she knew what had happened and so she took me in and she sort of calmed me down she said don't worry you must survive you will survive but she couldn't keep me in the house for number of reasons. don't know maybe she was not 1000 percent altruistic. Maybe she was afraid. But she was kind and compassionate. But then she had---and the main reason why she was frightened is because in Poland--again this is not an attack on Poles. As matter of fact feel fondly towards Poland. But the facts must come out and the truth must be told.

> During the war there was group of people--and you must have heard in your other interviews--a group of people called schmaltz which means--comes from the Yiddish word schmaltz and schmaltz is guy, mostly males, Poles, during the war made their living off catching, betraying, informing on Jews. They would bring them to the Gestapo, the information, and get a reward or even capture some old man or woman and bring them to the Gestapo and get a reward. Poles were hungry and deprived, too. So if you got an overcoat or some shoes or food or some money or whatever from the Gestapo, it supplemented your income. So some – some, I must repeat myself – over and over, only some Poles did that. And let's not condemn all of Poles, because Poles were also heroic rescuers." "And so there was this man, a traitor, and he was literally within a matter of…a half a mile away, and she was afraid because what he used to do is he suspected somehow, so he'd sneak up at night and listen to the window and see whether there is anybody, and then go to the police for a reward, and the next day the Gestapo would be right there."

Regardless of the conditions that set Poland up for the most devastating impacts of the Holocaust, it also had the highest number of rescuers recognized by Yad Vashem: 7,177 as of January 2021. Out of 3.3 million Jews, only 380,000 survived and it is estimated that 30,000 to 35,000, or 1% of all Polish Jews, were saved by rescuers. (Yad Vashem)

Denmark's Situation

Denmark had control of its government and civil services for most of the war, and Jews' lives remained mostly unobstructed. They were never gathered into ghettos or camps that would allow the Germans to easily round them up onto trains east. The hands-off attitude of the Germans convinced them that throughout the occupation they would still remain safe. Knud Dyby recalls this sense of complacency among the Danish Jews:

> [Interviewer]: Did they begin by harassing the Jews at all?

> [Dyby]: No. Until 1943…October 1943…they never asked the Jews neither to get a Star of David or they didn't stop the Jews from their normal activities or their shops or homes or anything. There were several rumors that something would happen, but they never happened. So by the time October 1943 came, the Germans decided that the Jews in Denmark had to be arrested, many, many Jewish families would not believe it because they said, "Why would they do it now? They haven't done anything so far and we're living peacefully here. We don't believe it." So many people actually had to convince them that this time it was the _____, that they were in danger." (Dyby, 1996)

By the time the Germans decided to make a plan to deport the Jews in the fall of 1943, the Danes already had a coordinated underground network in place with plans to hide resistance members and Jews, or transport them to nearby Sweden. A sympathetic Nazi, Georg Ferdinand Duckwitz, tipped off the Danish government that deportations would begin, and the underground went to work. Over the period of a few weeks in October 1943, almost 8,000 Jews were ferried to Sweden using the Danish fishing fleet. One hundred twenty Danish Jews died in the whole Holocaust.

The Netherlands' Situation

At the beginning of the war, The Netherlands had approximately 140,000 Jews, which was a very high population per capita given its small region and the dense urban areas like Amsterdam where most of them lived. This made it extremely difficult and challenging to shuffle Jews from place to place as the Gestapo "crawled" through the streets constantly searching buildings (Tina 1988). Throughout the war, a Jew might stay in 40 different places with one of the estimated 20,000 Dutch people that helped the Jews in some form. The Dutch were second to Poland in number of rescuers, but the circumstances that filled their country with such difficulty allowed less than 25%, or 33,000, of Jews in The Netherlands to survive (Rabben, 2016).

"[Interviewer]: Over all those years of rescuing, about how many people went in and out of

your house?

[Strobos]: Hundreds, close to a hundred. My mother and I made a list after the war. I lost the list with all thenames of the people."

"Now in Hausen, for instance, a little fishing village on the Zauderzei, they were raided. There was a village of about 8000 souls, and they were raided by 7000 Gestapo, house to house, so when I'm talking about what they put into it, as effort to find hidden Jews, it was enormous. I don't know any other country they did that….I've heard people ask me, "How come 95% of the Danish Jews were saved and only 20% of the Dutch?" Well, that was the reason. The Danish Jews could, in one night, row over to Sweden, and apparently there wasn't too much patrolling there, because 95% could get to Sweden. But we had Germany on one side, the North Sea on the other. People tried to escape, some of my friends tried to escape over the North Sea in a boat, but if your boat wasn't seaworthy...besides, they had a lot of patrols on the North Sea, the Germans, with big lamps, boats with big lamps, and if you weren't caught, these boats weren't seaworthy." (Strobos, 1992)

Rescuers who were well trained by the underground created escape routes from apartments to rooftops and nearby buildings. Strobos notes that the building where Anne Frank hid did not have an escape route out of the attic, which left her and her family trapped. Carpenters with the underground used their talents to create creating hidden walls and spaces within shelves, under floors, and between attic rafters for Jews to hide when the Nazis came to raid.

"[Interviewer]: What did you and your family and other rescuers risk? What were the risks?

[Strobos] Life and death. There were big placards hung up all through the city that helping Jews uh, was punishable by death. And, uh, this was no idle boast… If you were caught, you were going to be punished by death. And whenever they arrested us, justfor, you know,

being accused, helping Jews, uh, they would say, "You're under arrest, you're goingto jail." And my uncle who was accused of helping Jews was a year in a concentration camp. Now, this was not a gas chamber camp, this was a Dutch camp, but, people died like flies there from undernourishment, illness, and uh, he escaped sort of miraculously. They emptied out the camp, and he was left behind with a couple of other people hiding in the latrines. And he walked tothe next village, it was in Fuft, and uh, he came home emaciated a year later."

"[Interviewer]: Were you afraid of the Gestapo?

[Strobos]: Was I afraid of them?! I was terrified of them. My mother would tremble from head to toe when they would come, and I would sort of hold her arm or say, 'Don't show them you're scared. Don't show them you're scared. There's nothing here in the house. Don't worry. They can't pin anything down on us.' You know, whenever they weren't paying attention, uh, I'd bolster her spirits." (Strobos, 1992)

Italy's Situation

Once Germany began the occupation of Italy in September 1943, the terror that had been a reality for Jews in other countries finally came to native and foreign Jews as they were hunted by Nazis and fascists in the newly named Italian Social Republic, north of the Allied line in Salerno. Networks such as DELASEM and the smaller religious networks that had already been helping them went into a world of secrecy and recruited others to help in their campaign to hide Jews or quickly send them to Allied or neutral territories. It was perilous work. German pilots dropped fliers from the sky that warned Italians they would be killed for hiding Jews (Jacoby, 2014). The Nazis showed no mercy even when they burst their way into the sanctuary of monasteries and convents looking for Jews. At an abbey in Certosa di Farneta near Lucca, dozens of Nazis tricked their way beyond the doors into the peaceful courtyard. After searching the chapel and rooms, they tortured and killed 12 monks and 32 partisans and Jews (Wikipedia).

Word spread quickly through occupied Italy about what would happen if Jews were captured and put on trains to Nazi-occupied Poland. Leo Diamantstein's family was originally from Poland, but fled to Italy as antisemitism grew worse. When the Germans arrived in the family's adopted town of Vicenza, Leo's father made him and his brother run into the mountains:

> "You know, I mean, it was a precarious life. We had nightmares, you can imagine. At one point a train arrived with 200 Germans. This was so, so sudden. It was in the middle of the day and we didn't know what to do. We had a quick reunion, so father said, "No matter what happens we don't have time to go anywhere, you kids go up in the mountains somewhere."
>
> So Maurice, Adolf and I….I still remember, Adolf took his mandolin and Maurice's guitar and we put rucksacks on and we went across about five miles away. We went up a mountain that somebody told us there's a small community. If anything there needs to be told was this experience, because whenever I feel that there is little hope for humanity I remember this episode because I was so touched by it.
>
> We got up to this plateau and it was only maybe 50 yards space, not that much, maybe 30, and there was a small square up in the mountains, Monte Sormano. It was a steep hill up. And there were six families living there. Totally self-sufficient. They had one cow and they had a fellow that had a huge workbench. Made all their own tools. They cultivated this whole side of the mountain, made steps with cultivations in it, and they lived there.
>
> So we told these people what our predicament was. They just couldn't understand it. He said, "What do they have against you, what did they do to them?" And we said we didn't do anything to them. He says, "Then why do they want to kill you?" We said, "Because we are Jewish." He said, "What's that?" Well so we explained it to them and they said, "Well

why would they want to kill you, that doesn't make sense." I said, "I know it doesn't make sense, but that's the way it is." And they said, "Well you can stay here."

And we told them that before you let us stay here you need to know one thing: There has been an edict published that if they find us here they will not only kill us, they will kill you. "So please," I said, "don't take us in unless you know what you're doing, because you are endangering your lives." And believe it or not for an hour they argued about with whom we are going to stay. They said, "No let them stay with us, no let them stay with us." So finally, we decided we would stay in a hay loft because we didn't know yet what these 200 Germans were going to do. What would they do? It didn't make sense. And we said, "Let's wait it out." I still remember that night Maurice and Adolf were strumming their instruments. They fed us. They were just incredibly nice.

One of them told us he was in Greece, he fought in Greece. And he said, "I was next to a guy that was manning a machine gun and he was going to machine gun for hours and I don't know how many Greeks he killed." And he says, "I couldn't understand it." He said, "Why was he killing those Greeks? They didn't do anything to us." He says, "I can understand if you take my daughter away, if you do anything to any of my family I will kill you," he says, "but these people didn't do anything to us." There was a strong way of reasoning, a humanitarian reasoning, within all Italians in that sense. Well not all, but most." (Diamantstein, 1991)

Gino Bartali was under no illusion of the danger he faced helping Cardinal Dalla Costa and the Assisi Network. Although he had a permit to ride through Tuscany and Umbria on his bike, he was still under constant surveillance by the Germans. He was finally brought in for questioning at the Gestapo headquarters in Florence by a suspicious Nazi commander and being prepared to be tortured for information. Miraculously, he was recognized by one of the Nazis who made a case

that the famous cyclist couldn't possibly be hiding Jews while still training so much (McConnon & McConnon, 2012).

For nine months, Italians worked under the strain of Nazi occupation to save over 40,000 Jews in their country. Mordecai Paldiel (1993) of Yad Vashem wrote that,

> "In no other occupied Catholic country were monasteries, convents, shrines, and religious houses opened to fleeing Jews, and their needs attended to, without any overt intention to steer them away from their ancient faith, but solely to abide by the preeminent religious command of the sanctity of life. They epitomized the best and most elevated form of religious faith and human fidelity."

Nearly 85% of the Jews in Italy were saved because of their efforts. 8,564 Jews were deported to Auschwitz and only 1,009 survived (Holocaust Encyclopedia, 2021). Paldiel credits this high success rate to several factors unique to Italy's situation during the war:

- The late occupation of Italy. Germany did not take over the Italian Social Republic until September 1943, and then the Allies reached Rome and Assisi the following June, and Florence in August. Italy was not fully liberated until May 1945, but by then the Nazi resources for deportations was drastically reduced.
- The sweeping effort by the Catholic clergy and small monasteries and convents throughout the country who moved into action without waiting for direction or approval by their superiors. Pope Pius XII has come under severe criticism for his apparent lack of action or disapproval of Germany's actions throughout the war and especially as Roman Jews were deported block from the Vatican.
- Italians in all ranks of professions and government and police positions even inside the Fascist government who refused to abide by the German requests or who helped the Jews with hiding and using fake documents.

Righteous Among the Nations

> "We should also emphasize…after the war over half a million Jews survived in Europe. Now, some of them don't owe anything to anybody. They survived in camps, the Nazis had no time to finish them. There are others who don't owe anything to anybody. They survived in the mountains, in the forests fighting as partisans, but most of them were helped by individuals: priests, nuns, peasants, some intelligencia…wherever they were…in France, in Belgium, in Poland, in Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece.
>
> Now, to help a Jew during the war was very dangerous. In France…in Belgium… you might go to jail if they caught you. Some cases you would be punished…penalty, pay some money…but in eastern Europe, particularly Poland - instantaneous death, execution. Sometimes if the family was involved, entire families shot. There were a few cases, not many, but a few cases, where Gestapo found out that peasants in the village knew that there was some Jewish family in hiding…they burned the entire village. But still there were people who were helping the Jews." (Karski, 1988)

By 1963 Yad Vashem's historians were researching and verifying rescuers from direct testimony and documented evidence. Yad Vashem's purpose in documenting these rescuers is to manage an important archive of Holocaust research as well as to recognize these heroic activities and to "provide a blueprint to empower future generations" (Koepp, 2019). Mordecai Paldiel (1993), former director of the Department for the Righteous at Yad Vashem, elaborated on their purpose in recognizing these citizens:

- It proves that helping was possible in every occupied country during WWII and refuses the excuse of a "moral paralysis."
- It shows that totalitarian regimes can and should be opposed, not only by organized groups, but by individuals.
- It reminds us of the sanctity of life and that the death of one innocent person is a "moral challenge to the rest of mankind."

- It shows that the Righteous Gentiles were ordinary citizens with no special training or intangible level of generosity.

Yad Vashem's historians painstakingly review survivor testimonies and other documentation when considering whether the candidate meets the criteria for the title "Righteous Among the Nations," which includes (Koepp, 2019):

- Willingness to risk one's own life to save Jews from deportation and extermination
- Personal involvement in the rescue of Jews, regardless of outcome
- Performing actions that sprang from humanitarian concerns and not a desire for compensation
- Absence of physical harm to Jews or others
- Documentation of these activities from survivors either through oral testimony or incontrovertible documentary evidence of their actions.
- Identification of qualified types of rescue aid: Sheltering, hiding Jews, helping them to assume new identities, helping to transport to safer locales, hiding children who were separated from parents.

Once awarded, the title takes on great ceremony worthy of recognizing those whose achievements decades ago deserve the most cherished observance. At the Yad Vashem campus in Jerusalem, the rescuer and survivor families are all encouraged to participate. Most have not seen each other since the war and the reunion always brings great emotion. The families represent generations of Jews that the Nazis could never destroy. The rescuer is awarded with a certificate, a plaque on Yad Vashem's wall of names, a carob tree sapling planted in the institute's expansive garden, and a large medal bearing the inscription, "Whoever saves a single soul, it is as if he had saved the whole world."

