

The Empire of Stereotypes: Germaine de Staël and the Idea of Italy

Robert Casillo

May 2006

Race and the Nation in Liberal Italy, 1861–1911: Meridionalism, Empire, and Diaspora

Aliza S. Wong

October 2006

Women in Italy, 1945–1960: An Interdisciplinary Study

edited by Penelope Morris

October 2006

Debating Divorce in Italy: Marriage and the Making of Modern Italians, 1860–1974

Mark Seymour

December 2006

A New Guide to Italian Cinema

Carlo Celli and Marga Cottino-Jones

January 2007

Human Nature in Rural Tuscany: An Early Modern History

Gregory Hanlon

March 2007

The Missing Italian Nuremberg: Cultural Amnesia and Postwar Politics

Michele Battini

September 2007

Assassinations and Murder in Modern Italy: Transformations in Society and Culture

edited by Stephen Gundle and Lucia Rinaldi

October 2007

Piero Gobetti and the Politics of Liberal Revolution

James Martin

December 2008

Primo Levi and Humanism after Auschwitz: Posthumanist Reflections

Jonathan Druker

June 2009

Oral History, Oral Culture, and Italian Americans

edited by Luisa Del Giudice

November 2009

Italy's Divided Memory

John Foot

January 2010

Women, Desire, and Power in Italian Cinema

Marga Cottino-Jones

March 2010

The Failure of Italian Nationhood: The Geopolitics of a Troubled Identity

Manlio Graziano

September 2010

Women and the Great War: Femininity under Fire in Italy

Allison Scardino Belzer

October 2010

Italian Jews from Emancipation to the Racial Laws

Cristina M. Bettin

November 2010

Anti-Italianism: Essays on a Prejudice

edited by William J. Connell and Fred Gardaphé

January 2011

Murder and Media in the New Rome: The Fadda Affair

Thomas Simpson

January 2011

Mohamed Fekini and the Fight to Free Libya

Angelo Del Boca; translated by Antony Shugaar

January 2011

City and Nation in the Italian Unification: The National Festivals of Dante Alighieri

Mahnaz Yousefzadeh

April 2011

The Legacy of the Italian Resistance

Philip Cooke

May 2011

New Reflections on Primo Levi: Before and After Auschwitz

edited by Risa Sodi and Millicent Marcus

July 2011

Italy on the Pacific: San Francisco's Italian Americans

Sebastian Fichera

December 2011

Memory and Massacre: Revisiting Sant'Anna di Stazzema

Paolo Pezzino, translated by Noor Giovanni Mazhar

February 2012

In the Society of Fascists: Acclamation, Acquiescence, and Agency in Mussolini's Italy

edited by Giulia Albanese and Roberta Pergher

September 2012

Carlo Levi's Visual Poetics: The Painter as Writer

Giovanna Faleschini Lerner

October 2012

Postcolonial Italy: The Colonial Past in Contemporary Culture

Edited by Cristina Lombardi-Diop and Caterina Romeo

January 2012

Women, Terrorism and Trauma in Italian Culture: The Double Wound

Ruth Glynn

February 2013

The Italian Army in Slovenia: Strategies of Antipartisan Repression, 1941–1943

Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi, translated by Elizabeth Burke and Anthony Majanlahti

July 2013

Italy and the Mediterranean: Words, Sounds, and Images of the Post-Cold War Era

Norma Bouchard and Valerio Ferme

September 2013

Italian Women Filmmakers and the Gendered Screen

Edited by Maristella Cantini

December 2013

Forging Shoah Memories: Italian Women Writers, Jewish Identity, and the Holocaust

Stefania Lucamante

June 2014

Berlusconism and Italy: A Historical Interpretation

Giovanni Orsina

September 2014

George L. Mosse's Italy: Interpretation, Reception, and Intellectual Heritage

Edited by Lorenzo Benadusi and Giorgio Caravale

September 2014

Thinking Italian Animals: Human and Posthuman in Modern Italian Literature and Film

Edited by Deborah Amberson and Elena Past

September 2014

Italian Birds of Passage: The Diaspora of Neapolitan Musicians in New York

Simona Frasca

September 2014

Fascist Hybridities: Representations of Racial Mixing and Diaspora Cultures under Mussolini

