PANEL 1: Memory and identity

Melanie Dejnega (University of Bielefeld, Germany)

Post-war immigrants in Austria: identity and belonging in life story interviews

By the end of the Second World War, more than one million refugees came to Austria, of which about half a million stayed. Their background and wartime experiences were as varying as could be. Some of them were survivors of the Holocaust or of forced labor, others were members of German speaking minorities having been expelled from South-Eastern and Eastern Europe. However, all of them share the experience of integration into Austrian postwar-society. The situation they faced in Austria was difficult, particularly for those, who did not speak German. These “first immigrants of the Second Republic” who are still alive have been living in Austria for more than sixty years so far. In my paper I will analyze several life story interviews conducted with representatives of this group: I will focus on the constructions of identity and senses of belonging as they are reflected in narratives of the life story by introducing and applying a narratological method. Hence my paper elucidates not only concepts of identity and belonging of post-war immigrants in Austria, but also evaluates, to which extent narratological methods can contribute to analyze life story interviews.

Melanie Dejnega, Mag. studied History, Sociology and Spanish at the University of Vienna, Humboldt University and Freie Universität Berlin; Master Thesis (2008) about the impacts of compensation policy on narratives in life-story interviews with survivors of Mauthausen Concentration Camp. Collaborator in “Mauthausen Survivors Research Project” and other projects at the Ludwig Boltzmann-Institute for Historical Social Science, Vienna. Since April 2011 PhD-candidate at Bielefeld Graduate School in History and Sociology, University of Bielefeld.

Diane Garst (University of Texas at Dallas, USA)

Forced marches of World War II: exploring Europe and the Philippines through the lenses of survivors

Eyewitness accounts of wartime displacement of people can be used to explore the horrors of war and to transmit survivors’ legacy to future generations. In 1944-45 large numbers of prisoners from concentration camps and prisoner of war (POW) camps throughout Poland and Germany were moved away from the approaching front lines and forced to march long distances in extreme temperatures, without food and water. The “death marches” were marked by high fatality rates due to physical disease/exhaustion, harsh winter conditions, and extreme violence towards prisoners. Survivors were then transported by train and put into forced labor.

Three years earlier, American and Filipino soldiers fighting to protect Luzon in the Philippines were surrendered to the Imperial Army. The troops faced depleted food supplies, malfunctioning equipment, disease, and lack of reinforcements. The POWs were marched across the Bataan peninsula in the “Bataan Death March,” held in captivity at the Camp O'Donnell, transported via train and ship to Japan.

The presentation will utilize oral history testimonies gathered from survivors of “death marches” in Europe and the Bataan Death March and archives of the Oral History Project at the University of North Texas, US Holocaust Memorial Museum, and the National World War II Museum. It will compare and contrast the perpetrators’ cultural and military motivations and eyewitness testimonies to conditions and physical brutality. Survivor perspectives of the marches as resistance and individual motivations will be addressed. The presentation will also examine survivors’ post-war experiences, including survivors’ guilt, and public memorials to the tragic events.
**Diane Garst**, MS is a clinical faculty member at The University of Texas at Dallas. Her previous work explored the role of music for child Holocaust survivors, multiple identities in a German-Jewish immigrant to the United States, and the development of identity in child survivors in Poland. She is involved with the Dallas Holocaust Museum/Center for Education and Tolerance and participates annually in an event to commemorate the survivors of the Bataan March in southern New Mexico.

**Holly Gilbert (London, UK)**

**Mapping Berlin: memories in the present moment**

Photography is inextricably linked with memory. A photograph freezes a moment in time and holds it in an eternal present (Barthes, 2000). Photography is also imbued with a sense of loss. The moment captured in a photograph is over as soon as the shutter closes and the enduring picture can be a painful reminder of this. In this paper I will present a visual project that uses photography to investigate how memories of the past can impact on our experience of the present.

My ninety-year-old grandmother was forced to leave Berlin as a Jewish teenager in 1938. Using her pre-First World War memories of Berlin as a starting point for my own explorations of the contemporary city I have employed photography as a methodology for exploring the personal and collective loss that has occurred there. Walking around the city listening to recordings of our conversations about the time she spent in Berlin allowed me to immerse myself in its past while seeing its present through the lens of my camera.

This highly personal method of mapping Berlin combines two different perspectives of the city: my grandmother’s view from her life after fleeing to England and my own contemporary experiences of a city still in a state of flux.

**Holly Gilbert** is a London-based researcher and photographer. She is currently working on *Voices of the UK*, a sociolinguistic project at The British Library developing specialised linguistic access to a collection of BBC recordings held in the British Library Sound Archive. Since completing her MA in Photography and Urban Cultures at Goldsmiths College, University of London in 2007 her photographic work has focused on the relationship between time and memory as well as investigating the notion of ‘self’ in photographic portraiture. She has exhibited her work in a number of exhibitions in and around London.

**Malin Thor (Malmo University College, Sweden)**

**Narratives about identities and communities in the shadow of the Holocaust: the archive ‘Jewish memories’ at the National Museum of Cultural History in Sweden**

In the research project (funded by the Swedish Research Council), “Swedish-Jewish refugee receptions. Narratives and negations of “Jewish” identities and communities in Sweden ca 1945–2010”, I work with narratives about and from “Jews” in Sweden. The “Jew” has been a crucial category and even a stereotype in the formation of different Swedish national identities in different social contexts over time. In contrast to most other research projects with a focus on narrative material I want to analyse how a marginalized group like the Swedish Jews are negotiating their own identities and communities by othering and marginalizing or including other Jewish groups over time. I will do this by examining how the Swedish Jewish refugee activities have been narrated in different materials and contexts over the period 1945–2010.
In this paper I will focus on how Swedish Jewish identities and communities have been negotiated in relation to Jewish refugees and survivors in Sweden in individual life stories. Who are talking about Swedish-Jewish identities/communities in relation to refugee work and the Jewish survivors in their life stories? How and what is narrated about Swedish-Jewish identities/communities? How are “the Swedish-Jews” and the “survivors” related to the Swedish-(Jewish) society in the individual life stories? How are different groups and conceptions of identities created, while defined and categorized in the narratives about the refugee reception/activities?

I work with material from the archive “Jewish memories” at the National Museum of cultural history (Nordiska museet). During the years 1994–1998 the National Museum of Cultural History collected autobiographical material (interviews and written life stories) from three categories of people with Jewish origin; Jews who were born in Sweden, Jews who fled to Sweden before and during the Second World War, and Jews who came to Sweden from the concentration camps. The paper will also address epistemological and methodological questions about working with material (narratives, interviews and life stories) that have been created/collected by an institution such as the National museum of cultural history. Why was the collection of “Jewish memories” initiated at/by the Nordiska museet? What broad assumptions and specific issues animated / initiated the collection of “Jewish memories”? What intellectual, social, national and international contexts and influences shaped the collection of narratives?

Malin Thor, Ph.D in history and senior lecture at Malmo University College in Sweden. In her dissertation, Hechaluz - a movement in space and time, she analyzed how identities and the accompanying perception of the meaning of the exile were constructed, modified and or rejected among German Jewish refugees in Sweden 1933-1943. Thor has also researched refugees with TB in the cross-disciplinary project “Conceptions of working capacity and unhealth. Refugees unfit for work in Sweden 1950-2005” funded by the Swedish Research Council 2005-2008. Right now her main research interests is negotiations of how national, local, gendered and religious identities interplay with each in the formations of Jewish identities and communities in Sweden in different social and historical contexts and local communities, with the Swedish-Jewish refugee receptions 1945-1946, 1968-1972 and 1989-1991 in Sweden as examples.
**PANEL 2: Refugees and survivors in the UK**

**Phylomena Badsey (University of Wolverhampton, UK)**

**The Channel Islands: survival and life after the experience of occupation**

The Channel Island’s Occupation 1940-1945 was a “peculiar” occupation and forces questions to be asked about Nazi persecution, and what the survivors’ of this event endured and suffered, including suppression of resistance activity, deportations, arrests and near starvation of the civilian population. Contemporary accounts by islanders record how many considered themselves to be in a vast forced labour camp, with no escape or hope of rescue and living in constant fear. In 1999 the Guernsey branch of the charity MIND began a survey of islanders who had been evacuated from the island as children, asking them to evaluate their lives before, during and after the war. The survey concluded that ‘For some subjects, the return to the island was no liberation, but a return to a kind of captivity’. Research into the children’s experience of the occupation both those that remained and those that were evacuated is at an early stage, and very little research of any sort has been done on the life after. These Channel Island voices are missing from the wider discussion of Nazi persecution and I hope that my paper would place that experience in context.

Dr. Phylomena Badsey was awarded her PhD from Kingston University in 2005, its topic "The Political Thought of Vera Brittain" was the pinnacle of many years research into women and the Great War. In December 2010 she was awarded from University of Birmingham MA Second War Studies (with Merit). Her research interests include. First and Second Wave Feminism and warfare. Women and warfare, including nursing. Children and the Second World War. Strategic bombing and its critics. France and the Channel Islands under German occupation 1940-1945. She is a frequent speaker for the Western Front Association, the Women’s Institute and St. John’s Ambulance Brigade. She combines both university administrative and lecturing posts and is a member of School of Law, Social Sciences and Communications - Research Cluster in Justice, Politics and Human Rights - University of Wolverhampton.

**Anthony Grenville (Association of Jewish Refugees, UK)**

‘Britain’s new citizens’: the settlement of the Jews from Germany and Austria in Britain after 1945

My title is taken from a booklet published in 1952 by the Association of Jewish Refugees, the organisation that has represented the Jews from German-speaking Central Europe in Britain since 1941. It conveys the intention of the majority of the refugees to assimilate thoroughly into British society. Methodologically, one could argue that they present the case of a group whose assimilation, already well advanced in Central Europe, was continued systematically in Britain, after being cut short by Hitler in the countries of origin.

Until my book appeared last year, there was no study of the settlement of the Jews from Germany and Austria in Britain as a community. After 1945, Britain was host to some 50,000 Jewish refugees from Nazi persecution, one of the largest surviving communities of German and Austrian Jews anywhere in the world. Furthermore, unlike the USA and Israel, Britain did not have a large and dynamic Jewish community into which the refugees were absorbed. Instead, they preserved their own communal identity: the Association of Jewish Refugees is still a flourishing organisation with some 3,000 members, while its counterparts elsewhere are defunct.

My paper will trace the development of the unique ‘Continental British’ identity developed by the former refugees over the post-war decades, in the framework of a history of their reception and settlement in Britain, their adaptation to British culture and society, and their
integration into middle-class social and professional strata broadly similar to those they had occupied in their native lands.


Maggie Fraser Kirsh (University of Wisconsin, USA)

Controlling the narratives of disaster and recovery: representations of the child survivor in Britain

Both Jewish and mainstream propaganda reflected ambivalent attitudes towards survivors in general and child survivors in particular. The British press marginalized the Jewish war experience, positing Britain as liberator, while silencing Jewish voices. In the occasional columns in which Jews received a mention, the mainstream press characterized them as a group in need of rescue, but anti-Semitic undercurrents prevented them from being portrayed as victims unquestionably entitled to financial and moral support.

This paper explores the ways in which the Jewish community of Britain challenged representations of Jews in mainstream media coverage. In a country in which Jews had been stereotyped as shirkers, beggars, exaggerators, and wanderers incapable of forming lasting ties with their country of residence, it was more important than ever to portray Jews as productive and loyal members of the British Commonwealth. The goal of their propaganda relating to child survivors in post-war Britain was two-fold: to raise awareness of the trauma that Jews on the continent had undergone; and to raise funds that would allow for the rehabilitation of survivors. Many obstacles had to be overcome, however, for these goals to be realized. Through a number of strategies, Jewish relief organizations fought war-weariness, mistrust of atrocity stories, anti-Semitism; and their own ambivalences toward survivors.

Jewish youth became the best candidate for the poster-child of redemption, a theme central to the British press in the post-war period. Young and malleable, the image of the child was chosen to undermine negative stereotypes in order to tell their own version of the story of the Holocaust survivor. While the mainstream media overshadowed Jewish suffering and centered its narrative on Britain-as-rescuer, the Jewish press responded by reasserting the Anglo-Jewish adult as hero and by recasting the child survivor as victim in need of redemption. Consistent in its portrayal of the young Holocaust survivor was the insistence that child survivors were the prime candidates for redemption because they could assimilate easily into British society; furthermore, the Jewish press positioned the project of redemption as reconcilable with the wider project of British post-war reconstruction.

Mary (Maggie) Fraser Kirsh. Before undertaking a PhD in history at the University of Wisconsin, I received an MSt in Jewish Studies from Oxford University; during this year in England, I explored questions of identity concerning Jewish children hidden as Catholics during the Holocaust. In addition to pursuing my graduate studies, I have lectured at The College of William and Mary; led a bus tour of Jewish sites in Poland; interned at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum; and worked at the Auschwitz Jewish Center Foundation in Oswiecim. Most recently, my work has taken me to Israel and England, where I have conducted research for my dissertation: The Victim, the Threat and the Martyr: Narratives of the Rehabilitation of the Child Holocaust Survivor in Britain and Israel.
Astrid Zajdband (University of Sussex, UK)

Faith in exile: The German rabbinate’s refuge in Great Britain

While rabbis in the past were guardians of Jewish law and occupied with the interpretation of the teachings and legal rulings, a new model rabbi became necessary with the advent of emancipation, conforming with the new understanding of Jewishness in Germany. His new role, modelled on the protestant minister, was that of spiritual guide and pastoral caregiver. Additionally, he was expected to be widely educated in a broad range of subjects. Most rabbis in German-speaking countries thus held doctoral titles from leading universities in a variety of topics, and had additionally graduated the rabbinical seminaries in Breslau and Berlin.

After Kristallnacht, many German rabbis were deported to concentration camps and it became clear that emigration was a necessity. Through networks and committed helpers, about 200 German Rabbis and their families were able to leave Germany, 80 of them were to remain in Britain permanently. Escaping Germany was not the end of hardship. What followed were problems with the language barrier and an unfamiliar culture. Having been well-respected and well-paid, these rabbis now depended on charitable organizations for their livelihoods, and additionally were being classified as enemy aliens, faced with internment once again.

But this hardy group was not to be discouraged. Many obtained pulpits throughout Britain and as a group become an intricate part of Anglo-Jewry and British society. With the refugee generation slowly vanishing, this paper examines the impact these rabbis had and what of their legacy has remained in Britain today.

Astrid Zajdband M.A., M.Sc., is a doctoral candidate at the University of Sussex in Brighton and writes her dissertation on German Rabbis in British Exile. Her dissertation focuses on the influence of the immigrant rabbis on Judaism in Britain after the Shoah, invigorating Reform and Liberal Judaism but also giving Orthodoxy new impetus. Her dissertation lies at the crossroad of migration studies, sociology, Holocaust studies with the focus on survival and continuance, religious philosophy after the Holocaust, and involves oral history and original rabbinic publications. Her work, supervised by Prof. Christian Wiese is supported with a scholarship of the Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich Studienwerk in Berlin.
PANEL 3: DPs in post-war Europe (I)

Laura Greaves (University of Waterloo, Canada)

Forbidden to wed: Displaced Persons, Control Council Law No. 16 and the politics of marriage in post-war Germany

Marriage in the DP camps in postwar Germany became politicized almost immediately. Allied Control Council Law No. 16, the Marriage Law, stated that Displaced Persons were required to acquire a Certificate of Nubility from the Liaison Officer of their home country. The purpose of the Certificate was to identify any possible legal reasons to disallow the marriage. However, the acquisition of these Certificates was quickly complicated by the politics of the Cold War. The Liaison Officers were expected to convince as many of their nationals as possible to return to their country of origin: they required people to help in the reconstruction after so many years of struggle and destruction. They were also responsible for accepting or rejecting the applications for Certificates. In cases where the DPs were both from the same country of origin, there was less chance of denial: the marriage would not necessarily impede the possibility of repatriation. However, in cases where two DPs of differing nationalities hoped to wed, creating an ‘inter-national’ couple, chances of being denied were much higher because it was assumed that at least one of the DPs would not be returning to their country of origin. The Liaison Officers, who held the dual responsibilities of permission and repatriation, were much less likely to agree to these marriages when there was a chance that their nationals would not be returning home. The ‘inter-nationality’ of couples was at the heart of the politicization of marriage in the DP camps.

Laura Greaves, doctoral candidate at the University of Waterloo in Waterloo, Ontario, Canada in the Department of History. My PhD adviser is Professor Lynne Taylor. I previously completed my Bachelor of Arts (Honours) at the University of Calgary and my Master of Arts at McMaster University.

Miriam Intrator (City University of New York, USA)

Books and libraries for survivors in post-war Europe

A number of ambitious programs to provide books and libraries to surviving youth and adults in Europe emerged in the immediate aftermath of World War II. In part, these were inspired by reports describing the cultural hunger of survivors as often greater than their physical hunger, despite the acute need for shelter and sustenance. These programs were directed at the most visible and accessible Jewish population overflowing into and out of Allied-run DP camps, as well as to Jewish survivors and surviving Jewish communities in virtually every war-impacted European country, from Belgium to Bulgaria, France to Poland. Jewish cultural reconstruction sought to satisfy the existential need for culture that exploded in the wake of the mass devastation, and to serve as a symbol of liberation from the crushing weight of fascism and Hitler’s merciless reign. This paper will focus on the collection and distribution of books to libraries, schools, and communities within surviving Jewish Europe, regardless of how small, scattered, transitional or precarious these were during the immediate postwar years, and will consider the objectives, outcomes, and short- and long-term impacts of these renewal efforts. Complicating the familiar image of all Jewish life quickly draining out of post-Holocaust Europe without question or contest, the quantity of books, textbooks and periodicals gathered and disseminated, the number of groups and individuals that contributed texts, time, energy, funding and other resources to these efforts, points to a more complex and urgent story of postwar Jewish cultural and intellectual reconstruction.

Miriam Intrator is a doctoral candidate in modern European and Jewish history at the Graduate Center, City University of New York. Her dissertation investigates the active
engagement of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in the renewal of European and Jewish cultural life and institutions, particularly libraries and school and community book collections, in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War. She also has a master's degree in library science from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Robin Judd (Ohio State University, USA)

"But they promised to behave": American Jewish chaplains and romantic entanglements in post-war Germany, 1945-1950

During the past decade there has been an explosion of historical scholarship concerning the complicated relationship among American victors, civilians, and displaced persons in postwar Germany. This engages with these analyses by paying attention to the role American Jewish chaplains played in fraternization policies and practices.

American-Jewish chaplains often found themselves at odds with the fraternization policies of the U.S. military, which requested that chaplains deter sexual liaisons between GIs and Europeans. Unexpectedly responsible for assisting the Displaced Persons in a variety of ways, Jewish chaplains found that some of these personal interactions fell under the draconian – and often ignored – fraternization rules. Moreover, many military and DP chaplains expressed interest in furthering long-term relationships between GIs and female survivors. For them, such liaisons represented one source of hope for the surviving remnant. Jewish chaplains thus helped Jewish soldiers meet civilian women. They organized events for soldiers and local Jewish women. Chaplains officiated at weddings and some even married European Jewish civilians themselves. The chaplains’ observations and experiences would have a wide range of policy implications. Their utterances and actions suggest their formulations of reconstruction and identity in the wake of the extraordinary violence of World War II and the Holocaust.

