



BEYOND CAMPS AND FORCED LABOUR

Current International Research on Survivors of Nazi Persecution

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Viorel Achim (Nicolae Iorga Institute of History, Bucharest)

The problems encountered by former Roma deportees after returning from Transnistria

Of the 25,000 Roma deported to Transnistria in 1942-1944, approximately 11,000 had died of hunger, cold, disease, and privation in the deportation places. Most survivors returned to Romania in the spring and summer of 1944, but some were repatriated only in 1945 and 1946. On returning home from Transnistria many Roma found their modest homes and households destroyed or occupied by others. Restitution of property confiscated by the National Center for Romanization in 1942 was in some places sluggish. There have been cases in which Roma have not regained their homes. But in general there were no complicated problems related to property. The most difficult situation were that of the the nomadic Roma, who lost all their goods (horses, wagons, tools, gold etc.) in Transnistria. Many of them could not resume their trades from before the deportation. Some of them settled in other localities than they attended before 1942. After the episode of Transnistria the Roma nomadic communities could not recover. This paper, built on archival documents and oral testimonies, deals with the difficult situation the Roma survivors of Transnistria found themselves in for a number of years after 1944, as well as their and relations with the Romanian administration.

Elizabeth Anthony (US Holocaust Memorial Museum, USA)

Representations of Sexual Violence in the Records of the ITS Digital Archive

The array of documents in the ITS digital archive includes those original to the collection as well as copies from other archives and provides a vast sample of both Nazi and Allied documentation created in the prewar, wartime, and postwar periods. This paper takes the opportunity provided by the depth and breadth of the collection to add perspective and nuance to increasing scholarly attention to sexual violence during the Holocaust, with a special focus on so-called concentration camp brothels. Documents ranging from an application for a privileged male prisoner's reward of a visit a brothel to a wartime Nazi report of one facility's operations to postwar survivor testimony further elucidate this particular form of sexual violence. ITS-held documents reveal both the Nazi perpetrators' direct discussion of and misleading language employed with regard to such crimes, as well as evidence of rumors and prejudice maintained about the forced sex laborers. This paper serves not only to add to the growing body of work on sexual violence by extracting new and varied pieces of evidence from the ITS digital archive, but also as an example of the utility of ITS collections for thematic research.

Dieter Bacher (Ludwig Boltzmann-Institute, Austria)

Forced to go – wanted to stay: The role of national and international administration for the integration of former foreign forced labourers in Austria 1945 to 1955

Between 1939 and 1945, more than a million civilian forced labourers, prisoners of war and concentration camp prisoners from almost every corner of Europe were brought to today's Austria. The need for their workforce was imminent – nearly every economic sector was in need of forced labourers to compensate the loss of „domestic“ workers. After the end of the war, there raised of course the question how to deal with these people, now categorized as „displaced persons“. Many of them returned home soon after the war had ended, others decided to emigrate to Great Britain, the USA or Canada to start a new life there. The third part, despite the fact that they were forced to come to Austria, decided to stay here and to build up a new life here.

Not only the „repatriates“ and the „emigrants“, also the „stayers“ were of course in need of support. But the attitude of national and international relief organizations, agencies and authorities towards the DPs who wanted to stay in Austria was split in this issue. Especially in the first years after the end of the war,

according to the decisions of the conference in Yalta in February 1945, the focus of the measures should be on repatriation. But with the times, this position began to change more and more. From the end of the 1940s on, both Austrian and international organizations and authorities as well as agencies of the four occupation powers in Austria (USA, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and France) began to support also those people who had decided to stay.

The proposed presentation plans to give an overview of the role of national and international agencies in the support of former forced labourers who stayed in Austria after 1945, a so far hardly examined field of research. The analysis will especially focus on the view from the former forced labourer's point of view, based on the materials collected by the former „Austrian Reconciliation Fund“ („Österreichischer Versöhnungsfonds“) from 2001 to 2005. The main questions of the analysis will be how the attitude of the mentioned organizations in Austria changed with the times, what kind of support these organizations were willing and able to give the „stayers“ and how the activities of these organizations were seen by the „DPs“ themselves. The analysis will be illustrated by a short presentation of some „case studies“ based on the materials of the Fund and on Oral-history-interviews.

Roderick Bailey (Oxford University)

Beyond Bonhoeffer: Towards a History of Flossenbürg's Punishment Block

Drawing on war crimes investigation files, trial records, declassified intelligence records and the unpublished testimonies of survivors, this paper discusses the history and changing functions of the punishment block in Flossenbürg concentration camp between 1938, when the camp was constructed, and 1945. Many camps had a punishment block, variously known as the bunker, *arrestbau* or *zellenbau*. Dedicated and detailed studies of them are rare. Built originally for the punishment of regular camp prisoners, Flossenbürg's block was a long narrow building of forty side-by-side cells with a small courtyard used for executions. Most early inmates, including women and children, were camp prisoners accused of sabotage and other forms of dissent. Later, Soviet prisoners of war were held and killed there. From early 1944, the block began to be used for an additional purpose: the short- and long-term incarceration of high-profile prisoners of the Reich: resistance fighters, anti-Nazi Germans and Allied intelligence agents. The German inmates, who arrived last, included Admiral Wilhelm Canaris (formerly head of Hitler's military intelligence service) and General Hans Oster (Canaris' deputy). Canaris, Oster and others, including the theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer, were executed at Flossenbürg in April 1945. Until now, accounts of Flossenbürg's punishment block – indeed, the popular history of the camp itself – have been dominated by the fate of Canaris and Bonhoeffer. This paper seeks in particular to illuminate the block's origins and earlier history and shed new light on its other inmates and uses. Trial proceedings also allow light to be shed on the identities, backgrounds, roles and motivations of key camp personnel responsible for the block.

Ruth Balint (University of New South Wales, Australia)

Accusations and Denunciations in the DP Archives

After the war, non-Jewish refugees who sought welfare assistance and access to the DP (Displaced Persons) camps had first to be interviewed, either by the UNRRA, or after 1947, the IRO (International Refugee Organization), whose job it was to screen out war criminals, collaborators and ethnic Germans from the community. Those the IRO found undeserving of DP status had the right of appeal, and these appeals could sometimes take the form of lengthy petitions arguing an individual's case for eligibility. In my examination of these appeals, I have discovered that DPs often wrote copiously – in letters, petitions, queries and, sometimes, denunciations - to the authorities in the postwar period. As Peter Gatrell reminds us, the “attempt to relate ‘actual’ experience mattered a great deal to refugees and DPs who wished to communicate and thus to validate it, often in the face of official suspicion or skepticism”. (Gatrell 2009:3).

These appeals are often story rich, containing detailed accounts of pre-war and wartime personal histories, framed in narratives of loss, persecution and political resistance. They were not written for posterity, but with urgency and, often, desperation: getting the story “right” often meant the difference between securing a future in a new country, remaining stuck in Germany as an unwanted fringe dweller or being repatriated back to the Communist East. Yet among the confessions, pleas for help, anti-communist tirades and pardon tales of DPs challenging IRO decisions, there are also denunciations. These denunciations take many forms: husbands denouncing their wives, wives their husbands, children their parents, Jews denouncing collaborators and Nazis, and most common of all, collaborators denouncing history. In this paper, I discuss the role and practice of denunciation in the DP archives, and the ways in which the authorities of the period dealt with these accusations in light of their role as arbiters of resettlement to the West.

Michael Berkowitz (University College, London, UK)

Ha Shava and the recovery of assets from Jewish institutions: the case of Wulf Jasvoin

This paper will discuss my efforts to recover assets from my great-great grandfather, Wulf Jasvoin, who was a photographer in St Petersburg around the turn of the century. Although the HaShava organization (based in Israel) was established mainly in order to restore assets to Holocaust victims, it was soon discovered that there were unclaimed funds from the pre-Holocaust period. That is, it deals in funds that were left in Jewish banks and investment schemes, including those of the Zionist organization—such as the Jewish Colonial Trust.

In having undertaken the process of attempting to recover lost property, I am able to discuss the work of this body through my own experience. Thus far, over a period of years, I cannot provide a definitive statement. But the character of my engagement reveals that their familiarity with even the basic history of the Holocaust is very weak. There seems to be little attempt to understand and situate the cases before them in context. The 'experts' have little or no historical research background. Thus far it seems to serve more as a block on delivering funds, as opposed to facilitating their transfer to rightful owners.

Johannes Breit (Humboldt University, Germany)

Forced Labor in Focus

In the years from 1941 to 1945, more than 400 forced laborers worked and lived in in the remote Vals valley in the Tyrol. In a project initiated by German Army High Command and designed to combat the critical shortage of the metal Molybdenum, they built a mine and its adjacent infrastructure from the ground up. Various members of the involved personnel in over 500 photos have documented this project. Utilizing this unusually large collection of photographic sources, this presentation aims at a threefold analysis. Due to sheer volume the Vals sources allow for a meticulous documentation of the everyday lives of forced laborers. Ranging from Christmas celebrations to weddings, these photos give a glimpse of an everyday live where harrowing working and living conditions are contrasted with a human desire to create a certain normalcy and thus reveal strategies of survival. Secondly, the Vals sources due to the fact that in large they were produced by Germans and Austrians somewhere in-between bystanders and perpetrators provide a solid basis for analysis of the social attitudes of »ordinary« Germans towards forced laborers. They represent the view of German society in the »Third Reich« of its »Fremdarbeiter« forced to help the German war effort. Thirdly, these photos highlight a common problem associated with the pictorial representation of National socialist crimes in the visual memory of contemporary societies: Current iconography of the Nazi past usually does not represent the everyday life of victims; something to which these photos provide a counter-point.

Suzanne Brown-Fleming (US Holocaust Memorial Museum)

Imagining the Refugee in ITS

ITS documents demonstrate the international scope of World War II and the Holocaust in a way that allows us to see the intertwined fates of Jewish and non-Jewish displaced persons, refugees, and those who claimed to be such from a staggering variety of ethnic and religious backgrounds from across Europe, Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America. The war's long reach comes into sharp focus by looking at such cases side by side, now possible due to increased search capability of the ITS digital archive. One example is the project by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, the ITS in Bad Arolsen, and Yad Vashem to index the International Refugee Organization (IRO) so-called "care and maintenance" (CM/1) forms by the categories of religion, nationality, and ethnicity. In the course of the project, indexers discovered a surprisingly long and diverse list of nationalities, ethnicities, and religious affiliations in IRO CM/1 forms. Scholars interested in particular national, ethnic or religious groups may use this search feature as a beginning to what ITS might hold. Further, scholars interested in the on-the-ground practices of the IRO in terms of who was determined to be "within" its mandate and who was "outside" of its mandate can efficiently select all CM/1 forms for a particular national, ethnic, or religious group and make a study of the patterns in who received DP or refugee status and who did not, and on what grounds.

Alison Carrol (Brunel University, UK) & Laure Humbert (University of Exeter, UK)

Fractured and Ambiguous memories: The *Malgré-Nous* and the *Banatais* in post-Liberation France

Recent literature on France since 1945 has stressed the fractured nature of memories of the Second World War. Studies have looked beyond the Gaullist and Communist myths that dominated the decades after the Liberation, and revealed the fragmented and politically contested nature of French memories of the nation's wartime experience. Less attention has been paid, however, to the regionally specific experiences of those sections of the French population which found themselves outside either the Vichy regime or the German zone of occupation. This paper takes two such experiences and considers how the two groups presented a common experience of victimhood as a means to reimagine their place within the French nation. It focuses on the *Malgré-Nous*, the thousands of Alsatians and Mosellans who were (forcedly or voluntarily) conscripted in the Wehrmacht or the Waffen-SS during the war, and the *Banatais*, Eastern European refugees who claimed French citizenship on the basis of their ancestors' roots in eighteenth century Alsace and Lorraine. The paper considers the response to the *Banatais* in the Alsatian and Mosellan press to rethink experiences of reception and resettlement, ideas about justice and victimhood, and France's evolving memory of the War.

In 1944-5, the *Banatais* fled the Red Army and demanded French citizenship. For many sections of French public opinion, this was a clear attempt to conceal their wartime collaboration with the Nazis. For Alsace and the Moselle, however, the *Banatais* shared their experience of victimhood at the hands of the Nazis and interactions between the two groups is revealing of the development of ideas of victimhood that would later find expression in the response to the 1953 trial of 13 Alsatian conscripts implicated in the wartime massacre at Oradour-sur-Glane. The trial has generally been treated as an example of Franco-Alsatian conflict, but, by tracing understandings of victimhood back to their roots in the months after the Liberation, this paper suggests that Alsatians and Mosellans placed their own experiences of Nazism within a broader European context. In identifying parallels between their own experiences and those of the *Banatais*, the population in Alsace and Moselle highlight both the clash between regional and national patterns of memory in France, and the broader European currents in relation to which post-war French memory developed and evolved.

Angel Chorapchiev (University of Haifa, Israel) and Vasilis Ritzaleos (Democritus University of Thrace, Greece)

The role of the Jewish forced labour battalions on the line Simitli - Sidirocastro in the geo - strategic plans of Bulgaria during the WW II

In March 1941 Bulgaria joined the Tripartite Pact and in the following month, shortly after the German invasion in Greece, was given the right to occupy long coveted territories in Western Thrace and Eastern Macedonia. Unlike the German position, Bulgaria accepted the annexation of these territories as final. They were pronounced as "newly liberated lands" and the Bulgarian king - Boris III, as a "king-unifier". The Bogdan Filov's government set a detailed program for the incorporation of the annexed territories into the infrastructures of the Bulgarian kingdom. Important role in these plans was given to the replacement of the old narrow gauge railway in South Bulgaria with a regular one and its connection with the rail net of Greek Macedonia. In 1942 and 1943 for that task were mobilized thousands of workers. Among them, since 1942, were also Bulgarian and Greek Jews who were forced into labour camps under the Bulgarian anti-Semitic laws. The harsh condition in which these people worked became wider known only after the end of the war during the hearings of the so-called People's Court.