Rosetta Giuliani Caponetto

April 2015

The Two Mafias: A Transatlantic History, 1888–2008

Salvatore Lupo

August 2015

Male Anxiety and Psychopathology in Film: Comedy Italian Style

Andrea Bini

September 2015

Giuseppe Mazzini and the Origins of Fascism

Simon Levis Sullam

October 2015

Italian Academies and their Networks, 1525–1700: From Local to Global

Simone Testa

October 2015

Interpreting Primo Levi: Interdisciplinary Perspectives

Edited by Minna Vuohelainen and Arthur Chapman

December 2015

Italian Psychology and Jewish Emigration under Fascism: From Florence to Jerusalem and New York

Patrizia Guarnieri

January 2016

The Holocaust and Compensated Compliance in Italy: Fossoli di Carpi, 1942–1952

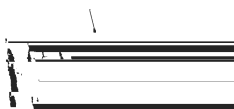
Alexis Herr

March 2016

The Holocaust and Compensated Compliance in Italy

Fossoli di Carpi, 1942–1952

Alexis Herr





THE HOLOCAUST AND COMPENSATED COMPLIANCE IN ITALY

Copyright © Alexis Herr 2016

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission. No portion of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission. In accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, Saffron House, 6-10 Kirby Street, London EC1N 8TS.

Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

First published 2016 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

The author has asserted their right to be identified as the author of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of Nature America, Inc., One New York Plaza, Suite 4500, New York, NY 10004-1562.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

ISBN 978-1-137-59896-7 ISBN 978-1-137-59898-1 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-1-137-59898-1

Distribution in the UK, Europe and the rest of the world is by Palgrave Macmillan®, a division of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Herr, Alexis, author.

The Holocaust and compensated compliance in Italy : Fossoli di Carpi, 1942–1952 / by Alexis Herr.

pages cm.—(Italian and Italian American studies)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978–1–137–59896–7 (hardback : alk. paper)

1. Fossoli di Carpi (Concentration camp) 2. Jews—Persecutions—Italy.
3. Holocaust, Jewish (1939–1945)—Italy. 4. Italy—Ethnic relations.
I. Title.

D805.5.F67H47 2016

940.53 180945—dc23

2015033721

A catalogue record for the book is available from the British Library.

*In dedication to those whose scholarship inspires me to study
the Holocaust and genocide: Taner Akçam, Debórah Dwork,
Thomas Kühne, Primo Levi, Robert Melson, Jonathan
Petropoulos, and John K. Roth*

Contents

| | |
|--|------|
| <i>List of Illustrations</i> | xi |
| <i>Acknowledgments</i> | xiii |
| <i>List of Abbreviations and Foreign Words</i> | xv |
| Introduction | 1 |
| Part I The War Years | |
| 1 In the Marketplace: Fascist Socialization and Consent in Carpi | 13 |
| 2 Germany and Its Occupied Ally: the German Occupation, the <i>Repubblica di Salò</i> , and the Deportations of Jews | 31 |
| 3 Fossoli and the Final Solution | 47 |
| 4 Deconstructing the So-called Silent Assent: the Chain of Command, Compensated Compliance, and Resistance | 69 |
| Part II After the War | |
| 5 the Politics of Blame | 93 |
| 6 From Concentration Camp to Christian Utopia: <i>a battaglia per la moralità</i> | 113 |
| Conclusion | 137 |
| <i>Notes</i> | 145 |
| <i>Bibliography</i> | 203 |
| <i>Index</i> | 219 |

Illustrations

Figures

| | | |
|-----|---|-----|
| 3.1 | Construction Plan for New Camp | 67 |
| 6.1 | Don Zeno Saltini Leading Prayer in the Fossoli Camp | 133 |
| 6.2 | Don Zeno Saltini Speaking in Rovereto | 133 |
| 6.3 | Mamma Sirte, a <i>mamma di vocazione</i> , holding a baby at the Fossoli Camp | 134 |
| 6.4 | Reconstruction Plan to Transform “New Camp” into Nomadel a | 135 |
| 6.5 | Don Zeno Saltini with a War Orphan in Front of a Former Guard Tower | 136 |

Tables

| | | |
|-----|---|----|
| 1.1 | August Prisoner Arrivals | 21 |
| 1.2 | Ettore Tirelli’s Arrival Log | 22 |
| 3.1 | Deportations of Jews from Fossoli | 66 |
| 4.1 | Civilian Camp Prisoner Demographics, 1944 | 76 |
| 4.2 | Hired Camp Labor, 1944 | 81 |

Acknowledgments

The publication of this book relied upon many kinds of support. I am very appreciative of all the individuals and institutions that helped make this project possible.