Robin Judd (Phd, University of Michigan) has served on the faculty of the History Department of the Ohio State University since 2000. Currently the director of the Graduate Studies Program, she also serves as an associate member of the Melton Center for Jewish Studies, the Women’s/Gender Studies Department, and the Center for the Study of Religion. Professor Judd is the author of Contested Rituals: Circumcision, Kosher Butchering, and German-Jewish Political Life in Germany, 1843-1933 (Cornell University Press) and a number of articles concerning Jewish history, gender history, and ritual behavior. Her current project is tentatively titled, “Love at the Zero Hour: European War Brides, GI Husbands, and European Strategies for Reconstruction.” Judd has received several research fellowships and grants including a Fulbright, NEH summer stipend, Coca Cola grant for Critical Difference, and AHA Schmidt award. Judd also has received a number of Ohio State University teaching awards, including the Departmental Clio award and the College of Arts and Science’s Rodica Botoman Award.

Gregory Weeks (Webster University, Vienna, Austria)

The destruction and rebirth of the family: the Rothschild Hospital D.P. Camp in Vienna, 1945-1949

The city of Vienna became a magnet for ‘displaced persons’ following the end of the Second World War. Vienna’s central location and proximity to former camps and killing centers in Poland and Czechoslovakia made it a logical logistical hub, a travel destination, and a way station to new homes for D.P.’s. Of the numerous D.P. camps in Austria, the Rothschild Camp became one of the most prominent, providing aid, shelter, and food to homeless
refugees from the conflict and setting up conditions for the renewal of lives that had been interrupted during the war. Using photographs, documents, and eyewitness accounts as sources, this paper will investigate the role the Rothschild Camp played in reuniting families and creating the conditions necessary for the formation of new ones. Documents and eyewitness accounts showing the number of births in the camp provide evidence of the important social and familial role that the camp played. Photographs will substantiate impressions gained from the documents and accounts and provide additional evidence for the camp’s central role in the reconstruction of family life in the post-World War II period. This paper hopes to convey a feeling of what daily life and the camp experience were like as well as investigate the ethnic and language distribution of the camp’s residents, most of whom were Jewish. The lessons learned from an investigation of the Rothschild Camp will shed light on the post-World War II refugee crisis, one of the most massive in human history.

Dr. Gregory Weeks is a member of the International Relations Department faculty at Webster University in Vienna, Austria. He holds a doctorate in Contemporary and Austrian History from the University of Graz and is a former holder of the Baron Friedrich Carl von Oppenheim Chair for the Study of Racism, Antisemitism, and the Holocaust at Yad Vashem. He researches civil-military relations, genocide prevention, and twentieth century diplomatic and military history. He is co-author of Vienna’s Conscience: Close Ups and Conversations after Hitler.
PANEL 4: Testimonies (I)

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

The ideology, methodology and practice of Holocaust testimonies, 1945-1955

Giving voice to the Jewish victims and their experience in the Holocaust 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 has to be a concentrated effort for recording survivor testimonies. This need brought about the establishment of Historical Commissions that solicited testimonies from survivors.

It was obvious to the early survivor researches that the testimonies collected 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 claimed that inaccuracies will fuel Holocaust denial.

Several remedies were offered for this problem. Already in 1945 the Jewish Central Historical commission published a manual with instructions for the taking of testimonies. An emphasis was placed on cross-checking of testimonies and on verification. Survivor historian Philip Friedman suggested focusing on testimonies from the academically educated intelligentsia trained in the scientific method.

But there was also an understanding that testimonies' significance transcends their historical value. This was apparent in the writings and work of Rachel Auerbuch – a leading figure in the work on testimonies in the aftermath of the Holocaust.

Auerbuch was a member of the Oneg Shabbat documentation project in the Warsaw Ghetto. After the war she was active in the Jewish Historical Commission in Poland and following her immigration to Israel she established and directed Yad Vashem’s department for the collection of testimonies. She saw the giving and collecting of survivor testimonies as a mission of ‘societal and national healing’ and a ‘popular psycho-hygienic enterprise’.

This paper will describe the Ideology fuelling the collection projects, the methodologies developed and the debates and practice of post-war Holocaust testimony collection.

Dr. Boaz Cohen, historian, is the head of the Holocaust Studies program of the Western Galilee College in Akko Israel. His work focuses on the development of Holocaust memory and historiography in their social and cultural context and on Jewish post-Holocaust society. He also lectures on Jewish Studies in the Shaanan college in Haifa. His current research is on early children’s Holocaust testimonies and the adult interest in them. His book ‘The Future Generations – How will they Know? Israeli Holocaust Historiography: Emergance and Evolvement’ Has just been published in Hebrew by Yad Vashem and is due to be published in English by Routledge.

Kinga Frojimovics (Yad Vashem, Israel)

Holocaust survivor self-interviews, 1940s and 1950s

I propose to analyze testimonies given to large-scale historical-memorial testimony collecting projects by survivors who worked for the same project as interviewers. I am interested in projects, such as the National Relief Committee for Deportees in Hungary (Deportáltakat Gondozó Országos Bizottság, henceforth referred to as DEGOB) or the early Yad Vashem project, in which the interviewers were themselves survivors. What questions the interviewers of early testimony collecting projects selected to ask, what points they raised, and the way the interviewer chose to do all this, influenced profoundly the testimonies. In
order to assess to what extent the interviewers influenced the testimonies they took down, it is crucial to analyze the testimonies they gave. Not only can we learn their own story that influenced their interests, but these special testimonies afford us a unique opportunity to understand what a fully narrativized, complete story is in their eyes. By comparing the self-testimonies with the ones they took down with others, one can see clearly and separate the levels of influence of the interviewer and the entire interview process upon the testimonies, which is crucial for us to gain a deeper understanding of what kind of sources early Holocaust testimonies are.

Dr. **Kinga Frojimovics**: I am a historian and an archivist. From 2007, I am the director of the Hungarian Section in Yad Vashem Archives, Jerusalem. I received my Ph.D. from Bar-Ilan University (Ramat Gan, Israel) in 2003. My field of research is the history of the Jews in Hungary in the nineteenth and in the twentieth centuries. I focus on the history of the Jewish religious trends in Hungary, and on the Holocaust. I am the co-editor of the MAKOR, the Series of the Hungarian Jewish Archives. At present I am working with Dr. Rita Horváth on a research-project concerning early post-war testimonies at the Hadassah Brandeis Institute (Brandeis University, Waltham, MA, USA).

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**Zeev Mankowitz (Yad Vashem, Israel)**

Israel Kaplan’s early ethnographic study of Jewish speech patterns and folklore in Nazi ghettos and concentration camps

As a central figure in the Historical Commission of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Munich and the editor of its journal *Fun Letztn Khurbn* (In the Wake of the Recent Destruction) Kaplan believed that the recording of personal testimonies was of primary importance and should be granted the lion’s share of their time, energy and limited resources. He suggested paying special attention to the inner life of those fighting to survive *in extremis* via a careful analysis of the popular culture that had grown up under Nazi terror, including “songs, anecdotes, jokes, sayings, phrases, quotes, nicknames, passwords, curses greetings etc.”

Already in December 1945 Kaplan had published “A Questionnaire for the Collection of Materials relating to Folklore” which was aimed at using linguistic-ethnological tools to penetrate the inner recesses of Jewish life under Nazi occupation. Kaplan sought to uncover the speech patterns employed by Jews with regard to the Germans and their local auxiliaries, their views and feelings relating to the Jewish Councils, the Jewish Police and other privileged Jews in the ghetto. Kaplan was in search of descriptions of starvation, forced labor, disease and the desperate fight to survive; but also, the most comforting prayers, what was hoped for, what people dreamed about, which stories, past and present, were in demand, which songs were popular, what was written, drawn, photographed and even the games children played. These and more were the themes Kaplan’s interview schedule sought to elicit for fear that the inner story of how Jews had attempted to fend off the corrosive power of Nazi dehumanization would be lost forever.

We shall primarily base our critical analysis of the ethnographic method, findings and far-reaching conclusions spelt out in Kaplan’s monograph, *Dos folks-moyl in nazi klem: reydenishn in geto un katset* (Folk Expression under Nazi Occupation: Speech Patterns in the Ghetto and Concentration Camp) published in 1949 by the Central Historical Commission in Munich.

Dr. **Zeev Mankowitz**: presently Director of the Dianna Zborowski Centre for the Study of the Aftermath of the Shoah, the International Institute for Holocaust Research, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem. Prior to that I served as Director of the Melton Centre for Jewish Education at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem and, earlier, directed the Jerusalem Fellows, a Program for Educational Leadership. In 2002 Cambridge University published my study of survivors in the immediate aftermath of the Holocaust *Life between Memory and Hope: The Survivors of the*
Holocaust in Occupied Germany which was subsequently translated into Hebrew and published by Yad Vashem in 2006. I have just finished editing two interrelated underground documents from the Kovno Ghetto and the Kaufering concentration camp which are to be published by Yad Vashem in early April 2011.

Beate Müller (University of Newcastle, UK)

The school of nightmares: child Holocaust testimonies from the Hebrew school in Polish Bytom

In 1945, Shlomo Czam (1911-1961), Headteacher of the Hebrew School in Bytom, Poland, collated the testimonies of 42 of his pupils about their fate under the Nazis, and he wrote down their stories, adding also an introductory essay to his collection, “Wort zu der Jugend” [“A Word to the Young”]. This Yiddish manuscript, entitled “Wos derzeilen Kinder?” [“What Do Children Relate?”], remained unpublished; it ended up in the archives of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York.

Together with Dr Boaz Cohen (Western Galilee College, Israel), I am working on an English translation and critical edition of these testimonies, as well as on an analysis of the texts in their historical context. This paper will present the joint research project on Czam’s testimony collection, focusing on methodological issues arising from reading children’s Holocaust testimonies.

Czam’s collection is unique because it gives us a snapshot of Nazi persecution as experienced by Jewish children all attending one particular religious school in postwar Bytom. This offers the opportunity for mapping their journeys to Bytom onto patterns of persecution that emerge from their stories: the children came not only from neighbouring areas but from places further afield, such as the Ukraine. What is particularly interesting is the fact that the testimonies feature some thematic elements which are less prominent in other early postwar child Holocaust testimony collections (e.g. CHC, CJHC, Boder), such as sexual abuse, desire for revenge, and a gendered representation of emotions. At the same time, their structural elements are comparable in that the testimonies start with information on the size of the local Jewish community before and after the Nazis, the narratives are interspersed with (brief) dialogues, and they frequently culminate in the slogan ‘Let it not be forgotten!’ These textual characteristics raise questions of authorship and narrative voice, of polyphony and authenticity, of guidance given and norms pertaining to the genre ‘testimony’, questions which will be discussed in the context of practices of taking children’s Holocaust testimonies by Jewish organizations at the time.

Dr Beate Müller is Reader in Modern German Studies at Newcastle University. She obtained her PhD from Bochum University, Germany, with a thesis on parody (1993). She worked as a DAAD-Lektorin at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge (1992-95) and as Assistant Professor at Flensburg University (1995-97) before going to Newcastle (1997). Her research interests comprise parody, censorship, GDR literature, modern German literature, as well as Holocaust fiction and narratives. She is currently working on child voices and figures in fictional and non-fictional Holocaust narratives, a project whose archival work was funded by the British Academy. For details, go to http://www.ncl.ac.uk/sml/staff/profile/b.s.muller
PANEL 5: Roundtable discussion. Displacement, evacuation, and deportation in the Soviet Union: rethinking and remapping Jewish survival during World War II and the Holocaust

About two million Soviet Jews and over 300,000 Polish Jews survived the war in the eastern parts of the Soviet Union. Some were evacuees, transferred to the relative safety of the rear as part of an organized effort by the Soviet state, while others were individual refugees fleeing Nazi persecution. Polish citizens were deported en masse. While some died as a result of bombings, disease or hunger, the vast majority survived, spending the war years among diverse and multinational communities in Soviet Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Siberia. In Holocaust studies Jewish evacuees and deportees are usually not considered victims of the Holocaust: the definition of Holocaust survivor is so closely defined by the experience of camps, mass executions, or hiding that those whose experience differed are left out of the story, even though up to 80% of Polish Jewry who survived the Holocaust endured in the Soviet Union. Indeed, the wartime experience of the majority of the She’erit Hapleta, the saved remnant of East European Jewry, has been marginalized in both historiography and commemoration. Recent innovative research suggests the need to include Jewish evacuees and deportees in the Holocaust narrative. The proposed multidisciplinary roundtable discusses new approaches to the study of the evacuation and deportation of Soviet and Polish Jews following the German invasion of the USSR. Bringing together Russian historians, Jewish Studies scholars, historians of the Holocaust, and a film scholar, this roundtable considers both Jewish experience of the war on Soviet soil, and its historiography and representation. The goal is to broaden the definition of a Holocaust survivor and to integrate this crucial previously overlooked chapter in the history of the Holocaust.

Natalie Belsky, a Ph.D. candidate specializing in Soviet Jewish History in the Department of History at the University of Chicago, will examine the interdependent relationships that developed between Jewish evacuees, non-Jewish evacuees, deportees and locals at sites of resettlement.

Eliyana Adler, who is currently the Sosland Foundation Fellow at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, will focus on the reactions of Polish Jewish refugees to the Soviet Union and to Soviet Jews.

Atina Grossmann, Professor of History at the Cooper Union, will investigate the organization, primarily out of Teheran, of international Jewish relief efforts for Jews in Central Asia, and reflect on the reasons for the marginalization of this history.

Olga Gershenson, Associate Professor of Judaic and Near Eastern Studies at the University of Massachusetts Amherst, will analyze discourse on evacuation in the Soviet Union, focusing especially on cinematic representation of Jewish evacuees.
PANEL 6: Testimonies (II)

Paula Martos Ardid (Spanish National Research Council, Madrid, Spain)

Women’s testimony from Argentina: oral and narrative representations from survival experience

The aim of this paper is to point out some of the central problems that appear in the testimonies of the female survivors of Nazi persecution who emigrated to Argentina. In order to do this, they will be analyzed both oral and written testimonies.

I will present an innovative periodization of the evolution of the female testimonies in this country. It consists in three different periods. The first one, and the longest, goes from the fifties to the eighties and it is characterized by the female public silence. The second period ends in the second half of the nineties and its main feature is women’s incorporation to the accounts of the Nazi violence. Finally, we have the last and current period characterized by women’s monopoly of the testimony.

Besides, I will describe the difficulties in analyzing the female testimony on this topic, for example, these women’s lack of narrative resources as a consequence of their cultural and educational determinants or the stiffness of some of these discourses because of their repetitive reiteration in different contexts.

I will provide the main outcomes from the work I carried out during my stay as visiting scholar in the University of Buenos Aires last course. This research is part of my on-going PhD dissertation where I consider the effects of gender constructions on dehumanization processes that Nazis used to subjugate their victims.

Paula Martos Ardid, PhD researcher from the Spanish National Research Council. I am working on my doctoral dissertation, in which I am studying links between several topics such as Holocaust, Nazi violence, memory, testimony, representation, body and gender.

Wolfgang Bialas (TU Dresden, Hannah-Arendt-Institute Dresden, Germany)

Memory politics and the ethics of survival

Seeing themselves as potential witnesses whose testimonies would be needed after the end of Nazism helped inmates of death and concentration camps gather the mental strength necessary to survive. Confronted with the death of so many, those few who finally survived the camps could not just take their survival for granted, but felt pressure to justify their right to live by seeking justice for those who had disappeared. Since there neither was nor could be any justifiable reason that they became the chosen ones rather than the doomed ones, they found themselves caught in the vicious cycle of reducing their 'life after' to survival. The harder they tried to reinvent and liberate themselves from the nightmares of the Holocaust, the more apparent it became that there would be no return to normalcy for them. In my paper I will analyze survivor's attempts to connect with the post-Holocaust world of revival and reconstruction, as well as the impact of their detailed and reflective testimonies on Holocaust memory politics. I will compare immediate post-War testimonies with those written after Holocaust studies had been established as an academic discipline. Here, I will focus on how the personal experience of those survivors who became Holocaust scholars influenced their scholarly approach to the Holocaust.

Dr. Wolfgang Bialas: currently working on a research project on Nazi Ideology and Ethics at the Hannah-Arendt-Institute Dresden; Areas of Specialization: Nazism and the Holocaust, Political Philosophy, 19th and 20th century European Intellectual History, Last Publications: Political Humanism and the „belated nation“.Helmuth Plessners critical analysis of Germany and Nazism. Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht 2010; Nazi Germany and the Humanities. (edt. with
Sharon Kangisser Cohen (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel)

Early and later survivor testimonies: an exploration in memory and meaning making

Already during World War II and in its aftermath, oral history emerged as a major instrument in reconstructing the history of the Jews during the Holocaust. The destruction of Jewish communities, and a relatively small number of contemporaneous documentations encouraged scholars to initiate oral history projects. Today we have a large body of oral testimonies that covers decades of research on the Holocaust. The methods of scholars who conducted oral history has been modified through the years and the goals of the projects have changed.

The tremendous number of archived interviews with Holocaust survivors presents researchers with a valuable opportunity not only to make known the disaster of the Holocaust, but also to better understand the process of talking about the past through looking at its content, structure and form.

Since the liberation of the camps, survivors of the Holocaust have aged, had experienced new and varied life experiences, and encountered new ways of understanding the Holocaust and its effect. Have these new experiences shaped the way that survivors tell and interpret their lives? Or, has their understanding of the past remained, more or less, consistent? Are the stories of survivors faithful to previous tellings? Or, are testimonies reshaped as survivors grow older in a changing society, in which the memory and meaning of the Holocaust has changed?

One way of measuring or understanding the effect of the context on the individuals' narrative is to compare survivors' testimonies, which were given at different times. In this way we can decipher what is consistent and what has changed in the way they present their past and the meanings they have made of their traumatic years.

This paper through a comparison of earlier and later testimonies will examine the following issues:

First, how the conception and order of priorities informed the overall direction, questions and probing of the interviewer? How do these differ and why? Second, it will explore how the testimonies differ. To what can we attribute differences?

Dr Sharon Kangisser Cohen is the Director of Projects of the Oral History Division of the Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry. She is also a research scholar at the The Diana Zborowski Center for the Study of the Aftermath of the Holocaust, Yad Vashem and a Lecturer for the Melton Centre for Jewish Education at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Anna-Leena Perämäki (University of Turku, Finland)

The mentality of survival: the coping strategies of young Jewish female diarists and to-be-survivors of the Holocaust

This paper will discuss the concept of surviving from the viewpoint of young Jewish female diarists, who wrote their diaries in German-occupied Europe during the Holocaust and WWII in the 1940s, and who managed to survive the war. The paper is, above all, about the mental
tools behind the survival. What helped the young women to stay strong and cope with all the terror they faced during the Holocaust? What could explain their survival?