The aim of the present paper is to reveal the role of the Jewish labour battalions in the Bulgarian plans for incorporation of Northern Greece into the kingdom during WWII. It will also present the system of labour camps for Jews in the Struma's valley and the condition in which those Jews were held during the construction works of the railway. A number of testimonies of survivors both from Bulgaria and Greece will be used together with official documentation of the Bulgarian authorities.

Beth Cohen (California State University, Northridge, USA)

Starting Over: Reconstituted Families after the Holocaust

In 2000, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, along with its Second Generation Advisory Group hosted a conference entitled "Life Reborn: Jewish Displaced Persons, 1946-1951." It was among the first to address the Jewish displaced persons' (DP) experience as a legitimate topic for academic inquiry. As the title "Life Reborn" suggests, an important theme framing the conference was how survivors in the DP camps immediately began the process of rebuilding their new lives after the war. This included quickly marrying and starting families. Indeed, scholars have documented the historically high birthrate in the DP camps that imply survivors' postwar resilience and optimism.[1] Highlighting these statistics and, by extension, adult survivors' future hopes through pregnancy and births, however, neglect an important facet of postwar survivors' lives: the fact that some were already parents and their children –if any had endured the Holocaust- were now survivors, as well.

My paper will focus on the little- explored aspect of postwar life: reconstituted families that included children born before or during the war. In it I explore this topic that scholarship has generally overlooked; new families started by widowed individuals who were not first time parents but those who remarried second spouses and in today's parlance became blended families of survivors.

This study emphasizes the child survivors' perspective. Part of my larger project on children who eventually settled in the United States, this study draws upon the Kestenberg Collection of Child Survivor Interviews, Hebrew University; the USC Shoah Foundation, The Institute for Visual History and Education; and my own oral history collection, as well as archival material from the European Jewish Children's Aid, and contemporary mental health journals. I analyze the range of reconstituted families, how children experienced newly established families and the effects this had on their lives including their self-perception and identity as child survivors.

Boaz Cohen (Western Galilee College, Akko, Israel and Shaanan College, Haifa, Israel)

Looking for answers in survivors experiences: early holocaust questionnaires

Giving voice to the Jewish experience during the Holocaust and presenting the experience of its Jewish victims concerned many in the early post war period. Survivor activists were aware that in order for the Jewish story of the Holocaust to be told there had to be an appropriate body of research on the Jewish experience during the Holocaust. It was obvious that such research should be based on Jewish sources – specifically, on survivor testimonies. Collecting such testimonies and other relevant materials was the main task undertaken by the Historical Commissions established by Jewish survivors all over Europe in the after-war years.

The early survivor researchers were aware that survivor testimonies have many shortcomings: survivors were still under the impression of their harrowing ordeal, they saw only a small part of the full picture, and neither they nor the collectors of testimonies were trained for the task of producing a historically viable testimony. It was understood that inaccuracies will fuel Holocaust denial.

These shortcomings were apparent to the early Holocaust historians and they set to rectify them. A basic tool they developed was the questionnaire. Already in 1945 the Jewish Central Historical commission published a manual with instructions for the taking of testimonies and three basic questionnaires, other organizations followed suit with additional questionnaires. Any student of the period is struck by the number of questionnaires devised by these early researchers. All this work was preceded and inspired by a set of 16 questionnaires composed by Jacob Lestchinsky and published in New York in Yiddish as *Di Yiddishe Catastrophe - Metodes fun ir Farshung* in 1944.

But a questionnaire is not only a tool for oral historians. Its organization and layout reflect the concerns and ideology of its composer and his or hers understanding of the historical event at stake.

This paper will address the phenomenon of early Holocaust questionnaires. It will explore their background and roots in modern east-European Jewish historiography and the ideologies and sensibilities reflected in them. The historical contribution of this work will also be discussed.

Immaculada Colomina (Arizona State University, USA)

Promoting peace. British and American Quaker relief programs for the refugee children in France

The Quakers, the Religious Society of Friends or *The Friends* as they are more properly known during and after the Second World War provided relief supplies and services in Europe and eased goods through troubled ports during periods of acute shortage. They helped people in the refugee centers, internment camps and prisons regardless of nationality or origin. Because of their previous engagement in relief throughout Europe before World War II, the Nazis treated them with respect and permitted to continue welfare activities in southern France during the occupation. This allowance was a key factor and saved thousand lives, especially children innocent victims of war who were suffering malnutrition, disease and homelessness. Evidence that the French program was the largest of the *American Friends* is shown in files and it had a big budget, over a million dollar per year. Focusing on refugee nursing mothers, early childhood and children several relief projects were implemented; feeding programs for the undernourished and providing supplies like clothing and medical stocks to the children colonies and canteens all over the country. In 1941, about 400 schools throughout unoccupied France were feeding daily 50,000 children. At the beginning of the decade of 1940's the AFSC joined efforts with the United States Committee for the Care of European Children to evacuate refugees that were in the French colonies and relocate them temporarily to the safety of the United States. Even the major impediment were the immigration quotas, during 1941 and 1942, children from different nationalities: Spaniards fled from the civil war, Roma (Gypsies), Polish, German and French, being primarily Jewish were finally transferred to the United States under the auspices of the US Committee for the Care of European Children. For this purpose, the Quakers cooperated closely with Jewish welfare agencies and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. I base my study on material gathered in American Quaker's archives and other sources collected during my previous studies on Spanish refugees in the post-Civil War period and also will use

some bibliography, all of them show us the great impact of this relief programs upon refugee children's lives.

Kierra Crago-Schneider (The Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, USA)

Rehabilitation and Resettlement: The Struggle to "Normalize" the Lives of the Tubercular Community in Föhrenwald

By 1952 the issue of European Displaced Persons (DPs) seemed to have been resolved, at least on the international stage. The Western Allies, as well as the International Refugee Organization (IRO), the United Nations agency tasked with caring for these DPs, had transferred their responsibilities to the newly formed semi-sovereign Federal Republic of Germany. With this transfer came a marked change in the status of former DPs who became Heimatloser Ausländer or stateless foreigners. Although this change meant they almost had rights equal to those held by German Nationals, for many Holocaust survivors it signified the end of hope for their emigration abroad.

This paper examines the efforts and struggles of the Tubercular (TB) community in Föhrenwald, the last active Jewish-only center in postwar Germany, to see to their resettlement abroad. Deemed unfit for entry visas because of their continued illness, Föhrenwald's TB community and their healthy family members constituted the majority of the remaining inhabitants in the center. Viewed as undesirable by the majority of countries willing to take DPs, these individuals faced a bleak existence, however, they fought for their right to secure the futures they envisioned for themselves. This paper will analyze the work conducted by the TB community, as well as the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, and other international aid organizations, to help rehabilitate and resettle the remaining Jews in Föhrenwald in an effort to "normalize" their lives after the Holocaust and to finally end the era of Displaced Persons in Germany.

Herwig Czech (Documentation Center of the Austrian Resistance/Austrian Academy of Sciences)

Debates in post-WWII Austria on health damages caused by Nazi persecution

Austria's liberation from the Nazi regime did not mean that society readily recognized the suffering endured by the victims. Prejudices and hostility against Jews, Romanies, and other persecuted groups persisted after WWII, and guilt often played a role in reinforcing hostile attitudes. Those who had resisted the regime on political grounds could claim to have been on the right side of history, but in the eyes of the former Nazis and those who had adapted to the regime or profited from it, they were uncomfortable reminders that conforming had not been the only possible course of action. In this context, the question of health damages suffered as a consequence of mistreatment, deprivation of liberty or other forms of persecution became a central issue in the struggle for recognition of victimhood. This is evident from the debates leading to the first Austrian "Victims' Welfare Law" (Opferfürsorgegesetz) in 1947, and to its numerous subsequent amendments. In this struggle, various groups of victims were competing for symbolic and material recognition of their suffering not only with each other, but additionally with returning prisoners of war, German expellees from Eastern Europe, and other groups who also considered themselves "victims." Furthermore, and this is a unique feature of the Austrian case, the state itself was basing its official narrative on victimhood.

In my paper, I will explore the political and scientific debates in post-WWII Austria on the health consequences of persecution and incarceration, and the ways in which these debates were interrelated with the selective recognition of various groups of survivors of the Nazi regime.

Isabelle Davion (University Paris-Sorbonne, France)

Surviving Auschwitz to come back: Witold Pilecki 1943-1945

Most of the time, we assume that a survivor is a post-war figure. But Witold Pilecki, who is famous for being the only known person to have voluntarily entered the Auschwitz camp, and who created there a clandestine branch of the Polish underground army (AK), escaped the KL in order to come back as a liberator, as a soldier, since his previous mission - planning an insurrection from within - had turned out to be impossible. We can thus study the case of a survivor within the war: in the deep European night of April 1943, Pilecki writes a concise report about the facts he witnessed during his almost 1000 days in Auschwitz: this "Report W", his initial factual testimony, could fruitfully be compared with his second text known as "the Pilecki Report", which was dictated in 1945 and which deals more with the problems of transmitting his experience. Here is the case of a survivor who, after his evasion, remained faithful to his mission, organizing an insurrection, and for whom the issue of relief is therefore postponed. He now happens to be a more and more present figure, following the publication of his "report" around the world.

Martin Dean (USHMM, USA)

Strategies of Jewish Survival in Ghettos and Forced Labor Camps

The predominant image of Jewish resistance is one of desperate Jews fighting to the death in the ruins of the ghettos or as partisans in the forests. However, this heroic image does not do justice to the wide variety of strategies pursued by individual Jews, families, and collectives, to try to preserve lives in the face of the Nazi intention to annihilate them.

On the basis of wide-ranging research, conducted mostly within the framework of the USHMM Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, I would like to highlight certain survival strategies, which in some cases proved successful, but generally have not received much attention in the historiography. One important aspect to recognize is that for many Jews the order to clear the ghettos and murder most of their Jewish inhabitants did not come as a surprise, but was the culmination of a progressively tightening regime of persecution, exploitation, and killing. By the summer of 1942, most Jews incarcerated in the ghettos of Eastern Europe realized they were living on borrowed time. Whereas during the first assignments to forced labor camps, in 1940 and 1941, it was common for wealthier Jews to buy exemptions, by 1942 it was more common for Jews to try to bribe their way into such camps, seeing them as a relatively safe haven compared with the other options.

This by no means always proved to be the case in the long term, but even a brief reprieve might buy time to find a hiding place, and could reduce the amount of time that had to be endured in hiding before liberation came. For tens of thousands of Jews, life was eked out in a series of forced labor camps and concentration camps for two or three years, where selections, disease, and arbitrary killings had to be survived; but survival was possible for some. It is possible that the numbers of Jews who survived in the camps may have exceeded the numbers who survived after going into hiding, adopted non-Jewish identities, or joined the partisans. In the last year of the war, tens of thousands of Hungarian Jews survived a variety of different camps and similar numbers survived from the Lodz ghetto, the forced labor camps in the Radom region, the labor camps in the Warthegau, the Organisation Schmelt camps, and even a few thousand from the ghettos and camps in the Baltic States and Distrikt Galizien. Shoah Foundation testimonies and ITS records document the tortuous paths of many Jews, who somehow made the odyssey through numerous camps to liberation.

Among the strategies pursued, it is important to note that some Jews even bribed Germans to establish camps, and more often to bring in themselves or family members, sometimes including people not capable of work. There were also some surprising acts of resistance, including mass escapes, or even Jews who volunteered to work in the Reich, as the best way to conceal their identity. For many it was almost a sixth sense which told them when it was best to go into a camp, and when it was necessary to leave, to avoid a

liquidation Aktion that was surely not long in coming. These were key decisions that had to be reassessed, almost on a daily basis.

Sharon Deane-Cox (University of Edinburgh, Scotland)

Memory, at one remove: Translating the testimonies of women survivors

This paper will interrogate how translation, across languages and cultures, serves as a vehicle of Holocaust memory transmission, one which has the potential to preserve and perpetuate the testimony of the survivor, or to distort the dimensions of the original telling. Specifically, the moral responsibility of the translator will be foregrounded in reference to the notion of the secondary witness, and problematized in light of issues of knowing and not knowing, empathy and (mis)appropriation.

Two acts of secondary witnessing will be explored which re-present the experiences of French female deportees to Nazi labour camps in Germany: Barabara Mellor's translation of Agnès Humbert's (1946) *Notre guerre*, and Margaret S. Summers' (1958) translation of Micheline Maurel's (1957) *Un camp très ordinaire*. A comparative analysis will be presented which evaluates how the translators have listened to these testimonial accounts, re-mediated the experiences of the survivors and created a (transparent, restricted, oblique etc.) epistemological window on to life in the camps. Ultimately, the paper seeks to highlight the representational and ethical quandaries of the translator in the position of secondary witness, and to demonstrate how the factual, phenomenological and ideological content of the testimonies may or may not withstand this transfer into another linguistic and cultural setting.

Jean-Marc Dreyfus (University of Manchester, UK)

The long road to compensation: Germany's refusal to compensate foreign victims of national-socialism and the decision of the so-called Globalabkommen, 1945-1964

Between 1958 and 1964, the Federal Republic of Germany signed 11 bilateral treaties with Western European countries (but not with the United States). Those treaties prescribed global payments from state to state for the foreign victims of national-socialism. The beneficiary country was made responsible for the distribution of the money. It is possible to trace back the history of those treaties as far as 1945, when the three Western occupying powers in Germany promulgated ordinances in their respective zone of occupation. The new FRG proved extremely reluctant to compensate non-German victims and only years of diplomatic pressures made the agreements possible. Bonn needed the support of France and the UK in the Berlin question and the new minister of Foreign Affairs von Brentano, appointed in June 1958, proved essential in changing Germany's position. This presentation will consider the power play that led to the 'Globalabkommen'.