First and foremost, I offer my gratitude to my dissertation adviser Debórah Dwork. It was an honor working with and learning from her during my tenure at the Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Clark University. Her tireless dedication to her students is utterly inspiring. Simply put, this book would not have been possible without her, and much of who I am today is a direct result of her influence.

My dissertation committee members, John K. Roth and Marla Stone, remained actively involved in this project. I consider meeting John while a freshman at Claremont McKenna College one of the most pivotal moments of my life. He has been and has continued to be an incredible mentor, friend, and inspiration. His brilliant and thoughtful comments have enhanced my analysis in ways I did not imagine possible. And Marla has challenged and motivated me to dig deeper into the history and fortify my research. I have valued our conversations over the past years and am a better historian, thanks to the dedication and energy she has invested in me. Their encouragement and insight guided this book and had a profound impact on the final product.

I am thankful for a number of archivists, institutions, scholars, and librarians who made the research for *Fossoli di Carpi* possible: Daniela Garutti, Marzia Luppi, and Fondazione Fossoli Ex-Campo; Lucia Armentano and Archivio storico comunale di Carpi; Andrea Torre, Andrea Saba, Andrea Via and Istituto nazionale per la storia del movimento di liberazione in Italia; Claudio Silingardi and Istituto per la storia della Liberazione; Anna Maria Ori; Elizabeth Anthony, Vincent E. Slatt, and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum; and Natalia Indrimi, Alessandro Cassin, and the Primo Levi Center, New York. Finally, I extend my deepest appreciation to Francesco di Nomadelfia and all the wonderful people of Nomadelfia who took me in, generously shared their archival holdings, and provided me with a deeper understanding and appreciation for Don Zeno Saltini.

A special thanks goes out to my family, close friends, and colleagues whose love and sense of humor kept me happy and focused while I finished my dissertation and turned it into this book. I owe a special note of gratitude to my best friend and partner Shayle Kann, who has supported me and believed in me since the very beginning.

Abbreviations and Foreign Words

German Terms

| | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA) | Reich Security Office |
| Geheime Staatspolizei | Gestapo |
| Sicherheitsdienst (SD) | Security Service |
| SS-Obersturmbannführer | Lieutenant Colonel |
| Sicherheitspolizei (Sipo) | Security Police |
| SS-Oberscharführer | Sergeant First Class |
| Wehrmacht | German Army |

Italian Terms

| | |
|---|--|
| Questura | Police |
| Podestà | Mayor |
| Il Repubblica di Salò (RSI) | Italian Social Republic |
| Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana (GNR) | National Republican Guard |
| Partito d'Azione (PdA) | Action Party |
| Partito Comunista Italiano (PCI) | Italian Communist Party |
| Comitato di liberazione nazionale alta Italia (CNLAI) | National Liberation Committee for Upper Occupied Italy |
| Democrazia Cristiana (DC) | Christian Democracy |
| Comitato Liberazione Nazionale (CLN) | National Liberation Committee |
| Democrazia del Lavoro (DDL) | Labor Democratic Party |

| | |
|---|---|
| Partito Liberale Italiano (PLI) | Liberal Italian Party |
| Associazione Nazionale Partigiani d'Italia (ANPI) | National Association of Italian Partisans |
| Partito Socialista Italiano (PSI) | Italian Socialist Party |
| Gruppi di azione patriottica (GAP) | Patriotic Action Group |
| Azione Cattolica (AC) | Catholic Action |
| Carabinieri | Italian Police |
| I camici neri | e Blackshirts |
| Movimento dei cattolici comunisti (MCC) | Movement of Catholic Communists |
| Fronte Democratico Popolare | Italian Popular Front |

Archive Abbreviations

Archivio del centro di documentazione ebraica contemporanea,
Milano (CDEC)
Archivio dello stato di Modena (AdSM)
Archivio storico del comune di Carpi (ASCC)
Imperial War Museum Archive, London (IWMA)
International Tracing Service (ITS)
National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC (NARA)
United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM)