During the Second World War and the Holocaust, many of the repressed and persecuted Jews started to write a diary about their daily experiences. Diary writing could offer a way to deal with the growing uncertainty and suppression, fear and anxiety of what might happen in the future. Diary was also an important device of sharing the terrifying experiences of the genocide of Jews to the future generations. For those diarists, just the act of writing a diary could mean to survive, but they had also other survival strategies that kept their hope alive.

I will discuss those coping strategies through three young women who survived the Holocaust, their diaries as my main source: Austrian Elisabeth Kaufmann (later Koenig, 1924–2003), French Isabelle Jesion (1926–1951) and Dutch Anita Meyer (1929-). How did they manage to survive the holocaust and what happened to them after the war?

Anna-Leena Perämäki, PhD student at the department of Cultural History in the University of Turku, Finland since September 2009. I am doing my thesis on the diaries of young Jewish women in the 1940s. My focus is on the coping tactics of these women during the Holocaust in German-occupied Europe. My research interests include cultural history of writing, women and children during the holocaust and daily life in WWII.
Jean-Marc Dreyfus (University of Manchester, UK)

French diplomats (and others) in the aftermath of the Holocaust, 1945-2001

This presentation will show the results of a year's long research in the archives of different foreign offices, and mostly the French ministry of Foreign Affairs. From 1945, French diplomats had to negotiate issues related to the deportation of Resistance fighters and to the Holocaust. I could identify a dozen of such cases, from 1945 to 2001. Most of those negotiations were not public and their outcomes were not subject to publicity. They have not been described till now. Some of those negotiations were multilateral, but most of them bilateral. Diplomats from the French embassy in Bonn and the various French consulates in Germany were involved, but also many administrators in Paris and also diplomats serving all over Europe, the United States and Israel. Some of the topics covered were the following:
- The mission searching the corpses of French deportees in Germany
- German reparations and the Franco-German agreement on the 1957 Brüg law
- German reparations, the 1960 Franco-German agreement and the 1963 Anglo-German one
- The tripartite commission on Nazi gold in Brussels
- The German Arbitral Commission in Coblence
- The International Tracing Service in Arolsen
- The Washington Agreement on French Holocaust looted assets.

The focus on diplomats gives a new, unexpected insight on the politics of memory and compensation in international relations. It also follows a different chronology of memory than the one currently described, as most of negotiations took place in the 1950's and the 1960's, before the rise of a public memory of the Holocaust.


Dieter Nelles and Heinz Sünker (University of Wuppertal, Germany)

Compensation as a ‘second discrimination’: the ‘Children of the Resistance’ and their lives after 1945

Our paper is dealing with children of resistance fighters against the Nazi Regime. We will examine in which ways they got compensated after they had been freed from fascism. For many children from resistance families the pursuit of their parents was connected not only with traumatic experiences but, due to the economic and social discrimination of their families, with disadvantages, for example limited educational training. But in the Federal German Compensation Law of 1953 these children were not recognized as victims of the Nazi Regime. They only could receive compensation funds when they were able to prove that from the pursuit of its parents there resulted a "damage in professional progress" to them. The predominant part of our "Children of the Resistance" did not fulfill these strict criteria of the law. On the basis of official compensation files of the City of Wuppertal, we want to show how restrictive the German authorities treated the children of resistance families’ hopes to get compensated after 1953. Secondly, we evaluate the different forms of
discrimination the children of resistance fighters expressed in narrative interviews made after the Year 2000. As far as they did not succeed in fetching educational or professional grants after the Second World War, a deep feeling of disadvantage is still alive.

In compensation processes, there were, nevertheless, serious differences between certain resistance groups. Children from the predominant bourgeois movement of 20th July founded a welfare organization which was supported by the Federal Republic of Germany since 1953 financially and morally. With this support, they soon advanced to the upper classes, a process which for communist or even social democratic children of resistance fighters remained unthinkable. Of them, only a few stepped into the footprints of their former pursued parents and engaged politically in leftist parties or trade unions. Most children of the resistance fighters rigorously rejected any kind of political participation. Their relationship towards politics was determined completely by their experiences during the Third Reich.

**Dieter Nelles**, Dr. rer.pol., social scientist, is currently lecturer of civic education at the Ruhr University Bochum. His research interests include the history of Nazism, especially of resistance and exile; the history of the international labour movement, especially anarchism and syndicalism; political socialisation. Among his publications are: *Widerstand und internationale Solidarität. Die Internationale Transportarbeiter Föderation im Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus*, Essen, 2001. "Es lebt noch eine Flamme". *Rheinische Anarchosyndikalisten/-innen in der Weimarer Republik und im Faschismus*, (co-author), Grafenau, 2nd ed. 1990.


**Jeff Porter** (Birkbeck College, UK)

**Laws but no justice? An examination of the causes, responsibility and solutions to the delays in restitution for Germans robbed by the Nazis, 1948-1952**

This paper will examine why, five years after the defeat of the Nazi regime the vast majority of German, especially Jewish German, victims had regained nothing; this despite laws being passed, by 1949, in all three western occupation zones in Germany granting restitution to people who had suffered personal loss of property. The Western Allies wanted to return full sovereignty to the newly created West German state in the new circumstances of the cold war, but could they trust the new Bundesrepublik to remember its obligations to those robbed by the Nazi regime? I will consider German resistance to restitution, both organised and individual and I will ask to what extent a veneer of legal respectability merely covered a legacy of Nazi attitudes towards the theft of Jewish property or had German attitudes genuinely changed by 1950? I will also examine the Allies’ responses to German resistance and the failings in their restitution machinery as they grappled with the contradictory imperatives of ensuring justice and returning sovereignty to Germany. Finally the paper will consider the responses of Jewish communities worldwide to the shortcomings of the restitution process. What was their role in ensuring the occupying powers fulfilled their promise to provide restitution for the German Jewish victims of ‘history’s greatest robbery’ and in subsequent restitution policy? Overall, this paper will contrast practical, political and moral considerations and recover the concerns of many survivors after the end of the war.

**Jeff Porter** is a research student at Birkbeck College, University of London working towards his PhD. His research concerns post-war restitution to German victims robbed by the Nazis,
the majority of whom were Jewish and the policies and actions of the three western powers occupying Germany. The key research question is why, despite the clear moral case for restitution, the three powers found it impossible to achieve a unified solution. Publications: He is a regular contributor to Open History, the journal of the Open University History Society. Forthcoming: ‘Occupiers, Nazi Robbery and a Restitution Law for the Whole of Germany: Missed Early Opportunities or Historical Inevitabilities?’, in Landscapes after Battle Vol. II: Justice, Politics and Memory in Europe after the Second World War (Valentine Mitchell, 2011).
Jan-Hinnerk Antons (University of Hamburg, Germany)

Ukrainian DPs in post-war Germany: covering up conflicting roles during the war by constructing a national victim identity

Ukrainian Displaced Persons (DPs) in post-war Germany consisted of different groups, which en masse claimed to be victims. As a national community, they shifted the emphasis from being victims of Nazis to being victims of Soviet persecution, depending on the context and necessity. The biggest group consisted of former forced labourers who refused to repatriate. Yet there were also underground fighters of UPA and their comrades of the political wing OUN-B, who had occasionally fought the Germans, but mainly the Soviets and Poles; and the group of anti-communist refugees, consisting in large parts of the West-Ukrainian societal elite. The two latter groups included a certain amount of collaborators who had actively supported the Germans on a military or administrative level. It may suffice to mention the case of John Demjanjuk to highlight the potential for conflicts between the aiders and victims of German persecution. Nevertheless, the conflicts in the Ukrainian DP-community ran on other lines, namely on political divisions between the various types of nationalists. In the internal strives among the Ukrainian DPs the only undisputed fields were the long-term objective of an independent national state and the fostering of national identity as a sine qua non for this goal, whereas the proceedings remained contested. On the basis of the anti-Soviet consensus and the common will to free the home country, a collective victim identity was created. This way attention was drawn from reflecting the immediate past of suppression and perpetration during Nazi rule in Eastern Europe.

Jan-Hinnerk Antons studied History, Political Science and Sociology at the Universities of Hamburg and Copenhagen. For his doctoral thesis he is currently researching Ukrainian Displaced Persons Camps in the British zone of Germany with focus on everyday-life, self-government and national identity; He is affiliated to the Department of East-European History at the University of Hamburg and scholarship holder of the Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes.

Adam R. Seipp (Texas A&M University, USA)

The seigneurs of Wildflecken: refugees, occupiers, and a German town, 1945-1952

This paper examines the experience of the Franconian town of Wildflecken in the wake of the Second World War. The abandoned Wehrmacht facility on the hill above this farming town was host to Europe’s largest camp for Displaced Persons (DPs), holding at its height more than 15,000 Polish DPs. Thanks to the memoirs of Kathryn Hulme, the camp’s longtime Assistant Director, Wildflecken became one of the most famous facilities in the vast archipelago of DP camps. This study, which is based on a book forthcoming from Indiana University Press, integrates the history of the camp and its inhabitants into the broader story of the postwar reconstruction of West Germany. I examine four groups who competed and sometimes cooperated in rural Germany after the war: DPs, American occupation forces, local communities, and ethnic German expellees who arrived in the wake of the war. My study argues that the presence of other categories of “foreigners,” in this case DPs and foreign troops, helped to foster the integration of ethnic German expellees into the rural communities where many found themselves.

Adam R. Seipp: Assistant Professor of History at Texas A&M University. I finished my PhD at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 2005. I am the author of The Ordeal of Peace: Demobilization and the Urban Experience in Britain and Germany, 1917-1921. I have
written a number of articles and book chapters, most recently “Refugee Town: Germans, Americans, and the Uprooted in Rural West Germany, 1945-52” in the Journal of Contemporary History (October 2009). The manuscript on which this proposal is based, “Strangers in the Wild Place: Refugees, Americans, and a German Town, 1945-52,” is forthcoming from Indiana University Press.

Janusz Wróbel (Institute of National Remembrance, Poland)
Life with beaten enemies: Polish DPs in post-war Germany

At the end of World War II, Poles among Soviet Union citizens were the biggest group of foreigners living on the postwar Germany. Most of them were forced laborers and prisoners of the concentration camps, and also prisoners of war, which stayed in Germany from 1939.

When the ally armies took over Germany in 1945, Poles were set free, but this did not resolve all the problems. A quick return to the country was impossible for many reasons. Many thousands of Poles for years after the war stayed in the western occupation territories of Germany. From spring of 1945 the position of Poles in Germany rapidly changed. From prisoners and discriminated forced laborers they became citizens of a country, which was a part of the winning anti-Nazi coalition. On the other hand Germans from being “Herrenvolk” fell down to the role of the society of the occupied country and had to subordinate to the Allies. This was a reason for many tensions between Poles and the occupational authorities and the Germans.

Resolving the problem of Polish Displaced Persons needed the involvement of international institutions, and patient and consistent policy of the occupation administration and the German authorities.

The paper will be based on the literature of memoirs and documents from the Archiwum Akt Nowych in Warsaw, The National Archives in Kew, Sikorski Institute in London, Pilsudski Institute in New York.

Dr. Janusz Wróbel – historian, employed by the Institute of National Remembrance, specializes in the studies of socio-political strategies deployed by the World War II occupants toward Poles. Furthermore his work concentrates on issues related to war and post-war emigration of Polish citizens. Dr. Wróbel published 7 books associated with this subject and numerous articles printed in both domestic and foreign publications. His latest book: Na rozdrożu historii. Repatriacja obywateli polskich z Zachodu w latach 1945-1949 (Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Łódź 2009) is dedicated to the topic of repatriations of Polish citizens from the West after the end of the war.
Elisabeth Gallas (University of Leipzig, Germany)

In the ‘mortuary of books’: Lucy Dawidowicz and the salvage of looted Jewish books and archives after the Holocaust

In October 1946, the later American-Jewish Historian Lucy Dawidowicz (1915–1975) travelled to Germany to support the Jewish Displaced Persons in Munich. Soon after she arrived and started her work for the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee it appeared that she would not only take care for the Jewish survivors by providing them with cultural and educational devices but also commit herself to a different group of “survivors”: Jewish books and documents. From February 1947 on Dawidowicz worked in the Offenbach Archival Depot; a repository that was implemented by the American Military Government near Frankfurt to store, sort and return all book and manuscripts collections confiscated by the Nazis from Jewish institutions and private homes in all over Europe which the American forces found hidden on German territory. Dawidowicz stayed here for several months, identifying and sorting thousands of books with Jewish origin. In the course of her work she found over 400 cases of materials belonging to the Yiddish Scientific Institute (YIVO) in Vilna and devoted herself to the successful transfer of these cases to its successor in New York.

In my paper I will provide a short overview of the salvage and restitution efforts that were realized in the Offenbach Archival Depot constituting a transitional Jewish “lieux de mémoire” of a very specific character. In the special case of Lucy Dawidowicz I will argue that the experience of being in Offenbach surrounded by over five million books and ritual objects had a deep impact on her lifelong commitment to the history and memory of East European Jewry.

Elisabeth Gallas: currently affiliated with Simon Dubnow Institute for Jewish History and Culture at Leipzig University, I am finishing my dissertation project dealing with early processes of Jewish cultural restitution in the postwar period. My work combines the study of the history of Jewish activities in the restitution of Jewish cultural treasures in Europe with the intellectual history of the personalities involved, such as Hannah Arendt, Lucy Dawidowicz and Gershom Scholem. I studied German Literature und Cultural Studies at Leipzig and Copenhagen University.

Stefan Ionescu (Clark University, USA)

Reversing aryanisation in Bucharest: restitution of Jewish properties in the aftermath of the Antonescu Regime, 1944-1945

After a putsch toppled Antonescu (August 1944), Romania abandoned the Axis and joined the Allies. The new regime abolished Romanization legislation and Jewish survivors expected an end to antisemitic policies, restoration of rights, and restitution of properties ‘Aryanised’ (Romanized) under Antonescu (1940-1944). Yet, the restitution process was not fully implemented, due to political, technical, legal, and economic concerns that shaped post-war Romanian politics. Violent struggles between the communist “Popular Front” coalition and traditional historical parties inhibited the return of Jewish properties. Believing that restitution would transform beneficiaries of Romanization into enemies, political factions exploited the issue to preserve and enlarge their constituencies.

Recipients of Jewish property opposed the reversal of Romanization, considering the expropriations as fair cases of social justice threatened by the reemergence of “Jewish plutocrats” and occupying Soviets. Lack of political will was compounded by procedural difficulties, such as insufficient staff to implement the process and inaccurate records of Romanized properties. Nevertheless, Jewish survivors, who petitioned courts or
administrative bodies, succeeded in recovering some properties during the immediate post-
Antonescu years.

Land reforms (1945) brought new expropriations from ethnic-Germans, criminals of war,
absentees, and landlords owning more than 50 hectares. Following the communist takeover
(December 1947), wide-scale nationalization of property, targeted political enemies,
bourgeoisie, and kulaks. Many Jews faced seizure of their properties for the second time in a
decade.

My paper will examine the restitution of Jewish properties in the aftermath of the Antonescu
regime, focusing on the responses of political and social groups, individual profiteers, and
Jewish survivors.

**Stefan Ionescu** is currently a PhD candidate (ABD) at Strassler Center for Holocaust and
Genocide Studies, Department of History, Clark University, USA. He received his BA and MA
in law, Jewish studies, and modern European history from the University of Bucharest
(Romania) and Central European University of Budapest (Hungary). His most recent
publication is, “Implementing the Romanization of Employment in 1941 Bucharest:
Bureaucratic and Economic Sabotage of the ‘Aryanization’ of the Romanian Economy,”

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**Julia Landau (Ruhr-University in Bochum, Germany)**

**Forced labour, restitution and remembrance in Ukraine and Moldova**

During the struggle for compensation, former forced labourers had to tell and retell their life.
In the former Soviet Union, these personal histories came up after a long period of silence,
when these parts of the biography were seen as if not a taboo, then at least as problematic
‘grey’ spots. Beginning in the transitional period in the early 90s, old people were writing
letters to German, Ukrainian and Moldovan authorities – who were politicians as well as
journalists in newspapers. These letters tell us about the re-definition and reformation of
individual lives in a period of rapidly changing values. They can shed light on the harsh living
conditions of old people in Eastern Europe in the transformation time of the 1990s, when the
material and moral foundations of a long life in the Soviet Union were posed into question.

The paper asks for the outcome and the meanings of compensation processes in different
political and international circumstances. How did evolving claiming practices influence the
individual and his or her “life-story”? What did or did not tell individual letter-writers while
claiming compensation for forced labour in Germany or the occupied territories? How did
they try to make fit their heterogeneous historical experiences to the necessities of the
compensation process? From a broader viewpoint, the circumstances of this letter-writing, as
well as the form and function of the letters will be analyzed: It will be asked, which meanings
are inscribed in these letters - referring to rapidly changing memory cultures both in Ukraine
and Moldova.

**Julia Landau** has finished her PhD in Eastern European History in 2009 with the thesis “We
build the great Kuzbass! – Everyday life of miners under Stalinist rule 1921–1941” at the
Ruhr-University in Bochum. She graduated at the Albert-Ludwigs-University in Freiburg,
Brsg., in History, Slavic Philology and Public Law. Currently she is writing about
compensation payments to former forced labourers in Ukraine and Moldova within the
framework of the project “The federal foundation (EVZ) and the compensation payments to
former forced and slave labourers”, directed by Prof. Dr. Constantin Goschler, chair of New
Modern History at Ruhr-University Bochum; she is also coordinating this project.
‘[W]e have made our hardest efforts to cooperate with the local Jewish organizations. We have never met with any friendly attitude and, particularly in the most recent past, it became obvious that there is not the slightest inclination on the other side to work out a workable compromise between naturally different attitudes’. (Dr Max Joseph, President, Association of Refugees/New Citizens, 1954.)

In 1933 Australian Jewry was a small, isolated community of a mere 23,000 Jews. Between 1933 and 1960 the community more than doubled in size to 58,000 Jews, largely as a result of post-war survivor migration. Australia has the highest percentage of Holocaust survivors on a pro rata population basis of any other country outside of Israel. In the early 1950s restitution was a burning issue for Australian Jewry and has remained on the community agenda since then.

When the concept of German compensation was first raised, many problems arose. First there was the issue of whether the Australian Jewish community should be involved in what some claimed was ‘blood money’. Then the question of communal representation emerged. The former refugees, led by Dr Max Joseph, President of the Australian Association of Refugees (later renamed ‘New Citizens’), claimed to be the only legitimate spokespeople on restitution matters. The Council for German Jewry, representing the pre-war refugees who arrived in the United Kingdom before the outbreak of World War II, supported Dr Joseph’s claim. However, the official roof body of Australian Jewry, the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ) bluntly rejected this claim, creating a bitter divide. In the end, the Claims Conference leadership accepted the arguments of the ECAJ, resulting in the demise of the Association of New Citizens. The Claims Conference funds assisted in the absorption of 25,000 Holocaust survivors into Australia and the resultant growth of the community.