Maryna Dubyk (National Academy of Science, Ukraine)

Ukrainian victims of Nazi medical experiments: a review of evidence base

The issue of conducting medical experiments in the concentration camps of the Third Reich is researched quite well. The subject of such experiments in the occupied territories still remains poorly developed, primarily due to the lack of or poor preservation of documents. Fragmentary information about individual cases recorded in historical literature and archival collections does not give a full picture of the scope, objectives and variety of medical experiments that were conducted in occupied Ukraine also. While paying off compensation to Nazi persecution victims a documentary base was collected allowing analysis to make some generalizations about the place of such experiments, specific procedures that fall under this concept, as well as their implications for survivors' health. The documents of the Ukrainian National Fund "Understanding and Reconciliation" (partner organization of the German Foundation "Remembrance,

Responsibility and Future") related to victims of medical experiments record more than one thousand cases of the affected. The analysis identified several groups of victims: 1) victims of medical experiments conducted in the concentration camps of the Third Reich; 2) victim of experiments conducted in medical institutions in the Third Reich; 3) Victims of the experiments conducted in the ghetto in the occupied territory of Ukraine; 4) Victims of experiments conducted at various institutions in the occupied territory of Ukraine.

Gabriel N. Finder (University of Virginia, USA)

Jews Judging Jews: Trials of Kapos in the Jewish Honor Court in Postwar Poland

In 1946 the Central Committee of Polish Jews established an honor court to investigate accusations leveled against Jews accused of collaboration with the Nazis and, if the facts warranted, to try them in a tribunal composed of fellow Jews. The express purposes of this procedure was to "cleanse" the Polish Jewish remnant of fellow Jews with dirty hands and to forestall them from assuming positions of importance in the postwar Jewish community.

One might expect that the Polish Jewish honor court, especially in the context of postwar Eastern Europe, subject to increasing Stalinization, was essentially a kangaroo court, but that was not so. Generally speaking, the honor court scrutinized each case on its individual merits. Between 1946 and 1949, when the honor court was dismantled during the Polish government's repression of Jewish institutions, Jewish lawyers opened files on some 150 suspected Jewish collaborators. Twenty-eight of them eventually stood trial in the honor court, of whom eighteen were convicted. Fourteen of the defendants came from the ranks of prisoner functionaries, or kapos, who were accused of acting to the detriment of their fellow Jews in concentration camps. The honor court's approach to the cases of former Jewish policemen and Jewish council members was generally restrained. Only half of the Jewish policemen and one of four Judenrat members in the dock were found guilty. Suspected kapos, however, fared worse in the honor court. Of the fourteen kapos on trial, twelve were convicted, including a woman. Only one, a woman, was formally acquitted. Moreover, several other kapos were referred by the honor court to Polish authorities for trial in state courts due to the seriousness of their alleged offenses.

In this paper I'll first sketch the establishment and modus operandi of the Polish Jewish honor court. Then I'll examine the trials and relatively high conviction rate of kapos in it. I'll argue that the honor court judged Jewish policemen and Judenrat members on the one hand and kapos on the other by different standards. Whereas the honor court tended to draw a distinction between "good" and "bad" policemen and Jewish council members, it regarded almost all kapos as "bad."

Michael Fleming (Polish University Abroad, London, UK)

The Holocaust and British information management strategy

This paper explores the implications of the decisions made by British officials to marginalise and frequently ignore intelligence about the Holocaust that arrived in Britain during the Second World War. The efforts of a number of UK-based individuals to rescue persecuted Jews from Nazi dominated Europe are rightly commemorated, but singular focus on these people risks obfuscating the barriers that were erected in Britain which constrained interventions to aid Europe's Jews. British officials at the Ministry of Information and the Political Warfare Executive played an important role in managing news of the Holocaust that was distributed to audiences in Britain and in continental Europe during the war. I demonstrate that British information management and propaganda strategy had three major effects. First, it hindered the British people developing an adequate understanding of what was happening to Jewish populations in occupied Europe during the war. Second, it frequently failed to provide populations in occupied Europe with clear information about the Holocaust. Third, it did not effectively challenge Nazi anti-Semitic propaganda in occupied countries. The story of British information management strategy in relation to the Holocaust is

important as it forces us to reconsider British reactions to the Holocaust (including British responses to the deportation of Hungarian Jews in spring 1944), to assess the impact on populations enduring Nazi occupation of news dissemination decisions made in Britain and to rethink how we memorialise the Holocaust in Britain.

Michal Frankl (Jewish Museum in Prague, Czech Republic)

Museum and Survivors' Testimony: Representations of the Holocaust in Czech Museums and Memorials

The paper will analyse the representations of the Holocaust in museums and memorials in Bohemian Lands (the Czech Republic) in the post-WWII period. Apart from outlining the history and changes of such main lieux de memoire - especially the Terezín (Theresienstadt Memorial) and the Jewish Museum in Prague, the paper will specifically focus on the following facets of the subject:

1. The process of post-Communist transformation of the Holocaust memory in museums and memorials will be highlighted and analysed against the broader background of the revision of the Czech(oslovak) historical master narratives. The paper will look into the discussions and attempts to create a dedicated Holocaust museum, such as the recent project to transform the abandoned Bubny railway station (from which deportations of Jews from Prague were dispatched) into a Holocaust museum.
2. The paper will draw attention to the various forms of the engagement and initiatives of Holocaust survivors in shaping the WWII museums as well as the modes of integration of survivors' testimony in the museum narratives. With regard to the period before the dissolution of state socialism in Czechoslovakia, the paper seeks to go beyond the obvious statement of the neglect of the Holocaust and to analyse the numerous ways and initiatives Holocaust survivors made use of to share their experience. It will explore the debates surrounding such exhibitions in the post-Communist period and the different concepts of identity voiced and/or represented in the museums. Such discussions are especially interesting to compare with the notions of musealisation as a "death" of the safeguarded objects, as supposedly illustrated by the Jewish Museum in Prague which - during the Holocaust - became a repository of judaica confiscated from synagogues and the deported Jewish families.

Kinga Frojimovics (Yad Vashem, Israel) and Éva Kovács (Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, Austria)

The Topography of Slavery - Hungarian Forced Labourers in Vienna (1944-1945)

In the early summer and autumn of 1944 more than 55,000 Hungarian Jews had been deported to Austria as forced labourers. 17,500 of them arrived in Strasshof from various Hungarian ghettos in the summer of 1944. There, a real "slave market" was opened for the demands of the Austrian entrepreneurs who urgently needed manpower in their factories and farms. The deported families—mainly mothers, children and grandparents—had to work in Vienna and in Lower Austria in agricultural farms, in the trade, and especially in the "war industry" (for example, in construction companies, bread factories, oil refineries etc.) as forced labourers. The working and living conditions of the forced labourers varied widely depending on the camp they were housed in, the industry they had to work in, and how the local military administration acted in the camps and the various work places.

In 2014, the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute initiated a research project and a remembrance trip concerning this short period of the history of the Hungarian forced labourers. We collected hundreds of testimonies, original documents, photos and protocols of the People's Court, etc., in order to reconstruct the micro-level of this history. As a result of this research project, we are already developing an interactive website with the most important 60 places in Vienna which are relevant for representing the very last year of

suffering of the Hungarian Jews. The topography of the Hungarian forced labour in Vienna exposes a still overshadowed chapter of the Hungarian Holocaust.

Roxana Ghiță (West University of Timișoara, Romania)

"Immigrant" or "refugee"? Reclassification and integration in the United States of Jews escaping Nazi persecution: (1933-1945)

The aim of this paper is to investigate the "immigrant or refugee?" debate regarding the status and (self)identification of the Jewish people resettling in the United States from 1933 to 1945, when persecution against Jews in Europe culminated in their mass-murder in concentration camps. Moreover, it is also the scope of this paper to reveal how, in this context, American immigration policies, public opinion and the tensions and conflicts among Jewish organizations in the United States further complicated the debate over the status and redefinition of being a Jew in the U.S. against the backdrop of the Holocaust in Europe. The study draws on archival material hosted by the American Jewish Archives, such as Jewish organizations' records and papers, correspondence belonging to top-ranking officials during the Roosevelt administration and personal testimonies of Jews forced to flee Europe and to readjust in the United States.

It has been estimated that approximately 340.000 Jews, more than 150.000 of whom came from Germany or Austria, found refuge in the U.S. from 1933 to 1945. The major Jewish organizations (the American Jewish Committee, B'nai Brith, the American Jewish Congress, the World Jewish Congress etc.) were very concerned by their situation and took measures to deal with it, at the same time being careful not to aggravate the growing anti-Semitism. The question of "reclassification" became most stringent among U.S. officials and leaders of Jewish organizations, and there was a widespread emphasis upon the "regularization" and "integration" of the refugee. Moreover, U.S. officials were afraid that the creation of this particular category, that of refugee, would only create a precedent for later arrivals. On the other hand, other Jewish agencies were urging for a reclassification of them as refugees, as shown by the 1943 Report of the American Federation of Jews from Central Europe, as they wanted to relieve the stateless Jewish immigrants from the stigma of "alien enemy".

Michael Grodin (Boston University, USA)

The Nuremberg Doctor's Trial: Echoes of the Defence

The Nuremberg Doctors' Trial charged the Nazi Doctors with War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity for their participation in the torture and murder of concentration camp prisoners. In their defense, the Nazi Doctors claimed that they were involved in legitimate and universally practiced human experimentation. This criminal trial and the promulgation of the Nuremberg Code stipulating the ethical requirements of human experimentation marked a watershed in the history of medical ethics and human rights.

This presentation will focus on the ethical arguments presented by Nazi physicians in defense of their murderous research activities. These justifications will be analyzed and compared to post-Nuremberg research scandals. Many of the identical arguments have been used by contemporary physicians in defense of their scientific misconduct. Key defense arguments at the Doctors' Trial discussed will include: Research is necessary in times of war and national emergency and all members of society must contribute to the war effort; the German physicians involved in human experimentation were only following the German law; there are no universal standards for research ethics as standards have varied according to time and place; and without human experimentation there would be no way to advance the progress of science and medicine.

Beata Halicka (University of Adam Mickiewicz /European University Viadrina, Germany)

From slaves to settlers in a Polish Wild West: the end of World War II from the perspective of forced labourers

Many of the two million Polish forced labourers in German Reich were working in the Oder region. With the advance of the Red Army in January and February 1945 they witnessed the evacuation and flight of the native German population. Using life writings and testimonies, I want to show the difficult circumstances of those days and provide examples of support by Polish forced labourers to German women and children on the one side and of robbing and revenge on the other. In early 1945, Polish communists had begun to take steps to resolve the border problem discussed at the Yalta Conference in their favour. They had received from Stalin full administrative powers in the conquered territories up to the Oder–Neisse line, and started the organized settlement of the region with a Polish population. In this situation, Polish forced labourers often became the first new settlers in the Oder region. They knew the area, and could often mediate between Soviet officials and the remaining German civilians.

During the early years of Polish postwar settlement, the central and lower parts of the Oder region were often unofficially described as 'Poland's Wild West' by the new Polish inhabitants. The term refers on the one hand to the prevailing chaos and the application of the principle of 'might makes right'. On the other hand, it also expressed the possibility of creating something completely new in this frontier region.

Imke Hansen, Christiane Hess, Mena Urbitsch and Nina Schulz

Ghetto-pensions: Of disputes, discourses and actors

No other law in the history of compensation in post-war Germany has seen so many claims rejected as the ghetto-pension law (ZRBG). When the German pension fund failed to acknowledge the right of former Jewish workers who were employed while being forced to live in ghettos, about 60.000 took their cases to court – 25.000 of them have been granted a "ghetto pension" so far. Besides the high rejection rate the "ghetto claims" are a highly conflictive issue. Since 1997, one dispute is following the other, focusing both on legal and historical questions and involving not only the survivors, judges and representatives of the pension fund but meanwhile also historians, politicians and other public persons. What on the one hand reflects Germany's attitude to its past aside from commemoration ceremonies is on the other hand prolonging the process – which is disastrous for the ghetto survivors as they often do not live up to the court decision.

Our presentation will portray the survivors on-going struggle for their pensions and examine the different protagonists views, strategies and perceptions. In addition, the presentation will reflect upon the different narratives produced during the on-going disputes. Moreover it will shed a light on the role historians played during the investigations and conflicts. It gives a special insight into the matter as it integrates documentary photographs into the analysis, portraying the role of the different participants during court hearings, discussions in the German parliament and other places of dispute and discourse.

Christiane Hess (Leuphana University Lueneburg, Germany)

Getting the picture: Social relations and their representations in concentration camps

Concentration camp historiography has been influenced by questions and methods of cultural history. Visual representations play a central role in this. Drawings, sketches and other visual material produced by prisoners have become part of the visual archive of the National Socialist concentration camps, next to SS photos and film footage.

In my paper I will analyze the specific narratives and appearances of drawings from the concentration camps Neuengamme and Ravensbrück. I will investigate (re)presentations of men's and women's bodies

and how they demonstrate the social relations/hierarchies in the camps. Furthermore, I will show how and why some of these pictures have had and continue to have an impact on visual memory and remembrance, while others remain "silent" and are hardly ever taken into account.

These pictures offer to elaborate on questions of social relations, diverse cultural practices and everyday-life in the concentration camps. Thus, the drawings might tell different stories. They do not simply transport traces of the past: the paths they take, their subsequent use, and their entire transmission histories all become part of the work itself. Hence, it is crucial to consider the artist, the product, the context of production, the different perception(s) and their "migration" to grasp the complexity of a drawing. In this regard, the analysis of visual representations offers new insights in the on-going development of concentration camp historiography.

Gerrit Hohendorf (Institute for History and Ethics of Medicine, Technical University of Munich (TUM), Germany)

The legacy of the Nazi euthanasia program: Are there any lessons to be learned from history for current debates on medical assisted dying?

Between 1939 and 1945 about 300.000 men, women and children with psychiatric illnesses or mental disabilities have been murdered under the disguise of mercy killing or euthanasia. The Nazi euthanasia victims belong to the long forgotten and late remembered victims of Nazi atrocities in Germany. Only since September 2014 there exists a memorial and information point for the Nazi euthanasia victims commemorating them in the centre of the German capital Berlin.