Since the emergence of rescuer stories, there has been steady debate by Holocaust survivors and researchers about focusing on the heroic aspect of a few rescuers for the sake of a feel-good story. Some believe it diminishes the reality that Jews lived in terror and six million were killed

(Koepp, 2019) or it implies that Jews were passive victims waiting for rescue (Yelich-Biniecki et al., 2016). While sensitivity to their experience and opinion is noteworthy, other researchers and current Holocaust remembrance organizations and educators have a different view. They insist that it is in learning these rare stories of moral courage that students can realize the scale of how many bystanders allowed the Holocaust to occur, and what happens when so few have the courage to step forward and protect their friends, neighbors, or strangers (Feldstern & Ryan, 2019). Even more importantly, it gives students hope.

As of January 2021, Yad Vashem has recognized 27,921 people as Righteous Among the Nations. They estimate that the world will never know the exact number of rescuers for several reasons: many never came forward with their story; thousands died during or after the war; and the rescue of one Jew could take as many as ten to help and those collective helpers cannot be identified (Yad Vashem, 2021). They were the exception rather than the rule. Exact numbers will never be known. Some estimates say that only 5-10% of the 500,000 Jews who lived through the Holocaust received assistance from rescuers (Baron). Yad Vashem estimates 100,000 non-Jews could have helped (Gushee). Holocaust researchers, Sam and Pearl Oliner, suggest that the number of rescuers during World War II could have been from 50,000 to as many as 500,000 (Oliner & Oliner, 1990). They further estimate that the number of rescuers could have been one million if the two million Jews who survived received any assistance.

Jan Karski also raises the point of how many rescuers must have helped for over half a million Jews to have survived the Holocaust:

> "In Jerusalem you have approximately 5,800 those trees of diplomacy [as of 1992]. This is a fraction, a small fraction. There must have been many, many, many more. They should be sought after even if they are dead already. Their names should be known. For the Jewish post-war generation, again, not to lose faith in humanity. For the non-Jewish post-war

> generation, make them realize first where a lack of tolerance…antisemitism, racism, hatred…where do they lead to? Yesterday Jews, tomorrow perhaps Catholics, or whites or yellows or blacks… And secondly, what obedience to our Lord's commandment, "Love your neighbor" can do, it can save people even in such circumstances as the Second World War. (Karski, 1988)

Whatever the actual number of rescuers, there still is a striking disparity given that the population of Europe at that time was over 300 million. Whether this estimated range was high or low, it was a fraction compared to the bystanders and collaborators who chose to look the other way.

Gino Bartali and the Assisi Network Righteous Among the Nations

Not until the early 2010s did Yad Vashem historians verify what others had suggested about Bartali's contributions during the war. From 1943 to 1944, it is estimated that Bartali rode at least 40 missions for the Assisi Network and saved approximately 800 Jews. He was recognized in 2013 as Righteous Among the Nations. His associates in the Assisi Network were also recognized by Yad Vashem over the years and awarded Righteous Among the Nations:

- Father Rufino Niccacci, 1974
- Bishop Giuseppe Nicolini, 1977
- Father Aldo Brunacci, 1977
- Luigi and Trento Brizi, 1997
- Cardinal Elia Angelo Dalla Costa, 2012
- Mother Superior Giuseppina Biviglia, 2013
- Mother Superior Ermella Brandi, 2013

Tina Strobos and the Dutch Righteous Among the Nations

The Dutch were second to Poland in number of rescuers, but the circumstances that filled their country with such difficulty allowed less than 25%, or 33,000, of Jews in The Netherlands to survive. The number of people actually rescued was only 11% of the Jewish population.

Tina Strobos and her mother, Marie, were recognized by Yad Vashem for their perilous actions working for the Dutch underground and saving nearly 100 Jews in their home. They were awarded the title Righteous Among the Nations in 1989.

Knud Dyby and the Danish Underground Righteous Among the Nations

The title of Righteous Among the Nations is given to individuals, not groups. However, the Danish Underground considered their massive rescue effort a group undertaking and a matter of national pride to refute the Germans and uphold moral values. They elected to have their group recognized by Yad Vashem, rather than by individual names. At the Yad Vashem campus there is a carob tree, plaque, and fishing vessel dedicated to their efforts.

Several Danes were still recognized by Yad Vashem with the title Righteous Among the Nations due to their extraordinary risk taking and contributions to the rescue of Danish Jews. Knud Dyby was recognized for using his position as a policeman to supply the resistance with intelligence information, false identification documents, coordinating Jews meeting with fishing boats, and transporting sensitive documents to and from Sweden. He spent many of his later years sharing his stories with audiences, especially to young people, to encourage goodness to all of their neighbors.

Jan Karski, Irene Opdyke, and the Polish Righteous Among the Nations

There is a distortion in trying to compare the number of Righteous titles in each country given the great differences in their situations during the war and incalculable number of rescuers who will never be known. It also diminishes the efforts of the equally courageous few. Still, it is inspiring to see that in the occupied Polish region targeted by the Nazis as the center of extermination has by far the largest number of Righteous Gentiles: 7,177. On the other hand, Poland also had the largest Jewish population in Europe, over 3 million, and only 10% survived. Of that, Yad Vashem estimates that only 1% were saved by rescuers (Yad Vashem). Irene Opdyke's extraordinary example of moral courage while living with and working for the Nazis

was recognized by Yad Vashem in 1982. Jan Karski did not save Jewish individuals like other rescuers. His unique contribution was in risking his life to witness the atrocities firsthand and then travel to Allied countries and report to their leaders pleading for action. Even after the war, he dedicated his life to continuing the memory of Holocaust victims. He was awarded as Righteous Among the Nations in 1982.

Chapter 4: The Science of Holocaust Rescuer Altruism

Holocaust rescuer stories are more than just a new genre of courageous heroes. They are a gateway for students, parents, and community leaders to discover the foundations of building a moral society. The stories bring awareness of how rescuer altruistic behavior is developed and discussion of how it could be applied in our current society.

After the war, books were written on the Nazi war crimes, military campaign strategies, and history leading up to the Holocaust. They were not on the atrocities of the Jews, let alone the minority who went against society's pressures to help them. *"Nobody, I mean, nobody wanted to hear about what happened in the concentration camps,"* recalls a Danish rescuer who was arrested and sent to one (Fogelman, 1994). The focus of academic research was on how a society could have allowed the Holocaust to happened. Social scientists who left Nazi Germany in the 1930s studied personalities after the war and defined an "Authoritarian Personality" that led people to harbor nationalist and racist attitudes. It included a "correlation between deep rooted traits of lack of independence, submission to authority, rigid moral reactions, and overt prejudice and a hierarchal authoritarian parent-child relationship" (Fogelman, 1994).

As interest in survivor testimonies grew in the 1960s and revelations of their rescuers became known, historians and researchers began to profile this unacknowledged group from the Holocaust to seek out their motivations (Baron, 1986). This preliminary research on rescuers laid the foundation for academic researchers in the 1980s to actively pursue in-depth studies to get to the core of what separated rescuers' courageous actions from so many bystanders. Because human behavior in the context of the Holocaust is incredibly complex, the research was interdisciplinary and included the fields of history, sociology, psychology, theology, and medicine (Koepp, 2019). Yad Vashem's historical records and testimonies became a vital source and was added to new interviews collected by the researchers.

The researchers were highly motivated to probe this untapped area of human nature, in large part to discover what could be learned and if it could be replicated. Three of the most important studies in this field are from, Samuel and Pearl Oliner, Eva Fogelman, and Nechama Tec. While they each suggest different findings, albeit with similar themes, to explain the uniqueness of the behavior of the Righteous, one commonality is that the years of childhood development are critical (Paldiel, n.d.). This finding in itself is enough to raise awareness for any modern society contemplating its future. Tec predicted, "Knowledge of the exact number [of rescuers] is less important than insights about this kind of behavior. Such insight carries a promise of positive lessons"(Tec, n.d.). The Oliners had the same sentiments and goal:

> "Altruism exists. The question is whether there is something in their nature that might have predisposed rescuers to altruistic acts, something that might be called an altruistic personality. If we can understand this we might be able to deliberately cultivate and nurture it in the service of a global community" (Oliner & Oliner, 1990).

It is important to note that not every rescuer fit neatly into each personality trait that these researchers found. Sometimes they fit into several, sometimes none. Just because one person had one trait did not automatically imply that they could or would become a rescuer. To engage in rescue depended on additional factors such as in what country they were living, whether they met a Jew to help (rescuers uniformly did not actively seek them out), if there were small children who might not understand secrecy, if neighbors were bent on revealing Jews, if they had surplus money to buy food and proximity to buy goods, etc. If these external factors aligned with the person's characteristics, then there could be a predisposition for rescuer action (Baron, 2019).

Sam and Pearl Oliner

In the 1980s, researchers Samuel and Pearl Oliner of Humboldt University began the first major study on the motivation of rescuers to determine if there was a pattern in their backgrounds

and personalities that would explain their actions. The Oliners were uniquely qualified to lead such a study. During the war, Mr. Oliner was a young Jew in Poland who escaped the Bolbova ghetto when he was only 12 years old. As he began to flee the single room that his family had been living in, he hesitated until his grandmother gave her blessing for him to leave. He wasn't able to escape the ghetto before watching from a rooftop as his family and other Jews were rounded up in the town square and taken by the truckload throughout the day to a mass grave and shot. "I couldn't believe that I was awake or alive or dead or – it was a nightmare as I observed this." (Oliner, 1994)

The young Oliner fled to the home of some Christian family friends in the country, not far from the ghetto. Fortunately, the woman took him in and did not send him back to the ghetto that she could see just over the hills.

> "And so I came and I knocked on the door, and she already heard what had happened, because the forest is very close by; on a clear day down the hill you can see…see its location, the approximate location of it. And she knew what had happened, and so she took me in, and she sort of calmed me down, she said 'Don't worry, you must survive, you will survive,' but she couldn't keep me in the house for a number of reasons. I don't know, maybe she wasn't 1000% altruistic. Maybe she was afraid." (Oliner, 1994)

This benevolent woman helped Oliner to survive in this new world that changed overnight. She changed his name from a Jewish one to a Polish name, Yusef Polowski, and also taught him Catechism that he could still recite decades later. A neighbor was known to be a traitor to the Nazis so Oliner would not be safe in her house for long. The woman devised a plan for him to continue with his false identity. Many Polish farmers were looking for help, so Oliner survived by pretending to be a "pasteur", a farmhand, to a non-Jewish family. Like many Poles, this family took over a farm from a Jewish family who had to surrender their homes and belongings. The Jewish family was also eventually killed in Bolbova. The sentiment of antisemitism was deep

across eastern Europe. Oliner remembers the farmer he worked for say, “I feel sorry for the Jews, but, on the other hand, the Nazis cleaned Poland of Jews for us. It will be a different Poland, a better Poland for it” (Oliner, 1994).

He lived day to day keeping his head low and void of suspicion among the Christian family. In his 1994 testimony, he remembers what it was like to be so young and face these circumstances: “It’s kind of like the wisdom of the ages, you suddenly – poof – suddenly you’re mature. Necessity, I supposed, is the mother of invention or something, some people say…I grew up overnight.” Oliner thought his stay with the non-Jews would only last eight weeks and that the Allies would invade and defeat the Nazis. He was there for three years.

After Poland was liberated, he roamed around Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Germany with some older boys realizing that he had “nothing to lose, no ties, and I could do anything I chose to” (Oliner, 1994). He met American servicemen and drove in their trucks. Like many Jews, he spent time at a displaced persons camp, ironically one that was formerly a barrack for Nazi commanders. The opportunity to move to England came about with the help of a British Jewish community organization taking in orphans. Oliner began his studies in England, and then moved to New York City in 1950 under the care of relatives who had moved there in the 1920s. He met and married Pearl in 1956, then they both moved to California and earned PhDs at UC Berkeley, then began teaching sociology at Humboldt State University (North Coast Journal, 2021)

Sam and Pearl Oliner’s groundbreaking book in 1988 was called “The Altruistic Personality Project.” They interviewed over 700 Holocaust rescuers and non-rescuers from Poland, Germany, France, the Netherlands, Italy, Denmark, Belgium, and Norway (Oliner & Oliner, 1988). Their results successfully identified traits that nurtured a humanistic moral code in nearly all Holocaust rescuers (Oliner, Wielgus, & Gruber, 2004). The most significant influences were:

- **Values**, such as equity, fairness, empathy, and justice. Rescuers believed that innocent people should not be persecuted for no reason and that every human is equal.
- **Parental Influence**. In childhood, they were surrounded with family figures who modeled caring about other people regardless of differences. This also extended into discipline. Rescuers were more likely to have parents who used discussion and explanation rather than physical punishment when faced with bad behavior. Non-rescuers regularly described growing up in an abusive home.
- **Predisposition to Action**. When face-to-face with someone in need, they immediately took action, or were part of a community whose expectations were to help others (Oliner & Oliner, 1990).

These influences are prevalent when hearing the rescuers' stories. Strobos' values were developed from being raised in a multi-generational family of self-described Socialist Democratic Atheists, which was a common freethinker movement at that time in Amsterdam. Her family and their social circle rejected religious beliefs and sought to rid themselves of the "tyranny of the clergy." However, this never affected their morality. Rather, for generations her family held great value for life and had a tradition of helping others.