Suzanne D. Rutland (MA (Hons) PhD, Dip Ed, OAM) is Professor in the Department of Hebrew, Biblical & Jewish Studies, University of Sydney. She has published widely on Australian Jewish history, as well as writing on the Shoah, Israel and Jewish education. Her latest books are The Jews in Australia (Cambridge University Press, 2005) and co-author with Sarah Rood of Nationality Stateless: Destination Australia (Melbourne: Jewish Museum of Australia and JDC, 2008). She received a government grant from the Australian Prime Ministers Centre for research on Australia and the campaign for Soviet Jewry and is writing a book on this topic with Australian Jewish journalist, Sam Lipski to be published by Scribe (Melbourne). In 2008 she received the Medal of the Order of Australia for services to Higher Jewish Education and interfaith dialogue.
Michael Fleming (Academy of Humanities and Economics in Łódź, Poland)

Time out of joint? Communist ascendancy in post-war Poland and enemies of the state

The consolidation of communist power in post-war Poland witnessed the incarceration, trial and not infrequent execution of those deemed to be enemies of the emerging state apparatus controlled by the Polish Workers' Party (PPR) and later the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR). In the first part of the paper I seek to examine the changing relationship between the British state, especially the Foreign Office, and the Polish underground during the communist takeover by focusing on the case of Witold Pilecki, member of the *Tajna Armia Polska* (TAP), and later the *Armia Krajowa* (AK) who was imprisoned and executed by the communist regime in 1948. Pilecki achieved posthumous recognition as a 'volunteer' for Auschwitz and as a key organiser of a resistance network in the camp. An analysis of Pilecki's story allows a fruitful exploration of British-Polish relations during a key period, and sheds light on the ways in which the British comprehended and responded to intelligence from Polish sources both during and after the war. In the second part of the paper I discuss the ways in which Pilecki's story has been repackaged in the on-going academic and political discussions on memory and the history of the communist takeover. The overall objective of the paper is to demonstrate that the binary oppositions of communist/non-communist, good Pole/bad Pole which too frequently frame many discussions on this period are insufficient and that a holistic approach which explores the complex relationships between local, regional, national and international elements is needed to enhance understanding of the communist ascendancy.

Michael Fleming lectures at the Academy of Humanities and Economics in Łódź, Poland and his research focuses on twentieth century Polish history and politics. His latest book is *Communism, Nationalism and Ethnicity in Poland, 1944-1950* published by Routledge.

Christopher Lash (Lazarski University Warsaw, Poland)

First the Nazis, then the Soviets: survivors of Nazi persecution in Poland’s ‘recovered lands’ 1945-48 – the case of Zielona Góra

The immediate aftermath of the Second World War in Europe was marked by the displacement of millions of the inhabitants of central and eastern Europe. The region witnessed the mass movement of national groups across newly erected borders, a process which altered territories forever. This paper looks at one of the major geographical sites of displacement, the Polish ‘Recovered lands’, gained from Germany as a result of post-war peace conferences. Here Germans were displaced to the rump German state and Poles moved in to take their place. Poles settled there from the lands of the pre-war Polish republic and returned from Germany after forced work and displaced persons and concentration camps. These movements created a melting pot in the ‘recovered lands’ as different groups jostled for position in the new post-war reality. My paper will focus on how groups touched by Nazi occupation policy in Poland rebuilt their lives in lands forged by displacement, with a specific focus on the Lower Silesian town of Zielona Góra. Using newly opened archives and drawing on interviews conducted with Poles who settled in Zielona Góra this paper analyses the effects of Nazi occupation policy on those who made the town their home. It illustrates the consequences of occupation including a decline in public morality, a readiness to accept authoritarian governance and ambivalent attitudes to Germans before their eventual resettlement. It argues that the ‘recovered lands’ provided Nazi survivors with both opportunities of a new start whilst simultaneously preventing a break with the past.
Christopher Lash: I am currently lecturing in European history at De Montfort university, where I run a third year undergraduate course on Twentieth century Polish history. My PhD thesis ‘Moving West: The Transfer of Eastern Poles to Post-Yalta Poland, Urban Reconstruction and Post-war Relief, 1944-8.’ was completed and defended in December 2010 at the University of Manchester under the supervision of Professor Peter Gatrell. I specialise in the modern history of Europe, with a specific focus on Poland and Central Europe. My wider research interests extend into the social and cultural history of war, nationalism, ethnic cleansing, migration, oral history and commemoration.

Paul McNamara (National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland)

Polish survivors of Nazi persecution as settlers in the Baltic ‘recovered territories’, 1945-1956

Next to the Jews, the Poles were the greatest ethnic group to be targeted by the Nazis. While many died, others survived horrific experiences in camps, forced labour, as well as being directly caught up in fighting. After the war, many of these people migrated to the Baltic ‘Recovered Territories’ between 1945 and 1956 as the Communist regime established control of postwar Poland. In a series of personal testimonies collected in 1957, Polish settlers give very frank and accurate accounts describing not only their persecution by the Nazis during the war itself, but the chaotic conditions awaiting near-destitute settlers, the expulsion of local Germans and the instability resulting from the presence of Soviet forces. In addition, they describe how, at the end of the war, Polish forced labourers suddenly found themselves in positions of great power over their former German masters.

Coming from Poland and beyond, and often pushed out by wartime destruction by both Nazi and Soviet rule, the settlers were drawn to the Baltic region by hopes of free land and homes, as well as social advancement. Thus, the testimonies record settlers’ memories of the westward movement of enormous numbers of people seeking to start new lives in a region of extreme demographic, social and political flux, during which they often referred to themselves as ‘pioneers’ travelling to ‘the Wild West’. Unfortunately, however, as another totalitarian regime began to take control of Poland, the persecution of these former victims of Nazi policies continued, albeit in a different form.

Paul McNamara is an IRCHSS PhD scholar at the Dept. of History, NUI, Galway studying the ‘Recovered Territories’ of post-war Poland. His previous M.Litt. research on the League of Nations and Poland during the inter-war period was published as ‘Sean Lester, Poland and the Nazi Takeover of Danzig’, (Irish Academic Press, Dublin, 2009). Married to a Pole and having spent most of his career living and working in Poland, he is a fluent Polish speaker and enjoys working with Polish archive material from the 20th century.

Ewa Wiatr (University of Łódź, Poland)

Jewish cultural life in Łódź, 1945-1950

Łódź was often regarded as the informal capital of Poland. Here the main state offices were located, and writers, actors, scientists were tempted by empty houses and apartments. Łódź had not been destroyed during the war, and the city had lost large parts of the prewar population – Germans had been forced to leave, Jews – after four years in Łódź (Litzmannstadt) Ghetto had been sent to Auschwitz; only a small percent of them had survived. Although the city’s character had changed, Łódź was still attractive for many Jews who had survived in the Soviet Union, on the Aryan side or in the ghetto. After the war, Łódź became the largest urban center for Jews, but many of them stayed not for long. Others, attracted by the new political system, hoped to organize their life in Poland and thus became
very active in Jewish social, cultural and political organizations. The aim of my papers is to analyze cultural life organized by Jews in Lodz. In particular I will focus on the Association of Jewish Writers, Journalists and Artists, their wide range of publications and numerous collectives (kibbutzim). Others remarkable achievements of postwar Jewish culture in Lodz was the Jewish Theatre with the renowned Yiddish actress Ida Kamińska as director, performances of Dziagan and Schumacher as well as very successful film productions (Kinor). Based on testimonies, I will argue that it was most important for the surviving Jewish population to rebuild their shattered lives in Lodz again.

PANEL 11: Reception and resettlement (I)

Froukje Demant (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands)

Ambivalence and doubt: the social resettlement of Jewish survivors in the Dutch-German border region after World War II

After the defeat of Nazi Germany Jewish survivors had to rebuild their lives, both inside and outside Germany. German Jews had to find an answer to the questions of whether they could and wanted to stay in the country that had persecuted them. Could relations with former non-Jewish friends, neighbours and classmates be restored or was the gap between the Jewish survivors and their non-Jewish surroundings too deep? Jewish survivors in neighbouring countries had to answer the question how to deal with the German neighbour. This question was especially complex for survivors living in a border region. Could professional relations be established with Germany? And how to relate to former German friends?

In order to answer these questions I look at how Jewish survivors in the Dutch-German border region (Twente, the Grafschaft Bentheim and the Westmünsterland) rebuilt their social lives.

First, I compare the experiences at the Dutch and the German side of the border. Second, I study how both Jewish survivors and their non-Jewish surroundings perceived their relations. For this study, Dutch and German Jewish survivors and non-Jewish inhabitants of the Dutch-German border region have been interviewed. In addition, interviews with Jewish survivors from the Visual History Archive, ego documents and memoires are used.

Froukje Demant is a PhD-student at the Germany Institute in Amsterdam. She is working on a thesis on the daily contacts and interactions between Jews and non-Jews in the Dutch-German border region between 1930 and 1960. Before starting her PhD research she worked as a researcher on Islamic and right-wing radicalisation and deradicalisation at the University of Amsterdam and the Anne Frank House, Amsterdam.

Alice Freifeld (University of Florida, USA)

The seemier side of things: Jews and black marketeers in Hungary

Ten minutes after arriving in Budapest in February 1946, a Life Magazine reporter was offered two cameras, a Rolleiflex [sic] and a Leica, and two German pistols for American dollars. Budapest was "comparable only to the Berlin of 1919, where anything could be had but it took a wheelbarrow of marks to buy a loaf of bread," according to an American intelligence operative. The JDC brought in food for Jewish survivors. Hyperinflation in Hungary spiked faster and higher than even the hyperinflation of 1923 in Germany. Farmers profited from the inflation in food prices, and Jews, unlikely to gossip in the village, served as convenient middlemen. Amidst the death of the pengő, industrial employment returned to prewar levels in 1946; massive reconstruction projects were set in motion. A Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society volunteer called it the “free market.” The exchange rates were certainly favorable for payment of transfer visas and processing of Jews wishing to emigrate. This paper will investigate the links between black marketeering and the illegal traffic of individuals across the Hungarian-Austrian border to the Western zone. In the first instance Jews were fingered as the shadow capitalists, in the latter they were the consumers paying profiteers (usually provincials who blended into the border communities). As both operations shut down and the economy stabilized, Jews also thought they could successfully reintegrate into Hungarian society. About half of Hungary’s surviving Jews remained in Hungary into the Communist era.
Alice Freifeld is an Associate Professor of History at the University of Florida and affiliate faculty in Jewish Studies and the Center for European Studies. She is author of *Nationalism and the Crowd in Liberal Hungary, 1848-1914* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), recipient of the Barbara Jelavich book prize of the American Slavic Association (AAASS, now ASEES). She also co-edited *East Europe Reads Nietzsche*, with Peter Bergmann and Bernice Rosenthal. She received her Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley. She is writing a book on Hungarian Jewry, 1945-49 and has presented three previous papers at the Beyond camps and forced labour conference.

Anna Koch (New York University, USA)

**Liberation and then what? The experiences of Italian and German Jews at the end of WWII**

“I have to start my life over, but how and where should I begin?” this question raised by an Italian Jewish woman at the end of World War II, encapsulates the often troubling realization of Italian and German Jews of how difficult it would be to rebuild their lives. Having focused only on surviving for the last years, most had given little thought to the days “after.” But with the knowledge of freedom came the question of how and where to begin to recreate one’s life. Italian and German Jews evaluated the possibilities of rebuilding their lives in their country of birth very differently. In spite of the persecution under the Fascist regime, most Italian Jews expressed little doubt that Italy was home. In contrast, Jewish life in the land of murderers seemed inconceivable to most German Jews and only very few decided to return to or stay in Germany. This paper will shed light on how Italian and German Jews experienced the liberation and on the very different ways in which they perceived the possibility of living in postwar Italy and Germany. I argue that in addition to the differences in wartime experience, the distinct Italian and German postwar narratives impacted how they evaluated their options. In assessing the similarities and differences between Italian and German Jews’ experiences in the immediate aftermath of the liberation, I will examine the roles that age, class, political conviction and gender played in their choices regarding where to rebuild their lives.

Anna Koch: I am a PhD student in the Department of Hebrew and Judaic Studies and Department of History at New York University. In 2008 I received an MA from Ludwig-Maximilians Universität in Munich. My Master’s thesis dealt with the German Jewish writer Hermann Kesten and his relationship with Germany after 1945. Currently at NYU I am working with Professors Marion Kaplan and Mary Nolan on a dissertation about the reconstruction of Jewish lives in Italy and Germany after WWII.

Dalia Ofer (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel)

**Israel in the Eyes of Holocaust Survivors, 1948-1967**

The paper is part of a research project under the auspices of the Diana Zborowski Center for the Study of the Aftermath of the Shoah in Yad Vashem. It studies the perspectives and perception of Holocaust survivors who were part of the large waves of immigration to the new state during 1948-1951 looked at Israel and responded to its changing realities.

To date, most of the research centered on the absorption of the immigrants in Israel including the survivors. For survivors the issue of the memory of the Holocaust played a central role. Research, however, did not study Israel from the perspective of the survivors.

One hypothesis of the research, which is founded on the research of She’erith Hapletah in Occupied Germany is that the Holocaust survivors’ tragic experience during the war and in its aftermath helped to form their personal lives and, thus, also impacted their approach to
their immigration to Israel. However, how these sensibilities were manifested in their experiences as immigrants and how it colored their encounter with the harsh realities of the first decade statehood has yet to be studied. What was the vision of Israel in the eyes of the survivors and how did they view the future of the Jewish people? How did they view their role in planning their professional future and family life in Israel? These are some of the major questions posed in the study.

The paper will lay out a conceptual framework for an analysis that would relate to survivors who went through different experiences during the Holocaust. It will present a number of examples relating to adolescents and adults who experienced Israel in a variety of ways.

Richard Boffey (University of Leeds, UK)

Contesting memory and negotiating the past at the Gedenkstätte und Museum Sachsenhausen since German reunification

This paper deals with the highly complex and multivalent memories of Nazi persecution in post-reunification Germany through the prism of the Sachsenhausen Museum and Memorial. Though representative of a broader Holocaust complex, Sachsenhausen’s pre-war legacy has been overlaid by its subsequent use as Soviet internment camp (Speziallager) and highly stylized political monument to the anti-fascist resistance fighters of the German Democratic Republic. Scholarship dealing with commemorative responses to this ‘double past’ has fruitfully demonstrated the use of concentration camp memorials in identity politics, but it tends to ignore the everyday memory work taking place in relation to the sites. The aim here is to investigate patterns of confronting Sachsenhausen’s history on a number of overlapping social planes, and in doing so revise over-simplistic interpretative models couched in terms of ‘collective memory’.

Through an analysis of discourses emerging from the site that combines ethnography with the study of the exhibition content, local marketing and tourist media, press reportage, survivor association publications and the research output of site staff, the paper takes an integrative look at the various memory contests that have defined remembrance of Sachsenhausen since reunification. Whether encoding and decoding narratives of the site’s history on site, negotiating geographical proximity in the locale or deliberating pedagogical strategies at institutional level, the picture of memory that emerges is particularly dynamic and determined by much more than simply the ‘social frameworks’ of memory (Maurice Halbwachs).

Richard Boffey is a doctoral student in the Germanic, Russian and Slavonic Studies department at the University of Leeds. His current research, funded by the AHRC, explores memory of concentration camp memorials in former East Germany since reunification. In 2009-10, supported by an institutional scholarship, he completed an MA by Research dealing with recent memory contests emerging from the Sachsenhausen site. His research interests include memorials in post-war Germany, memory theory, and processes of coming to terms with the Nazi past in both German states after 1945 as well as in post-reunification Germany.

Manfred Deselaers (Centre for Dialogue and Prayer in Oswiecim, Poland)

Remembrance and memorials: the significance of perspectives for a theology after Auschwitz

If German, Polish or Israeli perspective – it makes a difference; the relevance for dialogue. Questions about faith result from experiences that cause doubt. Interpreting an experience always means relating it to other experiences and to the meaning that these experiences have for our understanding of the world. The same experience will be perceived in a different way if seen in a different context.

The questions that arise due to the shocking new experience of Auschwitz are directly related to the varying referential contexts of the enquirer. Often the relationship to “Auschwitz” and the context of faith vary greatly between the enquirer and the respondent. It is therefore very easy to misunderstand one another.

I will outline three theological perspectives of Auschwitz: those of Polish Catholics, religious Jews and Christian Germans. It should above all become clear how strong the respective personal backgrounds are and therefore also the differences, which unconsciously become
part of the dialogue about Auschwitz. I will go into more detail concerning the Polish perspective as it is the least known of the three.

The effort of a theology after Auschwitz should take into account the experience that is being related to ("Auschwitz") and the religious context from which both the query of the enquirer and the reply of the respondent arise. I will ask what the consequences of these differences are for the process of dialogue.

Rev. Dr. Manfred Deselaers - Pastor of the German Bishops Conference at the Centre for Dialogue and Prayer in Oswiecim. He is part of the Krakow Foundation Centre for Dialogue and Prayer since 1996. He takes care of the educational aspects in the Centre’s education department. As a lecturer he concentrates on the religious meaning of the Memory of Auschwitz.

Jens-Christian Hansen (Odense M University of Southern Denmark)

Not a place for tourists: the difficult history of the Husum-Schwesing Concentration Camp Memorial

During the autumn of 1944, up to 2500 prisoners from the Husum-Schwesing concentration camp dug tank ditches into the Northfrisian marsh along the German coastline. The camp was closed month before the war ended and it was used as a refugee-camp for Germans from the occupied Eastern territories after the war. Despite the fact that almost 300 prisoners died during the period the camp existed, the local population ignored this aspect of history for almost 40 years. In 1983, a group of local citizens belonging to the post-war generation invited surviving prisoners from Denmark to a meeting in Husum. Despite the positive intentions the conception of the memorial became a struggle between different authorities, landowners and worried citizens, which over the next years resulted in various debates and rather small achievements. After more than 28 years, the transformation of the former campsite to a memorial has still not come to an end. This proposed paper will discuss important stages in the historical development of the Husum-Schwesing concentration camp memorial. Since a crucial part of the debate has centered on the design of the memorial, the theoretical framework will be based on James Young’s definition of Counter-Monuments and Aleida Assmann’s thoughts on places as bearers of memory. The intention is to show how victims’ remembrance and public debate influence the creation of a memorial in the case of Husum-Schwesing.

Jens-Christian Hansen, since August 2009 PhD student at the University of Southern Denmark. 2007-2009: Assistant at the Association of Museums in the municipality of Brønderslev, Denmark. MA in History at the University of Southern Denmark, 2008. Research interests: Thesis on the Neuengamme-subcamp Porta-Westphalica Barkhausen: Danish prisoners within the power structures of a concentration camp. In preparation: Dissertation about the Neuengamme-subcamp Husum-Schwesing. Key topics are the history of the camp, legal consequences for the perpetrators and post-war remembrance.