At the same time the just again emerging German debate about physician assisted suicide and euthanasia for severely ill patients doesn't seem to be free from the shadows of history. Those, who want to liberalize the German legislation in this respect, argue that the Nazi crimes have nothing to do with the questions we are confronted with today, such as voluntary euthanasia for those suffering from incurable diseases. But the terms of "mercy killing" and "life unworthy of living" were not invented by the Nazis themselves. There were partly coined by leading German lawyers and psychiatrists. The aim of the paper is to reconstruct the origins of Nazi euthanasia and their implementation on a slippery slope. Historical analysis shows that a shift in the assessment of human life from an economic, racial or eugenic point of view might have facilitated the disturbing fact that the systematic mass extermination in National Socialism could begin within the German population itself and didn't encounter more resistance from German physicians and psychiatrists. The historical example can help us to understand how socially mediated concepts of the value of human life influence our attitude towards those who are not fully productive any more, sometimes with lethal consequences.

Rita Horvath (Yad Vashem, Israel)

Holocaust Testimonies given by Child-Survivors to Two Large-Scale Historical-Memorial Projects in the Immediate Aftermath of World War Two

I propose to analyze and compare testimonies of child survivors given immediately after the war to two large-scale testimony collecting projects: the National Relief Committee for Deportees in Hungary (Deportáltakat Gondozó Országos Bizottság, DEGOB) and the Central Historical Commission of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Munich. I am interested in comparing testimonies collected by these two early projects, because the projects' methods and rationale of taking down child testimonies differed, so we can assess how these factors influence the testimonies themselves.

In order to learn about children's experience in Nazi Europe and their experiences in the immediate aftermath of the Holocaust, it is a practical as well as a moral imperative to turn to children's testimonies

and make use of every bit of information that is recorded in them. Traditional historiographical devices of source criticism alone cannot deal with the problems of how to draw upon survivor testimonies, especially upon trauma narratives and those given by children among them. In order to glean pieces of information, the employment of special hermeneutic techniques is necessary.

In this paper, I aim at demonstrating that by using literary, psychological and linguistic methods of text-analysis, we can realize how much information is encoded in various emerging sub-and meta-texts of child-survivor testimony in addition to information that seems to be conveyed forthrightly by the witnesses.

Thomas Irmer (Rummelsburg Memorial, Berlin/Germany)

Expanding the 'Ostbahn' - German private companies and Jewish labourers, 1939-1944

Addressing the area of forced labourers in occupied Europe, this paper explores the employment of Jewish labourers by German companies during the expansion of the 'Ostbahn' in occupied Eastern Europe. Being a traffic project of great importance as well as for the German warfare as for the occupation regime, app. more than 200 German private companies were involved in constructing bridges, stations and railway tracks. Among others, numerous companies employed Jewish workers. After looking at the state of research, the scale of involvement of German companies in the construction of the 'Ostbahn' and of the employment of Jewish labourers will be outlined. What was the legal framework for the employment of Jews imposed by the Nazi Regime? Where and by whom Jewish workers were employed?

Based on the example of construction companies also from Berlin, working and living conditions of Jewish labourers will be examined. Did there exist any legal relationship between the Jewish workers and the German companies? What was the scope for action from the perspective of a company regarding the working and living conditions (i.g. wages, food supply) of the Jewish labourers? How did Jewish workers react upon the employment by private companies?

Łukasz Jasiński (Museum of the Second World War in Gdansk, Poland)

The Central Commission for the Investigation of German/ Hitlerite Crimes in Poland as an instrument of postwar retribution

The purpose of proposed paper is to examine the role of the Central Commission for the Investigation of German/Hitlerite Crimes in Poland in judicial handling with german atrocities committed on the premises of Poland during Second World War.

The Central Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Poland (Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Niemieckich w Polsce) was created by the communist-dominated government in Warsaw in 1945. Commission, which was subjugated to the ministry of justice played crucial role in conducting investigations concerning wide scope of German war crimes committed in Poland, such as: concentration camps, ghettos, mass executions and deportations. Another aspect of its works was focused on remembrance of the Second World War and German atrocities. In 1949 Main Commission was renamed to Commission for Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes, and its work was put into halt. The Commission was, however, reactivated in 1965 and functioned until 1989.

In my paper I intend to analyse the role of the Central Commission as an institution co-responsible for preparing trials of german war criminals, such as for example the Auschwitz Trial which took place in Krakow November/December 1947. The proposed paper will be prepared on the basis of documents from polish State Archives, archive of the National Museum in Warsaw, Institute for National Remembrance, and publications of the Central Commission.

Robin Judd (Ohio State University, USA)

A Whirlwind of Doctors, Needles, and Tests': Health, Hygiene and the European Jewish Soldier Bride

When asked what she most clearly remembered about her days as a young fiancée and bride, eighty-four year old J. Sipkowicz quickly replied, "The examinations! It was a whirlwind of doctors, needles, and tests. I was poked so much I got bruises..."

Sipkowicz was not alone. A Holocaust survivor who became engaged to a Canadian Jewish soldier after the war, Sipkowicz' health and hygiene were issues of concern to the Canadian military. It, like the militaries of the United States and Britain, set out policies concerning not only the regulation of marriage between soldiers and civilians, but also regarding the sexual, emotional, and general health of the soon-to-be-brides. These military commands enlisted the assistance of the military medical establishment, the International Red Cross, and contemporary scholars in the fields of public health, social work and medicine to craft and implement those regulations. Sipkowicz, like other Jewish survivors who married Canadian, American, and British soldiers offered a unique set of medical and psychological needs that had been shaped by their particularly horrific experiences during the war.

Drawing on contemporary scholarship concerning the history of medicine, sexuality, postwar Europe, and the surviving remnant, this paper seeks to address two previously ignored questions. First, it explores the health care policies created by the Allied military governments concerning military brides and these regulations' implementation and impact. It also seeks to understand the particular challenges and experiences of the Jewish brides, most of whom had spent the Nazi years in labor and/or extermination camps and some of whom received medical attention from their liberators and/or the occupied militaries immediately after World War II. Such an analysis sheds light on the history of postwar Europe more generally, but more specifically it expands our understanding of the history of female survivors' health and its intersection with the military, medical authorities, and contemporaneous NGOs.

Marek Kaźmierczak (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)

1500. Between commemoration and colloquial thinking

1500 Jews were killed in 1941 in the forest of Rudzica (near Konin, central Poland) by the SS Commando Lange. The same troop was responsible for the extermination of Jews in the Krąžel forest (where 3000 Jews were killed); it also took part in the extermination of prisoners at the *Kulmhof an der Nehr* (the Kulmhof concentration camp) in December 1941. The subject of this research about the Holocaust is the biggest camp – Kulmhof. There are several books and articles about the extermination in the Krąžel forest, but there is almost no mention about the Jews killed in the forest of Rudzica. Between the 1960s and the 1980s an official investigation was conducted, concerning the extermination of Jews in the forest of Rudzica. The results of this investigation were not shown in research journals and there are three unpublished volumes of documents in archives.

The author of this paper has been the only one so far to do any research on the extermination of Jews in the forest of Rudzica, a place that has been almost forgotten. The paper has two objectives: firstly, showing the forms of commemorating the extermination of 1500 people in the forest of Rudzica; secondly, describing/documenting the testimonies of the witnesses of this extermination in the context of the colloquial thinking which shaped their understanding of the facts. The main hypothesis of the paper is: there are active forms of oblivion which are the results of the dialectics between commemoration and colloquial thinking.

Anastasia Kostetskaya (University of Hawai'i, USA)

Unfilmed Stalingrad: "Child-Actors" of the Great Battle

As recent research shows, the child population of Stalingrad was drastically reduced as a result of the events of 1942 – 1943. From hundreds of thousands children, the number went to below 1000. While children of 14 years of age and older were considered a valuable workforce to be transported to Germany and other European countries alongside with adult women, younger children were orphaned and exposed to extermination, starvation and violence on an epic scale. It is this category of the city population whose cinematic representations, or, rather, lack thereof, that I examine in this paper.

The cinematic representations of the real situation of children in the embattled city can be considered as a sort of telling "negative presence." The informed viewer could surmise aspects of the Stalingrad battle that were intentionally obscured for ideological and political reasons. In my research I consider all the prominent Russian and German feature films about Stalingrad and analyze major tropes of children representation in them (e.g. children as the supportive rear to the Red Army helping it by their subversive activities in Soviet film; positive aspects of German soldier-Russian child interactions - soldiers as providers of food and protectors in German film) against the background of historical fact: materials from the State archives of the Volgograd region and family archive, memories of the "Children of Stalingrad" and the data provided in the ground-breaking research by T. Pavlova in her monograph *Tragedy Made Secret: Civilian Population in the Battle of Stalingrad* (2005).

Yvonne Kozlovsky Golan (University of Haifa, Israel)

On the Judenrat: A discussion of Claude Lanzmann's film 'The Last of the Unjust' (France/Austria, 2013)

Claude Lanzmann's film "The Last of the Unjust" (France/Austria, 2013) focuses on a multifaceted, controversial issue: the Judenrat – the Jewish Council – of the Theresienstadt Ghetto. Lanzmann focuses on the last interview of the last surviving member of the Council in 1975 – Benjamin Murmelstein. The interview of nearly three hours constitutes a chilling document of firsthand testimony of what happened in the ghetto. Lanzmann kept the interview under wraps for 38 years and did not include it in his monumental masterwork *Shoah*.

This examination of the film raises several questions. Does the interview of Murmelstein equip us with answers to troubling questions about the Judenrat? Does the film succeed in conveying to viewers the gap between individual and collective memory? When individual testimony is compared to evidence given by others, what do we learn about the essential function of the Judenrat in Ghetto Terezin? What did the filmmaker know about the Judenrat at the time of filming in 1975? And what does he know now? Does Lanzmann bring the material into a broad, intelligent discussion in his film in 2013?

This lecture will present a narrative and historical analysis of this troubling film, confronting the initial basic assumptions set forth at the Eichmann Trial – Hannah Arendt on one hand, and Raul Hilberg on the other, as compared to Murmelstein's filmed testimony.

Ewa Koźmińska-Frejlik (Jewish Historical Institute, Warsaw, Poland)

The Role of Gender in the Polish Jewish Civic Court 1946-1950

Under the influence of German rule in Poland, gender roles and social rules of coexistence between Jewish men and women, previously taken for granted, were changing. Emanuel Ringelblum, chronicler of the Shoah, creator of the underground archive, Oyneg Shabes, and catalyst of the study of Jews during the war, wrote on June 10, 1942: "Future historians will have to devote a separate page to the Jewish woman during the war. She will have a prominent role in the history of the Jews." This conviction that the changes in traditional women's roles that were taking shape under the influence of wartime conditions were

significant was probably what prompted Ringelblum and his associates to commence studies of “the Jewish woman during the war” in the second half of 1941, following the example of prewar studies conducted by YIVO, the institute for the study of East European Jewry. Cecylia Słapakowa, the lead coauthor of the project, which survives only in fragments, based her reflections on at least seventeen interviews (at least this is how many have survived until the present day) with women from various professions and environments. The material gathered by Słapakowa is an invaluable source of information on the metamorphoses of Jewish women’s social roles under Nazi occupation. However, it is impossible to say whether this change was permanent—a consequence of other changes, initiated as early as before 1939—or whether it should be treated as an ad hoc consequence of the special wartime conditions. Słapakowa herself was aware of the fragmentary nature of her evidence. “Today, while it’s happening, it is difficult,” she wrote, “to give a thorough and objective analysis of the role of the Jewish woman in shaping our wartime reality. Such an analysis requires a historical perspective.”

The documentation gathered right after the war in the files of the Central Committee of Polish Jews (Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce, CKŻP) civic court provides us with just this historical perspective, as suggested by Słapakowa. It helps unravel the still insufficiently explored areas of how Jewish women experienced the Shoah, their experiences limited by female physicality and social roles attributed to women, though not always directly linked to them. It also makes possible to answer the question if the Holocaust changed the way Polish Jews thought about a woman’s role in the society.

Kateřina Králová (Charles University, Prague)

The Holocausts in Greece? Victim Competition regarding the Post-War Compensation for Nazi Persecution

Facing vast losses, those survivors who had suffered during the Second World War found themselves in great need of social and financial assistance. The Jewish community in Greece was paralyzed and most of its traditional institutions ceased to exist. Although limited humanitarian relief had been provided right after the occupation, the development of relevant legal framework was a long-term process. As for Greece, this problem has been so far mostly neglected by Greek and international researchers and reflections on reconstruction were overshadowed by the memory of the Greek Civil War (1946-1949) followed by strong nationalist and anti-communist politics.

However, the notion of Holocaust was recently connected with a different association in Greek public discourse. Even before the book *Ellinika Olokautomata 1940-1945* was published in 2010, this term was adopted for the retaliation actions often connected to the communist resistance that took place in Greece under the Nazi rule and devastated many Greek villages and their inhabitants. But claims of these victims were also played down by the state policy. In this way, survivors of Nazi atrocities and the Shoah became competitors regarding the compensation payments in general, from Germany in particular.

Drawing on rich primary sources particularly from German archives I aim to examine the connections between humanitarian aid, the moral obligations of the political elites, and political as well as economic realism in Greek-German relations. I argue that the individual attempts to secure compensation were impeded not only by bureaucratic obstacles and political power games in the Greek government and their relations with West Germany, but also by a more general denial of Greek complicity in the crimes committed in Greece.

Lukasz Krzyzanowski (University of Warsaw, Poland)

“Ghost citizens” in an ordinary Polish Town: Holocaust survivors returning to Radom immediately after the war

Landmark studies by Jan Gross and other scholars have contributed to the rapid growth of the historiography of post-Holocaust period in Poland. However, we know much more about post-war death, destruction and emigration, than about the return of survivors, a phenomenon that often began before these events. Additionally, little attention has been given to the fate of the Jewish returnees to numerous Polish towns. This study examines the condition of the social community of survivors as well as their place in the society of post-war Radom, a medium sized industrial city in central Poland. It argues that the survivors in Radom (and many other Polish towns) were “ghost citizens” – physically present but socially absent. Those who had chosen to remain in the town, formed a closed and isolated social community with very few links to the non-Jewish population. This paper seeks to restore agency to the survivors by providing insight into the coping strategies employed by Jews present in Radom immediately after the war. As a part of a larger dissertation project this paper works to advance the study of the Holocaust to include the immediate post-war period. Based on documents collected by the Local Jewish Committee in Radom, as well as the materials of the state administration and police, and oral history interviews conducted in Poland, Israel, Canada and USA, it works to reconstruct the events of the final months of the war and the period of the attempted reintegration for Jewish survivors in Poland.