> "My family is basically social democratic atheistic family, and I've been very influenced by my maternal grandfather in whose house I was born in Amsterdam, it was an old 17th century house…and the ideals that they had of education and helping other people they acted out in their lives, and they had Belgian refuges in the first world war. And as ____ came into power they had refugees in their house. And when Hitler invaded Holland in May 1940, a famous Jewish union leader and columnist who had his column in the paper with his picture, immediately called my grandmother if he could stay in her house. He was sure he would be one of the first to be arrested. He and his wife stayed with my grandmother from day one, and later found another address because my grandmother had a very small apartment in Amsterdam and he had a chance to stay in the country, and he was rescued." (Strobos, 1988)

Knud Dyby's strong moral values also go back for generations. His family instilled a deep sense of goodness that included taking care of family, friends, and neighbors. Like Strobos, this was not tied to the church or religion, but from his culture's long-held belief in helping others. He joked about how little he, or anyone in Denmark, went to church, but at the same time it did not impede on their moral values:

> "We're not a very religious people. Maybe traditional, but not religious. You wouldn't find 500 people in churches on Sunday morning in all of Denmark. Maybe I put a little extra. But, the morale, I mean the goodness of people is still there. Maybe from the old tradition of religion but it's still there without going to churches." (Dyby, 1991)
>
> "I will say we went to church twice a year, or sometimes four times in a lifetime. That would be the maximum. But I would say that the tradition of religion, of goodness was in their hearts, so maybe religion had something to do with it, but we didn't have to go and verify it in the churches. Partly because of the old traditions and very conservative churches at that time, the Lutherans in Denmark, the Protestant, were very conservative. You didn't laugh when you get inside the church and you didn't talk loud either. So actually, I was turned off religion by a stupid teacher in religion and by very old-fashioned priests." (Dyby, 1996)

Irene Gut Opdyke fondly recalls her parents' influence as a child growing up in rural Poland:

> "It was very happy family. We were at peace with God and people. My mother was saint because there were gypsies around in the forests and they were poor and my mother twice took a Gypsie to our home because she did have pneumonia, she was very sick. My mother also encouraged us always to help no matter what. And when we were coming from school we brought the dogs and the cats and lost children and birds and whoever. My mother never

said, 'Why are you doing that, it's too much.' She knew how to fix. She knew how to help. And so, we grow in that type of a home.

I did have many happy times with my sisters. There were many poor people at the holidays. There was always place for poor people. And when somebody was down on their luck, my mother and my father were helping. So, I have to say that that was the important thing in my life." (Opdyke, 1993)

Opdyke's parents also modeled how to be accepting of people from other races and religions. For a child, the most important thing was to have friends and play well together, which was such an important part of her development that she never heard of antisemitism:

"[Opdyke]: My father built a factory, ceramic factory. And he did have many people under study and there were Polish and Russian and Jewish and Christian and Germans and many of the, some of the people were married. So, we did have united nation with children and we played together. There was not any hate between us. We just tried to find the nicest way to have a pleasure in playing. That's all.

[Interviewer] So your parents always were accepting of other kinds of people?

[Opdyke]: Yes. We were wonderful. There was never, I did not know the word 'antisemitism.' I learned that during the war and after the war. There was not any difference in that place I lived. That's true. There was not any 'this is a Jew' or 'this is a dumb Pole' or that this is an 'anybody,' you know. I didn't hear my father or mother speaking about that. But often they just said, 'You have to be good and play together.' And they tried to put lots of love in us for us for ourselves and also for other people." (Opdyke, 1993)

A significant rescuer trait was a predisposition to action and ability to think on their feet while under the duress of war. Strobos and her fellow university students poured their energy into underground resistance units. Tina Strobos' work with the Dutch Underground brought new problems to solve each day. It could involve hiding someone for a day or a week in their house, or finding a new location for that afternoon. Her inclination for medical studies and problem solving suited her well for the job. Strobos' immediate instinct was to save Jewish children. She and her sorority sisters discovered that the nearby ghetto was not heavily guarded and they could ride in and out on their bicycles:

> "My sorority that I was a member of was very active in the underground, and in placing Jews, and especially Jewish children. And I would pick them out of the ghetto because if they [the Germans] weren't raiding it, the ghetto was open, and you could ride [a bike] in and out, you know, with a child. They were not checking. They could, but they didn't always. And so I took people out of there, brought them home, and then there were homes for them in the country, especially for children. It would be much better to place them in the farms. They would stay with us for a couple of days to a couple of weeks.
>
> And we were taught in the underground how to behave when you were arrested. And always ask for an interpreter even though you speak German so that you can hear the question twice, and that you can correct the answer, and try to get in control of the interview by different ruses, you know, distractions and so forth. And I remember once, I was so afraid they had come to arrest me, and they, two guys took me by the wrist, threw me against the wall, and I was trembling, and I didn't want to show them. Don't show them that you're scared, you know, then they'll become more sadistic. So, I was trembling, and to hide it, I was crossing my legs and uncrossing my legs, and I had shorts on, and this Gestapo said to me, 'You're not impressing me with your legs.' So then I stopped trembling

automatically because I felt I had gained a little human control. He was, after all, just a person, a man, rather than, this devil." (Strobos, 1992)

The Oliners' research also divided the human response to others in need as either "The Ethics of Equity," seen in bystanders, or "The Ethics of Care," seen in rescuers. The bystanders saw societal relationships as "contractual," "giving each person what he is entitled to on the basis of social and religious norms and accepted standards of behavior," which fell in line with the Nazi Party and fascist expectations of society (Paldiel, 1993). Rescuers, however, held universalist views of society where all humans are born with the same rights as anyone else and that helping others is an obligation of society. Their actions uphold these ethics even if they go against accepted norms. This was particularly evident in countries such as Poland and The Netherlands where protecting Jews was seen as jeopardizing everyone else. German-controlled countries had bounties on Jews and anyone hiding them. Bystanders felt they were maintaining society's order by giving them away as well as pocketing money for food. Betraying a Jew in The Netherlands could net 100 Guilders ($55 U.S. dollars today) (Strobos, 1992). At a time of extreme hardship, denouncing a neighbor for a pittance of reward was common. To the rescuer, being revealed meant arrest, if not execution, to themselves and their family. In some parts of occupied-Europe, the denouncement meant the destruction and murder of their entire village.

Eva Fogelman

A second influential researcher of Holocaust rescuers was Eva Fogelman. Her parents were both Polish Jews who survived the Holocaust after fleeing to the Russian territory. Her mother's family was captured and sent to Russian labor camps and worked in freezing, abysmal conditions. Her father escaped a ghetto into a forest and was taken care of by a Russian army leader who was later awarded as Righteous Among the Nations. In 1979, Fogelman began a doctorate program in psychology at the City University of New York. One of her mentors there was Stanley Milgram.

He became famous for his research into why people with typically harmless intentions dismiss personal responsibility and carry out harmful actions towards others when under the direction of an authoritarian figure. Milgram's experiments showed that most people fail to stand up to these figures even when they see the effects of harm happening in front of their eyes. When actors in an experiment were exposed to fake doses of electrical shock and feigned pain, the subjects continued to emit the shock when ordered to by the experiment's director (Fogelman, 1994).

Fogelman was intrigued in the people who were the outliers of Milgram's research, those who would not follow the direction of authority, but who would stand up for what they believed is a wrongdoing towards others. This led her to learn of Holocaust rescuers and pursue research on their altruism as a social-psychological study into their behavior. Her initial "Rescuer Project" study evolved into ten years of interviews and research of over 300 rescuers in North America, Israel, and Europe. Three of her most significant findings include a "rescuer self" transformation, categories of motivation, and patterns in early childhood rearing.

Fogelman's most important contribution to the study of rescuers was coining the term "**rescuer self."** This described the psychological transformation rescuers underwent to rebalance the stressors of their new reality. They had to quickly manage and adapt to a world of deception, secrecy, and violence while caring for individuals who required food, shelter, and emotional energy. The rescuer self was a new identity built on strong moral foundations that allowed them to do what was necessary, to rationalize that their efforts were necessary and just. This identity was far more flexible than bystanders or those who did not pursue rescue at the same level. Their identities were solely about self-preservation of their status quo and an inability to adapt to new stresses from the war.

"[Interviewer]: Were you afraid all the time?

[Strobos]: Yes, we were terrified all the time, but, you know, you can suppress that fear if

you know that it's important, what you're doing. I also distributed underground newspapers. I thought it was important enough to risk your life for.

I wasn't such a daredevil that I carried a gun or made bombs, I was 100% into making passports, underground papers, and hiding people. Mostly hiding people, and taking care, and I would visit them once a month. I would be the only contact for them with their family or with, well, their old world. It was very important.

[Interviewer] What kind of people were the rescuers that you knew about?

[Strobos]: Well, I suppose we had a strong sense of justice, and a strong sense of that the Nazis shouldn't win, and that we should do everything to make them thwart their efforts. And that the worst thing they did was really to the Jews. They were the most victimized, and that they had very few choices, and so we should help them, and we did. And most of the people I know, did help. And most people I know were in the underground, and most of the underground people that I know were involved in this rescue work, I would say.

[Interviewer]: So, were all of you fearless?

[Strobos]: No, you could be scared to death, and do what you have to do, like I said, you know, even if it's the last thing I do, I have to do that, I have to because else I can't respect myself." (Strobos, 1992)

This rescuer self can also be seen in the change of Gino Bartali's identity as a cycling champion into his new, dangerous responsibility of meeting in secret with members of the Assisi Network and carrying documents through occupied Italy that would guarantee his arrest if not death. In addition to the constant threat of exposure, Bartali could not tell his wife, which constantly wore at him as he became conflicted with his moral obligation to his family versus that of saving Jewish strangers.

> "The weight of it all nearly suffocated Gino. There was no question he wanted to help…but the danger involved was overwhelming. It ate at him…he grew even more restless and agitated, consumed by the fear of what might happen if he was caught…..He had two reasons more powerful than any other not to risk himself: Adriana (his wife) and son, Andrea. If he was caught helping Jews or even sheltering them, he could be imprisoned and killed by the German authorities, leaving his wife alone to fend for their two-year-old son. It was an impossible choice. The siren call of self-preservation was deafening, but a nobler impulse beckoned…to stand by and do nothing while civilians were being captured and murdered was a choice that many viewed as tacit support of the deportations. 'One made the choice to be on the side of the Fascists or one had to defend the people.'" (McConnon & McConnon, 2012)

Categories of **motivation** became clear during Fogelman's research. While not all rescuers fit squarely into one or more categories, the majority did and provided incredible insight into the root of altruistic tendencies.

The most common **motivation** was m**oral**, based on values developed from different sources. These could be ***ideological morals*** that encouraged justice and were common in rescuers who were more politically motivated. Strobos' upbringing among her parents and their progressive Amsterdam social circle instilled these ideals for justice

> "Why did you do it, and why did the rescuers do it? My mother said to me, 'You know we can get killed.' But you know, even if it's the last thing you do, you have to do that because you can't live with that unjustice and not do anything, and then live with yourself, and knowing you didn't do everything you could. I wouldn't want to live in a world where nobody cares a damn." (Strobos, 1992)

Strong ***religious morals*** taught rescuers to have tolerance for others and that God made everyone equal and should be cared for equally. The holy city of Assisi in Italy was considered a sanctuary city where fugitives of any kind could not be arrested. In all its history there was no record of a Jew living there, but in 1943 when they sought safety from the Nazis, the Bishop of Assisi, Giuseppe Nicolini, arranged shelter for them in 26 monasteries around the city (Yad Vashem). One of Nicolini's assistants in this effort was Father Rufino Niccacci of the San Damiano Monastery. Together, they organized the Franciscan monks, friars, and sisters to hide Jews safely, keep them fed, provide classrooms for the children, and also allow them to practice their faith. Convents that were typically closed to outsiders opened their doors to hide the refugees within their walls of their cloisters. There, the Jews discovered a sanctuary, and if threatened by Nazi searches, secret passageways to take them to safety. Mother Superior Giuseppina Biviglia of the San Quirico convent, and Mother Superior Ermella Brandi of the Suore Stimmatine convent were both instrumental in helping Nicolini coordinate the Jews' safety at their convents and others. During their perilous six months in Assisi, no Jews were asked to adopt Catholicism during their stay and over 100 that were sheltered there lived. Another crucial role of Assisi and its citizens was the creation and distribution of false identification documents from the Brizi family print shop for hundreds of Jews passing through the Assisi Network's region. These were often picked up by Father Niccacci and handed off to Bartali under the cover of night so he could tuck them safely into his bicycle frame and carry them to their new owners.

Religious morals also took form of a strong humanitarian response cultivated from growing up in a deeply religious home with parents who acted as moral role models. Gino Bartali grew up outside of Florence, Italy, in a Catholic family with a father who taught him to beware of ignorant fascists and that everyone should be treated as equals. During his time as a rescuer, Bartali

frequently prayed for guidance while being fearful of being caught. His strong Catholic values defined his humanitarian actions and outweighed his fear.

> "The only place that could offer any peace in a moment like this was the Ponte a Ema cemetery. As he sat by his brother's grave, Gino could begin to contemplate the choice that stood before him. He had every reason to help. (Cardinal) Dalla Costa was his spiritual mentor – the human face of the faith that Gino had built his life around – and the man who had officiated his marriage and baptized his son…..Gino wrestled with the dilemma about what course of action to take. As a man of fervent faith, he turned to prayer for solace as he contemplated his options. He poured out his thoughts to his brother's tomb. Finally, without speaking to his wife, he made his decision." (McConnon & McConnon, 2012)

Fogelman says one of the best examples of the **moral rescuer** was Irene Gut Opdyke from Poland who was forced to work for a Nazi leader at their headquarters in a hotel. She was left horrified, but determined to find a way to help, upon discovering a ghetto next to the headquarters and hearing the gunshots and screams. She also witnessed the roundup and shooting of Jews in a mass grave outside the town. Opdyke prayed to God to give her a responsibility to help the Jews at any cost. She was motivated by her empathy for other humans and their suffering, which was developed throughout her childhood.

> "Time is very short and I overheard that soon there will be a liquidation of ghettos and this, they were talking, Gestapo open his big mouth and he was talking. Well, my friends I did have to tell them. They ask me, "Irene help. We don't have anyone. What we will do? We don't have place to go." You know they were in the work barracks. And the Gestapo did have the barracks. I didn't know what to do too. I did not have home, I did not have family. But I wanted to help. I wanted to help." (Opdyke, 1993)

The final category of moral rescuers was those who worked among a ***network***. Their groups opposed to the Nazi ideology and performed acts of resistance. Their initial focus was to oppose Hitler's agenda, but later saving Jews elevated in priority. Fogelman describes Denmark's country-wide effort to save their Jewish population as one of the best examples of a moral network.