Jody Russell Manning (Clark University, USA)

Post-war societies and memorials: tension between local and global memory in Dachau and Oświęcim

Polish native Klemens Krzemień and his family were expelled from the village of Brzezinka in 1941. Relocated across town, their home was dismantled to build the Auschwitz II: Birkenau complex. During forced labor, he was soon charged with sabotage, arrested, and incarcerated in the Auschwitz complex. Attempting to live an ordinary life postwar, he returned to Brzezinka and built a home and raised a family. Krzemień admitted that while
"images of that time do not fade quickly," Brzezinka remained his hometown. "This is my home. Moreover, postwar, life just went on." While various motivations determine life around memorials, how does an individual or community balance history, memory, and symbolism? The Nazi era overshadows the postwar history in Oświęcim, just as in the city of Dachau. Western belief often holds that living in "Auschwitz" or Dachau is all but unimaginable. The majority of museum visitors spend few hours touring the two most visited memorial sites without concern for the individuals or societies who negotiate with the past daily. The inhabitants of Oświęcim and Dachau have developed complex points of view - their palimpsest of memory is in continual flux, with recurrent push/pull to hold on to or make distance from historical memory. How does trans-generational trauma, memory, and stigmatization play out on the local level in the communities of Dachau and Oświęcim? This paper explores the historical development and variation between local and global memory about symbolic Auschwitz and Dachau, as well as explicates the tension that stems from Holocaust memorialization.

**Jody Russell Manning** is a PhD candidate in Holocaust and Genocide Studies at Clark University. Having worked with the International Center for Education about Auschwitz and the Holocaust at the Auschwitz–Birkenau State Museum, he is currently spending the course of his 2010–11 Fulbright Grant affiliated with Jagiellonian University. His recent publications, "The Palimpsest of Memory: Auschwitz and Oświęcim," in *Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History* (forthcoming), and "'Negotiating with the Dead': On the Past of Auschwitz and the Present of Oświęcim," in *Psychology and Society* (2010), explore the continuing ramifications of genocide for contemporary society.
The archive of the International Tracing Service (ITS), which was opened recently as a result of an international campaign led by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, contains over 100 million pages of records related to the wartime and postwar fates of more than 17 million individuals. These documents include: prewar and wartime prisoner arrest, incarceration, and transport records from German concentration camp and police authorities; prewar, wartime, and postwar records concerning foreign and forced labor in the German war economy, generated by the Nazi state, individual German firms, and postwar Allied occupation authorities; and postwar Allied records of individuals and families seeking Displaced Persons (DP) status and emigration. The ITS collection constitutes a unique new resource for scholarship relating to the Holocaust and its aftermath. During a plenary session at the 2009 Beyond Camps and Forced Labour conference, Center scholars charted possible research avenues opened by the ITS material.

**Suzanne Brown-Fleming (USHMM, Washington DC, USA)**

“Wiedervereinigung Ersehend”: the Holocaust fate of the Müller and Gittler families

Recently, Holocaust scholars have begun to recognize the dignity and value of reconstructing the experiences of heretofore forgotten German Jewish individuals and families at the micro level. The availability of new sources such as the records of the ITS, especially when combined with other sources such as oral testimonies and personal papers, allow for a fresh look at the day-to-day challenges, responses and ultimate fates of German Jews who could not emigrate. This paper reconstructs the experiences of two German Jewish families. Two sets of family letters, the first set written by Harry and Theresia Müller between April 1939 and September 1941, and the second set written by various members of the Gittler family between 1938 and 1941, allow for a partial reconstruction of the daily lives of these two families, related by marriage. Augmented by newly available ITS documentation, these sources allow the scholar to follow their struggle to emigrate and the deadly reality that they faced. These families actively pursued emigration and did not cease in their efforts despite repeated setbacks and difficulties. They placed great value on their children and reuniting with them. This case study poignantly demonstrates the trajectory described so eloquently by Marion Kaplan: their “social death;” expropriation; impoverishment; and the pain of losing children to emigration, tempered with the pleasure of knowing that their children were out of reach of the long Nazi arm.

**Suzanne Brown-Fleming** is Director of Visiting Scholar Programs at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum’s Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies and a former Center Fellow (2000). Her book, *The Holocaust and Catholic Conscience: Cardinal Aloisius Muench and the Guilt Question in Germany* was published in 2006 by the University of Notre Dame Press in association with the Museum. Her book was among the 2006 University Press Books Selected for Public and Secondary School Libraries by the American Association of University Presses (Category of Religion). Her book chapters, essays, and articles have appeared in the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, the *Lessons and Legacies* volumes, H-German daily internet forum, and the scholarly journals *Religion in Eastern Europe*, *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, and *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte* (Contemporary Church History). Dr. Brown-Fleming’s current research project, “Eugenio Pacelli and the German Catholic Bishops, 1933-1939,” is a study of the Vatican nunciature in Munich and Berlin during the Weimar Republic (1918-1933) and the period of Eugenio Pacelli’s tenure as Secretary of State (1930-1939). Her study is based on the Vatican Secret Archive materials opened to researchers in Rome in February 2003. Currently, the Museum holds the only microfilm copy of these records worldwide.
Eric C. Steinhart (USHMM, Washington DC, USA)

Displaced by war and conquest: new findings on DPs from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union

In recent years, scholars of immediate postwar Europe, such as Atina Grossmann, Anna Holián, Tamar Lewinsky, Adam Seipp, and Tara Zahra, have examined the experiences of DPs in Central and Southern Europe. This nuanced body of research provides a variegated portrait of the frequently tumultuous interactions between Jewish and non-Jewish refugees as well as the complex relationships between refugees, local residents, and Allied occupation forces. It has also highlighted how perpetually evolving categories, such as ethnicity and gender, shaped the lives of refugees. Using the massive collection of previously unexplored DP records contained in the ITS archive, this paper builds on these valuable insights by exploring the experiences of postwar refugees from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Sampling the ITS collection’s more than 300,000 refugee applications for DP status dating from the late 1940s to the early 1950s from an array of host countries, it examines how Allied and later United Nations personnel evaluated applicants and the ways in which would-be DPs navigated these classifications. While many refugees articulated compelling reasons for leaving their homelands, including postwar anti-Semitism and fear of communist repression, a substantial number of potential immigrants adapted their identities and wartime histories to secure DP status. In some instances, refugees deployed these biographical reformulations to escape their former tormentors. In other cases, former tormentors adapted their biographies to evade responsibility for their crimes.

Eric Steinhart serves as the Curt C. and Else Silberman International Tracing Service Research Scholar at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum’s Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies. He recently defended his dissertation in the Department of History at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill under the direction of Professor Christopher R. Browning. Dr. Steinhart is the recipient of a number of awards, including fellowships from the German Academic Exchange Service, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, the Conference of Jewish Material Claims against Germany, and the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation. He has published articles on German occupation policy and the Holocaust in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in the journals Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Central European History, and Holocaust Studies. Dr. Steinhart is currently preparing a book manuscript tentatively titled “Murder on the Black Sea: Nazi Rule, the Holocaust, and the Invention of „Germanness” in Ukraine, 1941-1944.”

The participation of the staff of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum’s Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies is made possible by the generous support of Betty-Jean and David Bavar.

Jennifer L. Rodgers (University of Pennsylvania, USA)

Strictly neutral? The International Tracing Service and the victims of National Socialism in the cold war

In August of 1952, Hugh Elbot, the director of the International Tracing Service (ITS), celebrated the organization’s impartial aid to the victims of National Socialism. His address noted that the humanitarian agency established by the Allies to locate civilians missing from the recent war served everyone, living or dead, irrespective of nationality or creed. But this contradicted earlier statements Elbot made about the future of the ITS and its possible transfer to the Red Cross. His correspondence to the Allied High Commission characterized such plans as unfeasible because Geneva was “strictly neutral” and thus would suspend strict information control policies towards the Soviet Union and Eastern Block.
The tracing service received recent attention because of eventually successful efforts to reopen its archive for the public. Because of extended inaccessibility, historical and popular perceptions conceptualize the organization within the frame of the Holocaust and Holocaust memory. However, situating the ITS within the broader historical context demonstrates how the tension in Elbott’s comments developed, and thereby shines a light on the ways in which the agency was a contested site of the Cold War and the politics of memory.

My paper examines the changing relationship of the ITS to the victims of Nazism during the Cold War. The geopolitical situation after 1948 significantly altered original mandate to mitigate Communist influence and rehabilitate West Germany. Control over the archive supported the West’s political and cultural agendas, and these considerations impacted how the agency served those persons the Allies originally obligated it to help.

Jennifer L. Rodgers: I received my B.A. in German and European History from American University, and continued my Master's studies there. Before graduate school, I held research positions for the Presidential Commission on Holocaust Assets, the German Historical Institute, and at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, where I directed two research projects. I began Penn’s doctoral program in 2008, where I also have served as a TA and president of the graduate group Clio. My dissertation, the first study of the International Tracing Service, explores the ways in which the West instrumentalized the agency to promote and legitimize political and cultural agendas.

Susanne Urban (ITS, Bad Arolsen, Germany)

ITS’ Questionnaires sent out to DPs – early testimonies

The International Tracing Service (ITS) holds collections on the Death Marches which were gathered by the Allied after 1945. It was a program named “Attempted Identification of unknown dead” and the aim was to collect information about routes, dead and murdered and on mass and single graves through questionnaires to mayors and other representatives, field teams and systematic evaluations. The program was officially closed in 1951, although unfinished. A sideway of this Program were questionnaires which were sent out to survivors (mainly) in DP-Camps. In case survivors or their lawyers asked the ITS for incarceration certificates or other documents proving their persecution under the Nazi-Regime either for compensation or matters of emigration, the ITS sent out questionnaires. The ITS holds ca. 2,500 such questionnaires, ca 400-500 are extracted for this research. The forms were standardized and contained information e.g. on camps, guards, Death Marches, liberation. Some forms were filled out matter-of-fact, some survivors wrote highly emotional, some ignored the form and sent letters and reports, handwritten and not alongside the formal questions they were asked. The questionnaires can be classified as early (mainly 1947-1950) testimonies. The nuances which can be read in the subtext speak about loss and trauma, the will to forget or the wish to tell the own suffering en detail to “the world”. There are clear appeals formulated as well as never ending hope to be reunited with beloved ones. The research focuses on a) the program itself, b) the forms itself – structures of remembrance and mentalities: i) description of what the survivors experienced in such forms – what do they remember? ii) How do they insert additional information? iii) Do different victims’ groups remember different? The materials deposited in Bad Arolsen are for a large part to date unknown documents now made available for research. The ITS has launched in 2010 an international programme to work on the material on Death Marches.

Dr. Susanne Urban has done her Ph.D. in 2000 on “Central-Verein and its strategies regarding Jewish self-defence against Antisemitism between 1893 and 1938” at Moses-Mendelssohn-Centre/ University Potsdam. Since May 2009 she is Head of Historical Research at the International Tracing Service (ITS) in Bad Arolsen, Germany. Before then she was employed e.g. at the Jewish Museum Frankfurt in the Exhibitions and Educational Department. In 2004 she was Fellow Researcher at Yad Vashem’s Research Institute and
afterwards up to 2009 employed in the Yad Vashem Educational Department. Her recent research focuses on the Death Marches and Displaced Persons. Mrs Urban has published e.g. on topics such as the Bricha, Youth Aliyah and Anti-Semitism.
PANEL 14: Refugees and émigrés in the reconstruction process

Patricia Kollander (Florida Atlantic University, USA)

Refugees from Hitler transformed: German émigrés in the U.S. army during World War II

More than fourteen thousand men who fought in the U.S. armed forces in World War II were recent émigrés from Germany who had not yet become U.S. citizens. Most were Jews who were directly threatened by the Nazi anti-Semitic policies and practices. But many others left because the Nazis discriminated against non-Jews who had one or more Jewish grandparents. Another group of German émigrés who did not fall under the jurisdiction of any of the anti-Semitic legislation left because of their moral or political opposition to the Hitler regime. Although their backgrounds and extent of vulnerability to Nazi persecution varied, what they all had in common was a desire to join the U.S. army to defeat Nazism.

This paper, based on published and unpublished wartime memoirs of several émigrés, will examine their heretofore untold story of survival, and their unique contributions to the war effort. As recent immigrants from Germany, the émigrés were more intimately connected with the German way of life than their American counterparts. This in turn enabled them to do their various jobs---interpreting German documents, interrogating prisoners of war, ferreting out war criminals and administering the occupation—more efficiently and rapidly than their American counterparts. Their service enabled them to contribute to the defeat of Nazism, and it also allowed them to complete the transition from being victims of Nazism to being victors over Nazism.

Dr. Patricia Kollander received her Ph.D from Brown University, and is Professor of History at Florida Atlantic University, where she teaches courses in modern European history. Her publications include Frederick III: Germany's Liberal Emperor (Greenwood Press, 1995), and “I Must be a Part of this War”: A German-American's Fight against Hitler and Nazism (Fordham University Press, 2005), along with several articles and book chapters. She is currently examining the experiences of German-born émigrés who fought in the U.S. army during World War II.

Benjamin Lapp (Montclair State University, New Jersey, USA)

The newspaper Aufbau and the politics of German-Jewish identity, 1939-1955

How was German Jewish identity affected by the experience of persecution and exile? I propose to contribute a paper on the circle of German-Jewish refugees around the highly influential and widely read newspaper Aufbau, 1939-1955. I will argue that the flight from the Nazi dictatorship and the attempt to find a new homeland in the United States led to a radical “reconstruction” of the notion of German-Jewish identity in an American context. The deep identification of German Jews with Germany and German culture was transformed into a “hybrid” identity: Jewish/American/German. The commitment to Bildung and liberal values emphasized by George Mosse in his important monograph German Jews beyond Judaism (1997) remained: but it became disconnected from any identification with the German nation. At the same time, refugee status also brought with it profound insecurities. While embracing American liberal values, reaching out to the American Jewish community, and expressing a deep appreciation to the United States for providing refuge, the editorials of the newspaper suggest an underlying anxiety about the new homeland with the postwar onset of the Cold War and McCarthyism. After the Holocaust, the German Jewish refugees could never feel entirely “at home.” My research will be informed by the newspaper itself, supplemented by the personal papers of Aufbau journalists such as Manfred George, Kurt Kersten and Ludwig Marcuse.
Benjamin Lapp, Associate Professor of History at Montclair State University, New Jersey, I am the author of Revolution from the Right: Politics, Class and the Rise of Nazism in Saxony, 1919-1933 (Leiden and Boston, 1997), the co-editor of Rebirth of a Culture: Jewish Identity and Jewish Writing in Germany and Austria Today (New York and Oxford, 2008) as well as various articles on modern German and Jewish history.

Michaela Raggam-Blesch (University of Graz, Austria)

"If the woman fails, often the whole family is lost." The ‘new beginnings’ of Jewish refugee families from Nazi Germany and Austria in American exile

Following the Nazi seizure of power and the rapid onset of a systematic policy of persecution, North America, and especially the U.S., became a prime destination for Jewish refugees fleeing Nazi-Germany and Austria. However, immigration to the U.S. was regulated by an elaborate quota system which limited the total number of refugees. Overall, around 29,000 Austrian Jews succeeded in escaping to North America (USA).

After arriving “into safety”, the refugees, often barely speaking English, encountered a number of challenges in making a living and adapting to the American culture. At the same time, there was a reversal of traditional gender roles taking place. Most job openings during the Depression were in low-paying occupations in the fields of domestic service and textile industry that advertised mainly for women. Women therefore often took on the role of the breadwinner, which was not without consequences for the relationship between men and women in refugee families. At the same time women often remained in unskilled positions supporting their husbands, who in the meantime worked towards regaining their professional qualifications.

This paper, based on autobiographic sources and exile newspaper articles, will explore how the exile experience shaped the relationship between Jewish men and women and whether a democratization of traditional gender roles indeed took place as a result of an economic role reversal in the United States.

Michaela Raggam-Blesch, PhD at the Karl-Franzens University of Graz (Austria), is an associate at the Institute of Culture Studies and the History of Theater (IKT) at the Austrian Academy of Sciences with a research project on the “Topography of the Shoah in Vienna”. From 1999-2003 she lived in New York, where she worked for the Leo Baeck Institute and was among the first fellows of the Center for Jewish History Fellowship in 2002. Her dissertation on Jewish women in Vienna was awarded a doctoral scholarship by the Austrian Academy of Sciences and was published by Studienverlag in 2008.

Andrea Strutz (University of Graz, Austria)

A long and winding road to Canada: Austrian Jewish refugees and their impact on Canadian modernization

After Austria’s “Anschluss” to Nazi Germany in 1938, roughly 130,000 Austrian Jews managed to flee to all continents in order to save their lives. However, in the course of their escape only a handful of Austrian Jews found refuge in Canada. To put it simple, the Canadian government actively restricted Jewish immigration from Nazi Germany due to anti-Semitic attitudes and admitted just about 4,000 of them.

But several Austrian Jews arrived in Canada as “friendly enemy aliens” during World War II. The reason behind was that in the phoney war period the British government alleged the existence of a fifth column and therefore interned German nationals residing in the UK. This also concerned Jewish refugees who sought asylum in the United Kingdom in order to
escape from Nazi Germany. In July 1940, however, the British government deported several thousand German prisoners of war and about 2,300 civilian internees to Canada; amongst them many Jewish refugees. They became interned again overseas, but after the release from the Canadian camps in 1941/42 quite a few of the Austrian refugees decided to stay in Canada instead of going back to Great Britain.

A number of Austrian Holocaust survivors, who had found refuge in places such as Palestine/Israel, Great Britain, or China/Shanghai, resettled to Canada after 1945. Partially, their motives overlapped with main causes of the massive post-1945 immigration to Canada namely economic reasons and job opportunities; other motivations were marriage or family reunion. Some Austrian refugees moved to Canada because they could not remain in their asylum country as for instance those who survived in the Shanghai ghetto. Altogether, Canada opened its doors in the 1950s and 1960s to an estimated influx of 40,000 Holocaust survivors.

My paper will illustrate the winding ways of Austrian Holocaust survivors to Canada from 1938 up to the 1960s, but main attention will be given to certain aspects of the immigration process of Austrian refugees into the Canadian society and culture by focusing on individual experiences through oral histories (e.g. dealing with anti-Semitism). In particular, substantial contributions of Austrian Holocaust survivors to the Canadian socio-economic life as well as to scientific research, particularly in physics and computer sciences, will be discussed.

Andrea Strutz, senior researcher at the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for History of Society and Culture (History Cluster) and lecturer at the History Institute/Contemporary History at the University of Graz, Austria. Main research interests: Migration, Jewish displacement, National Socialism, restitution matters, memory, oral and video history. Her current research is about Jewish and non-Jewish Austrian migration to Canada in the period from 1938 up to 1970.
During World War II around one million foreign labourers were taken to today's Austria and forced to work in nearly each sector of the wartime economy. The majority of them decided or – in the case of POWs and foreign labourers from the Soviet Union – was forced to return to their home countries after their liberation. Some of them also emigrated to other countries, primarily to the USA or to Great Britain. And some decided to stay in Austria and to start a new life. The proposed presentation will focus on the motives, the integration of these former foreign forced labourers and their fate in postwar Austria. In this context it shall be analysed under what circumstances these people chose to stay in the country of their former forced labour employment. What role had their social and working conditions played in this decision process during the war? How helpful or discouraging were the various DP-administrations of the four occupation powers and the Austrian Government? What were the major problems these persons were confronted with during their social and economic integration into Austrian postwar society. The proposed presentation plans to analyse these question on the base of archival material and several individual biographies and will thus give an overview over this so far hardly examined field of research.