Gerald Lamprecht (Graz University)

Jewish History and Identity reflected in Jewish Museums in Postwar Austria

In 1895, a Viennese group of acculturated Jews founded the first Jewish museum in Europe. The aims of this museum were on the one hand to facilitate the construction of a Jewish identity among the bourgeois, acculturated Viennese Jews, and on the other hand to explain Judaism to non-Jewish society. Summing up the history of this first museum, it can be stated that it was an institution run by and for Jews, and it was part of a process producing a narrative of Jewish identity in Vienna and Austria.

After the persecution, expulsion and extermination of the Jews and the destruction of Jewish life and infrastructure by the National Socialists, Kurt Schubert, the catholic founder of the Department for Jewish Studies (Judaistik) of the University of Vienna, established the first postwar Austrian Jewish Museum in 1972. He founded it in Eisenstadt with the intention of explaining Judaism to the non-Jewish population in order to prevent further anti-Semitism. By contrast with the old Jewish museum in Vienna, the Austrian Jewish Museum in Eisenstadt was an institution established by non-Jews for non-Jews. It was part of an identity building process of Austrian postwar society and had little to do with the identity of Jews in Austria after 1945. This museum as well as the Jewish museums that followed in Hohenems (1991) and Vienna (1990/93) were interlinked with the process of the so-called “Vergangenheitsbewältigung”, the struggle to come to terms with the national socialist past in Austria. These museums negotiated Austrian collective memory and the place Jews and Jewish history took in it.

In this paper I will discuss the history of the Austrian Jewish museums since 1945 and show how they are interlinked with the historical memory of the Holocaust and National Socialism in Austrian society. Furthermore I will analyze the narratives of Jewish history and identity as represented in the permanent exhibitions in Vienna, Hohenems and Eisenstadt. I will also focus on the transformation of these narratives over the last 30 years as reflected in the new permanent exhibitions that were opened in Vienna and Hohenems in 2013 and 2007.

Benjamin Lapp (Montclair State University)

Helmut Eschwege: A Jewish Historian of the Holocaust in the GDR

My paper, “Helmut Eschwege: a Jewish historian of the Holocaust in the GDR” will focus on the life and work of the East German Jewish historian Helmut Eschwege (1913-1993.) Eschwege fled Germany in 1933, living in Estonia and in Palestine, where he served with the British army. As a committed Communist, Eschwege returned to East Germany in 1946 to help build a socialist society. Eschwege received acclaim

from the West for his historical scholarship, in 1984 receiving the Buber-Rosenzweig medal for Christian-Jewish cooperation. Rather than privilege “antifascist resistance fighters” as the major victims of Nazism, as was the norm in East Germany, Eschwege’s work focused on the Jewish victims of racial genocide. In 1966, he issued the first comprehensive documentation of the destruction of German Jewry by the Nazi dictatorship in the GDR, *Kennzeichen J*. In other work, Eschwege drew attention to German-Jewish resistance against Nazism, thereby complicating the distinction made in the GDR between “fighters against fascism” and “victims of fascism.” His life was filled with contradiction: A member of the SED, he maintained an adversarial position to that Party, particularly as regarded its position towards the “Jewish question.” Eschwege was victimized by the state security services and subjected to criminal investigations; however, he also worked as an informant. Eschwege’s position regarding his Jewish identity and his attitude towards the East German state raises important issues about the relationship between the GDR and its small Jewish population, as well as the discourse in that state about the Holocaust. No scholar has as yet provided a satisfying interpretation of this man’s life and work. I propose to do so in this paper.

Anna Manchin (Center for Jewish History, New York)

“Happy Moments from the life of Labor Battalion 341”: Constructing visual memoirs of Jewish Forced Labour Service in Hungary, 1940-42

My paper gives insight into how Jewish labor servicemen interpreted their own agency by looking at how they constructed the meaning of their “service,” both visually and discursively. The title of my paper borrows the title of a 1940 home movie shot and edited by György Pető, a middle class Hungarian Jew serving in a labor battalion in the early 1940s. The Hungarian labor service system was an unarmed branch of the Hungarian Army, which in the first years of the war performed public works within the borders of Hungary. Jewish labor servicemen were often able to use their own cameras there, and created unique visual documents intended for their own use. My paper analyzes movies and photographs in conjunction with later interviews, testimonies and memoirs from survivors of the labor service to understand how Jewish men represented their agency in the forced labor service system using shared notions of “Hungarianness,” patriotism and masculinity.

Kevin McCarthy (University College Cork, Ireland)

Operation Shamrock and the Children of Clonwyn Castle: A Comparison that suggests Christian Children were more cherished than Jewish ones

Although neutral, the Irish Free State did not escape unscathed from the Nazi inspired Jewish refugee crisis. Between 1931 and 1939 an anti-communist, anti-Jewish paranoia evolved in an overwhelmingly Catholic-nationalist political culture which created an air of supreme indifference to the persecution/extermination of German-Austrian Jews. This was fostered by a Catholic educated elite to foster a distinctly Gaelic identity in an embryonic post-imperial state, and was enthusiastically embraced by an isolated civic population that increasingly exhibited xenophobic tendencies. It can justifiably be argued by 1939, these absorbed traits had created an Irish perspective where the suffering of Jews was not acknowledged, and consequently that populace was inured to the pitiful images emanating from Nazi-Germany. This state of affairs continued in the post-war period, when Catholic Ireland opened its doors to German-Christian child refugees, but continued to exclude parentless Jewish-child survivors of the Holocaust. It was only after the intervention of Isaac Herzog the former Chief Rabbi of Ireland, who contacted de Valera from Jerusalem that 100 Jewish children were reluctantly admitted to the state. However, it was only a temporary exemption, and had a number of strict caveats; the children had to be financially supported by the Jewish community, and more importantly had to leave the state after a year.

They were located in Clonwyn Castle in County Westmeath; a small rural parish, which from a research perspective offered a perfect microcosm to gauge the reaction of Catholic-Irish citizens to the most vulnerable victims of any war, the children. It ranged from an extraordinary generous understanding of

their plight, to a naked anti-Semitism that saw the castle daubed with slogans that would not have been out of place on the streets of Berlin on the 9-10 October 1938 as the Nazis launched the Kristallnacht pogrom.

Maryann McLoughlin (The Richard Stockton College of New Jersey, USA)

Children and War, the Aftermath: Post-Conflict WWII Jewish Refugee Children

“We had been liberated from death and the fear of death, but not from the fear of life.” Dr. Hadassah Bimko Rosensaft

This paper’s broad focus will be on Jewish refugee children and their lives immediately after World War II. This paper will first discuss the post-war interviews done with these children by Maria Hochberg-Mariańska, Israel Kaplan, and David Broder, highlighting the work done by Israel Kaplan. The second part will focus on the psychosocial support provided to these traumatized Jewish child survivors by social workers and psychologists influenced by the theories of Janusz Korczak and Anna Freud. This longer section will examine the psychosocial work done with these children in Europe and England: in Europe—by Judith Hemmendinger, Organization for the Assistance of Children (O.S.E.) with the Buchenwald children in France; by Lena Kuechler’s orphanage in Zakopane, Poland, and Paris, France; by Dr. Hadassah Bimko at the Bergen-Belsen Children’s Home; and by Greta Fischer in Kloster Indersdorf, Germany; in England—by Alice Goldberger at Weir Courtney with the children transported from Terezín and other concentration camps and, lastly, by Anna Freud and Sophie Dann concentration camp children at Bulldogs Bank. This discussion is relevant to current discussions about trauma victims, refugees, and rebuilding after devastation.

Anna Medvedovskaya (Dnipropetrovsk National University, Ukraine)

The Process of Memorialization of the Holocaust victims in Ukraine in the Second Part of the XX c.

During the second half of XX c. estate policy of memory in Ukraine toward Nazi victims were changed more than once because of domestic and foreign policy circumstances and changes to the political system. This period can be conditionally divided on several stages. During 1950-60s numerous monuments were erected to commemorate people who died in the Great Patriotic War (1941-45). Whereas in the soviet public discourse since 1930s the genre of historical heroic was predominated; peaceful civil citizens were not the priority in the so-called “queue for memorialization”. That was a stage of the “hidden memorialization” of the Holocaust when Jewish victims were dissolved into the vaguely worded term “peaceful Soviet citizens”. This was absolutely typical for a society which declared the idea of internationalism.

In the late 1980s, the second stage began with some liberalization on the wave of “perestroika”. This time Jewish themes began to appear more and more, especially in the context of national issue which received a lot of attention in the social discussions. Jewish organizations initiated the first meetings and memorial ceremonies on the anniversary of the tragic mass shooting of the Jews. Also a few films began to depict the scenes of Holocaust, what was the reason of their long oblivion, were rehabilitated. After the collapse of Soviet Union the Jewish-orientated vector of the memorialization is predominated in Ukraine but nevertheless coexists with previous Soviet one, which is still relevant for big part of post-Soviet society.

Irene Messinger (University of Vienna, Austria)

Marriage of Convenience as Strategy to Survive the Nazi Regime

Women persecuted under the Nazi regime were able to flee and live abroad if they managed to find a foreigner willing to marry them. Due to the patriarchal citizenship regime wives automatically received the citizenship of their husbands. Thus, enabling them to move into countries of exile as they were protected by the newly gained foreign citizenship. The new citizenship also prevented the women from being deported back to Germany, or from being rendered stateless if they were stripped of their German citizenship by the Nazi authorities. These marriages often existed on paper only and were contracted within political and social networks and/or for money. In some cases gay men also could benefit from such arrangements.

While some marriages of convenience were contracted in order to leave the Nazi Reich (e.g. with citizens from Britain, Czechoslovakia, France, Italy, US, Yugoslavia), other marriages were entered into to secure a stay in a country of exile (e.g. Switzerland). In British governed Egypt a German nurse organized a remarkable network of marriages between Jewish Egyptians and women from Eastern European countries. Some of them were even able to invite family members to the weddings and, therefore, enabling them to flee from their Nazi-ruled countries as well.

Until now I have come across more than sixty marriages of convenience during the Nazi era. Currently I am working on some "suspicious cases" from the marriage registers of the Jewish community in Vienna in July 1938. At the conference I will offer innovative investigations on an escape strategy that is little known, and I would like to present quantitative estimations on the phenomena and also interesting cases.

Martina Metzger (Bavarian Army Museum Ingolstadt, Germany)

Survival strategies of political prisoners at Neuengamme concentration camp

Politically persecuted prisoners were the largest group of survivors among the prisoners of the Neuengamme concentration camp which was located near the city of Hamburg. Among them were German political dissidents as well as citizens of other European countries resisting Nazi occupation. Political prisoners had a relatively wide scope of action to endure the imprisonment due to their food and work situation which increased their chances to stay alive. Some of them – especially those coming from Germany itself or from Western Europe – had privileged positions within the concentration camp hierarchy. They were often able to develop their own coping strategies. Furthermore they sometimes had the chance help the more badly treated prisoners from Eastern Europe who were also racially persecuted. After the war some of the former politically persecuted prisoners were the ones who created the first memorial site and who started encouraging the German society to learn its lessons from the Nazi past. In spite of all they went through many of them were ready to forgive and to support reconciliation. How did political prisoners of Neuengamme concentration camp develop the physical and mental strength which enabled them to survive? Did their determination to resist the Nazi regime and solidarity with other opponents and victims of that system help them to endure persecution? Was their contribution to European post-war reconciliation and memory also a strategy to overcome their own traumatic experience.

Dallas Michelbacher (Central Michigan University, USA)

Jewish Forced Labor Brigades in Romania under the Antonescu Regime

My proposed paper would focus on Romania's use of Jews in forced labor brigades during the Holocaust. This topic has been largely neglected in the historiography of the Holocaust in Romania until the present time; however, it affected tens of thousands of Romanian Jews and thus merits further study. I intend to break down the use of Jewish forced labor brigades into four major parts: 1) the evolution of the labor brigades as the primary form of forced labor in Romania, 2) the organization and structure of the brigade

system, 3) the forced labor brigades in practice, and 4) the experiences of those who survived the forced labor brigades.

In the first part of my paper, I will briefly trace the development of anti-Semitic labor legislation in Romania, discuss the early use of forced labor brigades in cities, and explain the failure of the system of camps and ghettos Romania established after the beginning of the war with the Soviet Union and the subsequent creation of the forced labor brigades. In the second part, I will explain the organization of labor brigades, the division of labor, the command structures, and the selection of Jews for forced labor, as well as the system of bribes paid for exemptions. In the third part, I will give a brief overview of the activity of the brigades and remark generally on their efficiency and productivity. Finally, in the fourth part, I will discuss working and living conditions and survival strategies for Jewish forced laborers.

Joanna Beata Michlic (Bristol University, UK)

Rescuers of Jews and their Jewish Charges in Eastern Europe: the History of Silence

During the communist period (1945-1989), the history of rescuers and rescue efforts in Eastern Europe was a highly emotional and political topic presented in a biased and superficial manner in both the historiography and public memory in the region. For that reason, many aspects of the relationship between rescuers and Jewish survivors during and after the Holocaust eluded close treatment by historians, as had a detailed and complex typology of rescuers.

This paper will discuss the history of the post-war representations of rescue in Poland from the early postwar period until the present. It will pay particular attention to those aspects of accounts of rescue that have been omitted and silenced both by rescuers and their former Jewish charges, including Jewish children. Next to the political and social factors, the paper will focus on the subjective, emotional aspects responsible for a variety of self-imposed silence in the postwar accounts of the relationships between rescuers and their Jewish charges, including Jewish children. The paper's main aim is to contribute to the re-evaluation of the history of rescue as a 'human' history filled with many complexities of emotional nature rather than a history of constant daily heroism.