> "Of course, first of all, it was by night, and it was probably people that you never met before, and we would all be nervous, not just the Jews, I was nervous as well. And of course they tried to have too many packages and you could just see the German patrol looking at these packages. So we had to either get some of our coworkers to take the luggage down and they might have been stopped and investigated, but if they weren't Jews not in danger of being arrested. So we would take absolutely normal transportation down to the harbor in Copenhagen by streetcars, cars, underground railroad cars until we could meet at a spot that was close to the harbor where we would wait and then get taxicabs to the ____ where we would hide until the boat was ready to take them. And of course there would be children, women, men, old men, young men. And it was a very interesting, but of course very Dangerous but very humanitarian thing to do." (Dyby, 1996)

> "Don't let it sound like I'm the only one when there were many, many people doing the same thing, all the way from Elsinore up north, and down to the southern part of Zealand. There were many, many people helping out and I don't think that it took between 14 days and a month until all the Jews were safe in Sweden where they were well received by the Swedes" (Dyby, 1991)

Other categories of Fogelman's moral rescuers include ***Judeophiles***, who had existing friendships or relationships with Jews. Bartali's family in Florence had long been close friends with a Jewish family, the Goldenbergs. In the winter and spring of 1944 as the Italian fascists and

German Nazis hunted for Jews, the Goldenbergs came to Bartali for help. He quickly found a solution to hide the family of four in a cramped, windowless apartment cellar in Florence.

> "My father was a friend of Gino Bartali and he told Bartali that he was looking for a place to hide. And Bartali hid my father, my mother, my sister, to the basement of his house, in spite of knowing that the Germans were killing everybody who was killing Jews. He was risking not only his life, but also his family. Gino Bartali saved my life and the life of my family. That's clear, because if they weren't hidden in the cellar, they didn't have a place to go." (Goldenberg, 2014)

Bartali never paused to think; he knew that his friends' lives were in immediate danger, and he found a solution despite the escalating danger to himself and his family. He also gave the Goldenberg mother false identification documents so she could leave the hiding space for food and water. They hid for almost nine months until Florence was liberated in August 1944. The young son, Giorgio Goldenberg, never spoke of how his childhood hero helped his family, but he became instrumental in testifying at Yad Vashem for Gino's indoctrination into the Righteous Among the Nations (Yad Vashem).

The final categories of Moral rescuer identified by Fogelman include ***concerned professionals***, such as doctors and social workers whose jobs were a natural extension of care, and ***child rescuers*** who helped along with their families.

Similar to the Oliners, another significant finding by Fogelman was the development of **core values in early childhood**. Rescuers routinely lauded their parents and upbringing in nurturing, loving homes. Fogelman's study reported that 89% of rescuers had a parent or other adult who acted as an altruistic role model. Either the parents or a trusted adult acted as a role model in altruistic behavior, teaching the young person about helping others regardless of differences.

"[Interviewer]: So even though you didn't go to church a lot, you're saying that your parents still had a good moral point of view.

[Dyby]: They had a beautiful point of morals, I mean, it was tradition at that time that you behaved, you know, well toward your neighbors and yourself and your family. I would say that my parents, my grandparents, and my great grandparents, you would call them 100% honest in everything they did.

[Interviewer]: They had a lot of integrity.

[Dyby]: Integrity. Yes honesty and integrity.

[Interviewer]: And what about this aspect of goodness?

[Dyby] Also in Denmark you had this, whether it was families or state or local government, you always took care of old and sick in that society, whether it was in families or in the country as a whole. You took care of old and sick.

[Interviewer] And what about your neighbors did they help too?

[Dyby]: Very much so. The old pioneers, if somebody had trouble next door you would help out." (Dyby, 1996)

Additionally, the parent-child relationship emphasized the importance of **learning to think independently,** whether in problem-solving situations or understanding the consequences of their actions on others. Rescuers' parents provided explanations for discipline rather than physical punishment or emotional abuse. This parental guidance combined with a loving environment set the children up to care for others and understand the balance of power between those in power and those who are weak.

> "I believe that you can make people better, the next generations, yes by what you're doing, teaching, and making people aware. But also by treating your children very well. Don't hit your children, don't be cruel to your children. And that still happens as you know. People who have been treated cruelly will be cruel." (Strobos, 1988)

Nechama Tec

As was the case with researcher Sam Oliner, Nechama Tec was also a young Polish Jew who survived the Holocaust thanks to the protection of a rescuer. For three years, she and her family lived under the care of a Polish family while using fake names and pretending to be Catholics. However, unlike the majority of rescue situations, Tec's family had to pay for their protection. Because their rescuer was motivated by money, it is not considered altruistic and does not meet the criteria of Righteous Gentile. Unfortunately, paid protection was not unheard of, but it is believed to be in the minority. To gain protection, Jews sometimes had to hand over all cash, jewelry, and possessions to the protector. In some cases they had to make regular payments that were often increased. These "paid helpers" were often described as putting the Jews in miserable situations that included threats, starvation, and murder. Tec and others postulate that because their only motivation was money, any sense of emotion or feeling towards the Jews was left void. Tec estimates from her research that 16% of Poles asked for payment from the Jews under their protection. The larger expanse of paid rescuers through Europe will never be known because they never came forward with their stories. Their charges were often left resentful and without respect for what they did (Tec, 1986).

In 1978, Tec returned to Poland for the first time since leaving with her family for the United States after the war. Now, she was a sociology researcher from Columbia University with the intent to interview survivors and rescuers to study their motivations for rescue. Because Poland was considered the most difficult region to live as a Jew and be rescued, she wanted to keep her

study group to only those living in Poland through the war. Her research included new interviews with 65 survivors and rescuers in Poland, the U.S., and Israel, as well as information from written accounts and memoirs, and unpublished testimonies. Her final study group included 189 Poles and 308 Jews. The results have contributed integral insight into rescuer behavior and motivations (Tec, 1986).

The first characteristic that Tec defines is **Individuality.** These rescuers either physically lived at the far ends of their community, or were emotionally distant from their community, which reduced how controlled they were by others.

The second is **Independence.** These rescuers had strong moral convictions that were not swayed by others who might have seen them as different. This trait also led them to a strong desire to stand up for the needy and persecuted.

The third is a **History of Altruism.** This could be from a religious upbringing, political views, or family backgrounds that instilled a life-long pattern of helping anyone in need. Both Tina Strobos and Irene Opdyke grew up in families that helped others throughout their generations that shows how it is passed down and not exclusive to young or old, men or women:

> "[Strobos]: Even in the 30s we had mineworkers' children. The __ was a lot of unemployment in the German mineworker's area, and we had German mineworkers' children stay in our house. So it was a tradition.
>
> [Interviewer]: So it seems like this was your grandparents were a very strong influence.
>
> [Strobos]: Yes.
>
> [Interviewer]: And your parents were they also in the same way?
>
> [Strobos]: Yes, and my mother very politically active in the women's, she was secretary of the women's peace movement and helping German and Austrian refugees, so we had done that all along you might say." (Strobos, 1988)

"[Interviewer]: Did you have neighbors who were Jewish or Gypsie?

[Opdyke]: Yeah. The gypsies in the forest. We always help. And they were neighbor. But there were Jewish neighbors and Christian neighbors. I don't remember really thinking any big thing. We were all kids together playing.

[Interviewer]: How did your mother come to know gypsies in the forest?

[Opdyke]: Well they were very close to our house because we lived out of town and we did have nice villa and you know the gypsies played music, and so many times our people did go to see, and they tell you story of your life. You give a hand and they tell you story. So my mother many times shared with them food or something, you know. And then when the gypsy was very sick and she was dying and so my mother did go and took her to our home. That I remember. And the doctor come and help.

So when there were poor people we brought them food and we, on holidays there was always three to four people at our tables you know." (Opdyke, 1993)

The fourth is a **Modesty about Acts of Rescue.** A repeated phrase from rescuers is that they "did not do anything extraordinary," that "it was the right thing to do." Their view is that it was an obvious reaction to the suffering of Jews around them and a duty that needed to be done without hesitation. Those interviewed also mentioned that given the overall fear and traumas they lived through daily because of the Nazi occupation, the dangers of rescue were a small part of their burden. Their justification was that helping the Jews was just one of countless ways to die, and one that was morally founded (Tec, 1986).

Bartali's acts of rescue became exposed to the public when the movie, *The Assisi Underground*, appeared in 1985. It was based on the book written by a Polish journalist, Alexander Ramati, who was in Assisi with the Allies as it was liberated. There, he met members of the Assisi Network and later interviewed Father Niccacci and the Brizi family. This was the first record of

the rescue of Jews in the holy city and Bartali's role. The movie does not call out Bartali by name, but his identity and role are insinuated and the Italian public rushed to know more. The normally reserved, aging, Bartali reverted to his competitive, combatant nature and refused to discuss his role. When pressed by journalists later in his life, he did not deny his role, but said in a voice gravelly with age that to say anything else would overshadow those who lost their lives and suffered profoundly more than he had.

> "I don't want to appear to be a hero. Heroes are those who died, who were injured, who spent many months in prison." And "If you're good at a sport, they attach the medals to your shirts and then they shine in some museum. That which is earned by doing good deeds is attached to the soul and shines elsewhere." (McConnon & McConnon, 2012)

The fifth characteristic is Spontaneity. None of Tec's research showed that a rescuer planned to help ahead of time. Each case was unplanned, an impulsive reaction when either someone came to them in need or they were presented with a situation to solve. They often took action without thinking, just doing what they felt needed to happen. Irene Opdyke was the manager of a laundry room and trusted housekeeper to a Nazi military leader. Opdyke had 12 Jews from the nearby labor camp assisting with her work. They became friends and she would provide them food to bring back to the camp at night. If there were raids, she quickly figured how to hide them behind blankets on the shelves of the laundry room and lock them inside. During one raid, she led them up to the bathroom of one of the Nazi leaders and hid them in the air vent of his bathroom. Another time, she took them to a renovated villa to hide, locking them in the attic and then a servant's quarters. She and her Jewish friends discovered that the villa had been built by a Jew who cleverly constructed a secret room in the cellar by way of the coal chute. While they hid in the cellar, Opdyke still had to care for them by bringing food and water, and removing their waste with pails. None of these solutions to hiding her friends was planned. Opdyke had to be

spontaneous in response to the Nazis she worked for and constantly think of how to keep her friends safe.

> "[Opdyke]: At that time my friend said, 'Irene there is no use. We will give our lives up.' I told them, 'My life is not much more worth than yours. We did so far stay." I said, 'By the night you'll be in the villa.' I didn't think how I would take them to the villa. See, I was doing that because I wanted to help, but I was not smart enough. Like I say, I listened for a whisper from my God. I listen for the help but I did not have plan.
>
> [Interviewer]: But you had the capacity to see resource when it was there and use it.
>
> [Opdyke]: Yes. That is what was trying to do." (Opdyke, 1993)

The last characteristic is Universalism. The so-called "Jewishness" of the person was not a catalyst for action. Rescuers responded to the persecution and suffering of a victim regardless of race or religion. When King Christian X of Denmark was negotiating with Hitler on the level of German occupation in his country, he was told that Germany wanted to solve the "Jewish problem." King Christian is said to have replied, "We don't have a Jewish problem in Denmark, we're all Danes" (Dyby, 1991). Knud Dyby's description of universalism is in line with these humanitarian morals that Denmark was known for:

> "[Dyby]: You know I really did not know a lot of the Jewish people I took care and I didn't know a lot of the saboteurs I sent over to Sweden. First of all, you wouldn't have any photographs, you wouldn't have any written material, and you did not want to know more than absolutely necessary. The only thing that was of any value was to save these people and get them off. It didn't matter who they were but we didn't want to see them in concentration camp."

[Interviewer]: You mention you didn't think there was much antisemitism in Denmark as a whole, but were you aware of who was a Jew and who wasn't a Jew, did you ever think about it?

[Dyby]: I never thought about it, we weren't even aware of it. I only remember now, many, many years later, I remember where we even had in my hometown there was a synagogue and there were several Jews and they had their own cemetery next to one of our parks. And instead of antisemitism, I found them interesting because we are a very homogeneous society, and I think they were very interesting, very intelligent, and I like them, so as far as I'm concerned I didn't know what antisemitism was. And my parents neither. I think one of my uncles married a Danish Jew in my hometown, but she was just as accepted as well as anybody else." (Dyby, 1991)

Chapter 5: The New Holocaust Education

Trauma Doesn't Teach

These stories of rescuers' bravery and altruism often serve as an effective gateway for students to identify not just with people from the Holocaust, but also with their own present-day role when confronted with the choice between good and evil and the consequences each one brings. The Holocaust is one of history's clearest examples for students to study "the full continuum of individual behavior, from ultimate evil to ultimate good" (Lindquist, 2011a) and hence the moral implications of their decisions. Under the pressure of war and surrounded by death, people decided which side of history they were on and moral courage either emerged or was suppressed. In these stories, students can reflect on the roots of their own decisions and how they could contribute moral values in their own community. Perhaps more importantly to young people, knowledge of the rescuers' bravery in the context of the war – "when light pierced the darkness," to pull from Tec's book title - gives students hope when so much around them today insists there is none. Ivy Schamis, the Holocaust education teacher from Marjory Stoneman Douglas high school in Parkland, Florida, said,

> "I never would teach a class without giving hope to what happened with people that were maybe not-so-famous rescuers, like Leopold Socha who helped people in the sewers of Lwow (Poland), or (Aristides de Sousa) Mendes who helped write visas for people in Portugal. So I think that the hope is there and I believe that's also what gives students the hope in what's happening in today's world." (Bairnsfather et al., 2021)

Additionally, rescuer stories provide a unique perspective to learn about the Holocaust without making the student confront traumatic images or stories when they are not emotionally prepared. Through the lens of the Righteous Gentile, they can safely become exposed to the atrocities and evil while adopting a feeling of protection from the rescuer. Shulamit Imber was Yad Vashem's first Director of Education in the 1970s when there were no Holocaust education

programs. She began from scratch with groups of experts to assemble programs that have since been used in classrooms around the world. Over the years she has learned:

> "Trauma doesn't have a meaning. Teaching death doesn't give meaning. Don't give them numbers or shock, give them the human story about what was lost. Teach them empathy through learning what life was before and what was lost. Teach about the trauma without traumatizing. Bring the students safely in without trauma. Teach them survivor and rescuer stories. The survivors are our moral authority, they give us a backbone. Safely in, safely out." (Imber & Jacobs, 2021).