Dieter Bacher, Mag., studied history and slavic studies (Russian) at the University of Graz from 2000 to 2005. Currently he is working on his PhD dissertation. He has been a research fellow of the Ludwig Boltzmann-Institute for Research of War-Consequences, Graz, since 2006, where he has participated in several research projects on forced labour in Austria and intelligence services in the Cold War. Currently he is coordinating the research project „Forced labourers in Austria from 1939 to 1945“ that analyses the materials of the former „Österreichischer Versöhnungsfonds“ (ÖVF).

Julia Maspero (Paris I University, France)

Consequences of Ukrainian and Baltic DPs presence in French Zones in Germany and Austria, 1945-1955

This paper will focus on the application in the French occupation Zones in Germany and Austria of the French-Soviet repatriation agreement (June 1945) – stipulating that Soviets and French citizens on French and Soviet territories had to be repatriated – and its consequences on Displaced Persons destiny and on French-Soviet relationships of early Cold War.

1. The Soviet politic toward Ukrainian and Baltic DPs repatriation from French zones and its impact on their destiny. Because of political and territorial changes that occurred in Europe during WWII, Ukrainian and Baltic DPs were considered as Soviets and were therefore forced to repatriation. Viewing their unwillingness to do so, Moscow started a propaganda describing them as Nazis collaborators (SS Galicia…), drawing on February 1946 UNs resolution (war criminals repatriation). Facing this pressure, DPs didn't have many ways to escape repatriation; some committed suicide. To answer to the collaborations accusations, they explained their national independence goals and built therefore their WWII memory.

2. The French politic toward this repatriation issue and its consequences on DPs and French society. If Americans refused to force DPs to repatriation, French were less liberal. They had specific relations with Moscow (De Gaulle’s politic, Communists in the Government) and were worried by the return of Alsatians-Lorrains captured as Germans by Soviets. Moscow blackmailed Paris: if French didn't repatriate all Ukrainians and Balts, Alsatians-Lorrains
would be kept prisoners. Soviets also threatened to block families pilgrimage in Mauthausen and French missions looking for graves and dead soldiers in Soviet territories. But these rights were essential for the French society to start grieving.

Since 2008, Julia Maspero has been a Ph.D. student at Paris I University, working on Displaced Persons in the French Zones in Germany and Austria, 1945-1955. She has a scholarship from the French Ministry of Defence. She participated in several international conferences/workshops (Ukrainian DPs, Jewish DPs, relationships between Germans and DPs) and published three articles in French scientific reviews (the DPs issue in French-Polish relationships, the discovery of the DPs question by French Army (March-May 1945)). Her fourth year essay was on Polish Jews who emigrated in France (1945-1951). She received the International Relations Duroselle Prize for her M.A. on DPs.

Tatsiana Vaitulevich (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, Germany)

Coming to terms with the past: forced labourers, collective and individual memories in Dutch and Belarusian post-war societies

I would like to present the first results of my Ph.D. project entitled “Coming to Terms with the Past: Forced Labourers. Collective and Individual Memories in Dutch and Belarusian Postwar Societies”.

In my dissertation I focus on the reception and treatment of forced labourers returning from Germany to the Netherlands and to Belarus. Apart from looking at how former forced labourers were perceived and received in their societies, and how their story was manipulated for political purposes, I am also interested in how they themselves felt, and how relationships between husbands and wives, and parents and children, were affected by the experience of the war in both societies. Unlike most studies in this era to date, which have only focused on political discourse, administrative action and statistical trends, this research will draw on interviews with former forced labourers, diaries and other types of personal testimonies in order to explore their experience in both public and private spheres.

The comparative approach helps to bring into sharper focus the achievements and developments of both societies in the postwar period. While, clearly, the Netherlands and Belarus faced unique challenges during this time, my research also suggests that there is a similar pattern of development with regard to public representation of the past as well as certain individual experiences. Thus, it revises the overall picture of postwar Europe by pointing to much-neglected similarities as well as the much-discussed considerable differences.

Tatsiana Vaitulevich M.A. After studying Dutch and International Relations in Minsk and Antwerp, I worked for two years in the memorial site Augustaschacht near Osnabrueck, Germany. Afterwards I graduated from Jacobs University Bremen, M.A. in Humanities (History major) with the thesis on the return of former forced labourers deployed in Germany during WWII to the Netherlands. I extended my research into a comparative Ph.D. project (Netherlands, Belarus) and since March 2010 have been working on this topic at Georg-August-University of Goettingen under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Dirk Schumann.

Machteld Venken (Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium / Ludwig Boltzmann Institute, Vienna, Austria) and Piotr Filipkowski (Polish Academy of Sciences, Poland)

Making meaning of war experiences: Polish ex-combatants settled in Belgium and in Poland
The First Polish Armoured Division defended Poland when the Soviet Union invaded on 17 September 1939. One day later it left for Hungary, and when many of its soldiers had reached France, it was put into action for the defence in June 1940. Later, the division left for Great Britain, was reorganised and placed under the command of the Allies. In August 1944, it was put into action to liberate Northern France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany. Only part of the soldiers followed the division from its start, with many joining in after having escaped the Nazi army, having been captivated in labour or concentration camps. After the war numerous division soldiers settled in Western Europe. Others returned to their birth region although they feared prosecution by the Polish communist regime. On the basis of 35 recent interviews with ex-combatants settled in Belgium or Poland, the paper compares how different postwar memory cultures influenced the ex-combatants in making meaning of their war experiences. Special attention is given to the way the old men deal with the diversity of roles people ascribe to them nowadays. Often, their complex biographies facilitate being recognised both as a victim of Nazi persecution and as a hero of liberation, both as a betrayor of and a hero striving for Poland's freedom.

Machteld Venken holds an MA in Slavic Studies and a PhD in History from the Catholic University of Leuven (KULeuven, Belgium). Her dissertation focused on war memories of migrants from Central and Eastern Europe settled in Belgium during the Cold War. She recently started a new research project on children in two European borderlands: the Western Polish Provinces and the German speaking part of Belgium. Machteld was chief editor of the special issue Families, Foreignness, Migration. Now and Then (History of the Family 14 - 2009), and published among others: Wie Singen Kriegserlebnisse Sinn verleihen kann. Ostarbeiterinnen in Belgien der Nachkriegzeit in: Boesen, Elisabeth & Fabienne Lentz (eds.), Migration und Erinnerung, Konzepte und Methoden der Forschung, Lit Verlag, 2010.
Benito Bermejo (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Madrid, Spain)

The Spanish ex-deportees after 1945: a memory which remained in exile for decades

Most Spaniards who were deported to nazi camps had fought for the Spanish Republic in 1936-1939. After the invasion of France by the III Reich they became POW's. In august 1940 their situation changed: they had to be transferred to KZ Mauthausen, where almost 5000, about two thirds of them, died before 1942. After 1942 the other Spaniards were deported, having mostly been arrested in France because of their activity against the nazi occupants. Mauthausen was not anymore the only destination for them and they –in this phase women too- were transferred also to the other main nazi camps. In 1945 the Spanish survivors were about 2500 but very few among them could go back to Spain. Nowadays very few among those survivors are still alive, very significantly most of them living in France. Until 1975 (Franco’s death) most of the remembrance of the Spanish victims took place in France, thereafter it happened also in Spain increasingly but remaining relatively marginal until recent years. The first occasion in which a member of the Spanish government was present in the ceremonies commemorating the liberation of camp Mauthausen was 2005. It was also the time where members of the FEDIP, the main organization of Spanish survivors, decided to dissolve it and to close its headquarters in Paris, after having donated their archives to the Spanish state archives. My approach will use –among other sources- the following ones:

-over 80 interviews with Spanish survivors made during the last decade
-archival sources, mostly in Austria, France, and Spain, including press of the Spanish survivors, published until 2002. It provides also a visual dimension of the discussed questions.


Tim Grady (University of Chester, UK)

The survivors of the Holocaust and the complexities of the German-Jewish past

When asked what made him want to stay in Germany after 1945, Harry Goldstein, the first leader of Hamburg’s reformed Jewish community, replied that it was still his home. ‘I was a soldier for four-years in the First World War’, he added. Goldstein’s comments emphasised the particular dilemmas that faced the German-Jewish survivors of the Holocaust. Unlike the much larger group of Jewish displaced persons who saw their presence in Germany as temporary many German Jews retained a strong attachment to the land of their birth. Those who remained not only faced the difficult task of trying to rebuild the Jewish communities, but
also had to try to rethink their relationship to earlier periods of German-Jewish history. Nowhere was this more complex than with the remembrance of the 12,000 German Jews killed in the First World War.

This paper examines how German-Jewish survivors, who had suffered the effects of extreme nationalism and militarism, continued to remember the Jewish dead from an earlier war. In this respect, it focuses on three interrelated themes. First, it explores the experience of Jewish war veterans, such as Goldstein, who had to find strategies to remember loved ones killed in very different ways in the two World Wars. Second, the paper considers the state of German-Jewish war memorials and cemeteries in post-war Germany, examining why some sites were restored, while others were neglected. Third, the paper discusses the ways in which sites of remembrance for the Jewish First World War soldiers initially came to function as provisional memorials for the victims of the Holocaust.

Tim Grady is a senior lecturer in modern European history at the University of Chester. He completed his PhD in 2006 at the University of Southampton in the field of German-Jewish history. He has a book forthcoming entitled 'The German-Jewish Soldiers of the First World War in History and Memory' and has published articles in European History Quarterly and German History amongst others.

Andrea Hepworth (Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand)

Aspects of silencing and memory transmission in post-dictatorship Germany and Spain

The "retrieval of the past is a necessity for healing from national trauma" states Irene Wirshing in National Trauma in Postdictatorship Latin American Literature: Chile and Argentina. In Germany, the suppression of the past and collective silence of the war-generation made public discourse on the Holocaust all but impossible for a decade and a half after the end of World War II. It was only with the Eichmann-trial during the 1960s that the events of the Holocaust entered German public consciousness and the process of remembrance was initiated. In Spain, the Spanish Amnesty Law of 1977 in particular was instrumental in the establishment of the so-called pacto de silencio (Pact of Silence), that is, the silencing of stories of past repression and injustice in the interest of national reconciliation. An outpouring of memories that had not been forgotten, but suppressed and "disremembered", started in the 1990s, and since 2000 a literal excavation of the past begun by opening Republican mass graves.

This development was initiated by the third generation, eager to retrieve and interpret these memories from the vantage point of the present before the complete vanishing of the victim-generation. Generational distance seems to be a necessity for this process, which also shows in the submissions of third and fourth-generation German artists for the Holocaust Memorial’s design, and the debates surrounding the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin.

This paper will investigate the memory culture of the third generation in Germany and Spain. On the one hand, it will focus on the debates surrounding the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin and the ongoing review of form and function of existing memorial sites. On the other hand, it will concentrate on recent debates, including mass demonstrations and protests by prominent artists and the wider public, surrounding the indictment of Judge Baltasar Garzón in 2010 for abusing his judicial authority by opening an investigation into crimes against humanity committed by the Franco regime, that were covered by the 1977 Amnesty Law.

Andrea Hepworth is a PhD candidate in the Spanish Programme at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. The topic of her PhD thesis is a critical comparison of how Spain and Germany are currently attempting to confront their 20th century history. She had started her topic as a Master’s thesis in March 2010 and upgraded it to a PhD thesis in August of the same year. She was also awarded the prestigious Victoria Medal for Academic
Excellence in 2010; this medal is one of the highest honours the University can bestow on its students.

Ursula Mindler (Andrássy University Budapest, Hungary)

Jewish survivors from Burgenland: collective and individual memories

This paper examines Jewish survivors of Nazi persecution from Burgenland, a province which until 1921 was in Hungary but is today Austria. The primary focus is on the Jewish communities of southern Burgenland, particularly the Neolog community of Oberwart/Felsőr. Today, the fate of these Jews has been neglected by historians. Even after 1921, most residents spoke both German and Hungarian, even if either Austrians or Hungarians. After Anschluss in 1938, all Burgenland Jews were driven out of the region, fleeing either to Vienna or Hungary. Though it has been asserted that due to the expulsion, most Burgenland Jews survived, research has demonstrated this to be incorrect. In fact, by 1945, many had perished in the Shoah, and most of those who survived remained in exile. Those few who returned did not stay, and today there are no Jews living there. This paper discusses two primary questions concerning collective and individual memory. 1) How has the local population and government remembered these former Jewish residents? 2) How did they speak about their past in their new lives? What motivated going back or, instead, staying abroad? What did they feel about their treatment by Austrian and/or Hungarian officials, esp. after 1945? Main primary sources are interviews of Jewish survivors as well as archival sources on restitution, “The Victim Relief”, and “The Relief Fund”.

Mag. Ursula Mindler, historian; viva voce in April 2011. Current research project at the Department of History and the Centre of Jewish Studies (University of Graz, Austria). Adjunct lecturer, University of Graz. Research focus; regional history of Styria, Eastern Austria/Western Hungary, Jewish regional history, National Socialism (scopes of actions; perpetrators; victims; memory). Publications: „In spite of making any concessions and the fact that my pan-German views are well known among colleagues in the field…” Notes to Karl Haiding. In: Benedik/Konrad (eds.), Mapping Contemporary History II, Wien-Köln-Weimar 2010, 319-338; with Halbrainer/Lamprecht, unsichtbar. NS-Herrschaft. Verfolgung und Widerstand in der Steiermark, Graz 2008.
PANEL 17: Film

Anastasia G. Kostetskaya (Ohio State University, USA)

“A Russian and a German will lie down together; for example at Stalingrad”: attempts at truth and reconciliation 60 years later in Russian and German documentary film

My paper presents a comparative analysis of two documentaries made in 2003 in commemoration of the 60th anniversary of Soviet victory/German defeat at Stalingrad – a Russian film The Unconquered by T. Donskaia and a German trilogy Stalingrad: The Attack, The Kessel. The Doom by Sebastian Dehnhardt. The two films, for the first time in non-fiction cinema discourse on the subject, provide both Russian and German viewpoints of the events. For this purpose, they employ multiple interviews with the former Soviet and Wehrmacht soldiers. The two films attempt at truth and reconciliation, as well as present traditional perspectives on the events of August 1942 – February 1943. The essay examines how these attempts fit with sustainment of major war representation tropes.

The Russian film focuses on a tragedy of the city and its inhabitants and acknowledges the facts previously ignored by the Soviet propaganda, such as heavy civilian losses due to evacuation prohibition as well as deportation and enslavement of women and children. It reexamines the role of the Red Army soldiers in the Battle. Their patriotism and combative spirit is shown as fuelled by the desire to avenge women and children of Stalingrad and not only by Stalin’s order No 227 – “Not a step back!”

Despite the reconciliatory pronouncements of its authors and inclusion of interviews with both German and Russian participants of the events, the German movie continues the long established in the West German cinema trope of the innocent Wehrmacht. It constructs the Battle as a conflict of two 20th century demons – Hitler and Stalin – for whom the fate of the city was a matter of personal prestige. It presents the German troops as victims of both Hitler’s authoritarianism and Russian frost and posits the city of Stalingrad as the agent of the Battle.

Anastasia Kostetskaya was born in Volgograd, Russia, and received her undergraduate and graduate degrees in English Philology and Language Theory from Volgograd State Pedagogical University. After taking her MA in Russian Linguistics at the Ohio State University in 2009, she is now working on her PhD degree in Russian Literature and Film about the Battle of Stalingrad.

Fran Pheasant-Kelly (University of Wolverhampton, UK)

The stillness of the image and the emotional rhetoric of cinema: comparative emotional analysis of Schindler’s List, The Pianist, and documentary photographs of Holocaust survivors

Susan Sontag once stated that ‘non-stop imagery is our surround sound, but when it comes to remembering, the photograph has the deeper bite’ (2004: 19). In part, this arises from the fetishistic qualities of the static image - its containment within a frame, its sense of permanence and infallibility, and the way that it resists narrative. In effect, static images stay with us whereas the moving image has a different emotional register. Roland Barthes (2000) termed the capacity of the photograph to provoke feeling as ‘the punctum’ because of its ability to ‘prick’ us. George Rodger, Lee Miller, and Margaret Bourke-White were some of the first photographers to document concentration camp survivors, these photographs of the Holocaust inherently displaying evidence of Barthes’ punctum. Decades later, filmmakers Steven Spielberg and Roman Polanski, their own histories interwoven with Nazi persecution, have attempted to reconstruct traumatic memory through films of Holocaust survivors,
namely Schindler’s List (1993) and The Pianist (2002). Recently, there has been a new rhetoric of emotion emerging in film analysis. This paper attempts to correlate theories of emotion generated by the still and moving image, drawing on textual analysis and critical reception of documentary photographs from the Holocaust, and the films Schindler’s List and The Pianist. Referring to the philosophical and theoretical writings of Susan Sontag (2004) and Roland Barthes (1993), this paper also engages with filmic approaches to spectator emotion posited by Carl Plantinga (2009) and Torben Grodal (1997), and explores the contribution of cinematic imagery to the visual record of the Holocaust.


Yvonne Kozlovsky Golan (University of Haifa, Israel)

Left out of the frame: Eastern Jewry has no room on the screen

Since the terrible calamity that befell world Jewry under the Nazis from 1939 to 1945, the western world has become accustomed to see images of that disaster in the cinema or on their TV screens. Their awareness of the Holocaust has, for the most part, been constructed from the audiovisual representation of the reconstructions of history seen in feature films created to portray events years after the fact.

The protagonists of the films are survivors of concentration and death camps in central and eastern Europe, characters of European origin, belonging to various nationalities occupied by the Germans (including the Jews of Greece and especially Salonika, although decades late).

But – not all of the Jews have been included within the cinematic frame.

Missing from the cinema is another group of Jews whose country was occupied by Nazi Germany, their property looted, while they were exiled to concentration and forced labor camps. Some were sent to Bergen Belsen and many never returned home. Others’ homes were bombarded and families killed under the ruins.

These were the Jews of Libya, their country ruled by Italy’s Fascist government and subsequently by Germany; and the Jews of Tunisia and of Algeria who joined the Resistance against the Vichy government.

The current research engages in major issues on the subject, and seeks to investigate the following questions: How can it be that the history of the Jews of the Maghreb (North Africa) is missing, left out of the cinematic discourse in both documentary and feature films alike? Have there been any academic studies on the above, and how have they impacted upon the consciousness of the film industry? Have there been any films at all on this issue, and if so, which? Who are the directors? What was the audience response – and why?

The lecture is to be accompanied by film clips in an attempt to respond to the above questions.