Ursula Mindler (Andrássy University Budapest)

Hungary and the distortion of Holocaust history – the 2014 Budapest Holocaust museum and memorial

Hungarian Holocaust memorials and museums such as the "Shoes at the Danube" Memorial or the Budapest Holocaust Memorial Center are well known. However, the Hungarian parliament decided to establish a new memorial and museum on the occasion of the 2014 Memorial Year which is dedicated to commemorating the 70th anniversary of the Holocaust in Hungary.

The state-sponsored new Holocaust Memorial Museum and Education Center ("House of Fates") will focus on child victims whereas the so called "German occupational memorial" is meant to honor all victims of the German occupation in 1944. Their establishments are part of Hungary's attempt to prove that Hungary is not an anti-Semitic country.

However, there is a strong opposition against both facilities by national and international historians, the Jewish communities, and many other people who observe a tendency in Hungarian politics towards falsifying the history of the Hungarian Holocaust. They claim that both, the memorial and the museum, depict Hungary as a victim of German aggression and fail to address the role of Hungarians in their complicity with the deportation of Jews in 1944/1945.

The paper is going to deal with the political, emotional, and ideological aspects underlying this serious discussion which not only led to lively debates and a great controversy in public, academia, politics, and media, but also ended in a boycott of the anniversary year by the Jewish communities.

Beate Müller (Newcastle University, UK) and Sue Vice (University of Sheffield, UK)

Representing Jan Karski – Jan Karski's Representations: From 'Tape Recorder' to Holocaust Witness

This paper analyses the wide range of representations of the missions undertaken by Jan Karski, courier for the wartime Polish Government-in-Exile, to report on the situation in Poland, both to Polish politicians in France (1940), as well as to government leaders in London and Washington in 1942/3.

Karski published a book about his diplomatic endeavours as early as 1944 (*Story of a Secret State*), but thereafter maintained a long silence, one that was only broken in 1978 when he was interviewed for Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah* (1985). Since the 1980s, Karski repeatedly testified to his wartime activities and experiences; he received numerous awards for his early warnings about the fate of the Polish Jews under the Nazis and became a celebrity among the 'righteous'. Following his death in 2000, Karski's mission has been reconsidered and subjected to wide-ranging interpretation.

The main questions arising are: in how far are these changing perspectives on Karski's wartime undertakings connected to changes in Karski's postwar memoirs; and to what extent were shifts in Karski's testimonies informed not only by the variable emphases placed on Karski's role by different interlocutors, but also by the different media and contexts in which Karski expressed himself? This paper will address these questions by comparing Karski's testimonies with their representations in film (Lanzmann's *The Karski Report* (2011); Smith's *Messenger from Poland* (1986)) and literature (Misha Defonseca's *Surviving with Wolves* (2005); Yannick Haenel's *Jan Karski* (2009); and Arthur Nauzyciel's eponymous play (2011)). The paper will show that Karski's mission has been adopted to diametrically opposed and polemical ends.

Arne Pannen (Documentation Center on Nazi Forced Labor Berlin-Schoeneweide/Memorial and Museum Sachsenhausen, Germany)

The Italian Military Internees in Germany 1943-1945

On 8th September 1943, the Italian marshal Badoglio surrendered to the Allied Forces. The following day, the Wehrmacht captured more than 650.000 Italian soldiers in Northern Italy and on the Balkan. Having been previously regarded as comrades, the Italians became to be seen as traitors and treated harshly. Those who were unwilling to join Hitler's and Mussolini's forces were subjected to forced labour under bleak conditions. When in actual fact these Italians were Prisoners of War (POW), they were euphemistically named IMI (Italian Military Internees), an act which served to deprive them of their rights so that their labour could be exploited for the German arms industry. Today, almost 70 years after the liberation, it is still a pressing issue as to how the 'forgotten group' can be remembered in an adequate way, and has become a marked talking point within German-Italian relations.

In my contribution I would like to – for the first time – present my research findings on the lives of the IMI in Germany, with a focus on Berlin and Brandenburg (Stalag III D). Throughout the last two years, I have systematically evaluated a large number of the acquisition files that were recorded in the POW camps; I would like to present my statistical findings as well as single cases which can tell us more about the everyday lives and treatment of the IMI.

Specifically, I would like to address the following questions:

- How were the living conditions of the IMI? (e.g. sanity, punishments)
- How many IMI were brought to Berlin and Brandenburg?
- What kind of work were they forced to do?
- What kind of information can we glean from the archives?

Avinoam Patt (University of Hartford, USA)

Three Lines in History': Writing about Resistance in the Immediate Aftermath of the Holocaust

In November 1942, after learning of the deportations from Krakow to Belzec, Aharon Libeskind, a leading member of the pre-war Akiva movement and leader of the Jewish underground in Krakow, called for armed resistance in Krakow, arguing "we are fighting for three lines in history...it will not be said that our youth marched like sheep to the slaughter." The image of Jews marching like "sheep to the slaughter," also voiced in Abba Kovner's famous call to resistance in Vilna or expressed by Ringelblum in his writings after the Great Deportation, was repeated frequently after the war, as surviving resistance fighters worked to ensure that the legacy of Jewish heroism (in contrast to Jewish passivity) would not be forgotten. They taught the newest generation of Zionist youth about the heroism of the ghetto fighters like Mordecai Anielewicz, Josef Kaplan, Tosia Altman and others, as the young survivors joined kibbutz groups named after the ghetto fighters they idolized. The organization of "Partisans, Soldiers, and Pioneers" asked its members to complete detailed surveys listing their service in the resistance. Historical journals published accounts of resistance activities, and the newspapers of youth movements and political parties retold stories of Jewish heroism. "Resistance" was thus intended to replace the traumatic individual past of the survivors and the collective sense of Jewish passivity in the face of persecution with the shared experience of wartime heroism in the ghetto revolts regardless of what members' experiences had been in the war. But how exactly was resistance defined in the immediate postwar period? What was the relationship between wartime debates over resistance and Jewish behavior, and what role did the surviving "ghetto fighters" play in recording their "three lines in history?" This paper seeks specifically to examine the involvement of the ghetto fighters in writing their own history and in establishing, reinforcing, and/or perpetuating the notion of Jewish passivity in popular memory and early Holocaust historiography.

Katarzyna Person (Jewish Historical Institute, Poland)

Reactions to the postwar pogroms in Poland in DP Camps in Germany and their impact on the Jewish Displaced Persons

'From the purely military point of view of policing and security, the mixing together of the two groups of Polish Jews and Polish non-Jews creates an unstable and dangerous situation'- informed a secret report from the British army describing the situation in Belsen DP camp at the end of 1945 – 'which is likely to become more difficult when the news of the situation in Poland becomes more widely known in the camps.' The aim of my paper is to analyze the reaction of Holocaust survivors in the DP Camps in Germany to the news of the anti-Semitic violence in Poland, in particular the August 1945 Krakow pogrom and the July 1946 Kielce pogrom and other instances of anti-Jewish violence, and to discuss the particular aspect of Jewish displaced persons' communal identity formation, which was based on their attitude to life in post-war Poland. Questions to be addressed include the way that the information about pogroms was delivered to DPs, the discourse of Polish anti-Semitism as a factor leading to the necessity for Jewish emigration and its impact on individuals, including those who despite the news decided to return to Poland. I will also speak of how events from Poland were reflected in relations between Polish and Jewish DPs, which were taking place at the time in German camps.

Lisa Peschel (University of York, UK)

Restitutions of self: Reclaiming national identity in scripts from the Terezin ghetto

In the oppressive conditions of the World War II Jewish Ghetto at Terezín (in German, Theresienstadt) a desperately vibrant cultural life sprung up, initiated by the prisoners themselves. In this paper I argue that the prisoners' theatrical performances became a forum in which they could reclaim a type of identity denied to them by the Nazis: their ongoing sense of affiliation with their own national groups. An analysis

of recently rediscovered cabaret scripts written by Czech and Austrian Jews in Terezín reveals that their Czech- and German-speaking authors reframed the various tensions in the ghetto—their fear of and contempt for the Nazis, their complex relationships with their own leaders and with privileged groups of their fellow prisoners—as comic narratives. These narratives are clearly influenced by the theatrical traditions of their prewar national environment and, I argue, reflect their ongoing sense of belonging to their national groups. In this paper I put the scripts of Terezín cabarets in dialogue with recent research on humor and the performance of identity to argue that these cabarets enabled the prisoners to re-enact and thus reclaim aspects of their identity and to anticipate their return to full membership in those national groups after the war—a hope that, for many, would turn to bitter disappointment.

Anatolii Pogorielov (V.O. Sukhomlynsky Mykolaiv National University, Ukraine)

Resettlement and social-and-economic adaptation of Ukrainians deported from Poland to South Ukraine in 1944-1947 years

The paper is intended to clear up the process of forced deportation of Ukrainians from Poland to South Ukraine, which happened due to communist regimes alliance of Poland and Soviet Union during post-war change of their borders and struggle against Ukrainian Resistance movement.

Different social-and-economic factors which impeded the above people to settle down in south areas of Ukraine will be in the highlight. Among them following may be emphasized: stay at arrival railway stations in the open air within months, process of people settling in uninhabitable buildings (without windows, doors, heating, etc.) in regions of Mykolaiv, Odessa and Kherson; collectivization of arriving migrants involuntarily and participation in collective farms; reciprocal payments for the abandoned property in Poland (houses) and foodstuffs, unwillingness of migrants to make this because of unbalanced exchange; state of migrants during famine in 1946-1947 years; mass escape of migrants from southern and western regions of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (UkrSSR) government measures for violent retaking of migrants to collective farms of South Ukraine and persecution of them by People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD), etc.

Jeff Porter (Birkbeck, University of London, UK)

Restitution in the early post-war period for Germans robbed by the Nazis: A trans-Atlantic perspective

Until 1939 Nazi policy was exclusionary rather than genocidal and many German Jews escaped. They survived in exile, but usually lost their property, although this hardly begins to describe the effects of the Nazi state's campaign to impoverish them. For Jewish communities in Britain and America, this robbery was seen as requiring urgent redress at the war's end, but their concepts and plans on how this should take place were not identical. This paper will attempt to answer the question of how the British and American Jewish communities understood the robbery, the need for justice and the future of German Jewry. When the Jewish community in America planned for the post-war restitution of German Jews, their plans were made on a collective basis with less attention paid to individuals. This was clearly visible in the early emergence of the Jewish Successor Restitution Organisation. In Britain, the plans of the Jewish community focused more on restitution for individuals, demonstrated by the creation of the United Restitution Office.

The state of Israel was important for British Jews and became “a pillar of their self identification” (Endelman). It was no less important to Jews in America. This common cause over Israel has tended to obscure the differences which existed between the Jewish communities on either side of the Atlantic in earlier periods. This paper will show that, in dealing with the consequences of the Nazis' robbery, the solutions envisaged by two Jewish communities were not identical and that only slowly, in the years following World War Two, did their interests converge.

Nadège Ragaru (Sciences Po CERI, Paris, France)

The Jewish Mobile Labour Battalions in Pirin Macedonia (Bulgaria): Writing and Remembering a Silenced History

In Bulgarian and Western historiography as well as public discourse, Bulgaria was until recently primarily known as a country that had «saved» its 48,000 members Jewish community from extermination. During socialism this reading was used to bolster the regime's domestic as well as external legitimacy. After 1989, although the hierarchy of merits was reshuffled, the logic underpinning this narrative remained unaltered. Against this background, the existence of over 100 Jewish labour camps in the "Old kingdom" as well as in the Yugoslav and Greek territories occupied by Bulgaria long remained on the margins of historiography. In 2004, based upon new archival documents collected by the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Jews who had been forced to work in Bulgarian labour camps were recognized as eligible for compensation payments by the Claims Conference. Recent scholarship (notably by Jens Hoppe) has started to document the scale and the brutality of slave labour.

The present communication aims to explore these issues by focusing on the Jewish labour battalions which operated in the Pirin region of Bulgaria, a region of strategic importance to the Germans and the Bulgarian pro-fascist government since it controlled access to (occupied) Greece and Vardar Macedonia. In this region, Jews were forcibly enrolled in road, railway and tunnel construction. Of prime attention will be the camps of Sveti Vrač, Marikostinova and Belica. Sources include state central archives (of the Ministry of public works, highways and construction and the Commissary on Jewish Affairs), the regional archives of Sandanski, Petrič and Blagoevgrad, testimonies (from Yad Vashem and the USC Shoah Foundation), as well as on interviews with Jewish survivors and local non-Jews inhabitants. The dominant research questions concern the Jewish experiences in the work battalions, and the ways in which these experiences are remembered by Jews and non-Jews in a situation where the social conditions for the remembering and the telling of anti-Jewish policies were long missing in Bulgaria.

Michaela Raggam-Blesch (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Austria)

Precarious protection: The fate of children of "half-Jewish" descent during the Nazi-regime in Austria

This paper will focus on the living conditions of children of "half-Jewish" descent during the Nazi regime in Austria. The matrimonial relationships between Jews and non-Jews as well as their children represented an antagonism that was a permanent threat to the integrity of the Nazi regime. The mere existence of "half-Jews" therefore challenged National Socialist race ideology. In conjunction with the so-called "Final Solution", this "unsolved problem" played an important role in the discussions during the infamous Wannsee Conference in 1942. Internal differences in the Nazi party and concerns about public unrest ultimately spared "half-Jews" from the full force of radical measures adopted for the rest of the Jewish population, even if plans for the inclusion of "half-Jews" in the "Final Solution" were never fully given up.