Rescuers themselves became advocates of teaching young people their stories as examples of humanity. Jan Karski of the Polish underground became a professor at Georgetown University. In his 1988 Christian Rescuers Project testimony, he says:

> "What must be emphasized, and many Jews do not do it enough, particularly those who teach Holocaust, particularly to the children, we must be very careful if the teacher is not qualified, he or she will run a risk corrupting the young minds. First, that such things were possible, such horrors happened. Corrupting the minds of young people will lose faith in humanity, particularly the Jewish children. 'Everybody hated us. Everybody is against us, so I must be only for myself, I must mistrust everybody because I am Jewish.' This is unhealthy, we don't want them to lose faith in humanity,
>
> To speak about Holocaust, a good teacher, particularly for the children, he should emphasize 'Don't lose faith in humanity.' With the governments, be careful. The governments have no souls, they have only interests in mind. But with individuals…not all humanity forsoke the Jews. Not all humanity abandoned the Jews. There must have been hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of individuals to make possible over half a million

Jews survive. All over Europe. Children should be taught about, otherwise if we are careless we may corrupt their minds."

A Society Ready for Change

Robert Putnam explains in his 2020 book "The Upswing" that our current American society has devolved into an individualistic one where everyone from big business to our neighbors are putting themselves first. His extensive research shows economic, political, societal, and cultural patterns that we are deep into a selfishly driven, divided era similar to the Gilded Age of the 1870s and 1890s when, "Inequality, political polarization, social dislocation, and cultural narcissism prevailed — all accompanied, as they are now, by unprecedented technological advances, prosperity, and material well-being." Progressives of the early 1900s changed that trajectory to a community-driven trend when "equality, inclusion, comity, connection, and altruism" were emphasized. The political divide was narrower, there was more economic opportunity for all classes:

To climb out of our current place in the "I-We-I" social curve, Putnam postulates that energetic, young Americans must find their shared core values and work in a bipartisan, grassroots effort to make the change while they, in turn, become leaders with strong morals. They can begin to sculpt the future social, economic, and political landscape as they did over 100 years ago. With a background in lessons from the Holocaust, the resiliency of the survivors, and altruism of the rescuers, these youths can be inspired to redirect our society back in a moral direction.

Leaders in Holocaust Education

Fortunately, there are education leaders with this kind of foresight to not only take the messages from the Holocaust to their students, but also to take them to new levels that perfectly align with what our society needs in order to reclaim moral values and tolerance. Today's model of Holocaust education is not the same footnote of gruesome, historical statistics from a few

decades ago. It has evolved into a multi-discipline approach bringing together history, global studies, psychology, civics, sociology, and others.

While some states have mandates on Holocaust education, such as Florida, others, such as Pennsylvania, only have recommendations. However, neither path guarantees that a school district will be funded, that a tenured social studies teacher will change their curriculum, or that a new teacher with innovative pedagogical ideas will be supported by administrators. Florida has had a Holocaust education mandate since 1994, but it came without supplemental support, funding, or buy-in from school districts. Only in 2012 did Schamis' school obtain the support of administrators and the resources to begin a holistic Holocaust education class. Right away, students were signing up and telling their friends. It pulled in students throughout the high school's diverse student body and quickly grew to eight fulltime classes per year. The students were engaged in the material that included other genocides, social justice, and examinations of news around the world. Even if they couldn't relate to a genocide in Rwanda, they could still learn to have empathy for others. Schamis says,

> "The key in all of the lessons we taught was how to distinguish yourself as an upstander. Because saying nothing and indifference is really the opposite of love, not hate. It's really being indifferent, and how you can be an upstander." (Bairnsfather et al., 2021)

The LIGHT Education Initiative

For the past four years, the Holocaust Center of Pittsburgh has presented the Holocaust Educator of the Year award to a local teacher who "encourages critical thought and personal growth through lessons of the Holocaust" (Haberman & Bernstein, 2021). In 2018 that award was given to Shaler Area High School teacher, Nick Haberman. He began teaching history and social studies in 2006. He inherited the existing Holocaust curriculum "as a non-Jewish kid from Etna with no Jewish friends and no experience studying the Holocaust and nobody in my family having lived through it." Undeterred, he was encouraged to seek out the Holocaust Center of Pittsburgh

for educational resources, and most importantly, to bring a Holocaust survivor into his class. After a few phone calls, he made a connection that became a catalyst for his life as a teacher: Jack Sittsamer.

He was born in Poland in 1924 to a large, Orthodox Jew family in a town with mostly Catholics. When the Germans invaded, Sittsamer watched in horror as they burned synagogues and round up other Jews and murdered them in a slaughterhouse. He and his family were forced to march to an airport hangar, herded by Nazis on motorcycles and German Shephard dogs. His father, who was injured fighting in World War I, could not keep up and was shot. The teenager was separated from his family and never saw them again after they were ordered to board other trains. Because of his youth and strength, he was selected to be a laborer at various concentration camps, enduring transits in boxcars to Auschwitz and Mauthausen, living behind electrified fences and barbed wire in a striped uniform under the eye of guarded watch towers. He was forced to perform heavy labor every day on 12-hour shifts, building tunnels and working through typhoid fever, whittling down to 80 pounds of "skin and bone." After the liberation by the U.S. Army at the Gusen II concentration camp near Mauthausen on May 5, 1945, he learned that he was the only survivor from his family (Sittsamer, 1989).

Haberman vividly recounts the first time talking to Sittsamer on the phone, arranging the speaking engagement for his class. He naively expected that Sittsamer would only talk to one class, but the 82-year-old took charge by saying, "Give me all the kids. The whole school. I'll talk to all of them. As many as you can get. That's how many I'll talk to." Sittsamer told his Holocaust story for 90-minutes in front of hundreds of captivated ninth graders and teachers. At the end of his presentation, Haberman says you could hear a pin drop. Teachers wept, students rushed the stage to shake Sittsamer's hand, give him a hug, and take selfies. The line went around the stage and Haberman was left stunned at the impact that one survivor could have.

On the drive home, Sittsamer was straight up with Haberman. He explained with no emotion:

> "You know, I'm going to die soon and when I do it's up to you to tell my story…I'm going to be gone and all the educators are going to be responsible for carrying on the stories of survivors, so you've got to carry on my story" (Haberman & Bernstein, 2021).

Sittsamer passed away less than two years later, but his lesson stayed with Haberman. The epiphany left him realizing that teachers have a great responsibility to teach the Holocaust for the long haul and it would require a new model. It would need to be sustainable and draw students in so their learning would not end at the door or when submitting a "disposable" assignment. It needed to seek change in the students and their community.

Over the years teaching the Holocaust, Haberman surrounded himself with experts rather than reinvent what they had already been done so well. He became a teaching Fellow at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum and attended the rigorous Jewish Foundation for the Righteous teacher training at Columbia University, obtaining the certificate of Master Teacher of the Holocaust. These experiences fortified his confidence to developing a holistic model of teaching the Holocaust. Students need to connect to something so long ago by drawing in how it relates with contemporary issues such as racism, antisemitism, gender inequality, identity-based discrimination, genocide awareness, immigration, and other social problems. He notes that often teachers feel they need to dance around sensitive topics, but in reality the students are already talking about them. They need a trusted, safe place to ask questions and find facts. Rather than teach in a silo of history or social studies, he connects the students' learning with teachers in other subjects such as art, writing, multimedia, and political science. In his classroom, he was seeing the progress not just in students' learning, but they were having fun. He designed the class so that it became student-led and they decided what was important to them. They were connecting lessons

of the Holocaust with topics that concerned them today and learned step-by-step how they could influence change.

He also believes that the current education model has successfully taught students problem solving skills from STEM (science, technology, engineering, math), but to continue their success as citizens in their community, they also need to connect that learning with the humanities. The wave of STEM success should also be applied to human-based problems that they face every day, whether at home, in their community, in school, or in events around the world.

When Haberman won the Holocaust Educator of the Year in 2018, its monetary award gave him the opportunity to take the model of what he had been doing in his classroom and share it with other teachers and school districts. He wanted to use the award to create something that could last the long-term rather than be a one-time investment. Like Sittsamer, he felt an obligation to ensure his stories and methods for teaching would be around long after he was gone. The award acted as seed money to help him launch a non-profit organization called the LIGHT Education Initiative (Leadership through Innovation in Genocide and Human rights Teaching).

The program seeks to solve a common problem teachers face of not having the resources to embed a sustainable, holistic program about the Holocaust or opportunities to have their students apply what they are learning to problems they see in their own communities. Its essence is to inspire, prepare, and empower students. They are given the structure to encourage project-based learning. By taking previously learned STEM skills, students can apply them to human-based problems using new skills from the humanities to solve problems in their community. Students learn leadership, networking, team work, problem solving, communication, goal setting, and most importantly - empathy. Using LIGHT as an educational vessel, they learn the basics, from improving their writing skills to promoting an event to recording a round table discussion for Black History Month. During the COVID-19 pandemic, Haberman's students wanted to have the

Pennsylvania state legislature acknowledge April as being Genocide Awareness Month. They worked with both a local conservative Republican politician and a liberal Democratic politician to create bipartisan language supporting their proposal. Then the students met virtually online with state legislators and provided a convincing argument to pass it with bipartisan agreement. For perhaps the first time in their young lives, they realized their actions could help others. With the opportunities from LIGHT they walk away from the class with skills to carry forward the rest of their lives.

Haberman knows from his years of experience that school districts need to have the incentive to support new programs. LIGHT has made every effort to remove the financial barrier by providing grant money for schools to begin their own program. For the teachers and administrators, LIGHT becomes a free, open-source teaching infrastructure that they can plug into their own curriculum and design as they want. They can make it as big or as small as necessary, always knowing that it is a dynamic process with room to grow.

Students learn through their Holocaust education studies about accepting people from different cultures and backgrounds. It is important to students to be exposed to these cultures even within their own city. One of LIGHT's programs is to provide both teachers and students local, cultural experiences beyond the typical museum experience. In the Pittsburgh area, LIGHT partners with small institutions that cater to community building and bridging art with social justice. At places like the Maxo Vanka murals in Millvale and the Carrie Furnace in Homestead, students can learn about the city's immigrant experience, which ties in with human rights, diversity, and acceptance. Future plans are to coordinate with the August Wilson Center and Roberto Clemente Museum. At a recent event called "Bad Activist," students from different school LIGHT programs got together to hear a local activist encourage how to influence change, then had lunch at a local restaurant, hung out at a library making buttons and learned to record

videos of the group's experience. It was "simple, fun stuff," but everyone was "glowing" after with their newfound companionship and friendships built on community-driven interests. Again, Haberman's foresight removes the financial barrier for school districts to support this kind of experience. LIGHT has the funding and coordination in place to fully subsidize and coordinate a day's field trip: from the bus, to the tour, to a prearranged lunch. It even includes paying for a substitute teacher.

CHUTZ-POW! Superheroes of the Holocaust

The Holocaust Center of Pittsburgh has been a touchstone for the Jewish and Holocaust educational community for forty years. Their mission is to connect "the horrors of the Holocaust and antisemitism with injustices of today. Through education, the Holocaust Center seeks to address these injustices and empower individuals to build a more civil and humane society."

A pillar of the Holocaust Center's education program is their self-published comic book series called *CHUTZ-POW! Superheroes of the Holocaust*. Its project coordinator, Marcel Walker, has been a life-long reader of comic books and explains that they were historically used to reach readers of all ages, not just children. The Golden Age of comics was in the 1930s and 40s, which coincided with World War II. Some of the original creators of comic books were Jewish and during the war, interest in comic books soared. They became the perfect medium for providing "cheap, portable, and inspirational, patriotic stories of good triumphing over evil." They sold by the millions and were sent in care packages to soldiers overseas (Walker, 2021). Captain America was originally created to support the war effort. Its first issue in March 1941 showed the masked American hero in his bright red, white, and blue uniform and shield socking Hitler to the ground while dodging Nazi bullets. It cost only 10 cents.

Comic books were considered a creative medium on par with movies in their diverse subject matter and more mature, real-world themes. Walker points out that two of the most influential and important comic books ever published were about social justice. In 1957 the comic

book, “Martin Luther King and the Montgomery Story,” was published and became a rallying cry and educational device for civil rights activists. It told the story of the Montgomery Bus Boycott and Rosa Parks, and a young pastor leading the protest named Martin Luther King, Jr.. The book went even further by providing guidance on how the reader and other activists could use nonviolent protests for social change. In the U.S., it influenced John Lewis and a whole generation of young, civil rights activists, as well as other events around the world such as anti-apartheid protests in South Africa (Klein, 2020). The other important comic book that Walker identifies was Art Spiegelman’s series, “Maus,” the only comic or graphic novel to win a Pulitzer. The series was created from 1980 to 1991 and was published as two complete book editions in 1992, when it won the Pulitzer. The first book told the story of Spiegelman’s father as a Polish Jew before the war and when the German’s first occupied Poland. The second book was the story of his struggle to survive at Auschwitz and Dachau, the camp’s liberation, and his life after (Meir, 2019). Spiegelman’s ability to weave an engaging, visual narrative of the Holocaust’s horrific truths with the human element of his father’s experience, foibles, and the love story with his first wife who was also at Auschwitz, make it a frequent educational tool used alongside “The Diary of Anne Frank” and Ellie Wiesel’s “Night.”

Walker explains that the tie between superheroes and the Holocaust is closer than one might think because superheroes often came from traumatic experiences. He is particular fond of Superman, who as a boy was sent away from his home world of Krypton by his parents moments before the planet was destroyed. His space capsule landed on Earth and he was all alone to find his own path even as he was taken in by the meaningful Kent family. Throughout the comic series, Superman must revisit and process this childhood trauma. The parallels to what Holocaust survivors went through is important because the young reader’s relationship to the superhero teaches them empathy, which they learn to apply elsewhere. “Comics, as literature, can help us

process trauma and help us develop empathy for others' experiences," says Walker. Additionally, comic books are an effective education tool when they make the subject matter more interesting and hold a young person's attention far longer than typical schoolbooks filled cover-to-cover with only words. "It makes it educational and not boring. I was always bored by typical textbooks," he says.

