

relations between at least some displaced Palestinians and those Israelis who live in their former homes or lands from a relation of dispossession and displacement into one of mutually agreeable long-term tenancy rights.

The entire volume is laudable in its effort to wed ideal conception to practical approaches, a combination fully justified by the manifest failure of all alternatives. The fact that from today's vantage point the situation may seem hopeless does not mean that nothing could be done. To the contrary, it means that we have to operate at a higher ideational level than we are accustomed to and also learn from other experiences. The fact that "truth and reconciliation" looms large in this volume is partially inspired by the positive record of such an approach elsewhere in the world as well as by the emergent discovery that without it a lasting resolution will remain unimaginable.

## ELIDING EICHMANN

**Becoming Eichmann: Rethinking the Life, Crimes, and Trial of a "Desk Murderer,"** by David Cesarani, London and Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2006. 368 pages. Glossary and Abbreviations to p. 372. Notes to p. 423. Sources and Bibliography to p. 442. Acknowledgments to p. 444. Index to p. 446. \$27.50 cloth.

### *Reviewed by Leni Brenner*

David Cesarani is a well-publicized British holocaust historian, but the inadequacy of his present work will be obvious to the field's scholars. He wages trivial battle against some commentators on Eichmann and totally evades others. He gives little important new information on Eichmann, nor does he correct his own previous errors. In spite of Da Capo Press's jacket claim that "Cesarani . . . reveals [Eichmann's] initially cordial working relationship with Zionist Jews in Germany," in fact he omits many of Eichmann's previously published statements that may embarrass Zionism (or Cesarani himself). Indeed, the true Eichmann rarely makes a full appearance in his latest biography.

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Cesarani devotes much of his book to critiquing ex-Zionist Hannah Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (Viking Press, 1963) report on his 1961 trial and her famous "banality of evil" description of him. Defending Zionism against her critique drives him to denounce her as "deeply prejudiced. . . . from the German Jewish bourgeoisie that had long nurtured a contempt for the Jews of Poland and Russia." He rages against "her nasty, stereotypical comments about Jews" (p. 345). He complains of Arendt's accusations of Zionist collaboration with Eichmann, a topic his trial's prosecution didn't dare touch. "She claimed it deliberately avoided instances of Jewish cooperation with the Nazis, notably by Zionist organizations" (p. 348). But Cesarani does not explain why many eastern Jews agree with her description of Zionist misleadership, and does not quote her directly on the 1930s Zionist-Nazi collaboration, when

Eichmann learned his lessons about Jews. . . . Hitler's rise to power appeared to the Zionists chiefly as "the decisive defeat of assimilationism" . . . Zionists too believed that "dissimulation," combined with the emigration to Palestine of Jewish youngsters and, they hoped, Jewish capitalists, could be a "mutually fair solution" . . . . The result was that in the thirties, when American Jewry took great pains to organize a boycott of German merchandise, Palestine, of all places, was swamped with all kinds of goods "made in Germany." (*Eichmann in Jerusalem*, pp. 58-60, 62)

In 1937, Labor Zionist Feivel Polkes invited Eichmann to Palestine. On 2 October 1937, the Nazi visited a kibbutz. Realizing he was a German agent, the British deported him to Egypt, where he eventually met Polkes, who offered to spy for Germany in return for loosened currency restrictions for Zionists.

In 1944, Labor Zionist Reszo Kasztner (a.k.a. Rudolph Kastner) negotiated with Eichmann, offering silence on Nazi plans to deport 750,000 Hungarian Jews to Auschwitz in return for Eichmann's promise to send prominent Jews to Switzerland. In 1946, Kasztner reported his activities to the World Zionist Organization. In 1953, the Israeli government on Kasztner's behalf sued a Hungarian Jew for libeling Kasztner as a Nazi collaborator, but the judge found him a collaborator. He was assassinated by right-wing Zionists but the Labor Zionist-dominated Supreme Court ruled posthumously on his appeal. He didn't collaborate because "no law . . . lays down the duties of a leader in an hour of emergency toward those who rely on leadership and are under his instructions"

(Ben Hecht, *Perfidy* [New York: Julian Messner, 1961], p. 272). But he did perjure himself in a Nuremberg affidavit on behalf of an SS man.