The Nazi take-over in Austria changed the lives of Jewish and "mixed families" dramatically overnight, regardless of the fact that Jewish identity usually had played a minor role in the families of "half-Jews". Due to their partly "Aryan" descent, however, "half-Jews" embodied ambivalence and personified the status of being "in between". In my presentation I will explore the narratives of women and men who survived the NS-regime as "half-Jewish" children under precarious circumstances in order to examine the impact of an increasingly hostile society on the personal lives and identities of the former children.

Herbert Reinke (Humboldt University, Berlin, Germany)

A triple victimization? Belgian Forced laborers in Berlin during World War II and thereafter at home

The Berlin industry held a key position in the Nazi war economy. Due to the characteristics of this industry (electrotechnics, armament, chemical industries) it needed skilled workers. Workers from Western Europe were seen as particularly qualified. Because of that, one third of the foreign work force in Berlin during the war consisted of workers from Western Europe, while this portion amounted to 1/8 for the entire of Nazi Germany only. During the early 1940s many of these workers came on a voluntary basis, but during the second half of the war, workers were drafted according to age cohort groups and forced to work and to live in Berlin.

Due to the overall large number of foreign workers in the Reichshauptstadt (approx. 350,000) an informal economy developed and black market activities spread. This did not pertain to foreign workers only, beginning during the middle years of the war, a decline in the social fabric of the city and a significant rise of crime could be observed in general. Participating in this, quite often as survival strategies in difficult circumstances, very many workers from Western Europe were brought before the bars of Berlin penal courts and sentenced.

How were these people dealt with when being back home after the war? After the war, very many of those who had been brought before the bars of Berlin penal courts during the war, were refused the status of victims, refusing them as well special allowances and pensions, which were based on the status of being a 'victim'. Those, who had volunteered to work in Berlin, but finding themselves in Berlin very often in a position not to be allowed to move or to leave, became additionally when back home in 1945 the objects of investigations and accusations of having collaborated with the enemy. The paper presents results of an ongoing research project at Humboldt University Berlin (together with Michael Wildt) on workers from Western Europe (Belgium, France, the Netherlands) in Berlin during World War II, focusing (in the current proposal) on Belgians. The project is part of a research network of Belgian universities and other research institutions in Belgium on 'justice and populations'.

Sheldon Rubenfeld (Center for Medicine after the Holocaust (CMATH), Baylor College of Medicine, Texas, USA)

Hippocrates after the Holocaust

Nazi medical professionals enthusiastically participated in involuntary sterilizations, forced abortions, "mercy killings" or "euthanasia" and, ultimately, the Holocaust. For example, at the first gassing of euthanasia victims, in Brandenburg in 1940, medical participants stated, "The needle belongs in the hands of the physician."

They justified their actions in part by replacing the doctor-patient relationship in the traditional Hippocratic Oath with the state-Volkskörper relationship. Hitler became the doctor to the German people and treatment of the individual was subordinated to treatment of the German Aryan population. The German state would heal the Volk by sterilizing, aborting and killing those who could transmit presumed hereditary illnesses to the Volkskörper and, coincidentally, eliminate the financial burden of caring for the chronically ill. In short, Nazi bioethics justified genocide.

After the revelation of medical war crimes at the Nuremberg Doctors' Trial, one might expect physicians to reaffirm the traditional Hippocratic Oath, which specifically forbids abortion and euthanasia. Instead, the World Medical Association substituted vague language in its 1948 Declaration of Geneva, which opened the way for many additional revisions of the oath. Modern versions of the Hippocratic Oath bear very little resemblance to the oath taken by Hippocrates and his followers. The consequences of the transformation and subsequent revisions of the traditional Hippocratic Oath by medical professionals in the past 80 years will be discussed.

Sabine Rutar (Institut für Ost- und Südosteuropaforschung (IOS), Regensburg, Germany)

Labour Deployment in Yugoslav Mining Industries

In the formerly Yugoslav states, the historiography and representations of World War II have been intertwined with the discursive consequences of violent state dissolution: who had been heroes (the communist-led liberation movement) became villains; who had been condemned (the Homeguards, the Chetniks, the Ustasha) became saviours of the fatherland. Yet, some differentiating studies have been done; albeit only few have taken a social history approach, and even fewer have dealt with labour deployment and forced labour. I take recent works on the labour deployment in the occupied territories as a point of departure. These works have mainly focused on the functioning of the nationalsocialist labour deployment administration.

Instead, I will reflect on the benefits of an approach to researching socioeconomic exploitation that is guided by the perspective of the occupied populations. In an actor-centred and micro-historical way, I scrutinize labour relationships, working conditions, racial ideology and policy, demographic changes, sabotage and strategies of survival in four mining populations in German-occupied Slovenia and Serbia. The paper suggests that a communicative gap exists between those (German, but not only) researchers specializing in national socialism and those researchers specializing in (south-)eastern Europe, and that it would be fruitful for a comprehensive history of the Second World War if this gap were overcome. The paper is a synthesis of a book manuscript that I will complete in 2014 ("Arbeit und Überleben in Jugoslawien. Bergbau unter NS-Besatzung, 1941-1944/45" / Work and Survival in Yugoslavia. Mining Industries Under National Socialist Occupation, 1941-1944/45).

Olga L. Ryabchenko (O.M. Beketov National University of Urban Economy, Ukraine)

Everyday Life of the Forced Workers of the Spandau Plant by the Eyes of a Ukrainian Ostarbeiter

Ego documents have become the object of the researchers' consideration recently as they allow to reflect various aspects of the everyday life of the ordinary people whose feelings and ideas make the basis of every social system. Diaries and reminiscences of a Ukrainian young man from Poltava region, Leonid Riabchenko, who was forcibly made to work at the Spandau plant in Berlin in 1943 are in the basis of the research. These documents represent a view of an ordinary person as for the events of the world conflict under the conditions of a lack of information on the war operations as well as his dreams about the post-war life.

The diary of an ostarbeiter is a unique document as keeping diaries was banned and those who committed so were punished by the camp's authorities. In spite of the danger the young man made notes about the most important events of that time almost everyday day and, what is even more important, he managed to forward the diary to his mother who was living in Germany and who kept the diary in memory of the son. The diary was found in Germany in 2010 and presented to the author of the research. Apart from an account of the personal events the documents contain interesting descriptions of the conditions of work and everyday life of the forced workers from other countries as well as local people. The diary contains vivid descriptions of the short hours of the workers' free time, the relationships between the representatives of various nationalities – the Serbs, the Croats, the Dutch, the Poles, the Orlov volunteers from Russia, etc.

The life of the diary's author appeared to be difficult in the post-war time. On coming back to Ukraine he was being kept in the Stalin's camp for 10 years. Nevertheless, the young man managed to get a higher education and, later, to make a career in the USSR. In 2009 Leonid Riabchenko published a book of reminiscences of his forced work in Germany and Austria under the title *From Snityn to Inta*. These reminiscences offer a look back to the past of a person with a considerable life experience. Together with the diary this book represents an invaluable source for creation of a collective portrait of the forced

workers of the World War II. Apart from the abovementioned sources, an interview with Leonid Riabchenko made in 2010 is used in the research. The report will be accompanied by a presentation of the documents and pictures.

Judith Schachtmann (Berlin, Germany)

German archaeology and forced labour during the NS-regime

Even 69 years after the end of World War II new aspects of forced labour such as the involvement of smaller companies are being revealed. But while many archaeological institutes at universities and archaeological museums in Germany benefited from forced labour during NS, no studies were undertaken so far. That German archaeology is connected to forced labour is revealed by several publications on archaeological excavations when the involved labourers such as prisoners of war or inmates from concentration camps are mentioned. However, no further details or discussions are available so far.

Prehistorians not only used prison inmates but also inmates from concentration camps and prisoners of war on several archaeological excavations in Germany and in the occupied countries. In my talk I present a first overview on that topic. I will first outline some technical aspects (regulations / laws / organizational aspects) before I give examples for the three aforementioned groups. Besides personal motivation and the ideological background of the archaeologists, the treatment of the labourers by the responsible archaeologists will be discussed. Finally, I will also show how the results of the excavations were presented in local and in scientific publications.

Christine Schmidt (Wiener Library)

Women behind Barbed Wire: Hungarian Jewish Women Slave Labourers Reflected in ITS

The ITS collections include extensive documentation generated by and about concentration camps under the administration of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (SS-WVHA). The collection on Buchenwald and its sub-camps, captured by the U.S. Army in 1945 and transferred to predecessor organizations of the ITS, provides meticulous information about the administration of the main camp and its satellites, the transfer of prisoners to and from the camp and its satellites, and the use of inmates within the private and state-run munitions industry, particularly in the latter part of the war. In 1944 and 1945, the “work force” culled from the subcamps was augmented by the deportation of 437,000 Hungarian Jews, 97 percent of whom were deported first to Auschwitz-Birkenau, where a majority were gassed upon arrival. Still, a significant number of Hungarian Jews were deported from Auschwitz-Birkenau to points west. Since they were deported in the spring and summer of 1944, Hungarian Jewish women were the last significant Jewish workforce supply for the German war industry. Many sub-camps within the Buchenwald system had both men’s and women’s camps, such as in Magdeburg, and some of the subcamps for women, such as the camp in Markkleeberg, consisted primarily of Hungarian Jewish women for much of its operation. This paper will show how the extensive ITS records about the Buchenwald camp system as well as postwar documentation permit a deeper reconstruction of the patterns of persecution and the experiences of Hungarian Jewish women forced to labour for the Reich. An analysis of the various routes Hungarian Jewish women took within the camp system can help further our understanding of labour deployment and exploitation in the waning months of the war.

Sari Siegel (University of Southern California)

Complicating the Grey Zone: Behavioral Trajectories of Prisoner-Physicians

This project emerges from my research on an important yet widely overlooked group in Holocaust history: inmates who utilized their medical knowledge in Nazi camps. In order to gain perspective on individual

characteristics and environmental factors that influenced prisoner-physicians' conduct, my work examines their behavioral patterns over time in the labor, concentration, and extermination camp systems of the Greater German Reich.

My paper presents several case studies that draw attention to the dynamic nature of camp conditions and the prisoner-physicians' strategies to save their own lives while attempting to uphold their Hippocratic promise to "do no harm." The subject of one such study is Dr. Maximilian Samuel, an obstetrician-gynecologist from Cologne, Germany who assisted in Nazi medical experiments carried out on women in Block 10 of Auschwitz. Based upon trial documents, memoirs, and video testimonies, the paper provides insight into how variables like the availability of medical supplies and the presence of Nazi oversight shaped the Samuel's and other prisoner-physicians' actions.

Given that prisoner-physicians' activities could assist fellow inmates yet also facilitate Nazi goals (by advancing Nazi medical experiments or aiding selections for the gas chamber, for example), the paper situates these figures in the "grey zone." My specific focus on the shifts in prisoner-physicians' conduct, however, provides an opportunity to complicate and illuminate a framework that emphasizes moral ambiguity but does not address the dynamic nature of prisoner-functionaries' behaviors. To that end, the paper discusses prisoner-physicians' medical conduct as trajectories along a spectrum that runs between coercion and resistance.

Bettine Siertsema (Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam, Netherlands)

The medical grey zone

Many camp survivors state in their testimonies that they suffered much worse from their fellow prisoners than from the SS. That was of course, the way the concentration camp system worked. Getting a job in the 'grey zone' (in the broader sense, not only Sonderkommando, but every function that gave power over fellow prisoners) meant better survival chances, and to get such a job one had to adjust to the SS mentality or even take it over. This goes for medical jobs as well. With a medical background a camp inmate qualified so much sooner for a desirable function that such a background was often feigned or made to look more or better: a student pretending he was a doctor, a doctor's daughter pretending she was a nurse. One survivor even recalls a butcher who worked as a doctor. Survivors who functioned as doctors often had to do things they would not have dreamt of in normal circumstances and that went against their professional standards.

In this paper I will explore the way survivors look upon this 'grey zone' of medical staff, especially those who themselves were involved. I will draw from written Dutch testimonies, like early and later memoirs, and from oral testimonies, both early and late (the latter the video interviews of the USC Shoah Visual History Archive). It will turn out that survivors from this grey zone often judge themselves even more critically than other survivors judge the medics in the camp.

Lisa Silverman (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, USA)

Art of Loss: Madame d'Ora and the Restitution of Aryanized Property in Austria

Born to a Jewish family in Vienna in 1881, photographer Madame d'Ora [Dora Kallmus] – best known for her vibrant portraits of twentieth-century artists and intellectuals – remained in danger after the Nazi invasion of France and spent much of World War II in hiding in southern France. Members of her close family, including her sister Anna, were murdered in concentration camps during Holocaust. In 1945, d'Ora returned both Austria and to photography by documenting the plight of refugees at DP camps. She also completed a series vividly depicting the brutality of Paris slaughterhouses. While undertaking these projects, she returned to Austria to attempt to reclaim her and her sister's Aryanized family home in

Frohnleiten, Austria, which had been taken from her and her sister. After a protracted legal battle with the Austrian authorities, she was finally restored as owner of the house. My presentation will explore the ways in which d'Ora's art addresses issues of loss that cannot be satisfied by the legal processes of property restitution alone. At the same time, I plan to show how the return of property also points to a "re-possession" of personhood inaccessible through means other than restitution. This idea of a 'propertied' (and dispossessed) self-understanding, I believe, can best be understood both as a part —and as a recasting—of a wider preoccupation with the restitution of the property of Jewish Nazi victims.

Marianne Neerland Soleim (Uit, The Arctic University of Norway)

Forced labourers "from the East" in Northern Europe 1940-1945

This paper describes the destiny, treatment and repatriation of the civilian forced labourers in Northern Europe. The area of research is Norway, Finland and the Channel Islands. Most of the Soviet and Polish civilian forced labourers who ended up in Norway, Finland or the Channel Islands, was forced to work for the half military organization "Organisation Todt" that carried out different building projects for warfare in Wehrmacht's duty. The Germans transported a large numbers of forced labourers to work with project within different industry and building of the infrastructure connected to the warfare in these countries. About 7000 forced labourers or "Ostarbeiter" were driven into forced labour for the Germans in Norway. Among these Soviet civilians there were about 1400 women and 400 children. The male workers were mainly engaged in the building of "The arctic railroad", in the aluminum and mining industry in Norway. Most of the female workforce was engaged in the fishing industry in northern Norway. The Soviet forced labourers in Finland were mainly used in cutting and transporting lumber from the forests of Ivalo to Petsamo. Both Soviet and Polish forced workers at the Channel Islands were put to build fortresses along the coast as a part of Hitler "Westwall". Some of the Polish workers in Norway and Finland were recruited voluntarily by so-called "forced duty" implemented through personal summons to one of the many German employment offices in the occupied Poland. Some of the Poles did not want to return back to Poland after the war and about 1000 settled down in Norway. The repatriation of both Soviet and Polish civilians became a difficult case for the authorities in northern Europe.