Dr. Yvonne Kozlovsky-Golan, head of the new Graduate Program in Culture and Film Studies, is the author of “God have mercy on your soul”: The Death Penalty in the USA:
History law and Cinema (Tel Aviv: Resling 2010) She chairs the graduate program for Culture and Film Studies in the faculty of humanities at Haifa University. She is a fellow at Yad Vashem, International Institute for Holocaust Research: The Baron Friedrich Carl Von Oppenheim Chair for the Study of Racism, Anti Semitism, And The Holocaust Founded By The Von Oppenheim Family of Cologne. She researches the connection between history and film - the cinematic representation of the wars of the 20th Century and the traumatic events of the century. Her research examines the cinema's influence on the historical knowledge of the viewers and the cultural and social discussion that follows the representation of history in cinema and the inherent truth.

Catherine Portuges (University of Massachusetts Amherst, USA)  

Central European émigré filmmakers as WWII refugees and exiles

The history of cinema has been profoundly marked by the flight of Central European émigrés to abroad from 1933 to 1945. But while their enduring impact on film practice has been fruitfully considered, the repercussions of exile on their lives and work--its specifically Jewish inflections and trans-generational impact—remain largely unexplored.

Driven from their respective homelands, working in multiple national film industries and languages, the shared experience of Austrian, German and Hungarian directors such as Fritz Lang, Billy Wilder, Peter Lorre, Alexander Korda and Laszlo Benedek included classification as ‘enemy aliens’ required to observe strict curfews under FBI surveillance; the imposition of severe immigration quotas; a palpable sense of being threatened, unwelcome or rejected in their adoptive communities; guilt and anxiety as survivors whose families were persecuted or murdered; nostalgia and the shadowy awareness of personal and collective trauma bifurcating efforts to assimilate.

Based on film extracts, rare footage, personal interviews, archive photographs, and documentary materials, my presentation proposes that these directors' exilic and diasporan experience as Jews is inscribed both in their films and their attempts at post-exilic artistic self-reinvention in an often illusory quest for reintegration with their former identities. I include Peter Lorre’s return to Germany as writer and star of the only film he was ever to direct: the postwar psychological drama Der Verlorene/The Lost One (1951), based on the true story of a Nazi research scientist who ended up a murderer and suicide in a post-war refugee camp.

Catherine Portuges is Professor of Comparative Literature; Director, Interdepartmental Program in Film Studies; and Curator, Massachusetts Multicultural Film Festival, University of Massachusetts Amherst. She is co-editor of Cinemas in Transition: Post-socialist East Central Europe (2011) and author of Screen Memories: the Hungarian Cinema of MártA Mészáros (I993); “Found Images as Witness to Central European History” (Peter Forgacs’s Archaeological Cinema, 2011); “A Hungarian Holocaust Saga: Fateless” (Modern Jewish Experiences in World Cinema, 2011); and “Intergenerational Transmission: the Holocaust in Central European Cinema” (Projected Shadows, 2009). She is contributing and editorial board member for Studies in Eastern European Cinema and Hungarian Studies.
PANEL 18: After the War: Jews and Gentiles in Immediate Postwar Europe

In addition to the economic difficulties and problems surrounding nation building and societal reconstruction, debates about the war and persecution shaped the postwar period in most European countries. In particular, relations with returning Jewish Holocaust survivors played a significant role. On one hand, enormous tension arose surrounding gentile populations’ self-perception as victims of Nazi oppression and their postwar confrontation with Jews who had been targeted for persecution and annihilation. The portion of the population that had actively participated as perpetrators compounded this problem. On the other hand, issues of fear and worries about loss of property affected non-Jews’ attitudes towards returnees. Dread that Jews might attempt to reclaim property stoked conflict and revived antisemitism, and thus survivors discovered unexpected and highly problematic situations upon their return home. In addition to the physical and psychological repercussions of persecution, having been uprooted, the loss of property, and for many the lack of means to earn a living, returning survivors found little understanding for their particular experiences and hardly any support in politics and within society.

This panel presents a comparative examination of the immediate postwar discourse surrounding the war, persecution, and the roles of victims and perpetrators in Austria, Hungary, and Poland. Each paper focuses on relations between the majority gentile population and the Jewish minority. How were returning survivors received? How did reactions to the war, persecution, and the Holocaust manifest themselves in society? Considering the context of the immediate postwar period, what attempts were made to discuss, document, and take responsibility for the Holocaust? In addressing these questions, this panel elucidates different issues in the immediate postwar period in each country, revealing similarities and differences in dealing with the war and with the Holocaust. All contribute to the discussion of the societal processes that in the end served as a basis for the development of a postwar narrative.

Elizabeth Anthony (Clark University, USA)

Jewish Communist return to post-war Austria: expectation and reality

“You want to know why we came back? Because we were naïve!” exclaimed Frau Tausig in a recent interview. She returned to her native Austria in spring 1946, along with a number of other idealistic young Jewish communists eager to reclaim their home and to help rebuild a democratic republic. This commitment, along with pressure from the party, guided their expectations and actions, even in the face of the disappointment and disillusionment that soon followed. Contrary to the assumptions they had held throughout the war years, Austrian society was not prepared to welcome them – neither as Jews nor as communists.

My study analyzes the perspective and experiences of this group of Austrian Holocaust survivor returnees. Although eventually disenchanted with the party, their Austrian neighbors, and the society they rejoined, most Jewish communists remained to create successful lives and families in Vienna. Their experiences illuminate the challenges faced by returnees seeking to reenter the political and social realms of a society that not long before had forced them to flee and never intended for them to return. Grounded in previously unused sources, this paper contributes to a more nuanced understanding of the collision between postwar Austrian Jewish and gentile expectations, competing political visions, and the struggle to recreate a national identity.

Vienna,” elucidates survivors’ motivations to return to a country that not long before had forced them to flee or deported them, and illuminates their experiences in doing so.

Regina Fritz (University of Vienna, Austria)

Dealing with the Holocaust in post-war Hungary, 1945/46

On 19 September 1946, Winston Churchill called upon former enemies for a “blessed act of oblivion.” This demand was in no way new or unique in European history. Rather, struggles towards peace before 1918 had commonly sought a point of closure with the past. Nevertheless, extensive efforts to document and punish the crimes of the preceding regimes took place immediately after World War II. This occurred in Hungary, where Jewish organizations and the state established commissions to document crimes. Numerous other activities also showed a trend toward dealing with the politics of the past, including the many laws and regulations sought to reestablish equal rights and to condemn the persecution of Hungarian Jewry, as well as several commemorative events frequently attended by Hungarian national representatives. Such undertakings show the Hungarian state’s immediate postwar acknowledgement for crimes against Hungarian Jewry.

In my presentation, I will address the way World War II and the murder of Hungarian Jewry was dealt with in immediate postwar political discourse. After describing selected political measures taken in attempts to deal with the past, I will face the question of the failure of such efforts. Finally, I will also address the reasons that the Jewish communities’ actions, which included pushing for the repatriation of survivors from the liberated concentration camps, for the restitution of property, and for compensation payments, remained mostly inconclusive.

Regina Fritz, M.A. (2004); Ph.D. (2010) in History; staff member of the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, Lecturer at the Institute for Contemporary History at the University of Vienna; 2008-2011 Key Researcher and Project Coordinator of the Mauthausen Survivors Research Project (Project Director: Gerhard Botz); 2005-2008 Heinrich Böll-Foundation scholarship recipient, member of the Graduate School “Overcoming Dictatorships and Establishment of Civil Society in Europe” at the University of Heidelberg and at the University of Vienna; Publications: Diktaturüberwindung in Europa: Neue nationale und transnationale Perspektiven (ed. 2010), Nationen und ihre Selbstbilder. Postdiktatorische Gesellschaften in Europa (ed. 2008).

Imke Hansen (Hamburg University, Germany)

Polish post-war discourse on victimhood and victory

Substantial problems confronted Polish postwar society – physical devastation, material loss, and economic hardship accompanied the physical and psychological consequences of war, persecution, and expulsion. Many shared deep dissatisfaction with the establishment of communism and a feeling of a continuing lack of freedom and national sovereignty. All this caused or fueled anti-Semitic action and even pogroms, as Jan Gross pointed out in his heatedly debated book, Fear. This situation also set the framework for the discourse about war, persecution, and – primarily – victimhood. Moreover, communist censorship and propaganda controlled and dominated this discourse far less then is often assumed. In fact, it was a period of relatively free and diverse debate about the recent past and its consequences. This condition disappeared, however, as communisation strengthened and, most importantly, with the Stalinisation of public life and discourse in 1947.

My paper will outline initiatives taken to discuss, document, and commemorate war, persecution, and victimhood in Poland in the immediate postwar years of 1945-1947. Who was dealing with the recent past and what motivated them to do so? What images of history

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were presented in public debates and performances? With a special focus on Catholic-Jewish relations in this discourse, I will question the extent to which the Holocaust was discussed at all. Was Jewish experience integrated into a Polish national narrative about war and persecution? To what extent did Jewish institutions and individuals take part in discussions about the past? How is the interaction between Catholic and Jewish actors in terms of documentation and commemoration of the Nazi crimes? I aim to show that Polish Jewry’s role in shaping the postwar national narrative took a different form in the immediate postwar period, as compared to a few short years later, and that it substantially impacted the unfolding discourse, will thereby illustrate significant characteristics of Polish post-war society.

Imke Hansen is a lecturer in East European History and a doctoral candidate in History at Hamburg University, Germany. She specializes in Belarusian, Polish, and East European Jewish History; the theory of Identity and Nationalism; and Oral History. Her dissertation "The Late Use of Auschwitz: Functionalisation of a Memorial, 1945-1999" focuses on Communist, Catholic-Polish and Jewish concepts of memory and identity and their manifestation in Auschwitz. She received her M.A. in Political Science at Hamburg University in 2004, and was a lecturer of Political Science at Belarusian State University in Minsk from 2004 to 2005.
Right after “Anschluss” in 1938, the National Socialists started to destroy the Austrian Jewish infrastructure and to loot Jewish assets. Particularly they paid attention to the Jewish cemeteries as well as the Jewish buildings intended for worship. The National Socialists were not only eager to “aryanize” or destroy representative symbols of Jewish life and Jewish culture but also to make them disappear without a trace from public consciousness; and in the long run, from cultural memory. At the same time Jewish cemeteries became objects of National Socialist desire; land, buildings and tombstones were commercialized. They were objects of racist research or became incorporated into museums’ collections.

After 1945, the Jewish cemeteries were subject of restitution proceedings and were returned to their original owners, the Jewish communities. However, due to the impact of the Shoah, the communities were not able to care for their maintenance. This way the Austrian post-war society perpetuated National Socialist policy of extermination and within the next decades most Jewish cemeteries faded from public memory, some of them were irrecoverably lost. In the 1980s, the Austrian historic consciousness changed and ever since the Washington Agreement of 2001, there has been a new interest in Jewish cemeteries; they have become causes of public debates, commemoration initiatives, and scientific research.

The proposal discusses the history of deprivation, devastation, oblivion, and the rediscovery of Jewish cemeteries in Austria by using the example of Styria, which will be embedded in the Austrian history of memory since 1945.

Martina Staats (Gedenkstätte Bergen-Belsen, Germany)

“To embellish the site by a suitable garden”: history of the Memorial Bergen-Belsen

Bergen-Belsen today stands as a symbol for the national socialist crimes committed between 1940 and 1945 against prisoners-of-war-camp inmates (Italians, Russians and Poles) and between 1943 and the camp’s liberation on April 15th 1945 against concentration-camp prisoners.

Contrary to the plans of survivors the former site of the camp was transformed into a graveyard resembling a park until 1952. It therefore complied with the typical form of German “Vergangenheitspolitik (Norbert Frei), which existed in the 1950s: the suppression and concealment of the national socialist past. The opening of the memorial site at Bergen-Belsen on November 30th 1952 by Federal President Theodor Heuss had far reaching domestically as well as external significance for the young Federal Republic.
In the late 1950s Bergen-Belsen became a site of pilgrimage in memory of Anne Frank and in the early 1960s chancellor Adenauer designed Bergen-Belsen to a "meeting point of good will" of the Federal Republic of Germany against anti-Semitic tendencies. The awareness level and the high symbolic character of Bergen-Belsen once again had made clear during the visit of President Ronald Reagan to Germany in 1985. Here Bergen-Belsen was staged as a “Jewish place of remembrance and the place of death of Anne Frank”.

Until the document house with a library, an archive and facilities for historical research had been built in 1990, the historic place of Bergen-Belsen did not have the character of a memorial which lived up to the memory of the victims. So survivors and their relatives had to construct their own very different kinds of Mémoire collective to develop a new identity.


Caroline Sturdy Colls (Staffordshire University, UK)

Landscapes of memory: recording the archaeological remains of the Holocaust

The landscapes and material remains of the camps, ghettos and execution sites of the Holocaust survive in various forms as physical reminders of the suffering and persecution of this period in European history. However, whilst clearly defined historical narratives exist, many of the archaeological remnants of these sites remain ill-defined, unrecorded and even, in some cases, un-located. Although some successful attempts have been made to interpret, present and commemorate the remains of a small number of well known “dark tourism sites”, there has been little in the way of analysis with regards the survivability, extent and nature of buried remains. Similarly, whilst recent developments in technology and political thought have seen humanitarian responses at international level aimed at locating the victims of genocide, such an approach has not been adopted with respect to Holocaust sites.

This paper will argue that approaches to these sites to date reflect the resonance that the Holocaust still has in modern society, in terms of political and social impact, religious thought and a desire by various groups to influence and claim so-called “ownership” of the past. It will outline how a non-invasive archaeological methodology has been implemented at several sites across Europe, with such issues at its core, in an attempt to rectify the lack of investigation. Perhaps most crucially, it will be argued that studies of the physical landscapes of the Holocaust can reveal as much about the cultural memory of these events as they can the surviving remnants of camps and execution sites.

Caroline Sturdy Colls: I am a Lecturer in Forensic Investigation at Staffordshire University and completed my doctoral thesis on the application of non-invasive archaeological techniques to mapping the remains of the Holocaust. As part of this research, I have conducted the first archaeological survey of at the former extermination camp Treblinka in Poland and surveyed the remains of the Nazi Concentration and Labour Camps in Alderney. I am actively engaged in establishing an international research programme on the application of these methods to other Holocaust landscapes throughout Europe. I am also a consultant forensic archaeologist and I am co-author of “Forensic Approaches to Buried Remains”.
Silvia Goldbaum Tarabini Fracapane (TU Berlin, Germany)

How changes in language influences survivor narratives: a study of Danish Theresienstadt testimonies

The aim of this paper will be to examine language changes in Danish Theresienstadt testimonies, and to analyze to which extent the disappearance of special ghetto related words have caused a loss of information in late testimonies. The earliest Danish testimonies about Theresienstadt are diaries and other texts written during the 18 months Jews from Denmark were imprisoned in the ghetto. Besides being rich on information about the everyday life, they also reflect the special ghetto language with words like Ubikation, Bonkes, Zubusse, Nachschub, and Prominente etc. The same applies to most of the early post-war testimonies; in late testimonies, however, the ghetto language has either almost completely disappeared, or the meaning of some of the remaining words have changed. An example is the word Prominent; a special status granted to some ghetto inmates. Within the Danish group this status covered 13 persons - something clear in the early testimonies, which mention Prominente. In late testimonies, however, many survivors talk about the entire Danish group as Prominente and by this change of wording, the narrative changes. Thus the whole issue of Prominente vs. "ordinary" ghetto inmates is left untold, including issues such as class differences and intergroup envy. 470 people were deported from Denmark to Theresienstadt; about a third of the survivors have given testimonies over the past 65 years. This paper presents the results of a close reading of early as well as late testimonies, and show how the changed use of language regarding certain subjects creates divergent narratives.

Silvia Goldbaum Tarabini Fracapane is a PhD candidate at Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung in Berlin. She is completing her dissertation on the deportation of Jews from Denmark and their everyday life in Theresienstadt. As part of her dissertational research she has conducted more than 30 interviews with Danish Theresienstadt survivors. She received her MA in Comparative Literature from University of Copenhagen, Denmark in 2001, and worked at the Danish Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies in Copenhagen (now DIIS) from 2001 to 2005.

Erika Lorenzon (Institute for the History of Resistance and Contemporary Society in Treviso, Italy)

Witnesses in spite of themselves: Italian Military Internees as extraordinary witnesses of the Holocaust

During World War II, after the armistice between the Allied Forces and the Italian ones, 615,000 Italian soldiers were imprisoned into Nazi concentration camps as Italian Military Internees (IMIs). No international law recognized their legal status, so they could be exploited as free labour force in every toil. The prisoners who eventually managed to get home hardly found people willing to listen to their stories and to sympathize with them. However, some of these survivors broke this silence by writing memoirs, sometimes based on their journals. They became aware of having been witnesses of significant events and they wanted their texts to be eternal evidence of human cruelty and appeals to young people for peace and justice. From 1984 to 2005, 205 memoirs and journals of formers IMIs were collected in the Foundation Archivio Diaristico Nazionale in Pieve S. Stefano (Arezzo, Italy), the main Italian Archives of autobiographical writings. My paper is based on an in-depth research during which I studied these texts to understand how every author had organized his writing and what he wanted to communicate with it. What the prisoners experienced was something hardly fathomable because of its senselessness: writing allowed them to live a real identity.
redemption, disclosing to everyone what they were forbidden from saying and writing inside the camps. Thanks to many translated quotations, my paper illustrates this process, focusing the attention on the IMIs experience and their peculiar perspective as witnesses of the Jewish persecution.

Erika Lorenzon, 2009 PhD in social history from Ca’ Foscari University in Venice with a thesis on the memory of former Italian prisoners of war, captured by Allies and Nazis during World War II. She has been attending a research on the social life in an Italian province between 1940-1945, at the Department of Historical Studies at Ca’ Foscari University. As a member of Istresco (Institute for the History of Resistance and Contemporary Society in Treviso, Italy), she works on the oral and local history about persecutions and resistance during WWII.

Alexander Prenninger (Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Historical Social Research, Salzburg/Vienna, Austria)

“Laboratories of Modernity“? A re-evaluation of early concentration camp analysis from the 1940s and 1950s

Conventional wisdom has been that, for a long time after 1945, the concentration camps and their survivors did not become part of the collective post-war memories neither in Europe nor in the United States or in Israel nor have they been subject of scientific research. Nonetheless, not only survivors published thousands of memoirs in the early post-war years but also scholars from different scientific fields, including inter alia sociology, philosophy, psychology, ethnology and medicine, published already during and especially immediately after the war extensively about the camps.

Although, especially since the mid-1980s, concentration camp research has shifted from the periphery of scholarly research in contemporary history to its centre and developed a broad range of new approaches resulting meanwhile in the publication of two multivolume encyclopaedias, early analysis of the camps is still of high influence on current interpretation of the functions and roles of the camps (e.b. Bettelheim’s theory of ‘initial shock’, Levi’s ‘grey zone’, Rousset’s ‘concentration camp universe’).