Given the long history of comic books as a medium for telling the story of difficult, but important, topics, it was the obvious choice when the Holocaust Center decided in 2013 to create a series of instructional narratives based on Holocaust survivors. Their goal was for the series to be scholastic as well as read by a general audience. The series would also change the perception that Holocaust survivors were victims by more accurately framing them as resilient superheroes. Similar to the characters in mainstream comics, the CHUTZ-POW! stories take the reader through the subject's upbringing, their personal experience of the Holocaust, their fight to survive, and reflection later in life. When Walker and his team are developing the stories, they work closely with the survivor to portray their memories on paper. Their artistic freedom brings the scenes from 80 years ago back to life. They can recreate pictures of what the survivor experienced in the concentration camps or hiding in the forests. They also rely on detailed historical research to make the stories as accurate as possible, from the Jeeps used by the U.S. Army to the faces of supporting characters. For many readers, this would be the only visual of what the survivor experienced since there were no cameras or videos to capture their daily life (Walker, 2021).

One of the first subjects of Issue #1 was Pittsburgh Holocaust survivor, Fritz Ottenheimer. Before he passed away in 2017, Ottenheimer frequently spoke to students about growing up in Germany in the late 1930s as the Nazi propaganda machine changed his family's life forever. His father's shop was shut down by the Nazis as loudspeakers blared about not supporting Jewish businesses. Defiant, his father created a display in the store window of his medals from World War

I fighting for Germany. The machine, however, was persistent and soaked passive communities with its messages of divisiveness. Even his regular non-Jewish playmates were being sent to Nazi Youth meetings and taught how to rethink their friendships. Jews from other parts of Germany came to his father for help as they tried to flee to nearby Switzerland. Luckily, his family was able to leave Germany in 1939, but he returned in 1945 as an enlisted U.S. Army serviceman to help the Allies and "de-Nazify" his homeland (Wise, Moeller, Wachter, Walker & Zingarelli, 2014).

Seventy years later, Ottenheimer was holding a copy of the comic book in his hands, fresh off the press, and flipping through his story recreated in panels of detailed black and white imagery: his father's shop with a window displaying his medals from World War I; playing ball with his friends in the Nazi Youth; the smoke and debris from Kristallnacht; arriving in America and seeing the Statue of Liberty; returning to Germany near the end of the war as an enlisted serviceman in the U.S. Army; surveying the damage and atrocities of his former home and wondering how 65 million Germans could have become bystanders. Ottenheimer smiled with pride at the book and read out loud the final sentence of his story that signifies the importance his parents made on him, "When you're acting as a Superman, you're teaching your children to be supermen."

In the classroom, Walker and the Holocaust Center have developed CHUTZ-POW! to not only be used in a history class, but also in visual arts, language arts, journalism, and community engagement to complement the new holistic method of Holocaust education. The supplemental teacher's resource guide provides examples of how the comic can be used to engage students in critical thinking. The Holocaust Center also uses CHUTZ-POW! as a bridge to introduce the audience to survivors more directly. After discussing the comic in class, the Holocaust Center can bring a local Pittsburgh survivor into the classroom or school. This completes the circle of knowledge and awareness for the student as the characters they've just read and discussed are brought to life in front of them as true superheroes.

It Begins at the Kitchen Table

In a perfect world, these successful examples of Holocaust education in 2021 would be universally mandated, funded, and applied systematically across the board. Students would enter society as ambassadors of a pro-social movement that, as Robert Putnam advocates, is destined to return but needs the innovative, problem-solving minds to foster it.

Nick Haberman's experience has shown that the previous model of Holocaust education does not stay with students. Trauma doesn't teach and they do not respond to assignments requiring reflections about torture or killing. What he has found is that success lies in stories of resilience:

"Is it surprising that we have the most success in classrooms with stories of resilience in an era of trauma-informed learning? In an era where we're talking more openly about mental health, we shouldn't be surprised that the students get the most inspired by stories of people that went through hard times, and that recovered from those hard times, whether it's because they were persecuted of their race or religion or their sexual preference or whatever identity it is, this theme of resilience is, I think, what makes them want to get involved in contemporary advocacy campaigns. This is LIGHT." (Haberman, 2021)

Current Holocaust education classes such as Haberman's do not focus on stories of the "Anne Franks" who perished. They read about rescuers and young resistance fighters who fought the Nazi regime and suffered for their cause by bringing attention to the indignities and atrocities. These stories inspire students decades later to stand up for what they believe in and show that even against the might of Nazi Germany and all their bystanders, young people can make a difference. Students today identify better with someone like Knud Dyby or Tina Strobos who were only a few years older than they are now and plotted and outwitted the Nazis. They are inspired by stories of hardship and all its twisting emotional anguish because, up until the end, whether they lived or died, they persevered. These themes are channeled into modern advocacy. Haberman adds, "Since

we have, sadly, millions of stories from the Holocaust to choose from, why not choose the ones that inspire." (Haberman, 2021)

Another change in students' perspective over the years is religion. The past decades have seen a trend in fewer young people participating in organized religion. Every year when Dr. Baird surveys her students, more and more identify as atheist. In terms of the Holocaust and rescuers, it is important for these students to learn that morality is not tied to religion. Both Strobos and Dyby came from families that eschewed the church, but in no way did it lessen or weaken their morals. Their heroism and bravery were built on the foundation of role models who respected life and people from different backgrounds. These role models today are the key to instilling lasting impressions regardless of whether they are formed in the church or not. It needs to begin in the sanctuary of the home. Rabbi Jeffry Myers from the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh summarized how students learn morals best:

> "It begins at the kitchen table, so the real challenge is how do you get a seat at the kitchen table, which is where in the literal sense, parents are the primary educators of their children. Their children are going to learn morals, the customs, the family beliefs as they sit and have a meal together. In absence of the opportunities to sit and dine with the families who need to do that, it goes back to education. More and more in America we live in silos that were clustered by those who were so similar and alike to us without daring to build bridges to connect to the other silos, the danger is in what we see every single day because when you don't know neighbors it leads to mistrust, misunderstanding, fear, loathing, eventually "the h-word" in speech and eventually to violence. So it has to start early on that we need to know all about our neighbors no matter what faith you are the maximum you're going to be is 50% of the population of the world. So there is still half a planet that you don't know anything about. I think when we learn more about our neighbors we can respect who

> they are, where they come from, their customs, the foods they eat, their family stories. When we have that kind of respect for other people, they're no longer "others." They are part of the family of humanity and they're not "them" anymore, it's all now part of "us." So in absence of kitchen table, it has to come from education." (Bairnsfather et al., 2021)

Chapter 6: The Voice of Ivo

Over the past five years I have thought about that train ride to and from Perugia and how I wish that I could have been a different person to take more from the experience. Reflecting back, there were many other factors at play, including the paralyzing effect of cultural isolation in a foreign country that isn't mentioned in the envy-inducing memoirs by American ex-pats. But at the time that's who I was. I retreated back to the States, to what I knew and could do well.

Almost two years ago when I read of Ivo's passing, I was awakened with a start and newfound reason to resurrect that autumn day in 2016. It was finally time to revisit what this generous voice had to say so that others would know it, too. Now I was in a different place, maybe where I needed to be in order to open that chest of memories. Perhaps I did have an important story to share now. So shortly after Ivo died, I unboxed those memories and carefully laid out the xeroxed papers and books. After a few days using my own limited Italian and tedious typing into Google Translate, the short articles were translated and a picture began to come together. Most importantly, I resurrected the hour-long iPhone recording of Ivo that sat unopened on my computer for years. Above all else, that file symbolized to me an enormous insecurity and disappointment in being unable to participate in a conversation that would never happen again. Despite my best technical efforts, no translation program could help with the gravely, aging voice or unique dialect that formed his endless stream of thought as we roamed around Terontola.

Fortunately, with my advisor's help, I was able to arrange for a local Italian-American to translate Ivo's recording. Not only was the translator, Lino, extremely kind to meet during the pandemic and help with Ivo's project, but as someone near to Ivo's age, he also had a personal connection with the story. Lino also grew up as a young boy in Italy during the war, and recalled the Germans taking control of his family's small village in the mountains. They had no choice but to comply, but in the initial fray, his grandmother was fatally shot. Changing the topic, his eyes

brightened and his smile upturned as he remembered the years after the war, sitting by his family's tabletop radio listening to the crackling live broadcasts of Bartali's cycling races.

Once racing had commenced in 1946, a huge rivalry between Bartali and his former teammate, Fausto Coppi, consumed the nation. Coppi was the dapper, long-limbed climber from the Piedmont region in northwest Italy and five years younger than Bartali. He showed enormous promise just as the war was breaking out, winning the last pre-war edition of the Giro d'Italia in 1940 at twenty years old. Mussolini was obsessed with his country setting athletic records, so in 1942 Coppi went for the world Hour record, which is considered the most difficult solo effort a cyclist can attempt. He and his team planned the event at Milan's Vigorelli velodrome and hoped that it could be completed in between Allied bombing attacks that were leaving the city heavily damaged. Beneath a ceiling with holes and along walls lined with stacks of surplus army supplies, Coppi set a new record of 45.798km (28.394 miles) in one hour on his steel Legnano with wooden rims.

Right after this record, Coppi was sent to the front lines in North Africa to fight in the Italian army. He was captured by the British near Tunis in 1943 and for the next 18 months was a prisoner of war. At one of the POW camps, he caught malaria, but because of his anti-fascist views, the British treated him benevolently and he recovered (Busca, 2021). Like Bartali, when the war ended he anxiously returned to racing. Their fierce competition united the war-torn country with sport, but also separated Italians into clearly divided houses that still stand today: the *tifosi* fandom of either *Coppiani* or *Bartaliani*. Italian journalist Dino Buzzati described the sensation during one race:

> "The tifosi have forgotten everything: who they are, the work waiting for them, the illnesses, luxuries, unpaid bills, headaches, love, everything except the fact that Coppi is in the lead and Bartali continues to lose ground." (Nevres, 2016)

Unrepentantly unreligious, Coppi represented the industrial, economic stronghold of northern Italy, while the pious, muscular Bartali represented the more conservative, working class of the south. The two racers fought on battle worn roads of Europe, stirring fans into a frenzy as they traded wins in the Tour de France and Giro d'Italia and other big one-day races until Bartali finally retired in 1954.

When I asked Lino which house he belonged to, he smiled and admitted that he was decidedly from the side of Bartali. He eagerly dove into translating Ivo's recording and reading his articles and books, which brought back great memories of this heroic time from his past. His final translation of the recording was impeccable and respectful. It was difficult, he said, because of the constant change of topics and stream of consciousness as Ivo and I walked from location to location. Lino's work was able to lay the final brush strokes of the story Ivo was sharing with me.

A Destiny with Bartali

Ivo was born in Terontola in 1938 and made this small, rural corner of southeastern Tuscany his home for life. He described in his friend Claudio's book, "*Il Nonno Racconta La Guerra*," (Grandfather Recounts the War) (Faltoni, 2011) that during World War II, he and his boyhood friends would scurry into the hills above their town to watch bombing raids, betting small marbles whether the train station would be hit or not. At more innocent times, his father would call him over to watch a famous bike racer pass through the town on his training rides: Gino Bartali. By the age of 12, the lure of bicycles had firmly taken hold and he began apprenticing as a bike mechanic at a well-respected shop in nearby Cortona that maintained bikes for the greatest cyclists of their region. The teenage Ivo was taken under the wing of owner Ruben Schippa, who taught him the trade and introduced him to local professional cyclists such as Lido Sartini who had also begun working at Schippa's shop as a boy. In the small world of cycling, young Sartini even helped Bartali at the shop when he found himself stranded out on a training ride. Eventually, Sartini

became a professional and raced alongside Bartali, Coppi, and Fiorenzo Magni during the ”Golden Age” of cycling in the 1950s (Sestini, 2013).

In 1954, a twist of fate set Ivo on his life’s path. One of Bartali’s bicycle mechanics had fallen ill and his team needed a skilled and trusted person to take his place. So at the age of 16, Ivo left the small village of Terontola and joined Bartali’s support team for three weeks in the greatest race in Italian sport: the formidable Giro d’Italia. That year the race began in Palermo and wound its way north for 4,300-kilometers to finish in Milan (Faltoni, 2011). He rose to the occasion and became the favored mechanic of Bartali. When Ivo saw his name in the daily papers reporting the progress of the event, it instilled a great deal of pride to be known for assisting such a champion. Bartali finished 13th in his final lineup, but the trust and closeness forged at the race began 46 years of friendship between the two Tuscan men. Although Ivo was only a professional mechanic to Bartali for one year, afterwards he was always at his side (I. Faltoni, personal communication, October 28, 2016).

Like a Confessional

Bartali retired from profession cycling at the end of 1954, allowing the younger post-war generation to inaugurate a new era. The friendship with Ivo strengthened on their journeys together and the champion gradually opened up about his activities during the war:

> “Bartali would always confide in me many things, not because I asked him, I did not know anything, but when some old people would yell, ‘Bartali, how many did you help and save today?’ he would repeat to them, ‘These things one does and then they must be forgotten.’
>
> “I would see him getting mad often, whenever we were in the car together, at the Giro d’Italia and other races when he would call me for either driving him or just riding alongside him. I would then ask him, ‘Gino, how come the other day you got upset over the things that man said?’

> It has taken me over 20 years to put it all together, to discover that I was the one 'knowing' these things because he would then reply, 'Ivo, these things you must never tell anyone ever. It is as if you have gone to confession to a priest.'
>
> I knew he had great faith, was a very devout Catholic, so I chose to forget all these things because he would tell them to me, I felt, in confidence." (I. Faltoni, personal communication, October 28, 2016).