In 1955, hiding in Argentina, Eichmann discussed Palestine and Kasztner on tape. After his capture in 1960, *Life* magazine published excerpts. On the kibbutz, he

did see enough to be very impressed by the way the Jewish colonists were building up their land. I admired their desperate will to live, the more so since I was myself an idealist. In the years that followed I often said to Jews with whom I had dealings that, had I been a Jew, I would have been a fanatical Zionist. I could not imagine being anything else. In fact, I would have been the most ardent Zionist imaginable. ("Eichmann Tells His Own Damning Story," *Life* [28 November 1960], p. 22).

He described Kasztner as

a fanatical Zionist. He agreed to help keep the Jews from resisting deportation—and even keep order in the collection camps—if I would close my eyes and let a few hundred or a few thousand young Jews emigrate illegally to Palestine. It was a good bargain. For keeping order in the camps, the price of 15,000 or 20,000 Jews—in the end there may have been more—was not too high for me. And because Kasztner rendered us a great service by helping keep the deportation camps peaceful, I would let his groups escape" ("I Transported Them to the Butcher," *Life* [5 Dec. 1960], p. 146).

Neither stunning quote is in *Becoming Eichmann*.

In 1961, Ben Hecht, a celebrated American journalist and Zionist, wrote *Perfidy* about the libel trial. His quotes from the judge's decision attracted worldwide attention: "Eichmann did not want a second Warsaw. For this reason, the Nazis exerted themselves to mislead and bribe the Jewish leaders. The personality of Rudolph Kasztner made him a convenient catspaw for Eichmann and his clique" (*Perfidy*, p. 179). But Hecht and *Perfidy* are not listed in Cesarani's sources and bibliography.

In 1983, my *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators*, which detailed Kasztner's collaboration and the libel trial, was published in Britain. In 1987, Jim Allen used it and *Perfidy* in writing his play *Perdition*. The Zionist establishment, using Cesarani's "*Perdition*, by Jim Allen: A Report," drove the play out of a London theatre, two days before its scheduled opening. Cesarani admitted that Allen cited "evidence of a symbiosis of Zionism and Nazi ideas about the Volk, etc." But "Racial theories permeated all ideologies at this time, and it is banal to observe that

Zionism was expressed in, and legitimated according to, the discourse available. Zionism could not have transcended the thought of the period" (David Cesarani, "*Perdition*, by Jim Allen: A Report," p. 5).

The show biz purge generated such attention that a nationwide, prime time TV debate was organized. Allen, Marion Woolfson, and I took on Stephen Roth, who worked with Kasztner, historian Martin Gilbert, and Rabbi Hugo Gryn, an Auschwitz survivor. Ultimately Cesarani confessed, in London's 3 July 1987 *Jewish Chronicle*, that the public thought the theatre "had been bullied into censoring the play." Nothing of this is in Cesarani's present book. *The Essential Lenny Bruce* is listed in the bibliography for an Eichmann joke, but apparently *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators*, Jim Allen, *Perdition*, and Cesarani's report do not merit mention.

Cesarani admits that Fritz Bauer, Attorney General of Hesse, West Germany, discovered that Eichmann was hiding in Buenos Aires. "Yet the Israelis showed remarkably little interest in pursuing the leads . . . they practically had to be led to the fugitive Nazi" (p. 14). When they caught him, they "skirted round sensitive issues such as the contact between Zionists and Eichmann in the 1930s, and the negotiations over the fate of the Hungarian Jews in 1944 that involved Ben-Gurion himself" (p. 14).

But this isn't fast breaking news. In 1973, Andreas Biss, who worked with Kasztner, wrote of his offer to testify against Eichmann, whom he had contact with in Budapest. A date was set until the prosecutor learned that Biss would defend Kasztner's role. The prosecutor asked Biss "especially to pass over in silence what was then in Israel called 'the Kasztner affair'" (Andreas Biss, *A Million Jews to Save*, p. 231). He refused and was dropped as a witness. Biss's book is in Cesarani's bibliography, but he goes unmentioned in the text.