Piotr Stanek (Central Museum of Prisoners-of-War)

The youngest Prisoners of War – Warsaw insurgents from Home Army (Armia Krajowa)

Among the approximately 17 000 insurgents, going to the German captivity after Warsaw Uprising in 1944, was about 3,000 women and over 1,100 children, boys and girls aged 10-17 years. They were the youngest PoWs in the history, constitutes a sole, unique and incomparable to any other. Among them were people awarded the highest medals military, officers, and the Jews. In accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention of 27 July 1929 they were treated as prisoners of war, like adults soldiers.

Transported to various camps young PoWs were forced into slave labor in German factories reinforcement. This meant the violation of international law, because the work performed by prisoners could not be directly involved in the fighting and could not cause a health hazard. The boys were forced for example, to manufacture aircraft parts "Messerschmitt" assault guns, and antitank landmines, machine guns, and in other places. Young PoWs sabotaged their work. Some attempted to escape, but that often ended with tragedy.

The fate released from captivity in 1945 youngest Warsaw insurgents unfolded differently. Some returned to Poland, others scattered around the world. Those who returned to the country for a long time suffered from the communist authorities, were often discriminated against and humiliated, and even imprisoned. Despite this, many of them graduated studies, in the country or abroad, has been outstanding scientists and engineers, covered high positions in the state apparatus and the diplomatic service.

Andrea Strutz (LBI for History of Society and Culture/University of Graz, Austria)

Reluctant welcome: Post-45 resettlement of displaced persons and refugees to Canada

In the aftermath of World War Two, Europe faced a unique refugee problem. Millions of refugees and displaced persons (DPs) became stuck mainly in Germany, Italy and Austria. The dimension of the refugee problem and its pragmatic relevance in the period of Europe's political realignment after 1945 required international support and a global solution; it could not be solely left to the European nation states concerned. For a relief of the tense situation in Central Europe repatriation of the displaced had to be organized quickly. Additionally, resettlement programs for all those refugees and DPs who could not be repatriated had to be devised. In that context, overseas migration featured as a possible solution, which had an impact on the framework of post-45 societies in the old as well as in the new world. Until 1952 over 700,000 European refugees and DPs were resettled to the United States, Canada, Australia and Latin America by international refugee organizations such as the United Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) and the International Refugee Organization (IRO).

My proposal for the conference focuses particularly on movements of displaced persons and refugees from Austria to Canada. Due to its geographical position, Austria was a significant hub for the transit of a great number of refugees and DPs. The paper will discuss the situation of over a million refugees and DPs in Austria at the war's end (especially concerned were Holocaust survivors, Jewish and other expellees from Eastern European countries such as Poland, Ukraine, and Yugoslavia and ethnic Germans). Furthermore, the possibilities for the displaced persons and refugees to start new lives in Canada as well as Canada's (at first hesitating) participation in international resettlement programs will be analysed. Overall until 1952, the engagement of Canadian authorities concerning the post-45 European refugee problem resulted in the admittance of about 165,000 DPs and refugees, thereof about 30,000 came from Austria.

Doris Tausendfreund (Freie Universität Berlin, Germany)

Museums, archives and record-building

This presentation will focus on the development/processing of the Online-Archive "Forced Labor 1939-1945. Memory and History". The collection of narrative interviews was compiled in 2005 and 2006 by the Institute of History and Biography at FernUniversität Hagen. In a joint project, the Foundation "Remembrance, Responsibility and Future", the Freie Universität Berlin, and the German Historical Museum aim to safeguard and provide easy access to these multilingual audio and video interviews and accompanying materials for research and education.

The online archive contains 583 comprehensive life story interviews with concentration camp prisoners, prisoners of war and "civilian" forced laborers. In 27 countries, mainly in Central and Eastern Europe, 192 video and 391 audio interviews were conducted in the native languages of the witnesses. The interviews are accompanied by additional material: a short biography, a transcript of the interview, a translation of the transcript into German, a table of contents showing the structure of the interview, additional photos and documents, as well as basic biographical information. All content is accessible worldwide for any users who registered with the site.

We will describe our indexing approach, with its internal working interfaces and the process involved, as well as the public online application and its functionalities. We will present the different functionalities (content-based indexing, full-text search and an interactive map application) that enable a targeted search that leads directly to individual passages of the interviews. We will also discuss considerations involved in designing an online platform to avoid the use of the interviews as a mere quotations quarry and instead supports a comprehensive understanding of the whole testimony in its narrative structure and its biographical meaning. A new annotation function that was introduced in 2013 will be presented. The

function is meant to benefit from the specific knowledge of users to add to the understanding of the interviews. Finally, the archive has been designed multilingually and will run in 2014 in German, English, and Russian in order to accommodate the needs of and reach a greater international audience. All the addressed approaches of the “Forced Labor” archive will be compared with methods used in other collections. In this context we will discuss a balance between exchangeable standards and individual, source-related approaches.

Malin Thor Tureby (Linköping University, Sweden)

The Swedish Jews and the Jewish refugees. Public narratives about refugees and survivors in the Swedish-Jewish press 1933–1945

In an international context, the American historian Peter Novick and the British historian Tony Kushner claim that between the end of the war and the 1960's, the Holocaust and Jewish survivors hardly featured in public discourse. The American historian Hasia Diner disputes these statements. She argues that American Jewish engagement with the survivors played itself out on both the practical and symbolic levels, and that the Jews of America immediately embarked on practical works for those who had survived, and kept alive the image of those who had died.

There is very little in the way of literature on refugees or survivors in the Swedish and Swedish Jewish press. Recent scholarly studies have addressed the question of the Swedish press with various aspects of the Holocaust. In particular, they examine what was known in Sweden about the persecution and the extermination of European Jewry. Limited, if any, emphasis is placed upon the refuge question and even less upon the arrival of refugees and later the survivors in Sweden.

This paper will examine the Jewish public discourse about Jewish refugees and survivors in a Swedish context. Did the refugees and survivors make any appearances in Swedish public discourse (here represented by two Swedish Jewish periodicals) and, if so, how were /Swedish) Jewish identities and communities expressed in relation and over time to the refugees and survivors during the years 1933–1945?

Hanna Ulatowska (University of Texas at Dallas, USA)

Remembering and Reconciliation: Life Review of American Veterans of the Second World War

The investigation deals with testimonies of American veterans of the Second World War at the late stage of their lives. Life and generativity is the main focus of the study. The data consist of testimonies elicited from twenty veterans of age 88 to 97. They include those who were in European or Pacific theaters and also include some veterans who were POW in German or Japanese camps. The data used for the analysis includes also testimonies accessed from the archives of Oral History at the University of North Texas and from Special Collections History of Aviation at the University of Texas at Dallas. Thematic analysis of the testimonies traces their perception and the nature of war experience and relates attempts to reconcile the experiences after the war and at the late stage of life. Reconciliation is especially important in those veterans who were POWs. Themes which emerge from testimonies affect the integration of narrative and life coherence in the lives of veterans. The effect of the American postwar prescription ‘no talk after you go back home’ or the so-called societal silence is discussed in the interpretation of the analysis. This investigation is a continuation of our studies of Auschwitz survivors in Poland at the time where the number of witnesses of the war in Europe and in America is rapidly dwindling and our understanding of the psychosocial impact of war is of utmost importance in the future.

Susanne Urban (International Tracing Service, Bad Arolsen, Germany)

Allied Options to acknowledge and to assist – German Jews and German Sinti as Displaced Persons

During the research for the multifaceted DP-projects within the ITS' which led e.g. to an exhibit and educational material there were discovered some outstanding life stories which do not fit into the usual UNRRA/IRO pattern whom the organization assisted and inserted into their resettlement program. There are several German Jews whom themselves identified as German Jews, Half-Jews or simply Jewish – and were acknowledged as DPs although they were of German nationality. Because of the persecution they had suffered and their explanation why they were in their own perspective no longer able to live in Germany convinced the Western Allies to accept them as DPs. Similar life stories of German-born Sinti were located in the ITS files, and here also the DP status was given when they asked for it. These stories are not widely known or researched and, with view to self-perceptions and bureaucratic frames here we have various points to analyze and research, e.g.

- Allied options to assist those people although they were definitely no “typical” DPs.
- Long before Sinti were acknowledged in the country which persecuted them Allied recognized them as a victim group.
- Displacement was, as we see here, not only a category of definitions, but an emotional status.
- The files which were chosen for the DP-projects and further research also contain early testimonies.

Kamila Uzarczyk (Wrocław Medical University, Poland)

Broken childhood: Polish 'Lebensborn' children in Austria

World War II triggered transfer of masses of people on an unprecedented scale. In the immediate postwar years hundreds of thousands of displaced persons – among them a great number of unaccompanied children – populated DP's camps and transit institutions run by UNRRA. At the end of 1946 UNRRA reported that Polish welfare agencies searching for the missing children received more than two hundred thousand queries concerning lost children, many of them kidnapped on Himmler's order of May 1940. Children who met anthropological criteria and demonstrated required level of intelligence were selected as fit for germanization and placed in Lebensborn homes and German/Austrian families.

In my paper I would like to outline „the way to Lebensborn“ [medical and psychological examination, schooling in special institutions] and children's plight in postwar years based on documentation concerning Austrian Lebensborn home „Alpenland“ in Oberweis near Gmunden. Available documentation allows to identify a number of Polish children placed in this institution and gives an insight into efforts taken by Polish Red Cross after the war to find lost children and repatriate them. It also reveals pieces of dramatic stories of lost children who lost their identity.

Zoltán Z. Varga (Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

Memories of camps, memoirs of war: personal experience, historical trauma, literary expression in Post-World War 2's Hungarian autobiographies and diaries

A whole generation of Hungarian modernist writers disappeared, or suffered grievously during the last months of World War II in non-combatant labour corps in the Hungarian Army, in Nazi extermination camps, or during the siege of Budapest. Right after the end of the war an enormous wave of autobiographies and wartime diaries were published by survivors under the first shock of historical trauma. These testimonies were made up of different discursive models and generic patterns: from the desire to witness, the need for documentation, the quest for understanding, the search for responsibility, to grieve for the victims, etc. The essentially factual or referential nature of these autobiographical works put professional fiction writers or poets – survivors or witnesses – in an extremely delicate situation, because they had to face, on the one hand, the prohibition of all artistic transformation of the historical trauma by the Adornoean moral sentence (“after Auschwitz, poetry could no longer be written”) and, on the other, the interference of their literary work with their most honest intentions of producing a historical account.

In my paper, I would like to show the complexity of personal, collective and historical dimensions of the autobiographical works treating wartime trauma of some Hungarian writers, and analyse these autobiographical works in their historical deployment, the way how historical contexts influence the possibilities of witnesses.

Christina Winkler (University of Leicester, UK)

History and Memory of War and the Holocaust in Rostov-on-Don

Local Russian historians argue that Rostov-on-Don suffered the biggest Holocaust-related mass atrocity on Russian territory in August 1942. However, the events in occupied Rostov have not yet received broader scholarly attention outside the country. But not only the annihilation of the city's Jewish population is mostly unknown, this also applies to the fate of Soviet prisoners of war and the 52,991 Rostovians who were deported to Nazi-Germany as forced labourers, according to Soviet records. Due to documents by the Soviet Extraordinary Commissions (ChGK), we know that a POW-camp had been organised near Tonel'naya street in Rostov close to the area that had been chosen for a large mass execution of the Jewish population. The Soviet soldiers were forced to assist in the preparation of the mass execution by digging ditches and were shot once these were completed. Soviet records speak of at least 1435 prisoners of war who died in the camp on Tonel'naya street. The Soviet documents as well as testimonies from former SS-men provide the only evidence of the camp's existence and there is hardly any information as to the number of inmates. The camp is also not mentioned in the latest encyclopaedia of camps and ghettos published by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM). I would like to present results of my local study on remembrance of war and the Holocaust in Rostov based on an oral history study as well as research in the State Archive of the Rostov Oblast and the USHMM.

Ori Yehudai (New York University, USA)

Unwilling Haven: Israeli Remigrants in Foehrenwald, 1949-1957

Israel in the 1950s is widely regarded as a country of Jewish immigration, deeply preoccupied with absorbing and rehabilitating Jewish Holocaust survivors and other refugees. Yet this deep-seated conception paints an incomplete picture of the period, as it disregards the movement of migrants out of the country.

This paper addresses this problem, focusing on the remigration of Holocaust survivors from Israel. It focuses on a group of a few thousand Jews who immigrated to Israel from DP camps in Europe, but shortly thereafter found their way back into the Foehrenwald DP camp near Bavaria, hoping to regain their refugee status in order to reclaim eligibility for welfare and resettlement assistance. Since this influx ran counter to the efforts to terminate the Jewish refugee problem in Europe, the remigrants came into conflicts with German authorities, Jewish welfare organizations, Israeli representatives in Germany and the rest of the Jewish DPs in the camp. The issue was hotly debated in the Jewish press, raising questions about the appropriate treatment of survivors who had left Israel.

The paper shows that the Foehrenwald remigrants became a pariah group as they challenged two central convictions of the Jewish world after the war: first, that Israel should be a country of Jewish immigration rather than emigration; second, that Jews should not resettle in Germany. The desire of Holocaust survivors to rehabilitate themselves outside Israel thus posed a fundamental conflict between individual wishes and collective beliefs.