Most of what Ivo learned from Bartali in the confessional of their friendship has been recounted in recent years. He takes particular pride having learned the true intent of Bartali's risky visits to the Terontola-Cortona train station and that his hometown was such a critical location to the Assisi Network's plan saving Jews. In Florence, Bartali received the documents and placed them inside his bicycle, then rode 100-kilometers south through Arezzo to Terontola. He stopped to see his friend, the tailor Dino Magara, who made him a breakfast of two slices of white bread and *prosciutto del contadino* with a glass of red wine. The meal fortified him after the long ride, but the hardest part of the journey was just to come. Bartali rode one kilometer to the quiet two-lane bridge overlooking the rail line. Pretending to finish his sandwich or inflate his tire, he waited for the train coming from Assisi to pass beneath and then rode to the station. Placing his precious steel Legnano race bike against the wall in front of the platform, he entered the station's café for a coffee. The carefully placed racing bike signified his presence and a flurry of interest commenced as fans crowded to catch sight of him in the café or to get close enough to hear stories of his training rides. Beyond the commotion, fake identification documents were prepared by underground workers as the starstruck Germans lingered near Bartali, distracted from guarding the station. The Jews who had been hiding in Assisi had just arrived and had 6-7 terrifying minutes to grab their new documents and change trains to Rome and Allied territory, or north to Milan and Switzerland (Faltoni, 2011). Gino's timing to arrive at the bridge, the station, and the café was done with its

own military-like precision. *"Il postino per la pace"* (the courier for peace) could not fail as the lives of so many depended on his singular role.

Like everyone who was loyal to Bartali, if they knew of his story from WWII "they never hinted a phrase or word of his commitment" (Faltoni, 2012). Ivo later made his living as a journalist and promoter of national and regional bike races, often bringing in Bartali to celebrate with the winners. He says of Bartali,

> "He was not a bigot, but a man of true and deep Christian faith, who demonstrated with his daily way of life, both in the family and with the many people he met….He never took off his badge of Catholic action and was perhaps the most representative and worthy person to wear it." (Faltoni, 2012)

Throughout his life, Ivo carried the name of Bartali on his shoulders, whether it was the cycling champion, or as the story of his heroic deeds were revealed, as an honest witness to Bartali's character and meaning to the world. He was one of the only people left from the war who remembered seeing Gino at the train station during his work distracting the Nazis. After Bartali died, Ivo dedicated his life to ensuring that the story would live on and no one would forget. He was a key witness in the research of Paolo Alberati, a graduate student and professional cyclist who investigated Bartali's clandestine work for his thesis at the University of Perugia in 2002. Alberati had become curious when he learned from state police and Ministry of the Interior archives that Bartali had been under surveillance during the war for his unusually long "training" rides.

> "I found files dedicated to Gino Bartali by police officers who had infiltrated the world of cycling and sports journalism, who spied on the champion and couldn't explain the motive for those training rides that were hundreds of kilometres long." (MacMichael, 2010)

Further research and the secrets that Ivo had been holding for decades made Alberati one of the first to crack open evidence that Bartali saved 250 Jews during the Holocaust as well as Catholic dissidents who fought against Fascism. Ivo wrote press releases and encouraged the Bartali family, local government entities, and sports media to attend his thesis presentation:

> "Paolo Alberati has completed with scrupulous and careful historical research, enriching it with interviews of considerable depth. Thanks to this thesis we can relive, after 60 years, the great but silent moral commitment carried out in those endless days by the myth of the sport Gino, supported by a true Christian faith and which saw the city of Assisi as its protagonist. in memory of those who fought and worked for good in one of the darkest periods of our history, your presence would be greatly appreciated." (Faltoni, 2004)

In 2006, Alberati's thesis was later published as a book, "*Gino Bartali: mille diavoli in corpo*" (a thousand devils in the body, an exclamation uttered by a stunned Coppi as Bartali outsprinted the peloton at the end of the 300-kilometer Milan-Sanremo race in 1950). The swell of interest that confirmed decades of rumors had risen and Ivo's influence in the cycling and journalism community helped Alberati and the Bartali family navigate this new notoriety. Bartali's wife, Adriana, said to Ivo at the dedication of the bronze plaque in Terontola in 2008 that much of what they learned of her husband's actions in 1943-44 was due to Ivo and for that she gave thanks (I. Faltoni, personal communication, October 28, 2016).

Coinciding with the plaque's dedication, Ivo began promoting and organizing a "*ciclopellegrinaggio*" (a cycling pilgrimage) from Terontola to Assisi that wound along the same roads as Bartali when he was a courier for the underground. For the next five years, the 74-kilometer ride had hundreds of participants and even Italian Olympians and veterans of WWII, with a sendoff by Bartali's wife, Adriana, or son, Luigi. Another informal ride that reenacts Bartali's work for the Assisi Network begins in Florence and ends in Assisi, 200 kilometers later.

It is popular with ardent fans of Bartali who want to channel the fortitude of their hero on one long, challenging day in the saddle. The route often detours to Terontola for photos at the train station and, before he died, a rally of support from Ivo.

The train station and memorial have become something of a pilgrimage location for fans of the story, and for Italians arriving or departing on the train platforms it is a constant reminder of their proud history saving Jews. As the resurgence in Bartali's popularity continued in the 2010s, Ivo used his contacts in the Italian cycling community to edit a small book, "*Bartali L'Intramontabile*" (Bartali the Timeless) in 2012, which coincided with Bartali's recognition as Righteous Among the Nations in 2013 and the first English-language book on the topic, "*Road to Valor*." Ivo's simple book is a unique collection, a scrapbook of sorts, with photos from across the decades, reprinted articles in faded typeface, and short stories of remembrance by many of Bartali's friends and competitors. He was never shy about putting it into the hands of Bartali fans who came to Terontola, and my copy is well worn and treasured.

One Less Voice

On the news of Ivo's death in February 2020, I read online tributes written by his fellow Italian journalists. In each one I discovered that the Ivo I met so briefly was the same person who shared his passion of Bartali with everyone else, chuckling as I felt like a member of Ivo's special "photocopy-and-yellow-shirt club." His colleague Marco Pastonesi recalled,

> *"*He traveled with a magical leather folder from which he extracted photocopies and pennants, arrival orders and general rankings, brochures and leaflets, snacks and bottles, photographs and stickers, a white T-shirt or a yellow polo shirt, as well as some copies of his book on Alfredo Martini or his little book on Gino Bartali." (Camerini, 2020)

To those who knew him much longer, Ivo was a wingman, an unofficial mayor of Terontola, a promoter, a journalist, and an undying orator to the *grande* Bartali. "Every time he

named him, he raised his eyes to Heaven and made a very rapid sign of the cross on his chest" (Camerini, 2020). Reading their reflections and remembrances made me even more grateful to learn from Bartali's wingman for even an hour.

It took five years to realize that I did not fail on that beautiful October day. I was on a different path to tell my story, one that did not conform to a traditional narrative or publishing deadline. This awareness came to me only a few weeks before my graduation defense in December. I was riding my bike on a rare, clear day above freezing in Pittsburgh trying to refresh my senses after sitting in front of the computer for hours. The leaves had long left their perches on the trees and were no longer piled on the side of the road. Once winter settled in, it was as if they never existed. The air was still and cold. I was descending a short gravel road lined with tall, bare catalpa trees whose branches arched across the road as if to shake hands with their neighbors. In the late spring, the leaves return and create a tunnel of green while the gravel road becomes a bed of fallen white petals. Their perfume releases an incredible scent as your tires crush over them. In December, however, you would never know the transformation to come in a few months.

As I was riding, the rays of the late afternoon sun reached through the bare tree branches and fell on my back. Focusing on the uneven road below me, I felt a surge, like an awakening when I didn't even know I was asleep. The reason for my story had just been handed to me from above: What if I didn't fail walking around Terontola that sunny October morning with Ivo? What if it wasn't whether I could understand a word he was speaking, but that I needed to take a few years to follow a different path climbing a hill that was not yet on my map? What if the story I have finally written opens up a conversation among strangers or prompts a student to step forward apart from the bystanders or allows one survivor to have their experience remembered by just one more person? Then I have not failed. My story began when it was ready, on its own terms, and as a storyteller I have succeeded in bringing others with me.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

As Dr. Baird has found in her research, when time pushes the tragedies of war farther away, fewer people are alive who were directly affected and the importance of the story loses its impact. The New York Times quotes Greg Schneider of the Claims Conference, “The issue is not that people deny the Holocaust; the issue is just that it’s receding from memory” (Astor, 2018). He adds that the number of Holocaust survivors is less than 400,000, and most of them are like Ivo, in their 80s and 90s. Remembrance advocates agree that the best method to instill memory of the atrocities is through hearing directly from those who lived through it, but as they grow older their voices are disappearing.

Survivors and rescuers who have found the power of their voices use them as tools to imprint these memories. Many go on local or even national speaking engagement tours, using the last years of their life to speak to young people. Knud Dyby spent much of his last decades telling children how his country came together to save Jews in a boat rescue to Sweden, but he also used it as a lesson in morality and how children can become better members of society.

> “I have a message given at the end of all my speeches, especially to the children, of “the Three C’s:” compassion, care, and consideration, and to use the Three C’s every day, not only in a war situation, but in every situation. And I have many, many people now who come up and say, “We remember the Three C’s.” (Dyby, 1996)

Each of us has a responsibility to carry on the stories that give us strength, that tell of characters who seem too mythical to be real, but they are. A powerful message that I heard is, “When you study and learn about the Holocaust, you are now a witness and it is your job to tell the story” (Bairnsfather et al., 2021). Our society is overwhelmed with stories of hate and division, leaving us feeling so out of control. The rescuers of World War II also felt overwhelmed and out of control. But they unknowingly came together by the thousands across political and religious

boundaries, guided by their own common moral compass for a single mission to help another person, not knowing if they would live one day to the next. The story of the pious Gino Bartali, the diplomat spy, Jan Karski, the united Danes like Knud Dyby, the moral atheist, Tina Strobos, the compassionate and brave Pole, Irene Opdyke, or any of the untold thousands of rescuers like them, should give us all strength and hope. They should inspire a belief that if one is pressed into a decision weighted in conflict, they would seek their moral reserves to make the humanitarian choice. Our world needs to see heroes. We need to carry on the voices that will inevitably fade to silence so that every generation understands they are not a myth, but they are real and inside all of us. None of us can say we've failed, as long as we begin.

References

1. Alberati, P. (2006). *Gino Bartali: Mille diavoli in corpo*. Firenze: Giunti Editore S.p.A.
2. Anti-Defamation League. (2021, March 31). *2021 Survey on Jewish Americans' Experiences with Antisemitism.* https://www.adl.org/blog/2021-survey-on-jewish-americans-experiences-with-antisemitism
3. Astor, M. (2018, April 12). Holocaust Is Fading From Memory, Survey Finds. *New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/12/us/holocaust-education.html
4. Axelrod, T. (2019, February 2). *TV series 'Holocaust,' which changed how Germans saw their history, airs again.* The Times of Israel. https://www.timesofisrael.com/us-made-holocaust-series-that-changed-how-germans-saw-their-history-airs-again/
5. Baron, L. (1986). The Holocaust and Human Decency: A review of research on the rescue of Jews in Nazi occupied Europe. *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations*, 13(1/2), 237-251.
6. Baron, L. (2019). From Saints to Sinners: Teaching about the Motivations of Rescuers of Jews through Documentary and Feature Films. In A. Kohen & G.J. Steinacher (Eds.), *Unlikely Heroes, The Place of Holocaust Rescuers in Research and Teaching* (pp. 169-197). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
7. Bairnsfather, L., Myers, J., Schamis, I. (2021, August 26). *Conversations Series: Ivy Schamis and Rabbi Hazzan Jeffrey Myers* [Online event]. Holocaust Center of Pittsburgh. https://youtu.be/RBChyFI1yZo
8. Batalion, J., Walker, M. (2021, April 6). *The Light of Days* [Online event]. Holocaust Center of Pittsburgh.
9. Burns, K., Joukowsky, A. (2016). *Defying the Nazis: The Sharps' War* [Documentary]. Public Broadcasting Service.
10. Camerini, I. (2020, February 9). Terontola piange Ivo Faltoni. *L'Etruria.it*. https://www.letruria.it/attualit%C3%A0/terontola-piange-ivo-faltoni-6299
11. *Certosa di Farneta*. Wikipedia. Retrieved December 1, 2021 from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Certosa_di_Farneta
12. Coaston, J. (2019, April 26). *Trump's new defense of his Charlottesville comments is incredibly false*. Vox. Retrieved December 1, 2021 from https://www.vox.com/2019/4/26/18517980/trump-unite-the-right-racism-defense-charlottesville

13. Diamantstein, L. (1991). RG-50.166.0007, Oral history interview with Leo Diamantstein, Interview by South Carolina Council on the Holocaust, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC. https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn505518
14. Diaz, J. (2020, May 12). *Anti-Semitic Incidents Surged in 2019, Report Says*. New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/12/us/antisemitic-report-incidents.html
15. Dyby, K. (1991). RG-50.477.1060, Oral history interview with Knud Dyby, The Bay Area Holocaust Oral History Project, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC. https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn518348
16. Dyby, K. (1996). RG-50.477.1000, Oral history interview with Knud Dyby, The Bay Area Holocaust Oral History Project, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC. http://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn517060
17. Faltoni, I. (2004, June 30). Invito alla discussione della tesi di laurea di Paolo Alberati: La Guerra di Gino Bartali – Ebrei e Cattolici in Umbria e Toscana 1943/1944.
18. Faltoni, I. (2011). In C. Lucheroni (Ed.), *Il Nonno Racconta La Guerra*. Arti Tipografiche Toscane.
19. Faltoni, I. (Ed.). (2012). *Bartali L'Intramontabile: Un uomo di ferro, Un secolo da leggenda*. Self published.
20. Feldstern, L., Ryan, A. (2019). Teaching the Lesson of Moral Courage through Writing. In A. Kohen & G.J. Steinacher (Eds.), *Unlikely Heroes, The Place of Holocaust Rescuers in Research and Teaching* (pp. 222-232). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
21. Fogelman, E. (1994). Conscience and Courage: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust. New York: Anchor Books.
22. Friedberg, E., Erbelding, R., Kelly, A. (2021, May 5). *Myth of the perfect mother: Propaganda and conspiracy* [Online event]. U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.
23. Gardner, R. (1985). *The Courage to Care* [Documentary]. United Way Productions, Mutual of America.
24. Goldenberg, G. (2014). *Giorgio Goldenberg* [Documentary]. ADS Media Group. https://youtu.be/si6KHGJG_eM
25. Haberman, N., Bernstein, E. (2021, March 11). *Educator of the Year Interview: Nick Haberman* [Online event]. Holocaust Center of Pittsburgh. https://youtu.be/7gQuWhKJbJY
26. Harris, M. (2000). Into the Arms of Strangers: Stories of the Kindertransport [Documentary]. Warner Bros. Pictures.