Zionism is a major theme in Eichmann's life from 1935, when he read Theodor Herzl and studied Hebrew, through the 1944-1945 Hungarian slaughter. It again became part of his life with the 1950s libel trial and tapes. Then he was captured, tried and executed by Israel in 1962. Reading him and about him raises questions for general readers and specialists: What made Zionism so attractive to him? Who in the Zionist establishment did Polkes report to regarding his negotiations? Why wasn't Israel looking for Eichmann after the libel trial? Had the prosecutor asked,

what would he have testified about Kasztner, who Israel's high court declared wasn't a collaborator? Cesarani tells us that a Zionist historian "begged for a stay of execution on the grounds that it would folly to kill such a unique witness to history" (p. 320). Why weren't historians allowed to query him in depth before his execution (which of course was justice served)?

In 1947-1948, many UN delegations and much of world opinion supported Israel's creation because of what Hitler had done to the Jews. Few, Jew or gentile, knew what Zionists did or didn't do for the Jews. By now, Cesarani knows both. But he came upon Zionism's shameful relations with Eichmann as a Zionist zealot and has, for decades, consistently applied his ideology to the facts, instead of fact-checking his beliefs. He grudgingly accepts the reality of repeated collaboration, but he refuses to treat it systematically. The *New York Times* review of Cesarani's book is correct: He is "a writer in control neither of his material nor of himself" (Barry Gewen, "The Everyman of Genocide," 14 May 2006). And for all Cesarani's rage against Arendt personally and her expose of Zionism, when it comes to interpreting Eichmann (nominally the topic of his book), the *Times* is again on point: "what is striking is how far his research goes to reinforce her fundamental arguments."

#### ENTERPRISE UNDER OCCUPATION

**Empowering SME Managers in Palestine**, by Farhad Analoui and Mohammed al-Madhoun. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006. xvi + 171 pages. Bibliography to p. 192. Index to p. 200. \$99.95 cloth.

##### *Reviewed by Hana Daoudi*

Small and medium enterprises (SMEs) are receiving increasing attention world wide as a key element for poverty alleviation and for diversifying production and external trade. Because of their small size, SMEs theoretically have the flexibility to respond to emerging opportunities and withstand economic shocks. However, there is no universal definition of SMEs. Some countries, such as Palestine, classify these enterprises according to the number of employees (in

Palestine, small enterprises are those that employ five to nineteen persons, medium-sized enterprises those that employ twenty to fifty), while others determine the size of enterprises depending on the value of annual turnover or assets. The concept of size is also context-specific; a large enterprise in a small country could be considered small in another.

In the case of Palestine, SMEs have historically been considered the backbone of the economy, standing as the main contributors to employment generation and income growth, hence the numerous management training and development (MTD) programs by national and international organizations to enhance the competitiveness of these enterprises. However, little is known about the long-term impact of these programs on the performance of SMEs. This book seeks to fill this gap and suggests avenues for developing such programs.

The book is the first of its kind to draw on a field survey of SME managers who have successfully completed training courses. The survey involves 447 managers who participated in MTD programs over the period 1995-1999 and uses a cross-sectional approach (i.e., data was collected from the managers at only one point in time) and an interviewer-administered method (face-to-face interviews in which an interviewer poses questions and registers answers) to ascertain the managerial skills acquired by the managers. It is based on a structured questionnaire, which draws on an analysis of the training courses attended by the managers and existing literature on MTD. The book also draws on the professional experiences of the authors who have written extensively on human resource management and development. Farhad Analoui is senior lecturer in international human resource management and the director of professional development services at the Bradford Center for International Development at the University of Bradford while Mohammed al-Madhoun is senior lecturer in human resource development at the Islamic University of Gaza.

The book starts by highlighting the most common definitions of SMEs, their role in generating growth and the priority accorded to human resource development in Palestinian development plans (chapter 1). This is followed by an extensive review of the literature on MTD (chapter 2) and an overview of MTD programs in the Middle East and in Palestine (chapters 3-4). The skills acquired by the surveyed managers, and the extent to

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