27. Holocaust Encyclopedia. Retrieved December 1, 2021 from https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/
28. Imber, S., Jacobs, J. (2021, March 7). *Holocaust Education: Past, Present and Future* [Online event]. Yad Vashem. https://youtu.be/MrEc0G_oPj4
29. Insdorf, A. & Wiesel, E. (2002). *Indelible Shadows : Film and the Holocaust* (3rd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
30. *It Started With Words.* Claims Conference. Retrieved May 1, 2021 from https://itstartedwithwords.org/
31. Jacoby, O. (2014). My Italian Secret: The Forgotten Heroes. [Documentary]. Storyville Films.
32. Karn, A. (2012). Toward a Philosophy of Holocaust Education: Teaching Values without Imposing Agendas. *The History Teacher, 45*(2), 221-240.
33. Karski, J. (1988). RG-50.012.0044, Oral history interview with Jan Karski, Interview by Gay Block and Malka Drucker, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC. https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn506527
34. Kaufman, M. (2000, July 15). *Jan Karski Dies at 86; Warned West About Holocaust.* New York Times. Retrieved December 1, 2021 from https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/2000/07/15/226726.html?pageNumber=45
35. Klein, C (2020, December 13). *The MLK Graphic Novel That Inspired John Lewis and Generations of Civil Rights Activists.* History.com. Retrieved December 1, 2021 from https://www.history.com/news/civil-rights-graphic-novel-mlk-john-lewis
36. Koepp, R.G. (2019). Holocaust Rescuers in Historical and Academic Scholarship. In A. Kohen & G.J. Steinacher (Eds.), *Unlikely Heroes, The Place of Holocaust Rescuers in Research and Teaching* (pp. 15-36). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
37. Lindquist, D. (2011a). Meeting a Moral Imperative: A Rationale for Teaching the Holocaust. *The Clearing House*, *84*(1), 26-30.
38. Lindquist, D. (2011b). Instructional Approaches in Teaching the Holocaust. *American Secondary Education, 39*(3), 117-128.
39. Marantz, A. (2019). Anti Social: Online Extremists, Techno-Utopians, and the Hijacking of the American Conversation. New York: Penguin Random House.
40. MacMichael, S. (2010, November 12). Gino Bartali to be honoured for helping save Italian Jews from the Holocaust. Road.cc. https://road.cc/content/news/27273-gino-bartali-be-honoured-helping-save-italian-jews-holocaust

41. McConnon, A., & McConnon, A. (2012). *Road to Valor: A true story of World War II Italy, the Nazis, and the cyclist who inspired a nation.* New York: Broadway Paperbacks.
42. Meir, D (2019, August 4). *MAUS: A comic book that should be taught in every school.* The Times of Israel. Retrieved December 1, 2021 from https://blogs.timesofisrael.com/maus-a-comic-book-that-should-be-taught-in-every-school/
43. Nevres, M.O. (2016, August 5). *Coppi e Bartali, Bartali e Coppi.* Cycling Passion. Retrieved December 1, 2021 from https://cycling-passion.com/coppi-bartali/
44. North Coast Journal Staff (2021, November 23). *Samuel P. Oliner: 1930-2021*. Retrieved December 1, 2021 from https://www.northcoastjournal.com/Obituaries/archives/2021/11/23/samuel-p-oliner-1930-2021
45. Oliner, P.M., & Oliner, S.P. (1988). *The Altruistic Personality.* New York: The Free Press.
46. Oliner, P.M., & Oliner, S.P. (1990). The Roots of Altruism. *Shofar, 8*(2), 16-34.
47. Oliner, P.M., Wielgus, J., & Gruber, M. (2004). *Saving the Forsaken, Religious Culture and the Rescue of Jews in Nazi Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
48. Oliner, S. (1994). RG-50.477.0543, Oral history interview with Samuel Oliner, The Bay Area Holocaust Oral History Project, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC. https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn512442
49. Opdyke, I. (1993). RG-50.477.0864, Oral history interview with Irene Opdyke, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection. https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn515933
50. Paldiel, M. (1993). The Path of the Righteous. Gentile Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust. Hoboken: KTAV Publishing House, Inc.
51. Paldiel, M. *The Face of the Other: Reflections on the Motivations of Gentile Rescuers of Jews.* Yad Vashem. Retrieved December 1, 2021 from https://www.yadvashem.org/righteous/resources/the-face-of-the-other-reflections-on-the-motivations-of-rescuers.html
52. Primo Levi Center. Retrieved December 1, 2021 from https://primolevicenter.org/
53. Putnam, R. (2020). The Upswing: How America came together a century ago and how we can do it again. Simon & Schuster. New York.
54. Rabben, L. (2016). *Sanctuary and Asylum: A Social and Political History*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

55. Rapold, N. (2014, May 8). *More Tales of the 'Righteous'*. New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/09/movies/the-rescuers-tells-stories-of-escapes-from-the-nazis.html
56. Robertson, C., Mele, C., Tavernise, S. (2018, October 27). *11 Killed in Synagogue Massacre: Suspect Charged with 29 Counts.* New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/27/us/active-shooter-pittsburgh-synagogue-shooting.html
57. Schwarz, G. (2021, April 7). *Those who forget: A conversation with author Geraldine Schwarz* [Online event]. Yad Vashem. https://youtu.be/ddwypCtFmVc
58. Sestini, D. (2013, March 15). Ricordando un amico e grande sportivo. *L'Etruria*. 15. Retrieved December 1, 2021 from https://www.letruria.it/download/3/2435_2013-05.pdf
59. Sherwood, H. (2020, September 16). *Nearly two-thirds of US young adults unaware 6m Jews killed in the Holocaust.* The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/sep/16/holocaust-us-adults-study
60. Sittsamer, J. (1989). RG-50.063.0028, Oral history interview with Jack Sittsamer, The Holocaust Center of Pittsburgh, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC. https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn508051
61. Strobos, T. (1988). RG-50.012.0082, Oral history interview with Tina Strobos, Interview by Gay Block and Malka Drucker, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC. https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn506565
62. Strobos, T. (1992). RG-50.042.0026; Oral history interview with Tina Strobos, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Oral History Branch, Washington, DC. https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn505579
63. Tec, N. (1986). When Light Pierced the Darkness. New York: Oxford University Press.
64. Tec, N. (1995). Altruism and the Holocaust. *Social Education,* 59(6), 348.
65. Tec, N. *A Glimmer of Light*. Yad Vashem. Retrieved December 1, 2021 from https://www.yadvashem.org/righteous/resources/a-glimmer-of-light.html
66. *The Courage to Care*. Wikipedia. Retrieved May 1, 2021 from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Courage_to_Care
67. Walker, M. (2021). *CHUTZ-POW! The Power of Graphic Novels in Education* [Online Event]. Echoes and Reflections. https://info.echoesandreflections.org/chutz-pow-the-power-of-graphic-novels-in-holocaust-education-0

68. Wise, W., Moeller, C., Wachter, D., Walker, M.L., & Zingarelli, M. (2014). Return to my Father's Homeland. Fritz Ottenheimer. *CHUTZ-POW! Superheroes of the Holocaust. Volume One: The UpStanders.* Pittsburgh: The Holocaust Center of Pittsburgh.
69. Yad Vashem. Retrieved May 1, 2021 from https://www.yadvashem.org
70. Yelich-Biniecki, S.M., Donley, S. (2016). The Righteous Among the Nations of the World: An Exploration of Free-Choice Learning. *SAGE Open*, 1-11.
71. Zago, S. (2020, May 5). *Gino Bartali, mio nonno: intervista a Lisa Bartali.* Suiveur.it. https://www.suiveur.it/interviste/gino-bartali-mio-nonno-intervista-a-lisa-bartali/

Bibliography

1. Baird, M. L. (2002). On the side of the angels: ethics and post-Holocaust spirituality. Leuven, Belgium: Peeters.
2. Baron, L. (1986). The Holocaust and Human Decency: A Review of Research on the Rescue of Jews in Nazi Occupied Europe. *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations, 13*(1-2), 237-251.
3. Fogelman, E. (1994). *Conscience and Courage: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust*. New York: Anchor Bks.
4. Gushee, D. P. (1996). Learning from the Christian Rescuers: Lessons for the Churches. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *548*, 138-155.
5. Hallie, P. (1979). *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed.* New York: Harper & Row.
6. Henry, P. (2007). *We Only Know Men: The rescue of Jews in France during the Holocaust.* Washington, DC: Catholic University of American Press.
7. Huneke, D. (1981). A Study of Christians who Rescued Jews During the Nazi Era. *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations, 9*(1), 144-150.
8. Insdorf, A. & Wiesel, E. (2002). *Indelible Shadows : Film and the Holocaust* (3rd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
9. Karn, A. (2012). Toward a Philosophy of Holocaust Education: Teaching Values without Imposing Agendas. *The History Teacher,*45(2), 221-240.
10. Kohn, A., & Steinacher, G.J. (Eds.). (2019). *Unlikely Heroes: The Place of Holocaust Rescuers in Research and Teaching.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
11. Lavin, T. (2020). *Culture Warlords.* New York: Hachette Books.
12. Levi, P. (1979). *Moments of Reprieve.* New York: Penguin Books.
13. Levi, P. (1986). *The Drowned and the Saved*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

14. Levi, P. (2008). *Survival in Auschwitz*. New York: Classic House Books.
15. Lindquist, D. (2011a). Meeting a Moral Imperative: A Rationale for Teaching the Holocaust. *The Clearing House, 84*(1), 26-30.
16. Lindquist, D. (2011b). Instructional Approaches in Teaching the Holocaust. *American Secondary Education, 39*(3), 117-128.
17. Marantz, A. (2019). *Anti Social: Online Extremists, Techno-Utopians, and the Hijacking of the American Conversation.* New York: Penguin Random House.
18. McConnon, A., & McConnon, A. (2012). *Road to Valor: A true story of World War II Italy, the Nazis, and the cyclist who inspired a nation.* New York: Broadway Paperbacks.
19. Miller, A. (1983). *For Your Own Good : Hidden Cruelty in Child-Rearing and the Roots of Violence.* Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.
20. Oliner, P.M., & Oliner, S.P. (1988). *The Altruistic Personality.* New York: The Free Press.
21. Oliner, P.M., & Oliner, S.P. (1990). The Roots of Altruism. *Shofar*, 8(2), 16-34.
22. Oliner, P.M., Wielgus, J., & Gruber, M. (2004). *Saving the Forsaken, Religious Culture and the Rescue of Jews in Nazi Europe.* New Haven: Yale University Press.
23. Putnam, R. (2020). *The Upswing: How America came together a century ago and how we can do it again.* Simon & Schuster. New York.
24. Pittsburgh Center for the Holocaust. (2018). *CHUTZ-POW! Superheroes of the Holocaust.* Volumes 1-4.
25. Sarfatti, M. (2006). *The Jews in Mussolini's Italy: From Equality to Persecution.* Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press.
26. Ramati, A. (1978). *The Assisi Underground: The Priests Who Rescued Jews.* Briarcliff Manor, New York: Scarborough House.
27. Yelich-Biniecki, S.M., Donley, S. (2016). The Righteous Among the Nations of the World: An Exploration of Free-Choice Learning. *SAGE Open,* 1-11.
28. Zuccotti, S. (1987). *The Italians and the Holocaust*. New York: Basic Books.
29. Zuccotti, S. (2007). Holocaust Odysseys: The Jews of Saint-Martin-Vésubie and Their Flight through France and Italy. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Holocaust Rescuer Filmography

Documentaries

1. A Debt to Honor. 1999.
2. A Tree for Sugihara. 1998.
3. Back from the Brink. 2010.
4. Conspiracy of Kindness. 2005.
5. The Courage to Care. 1985. Nominated Academy Award for Best Documentary Short Subject.
6. Defying the Nazis: The Sharps' War. Ken Burns/PBS. 2016.
7. Diplomats for the Damned. 2008.
8. Fifty Children: The Rescue Mission of Mr. and Mrs. Kraus. 2013.
9. Heroes of the Holocaust Tales of Resistance and Survival. 2008.
10. Heroes: Saving Jewish Lives from the Nazis. 2015.
11. Into the Arms of Strangers: Stories of the Kindertransport. 2001. Winner Academy Award Best Documentary Feature. On National Film Registry.
12. It was Nothing, it was Everything. Reflections on the Rescue of Greek Jews during the Holocaust. 1997.
13. Kinder-Exodus, 1939. 1999.
14. Magda. 2013.
15. My Italian Secret. 2014
16. Nicky's Family. 2013.
17. No. 4 Street of Our Lady. 2009.
18. Orchestra of Exiles. 2012.
19. Oskar Schindler the Accidental Hero. 200
20. Rescue in Scandinavia. 1994.
21. Rescue in the Philippines, Refuge from the Holocaust. 2013.
22. Rescuers of the Holocaust: They risked their lives. 1991.
23. Searching for Wallenberg. 2002.
24. Secret Courage, the Walter Suskind Story. 2005.
25. Sugihara Survivors: Jewish and Japanese, Past and Present.
26. The Danish Solution, 2010.
27. The House on August Street. 2007.

28. The Power of Good: Nicholas Winton. 2002.
29. The Reckoning: Remembering the Dutch Resistance. 2007.
30. The Rescuers: Heroes of the Holocaust. 2015.
31. The Righteous Enemy. 1987.
32. Treason or Honor, German Rescuers of the Holocaust. 1998.
33. Weapons of the Spirit. 1987.
34. Zegota Council for Aid to Jews in Occupied Poland, 1942-1945. 1998.
35. Zerach: A Refugee and Remnant in the Holocaust. 2001.

Cinematic Movies Based on Real Life Rescuer Events

1. Courageous Heart of Irena Sendler. 2010.
2. Hidden in Silence. 2010.
3. In Darkness. Movie. 2012. Academy Award nominee best foreign language film.
4. Miracle at Midnight. 1998.
5. The Hiding Place. 2008.
6. The Pianist. Academy Award winner. 2006.
7. The Zookeeper's Wife. 2017.
8. Varian's War. 2002.
9. Walking with the Enemy. 2004.
10. Wallenberg: A Hero's Story. 2011.