The proposed contribution will focus on these early scholarly interpretations of the camps and analyse their origin as well as their impact on later research. It will show that the results often depended on (limited) first-hand experience, responded to imminent medical and psychological needs of survivors or were determined by the political landscape of the early Cold War. The presentation will also discuss how scholars applied and remodelled existing scientific methods and instruments (or developed new ones) to what was generally perceived as “beyond human understanding” (Arendt).

PANEL 21: Memory and violence

Annabelle Baldwin (Monash University, Australia)

German perpetrators of sexual violence against Jewish women in the Nazi camp system

Jewish women incarcerated in the Nazi camp system (in concentration, labour, transit or death camps) were vulnerable to sexual violence. Much of the recent literature examining sexual violence has argued that sexual abuses of Jewish women were much more common than previously assumed. My research in the Shoah Foundation Institute’s Visual History Archive supports these findings, but also introduces some new insights. This paper examines these testimonies and the patterns and trends of German-perpetrated sexual violence in the camp system.

The testimonies viewed for this paper reveal three trends that appear to contradict many of the commonly held assertions about sexual violence within the camp system. The first assumption is that German staff rarely engaged in sexual violence against Jewish female prisoners, due to strict guidelines regarding Rassenschande laws. The testimonies demonstrate that German camp staff were the perpetrators in the majority of incidences of sexual violence. The second assumption is that non-contact forms of sexual assault, such as verbal harassment, voyeurism and occasional molestation, particularly in the Sauna, were more commonly experienced in camps than rape. However, the testimonies demonstrate that penetrative rape – singular, gang or mass rape – were the most commonly reported offences committed by Germans and non-Germans alike. The final assumption is that most of the survivor accounts about sexual violence in camps are based on rumours. The testimonies reveal, however, that only a minority are based on rumour, and that almost half were in fact describing an experience that happened to the survivor themselves.

Annabelle Baldwin: I am a PhD candidate at Monash University, Melbourne, Australia. My work looks at sexual violence against Jewish women in the Holocaust, and in particular, how this experience was dependent on the temporal and physical location of the assault – in camps, in hiding, in ghettos, during the initial occupation period and after liberation. My work utilises the testimonies of Jewish survivors conducted and held by the USC Shoah Foundation Institute’s Visual History Archive and considers how this Archive’s collection of testimonies about sexual violence contributes to the existing research on this topic.

Adelina Syms (University College Cork, Ireland)

War and sex: gendering suffering in the Nazi period

It has been recognized that the experiences of victims of Nazi persecution differed widely according to age, social status, geography, and gender. This paper focuses on the questions and problems raised by “gendering suffering” in the Nazi era, particularly recent attempts to reintroduce into the historiography of the period the voices of victims of sexual violence either in the Holocaust or during the exodus from the East and Fall of Berlin. It will look at the long-standing taboo surrounding sexual violence in this period, particularly in the camps, asking what shifts in memory practices have occurred and have yet to occur for the phenomenon of sexual violence to be fully inscribed into mainstream narratives of the Third Reich, and ask what the implications of this fuller inscription are.

In other words, this paper will examine the consequences of creating a separate category for women sufferers when classifying the victims of the Third Reich. In this context, the presentation will reflect critically on the research of Ofer and Weitzman, examining their assessment of differentiating discrimination in this way. Reference will also be made to recent research carried out in the University of Greifswald on the experiences of now elderly
German women who were raped in this period, asking how the re-inclusion of these voices may alter the historiography of the period. While not denying that the inclusion of gender in the historiography of the period is vitally important, and “is simply to become more attentive to the possible consequences of one of the major axes” involved (Ofer and Weitzman, 1998: 2), this paper asks if gendering suffering, specifically the suffering of the Third Reich period, may entail its own blind-spots.

In the late 1990s, Janice Haaken drew attention to the fact that “in negotiating the meaning of disturbing events, human consciousness is prone to two sorts of social defences: one involves denial and minimization of disturbing sources of knowledge and the other involves elaboration and amplification of them. Human history is replete with examples of both” (Haaken, 1998: 83). This paper asks, controversially, whether the recent attention paid to gendered suffering in the history of the Nazi period may be understood as a pendulum swing from the former to the latter extreme.

**Adelina Syms**: I am currently in my first year of reading for a PhD in German. My thesis is entitled “Gendering suffering in the Third Reich” and as such incorporates German with history and women studies. I have always had a fascination for German and studied this language and accompanying literature, culture and history for my undergraduate and subsequently studied Translation for my MA.

**Christoph Thonfeld (Cheng Chi University, Taipei, Taiwan)**

**Forced labourers’ experiences with German as a (foreign) language during World War II and in the life after**

The role of language within the workings of Germany’s forced labour system has so far been neglected. However, it had a massive impact on forced labourers’ everyday lives, even influenced their chances of survival. Based on 80 life story interviews with former World War II forced labourers from the stock of the International Forced Labourers’ Documentation Project (2004-2007), this paper examines how people acquired the German language and have dealt with it in times of war while being forced labourers. It also reveals what role this has played over the further courses of their lives. That comprises how, why and to what ends they acquired the language or rather to what extent and effect they refused to do so. It will also be taken into consideration if and how people who already knew German as their mother tongue or as a foreign language adopted in school or at home changed their use of it and their outlook on German society and culture on the whole during World War II and the life after. Within this research, an extreme case of language acquisition comes into view, at the borders of the intersection of language, violence and social interaction. The paper will trace the limits of the discourses of language learning, how language influences the establishment of social roles and identities and the interplay of language and violence.

**Dr. Christoph Thonfeld**, historian and teacher for German as a foreign language, is currently assistant professor at Cheng Chi University, Taipei, Taiwan, teaching German studies and German as a foreign as a foreign language. He researches into language acquisition of World War II forced labourers. Formerly he was research associate in the “International Forced Labourers Documentation Project” at Hagen University, Germany, postdoctoral fellow within the German Research Foundation’s post graduate programme “Slavery – Serfdom – Forced Labour” at Trier University, Germany, and co-editor of the periodical “Werkstatt Geschichte”. Main areas of interest: 20th century European History, Oral History, Cultural Studies, Migration Studies.
PANEL 22: The Belsen trial at Lüneburg (September–November 1945): the forgotten war crimes trial

Rainer Schulze (University of Essex, UK)

A re-appraisal of the British Belsen trial at Lüneburg

The Belsen Trial, officially 'The Trial of Josef Kramer and 44 Others', was the first big war crimes trial after the end of the Second World War. It took place before a British military court in the town of Lüneburg and was based on the Royal Warrant of 14 June 1945: the defendants were charged with ill-treatment and murder at Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen of specific individuals who were listed by name in the charge sheet. In contrast, the Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, which opened three days after the end of the Belsen Trial, charged the defendants with two new offences: crimes against peace, and crimes against humanity. Whilst the principles of the Nuremberg Trial became international law, the Belsen Trial is often overlooked in the history of the post-WWII war crime trials or at best treated as a footnote. The presentation will discuss how far the Belsen Trial succeeded in recording, documenting and publicising to a wider public not only the horrors of specific crimes committed by individual defendants, but also the general principles of the racial and extermination policies of the Nazi regime, despite (or because of?) the traditional approach to war crimes taken by the Royal Warrant. It asks whether the impact of the Belsen Trial was wider than its historical reputation suggests, and whether it therefore might be time for a re-appraisal of this trial.

Rainer Schulze, PhD History (University of Göttingen, Germany). Rainer studied History, English and American Literature and Linguistics and Education at the Georg-August-Universität Göttingen (Germany) and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (USA). He is Professor of Modern European History at the University of Essex and Head of the Department of History (since 2005). He has specialized in 20th-century German history, the history of Bergen-Belsen and the history of forced migrations in twentieth-century Europe. From 2000 to 2007 he worked as one of the project leaders of the international team of researchers preparing the new permanent exhibition at the Gedenkstätte Bergen-Belsen, and in 2005 he became a member of the International Experts’ Commission for the Redevelopment of the Gedenkstätte Bergen-Belsen, the only representative from the United Kingdom. He is the co-ordinator of the annual Holocaust Memorial events at the University of Essex, and the founding editor of The Holocaust in History and Memory. He is currently preparing a research project on the Roma in Europe after 1945.

Toby Haggith (Imperial War Museum London, UK)

The use of film during the Belsen trial

During the Belsen Trial at Lüneburg, film was used both as a form of documentation to support the case of the prosecution and also to publicise the trial proceedings. The film screened was edited together from rolls shot by military cameramen who had been attached to the Red Army and the British Army as they liberated, respectively, the concentration camps of Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen. Although there is plenty of scholarly interest in the extensive use of film at Nuremberg, the pioneering use of film at the Belsen Trial is little known and rarely commented upon. The presentation will describe the use of film at the trial, show some examples of the film that was screened during the proceedings, analyse the impact of the film on the trial and present wider thoughts on the value of film as a form of evidence in war crimes and other trials.

Toby Haggith, PhD Social History (University of Warwick). Toby is a historian who joined the Imperial War Museum's Film Department in 1988. In 2000 he became head of non-
commercial access to the film and video collection and responsible for devising the daily Public Film Show programme. He is now a Senior Curator in the Department of Research and is in overall charge of the Museum’s annual Film Festival, which has been running since November 2001. He has published various essays on film and history and is the co-editor, with Joanna Newman, of Holocaust and the Moving Image: Representations in Film and Television Since 1933 (Wallflower Press, 2005), which is based on a conference held at the Museum in April 2001. In 2007 he was a visiting Research Fellow at the Humanities Research Centre, College of Arts and Social Sciences, Australian National University, Canberra. His research topic had the title, ‘The Heirs of Uncle Toby Shandy: Military Re-enactment in British Society and Culture.’ He is currently leading the Museum’s project to restore and complete the British concentration camp documentary, retrospectively titled, ‘Memory of the Camps’.

James Waller (Keene State College, NH, USA)

Becoming evil: the impact of psychological explanations of perpetrator behavior on survivors’ perception of justice

This paper will examine the impact of psychological explanations of perpetrator behavior on survivors’ perception of justice. The paper will first outline an explanatory model of perpetrator behavior that synthesizes the wide range of cultural, social, and situational factors that spur ordinary people to commit genocide and other mass atrocities. Grounded in extensive archival research and primary source interviews, the model offers a detailed analysis of a process through which the perpetrators themselves – either in committing atrocities or in order to commit atrocities – come to justify their behaviors. This model will then be discussed in the context of how it impacts perceptions of justice in the minds of survivors of Nazi persecution. Most recognize that to explain behavior is not to excuse the behaver; to understand is not to forgive. Experimental research reveals, however, that even after a brief exposure to psychological explanations of evildoing, participants evidence a significant judgmental shift in the direction of a less harsh or less punitive orientation toward a perpetrator. This is mediated by a reduction in the perceived intentionality and responsibility attributed to perpetrators. So, it is vital that we investigate the implications of psychological explanations of perpetrator behavior on perceptions of justice and understand how the trauma experienced by survivors of Nazi persecution may be compounded by explanations that appear to reduce the perceived moral blameworthiness of the actors who inflicted those atrocities on them.

Dr. James Waller is Professor and Cohen Chair of Holocaust and Genocide Studies at Keene State College (NH) as well as an Affiliated Scholar with the Auschwitz Institute for Peace and Reconciliation. Waller’s book on perpetrators of genocide, Becoming Evil: How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing (Oxford University Press, 2nd edition, 2007), was praised by Publisher’s Weekly for “clearly and effectively synthesizing a wide range of studies to develop an original and persuasive model of the process by which people can become evil” and is used as a textbook in college and university courses around the world.
PANEL 23: Photographs, arts and artists

Rachel Dickson (Ben Uri Gallery / The London Jewish Museum of Art, UK)
The Ben Uri Art Society and the legacy of émigré artists, 1934-1959

Founded in Whitechapel in 1915, the Ben Uri Art Society originated as a support mechanism for newly-arrived, Ostjuden artists and craftsmen, who were unable to access the cultural bastions of assimilated Anglo-Jewry. Two decades later, with its focus shifted from the East End and its lingua franca now English, as these émigrés prospered and integrated, the Society was again crucially positioned to assist refugee artists now escaping Nazi persecution. By 1936, its stated primary function was to endorse contemporary Jewish artists – no longer only from the Anglo-Jewish community.

Drawing on Ben Uri and Jewish Chronicle archives, I will examine the Society’s evolving role from 1933 as an outlet for émigré artists, through its policies of exhibiting and acquisition, and other ad hoc activities. I will review its effectiveness, asking whether by positioning émigré artists securely within their own community, the Society failed their greater needs within the mainstream commercial art world, referencing both well-known and lesser-known figures, including Ludwig and Else Meidner, Martin Bloch, Julius Rosenbaum, his wife Adèle Reifenberg, and the Society’s own first salaried curator in 1944, German émigré artist / art historian, Fritz Solomonski. Given its roots in the decorative arts, I will acknowledge the platform the Society provided for this sphere of endeavour. Although many émigrés remained outside the English art establishment, exhibition catalogues and the collecting of their works, enabled Ben Uri, although perhaps falling short ‘in the moment’, to function as a valuable archival and collection resource relating to survivors of Nazi persecution.

Rachel Dickson MA (Courtauld Institute), Curator at Ben Uri since 2002; co-curated ‘Whitechapel Boys’ series and recent touring exhibition Forced Journeys: Artists in Exile in Britain, c. 1933-45, supporting Courtauld’s MA module, ‘Arts in Exile 1933-45’. Its ‘interned artists’ focus, commemorating the 70th anniversary of the start of internment, led to my participation in ‘Creativity Behind Barbed Wire’ conference, Cambridge University, March 2010; collaborative chapter with Ulrike Smalley, Imperial War Museum, on ‘high and low art’ in the Manx camps; and ‘Exile Networks’ conference, Munich University, November 2010. I am also a consultant advising corporate, public and private clients on contemporary visual art projects.

Emily Fuggle (Imperial War Museum, London, UK)

Framing pre-war Jewish life: the use of photographs in the life before the Nazis section (the entrance cone) of the Imperial War Museum’s Holocaust Exhibition

The Holocaust Exhibition at the Imperial War Museum offers the visitor an introduction to Jewish culture and pre-war life through the use of framed family photographs displayed in the entrance cone of the exhibition. In this paper, I would like to explore how pre-war European Jewish culture is presented through the display of these images, and the different relationships at play both in the making of, and in the looking at, this part of the exhibition. I would like to consider, in particular, why the images displayed were selected by the curators of the exhibition and their relationship to these images, examine what was not selected and therefore what is not told through these images, and to further explore how stakeholders (especially donors) but also visitors have interacted with the images, and how this has influenced our understanding of the culture of pre-war European Jewry today. I intend to address some critical questions in my paper which appear at the intersection of memory and visual culture studies which might include, in particular, examining how a cultural memory of Jewish pre-war life is created by the Museum and its curators, and what is it that is being...
remembered, or even memorialised? I would also like to examine what power and meaning the images now have to their donors when displayed in their current context, and also to gain some understanding of visitors’ conceptions of this section of the exhibition, seeking to address their relationship to the perceived disparity between the idea of the ‘conventionality of the domestic family picture’ (Hirsch, 1997, 21) and the traumatic history told in The Holocaust Exhibition.

Emily Fuggle studied French Studies at the University of Birmingham, and also has an MA in Cultural Heritage Studies from University College London, where her studies focused on the representation of trauma in a Museum context. Emily is currently the Research Officer at the Imperial War Museum with curatorial responsibility for The Holocaust Exhibition and Crimes against humanity: an exploration of genocide and ethnic violence. Hirsch, M, 1997, Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Postmemory (Cambridge, Mass: & London: Harvard University Press).

Sarah MacDougall (Ben Uri Gallery / The London Jewish Museum of Art, UK)

Four émigré sculptors: public and private artistic responses to remembrance in the reconstruction process

This paper examines the legacy and impact of the work of four émigré sculptors: Siegfried Charoux, Georg Ehrlich, Fred Kormis and Ernst Müller Blensdorf, all survivors forced into exile in Britain as a result of Nazi persecution, as participants in the subsequent post-war reconstruction process. I will examine both their public and private artistic responses to remembrance, firstly through their engagement with public commissions, primarily in the form of war monuments (Ehrlich and Kormis), but also through wider reconstruction projects including the Festival of Britain, new council initiatives to engage with architecture, open competitions (such as the new TUC headquarters sculptural competition in 1954) and the London County popular triennial outdoor sculpture exhibitions held in Battersea and Holland Parks (1948-65).

Secondly, I will examine private artistic responses to remembrance and memorial, particularly in the work of Charoux, whose Survivor forms part of his ‘Civilisation’ series from the 1950s, and Blensdorf (who lived in rural isolation in Somerset and worked outside the mainstream of British sculpture), whose monumental late carving, Abraham’s Sacrifice (1951), also brings together themes of suffering and regeneration. I will argue that these artworks, as much as the public projects and memorials, were also instrumental in various reconstruction processes of identity, memory, and the triumph of the human spirit.

Sarah MacDougall, Ben Uri Gallery / The London Jewish Museum of Art. I am Head of Collection and Curatorial Services at Ben Uri Gallery, The London Jewish Museum of Art, and author of the biography “Mark Gertler” (John Murray, 2002). I have co-curated a series of exhibitions on the ‘Whitechapel Boys’ (2002-08) and ‘Forced Journeys: Artists in Exile in Britain, c. 1933-45’ (2009-10), participating in the conferences ‘Creativity Behind Barbed Wire’ (Cambs, 2010) and ‘Exile Networks’ (Munich, 2010). This led to the collaborative chapter (with Rachel Dickson and Ulrike Smalley, IWM, London) on ‘High and Low Art in the Isle of Man Camps in the Second World War’ (Routledge, 2012). I am also working on a Mark Gertler catalogue raisonné for Yale University Press.
Ulrike Smalley (Imperial War Museum, London, UK)

‘Human Wreckage’: the aftermath of the relief of Bergen-Belsen

The relief of Bergen-Belsen concentration camp and its aftermath was witnessed by a significant number of British, Polish and Canadian artists, ranging from camp liberators and official war artists to those employed by magazines and illustrated papers. At least twelve artists were given or sought the opportunity to visit the newly liberated concentration camp and, later on, Bergen-Belsen Displaced Persons camp between April and August 1945. The resulting body of art works is now mostly held in museum collections in Poland, Canada and the UK, with some works still in private hands.

The talk will outline the circumstance under which the artists visited Bergen-Belsen, their motivation and reactions, as well as analyse the resulting works. The main investigative strand of the talk will be on how survivors of the camp were depicted, the purpose of these images (journalistic, documentary, evidence) and the relationship between artists and subjects. The talk will trace the shift from images witnessing the immediate aftermath of liberation to those depicting Bergen-Belsen DP camp, as the latter have often been misinterpreted.

The talk will also explore what happened to the art works after the war and the role they can play in our understanding of the events and their subsequent reception.

Ulrike Smalley, Senior Curator, Art Section, Imperial War Museum, London, holds a Masters degree in History of Art, English Literature and History from Aachen University (Germany). In 2005 she joined the Department of Art, Imperial War Museum, and has been a curator at the department since 2006. In 2008 Ulrike curated the exhibition Unspeakable: The Artist as Witness to the Holocaust. She currently works with the IWM commissioned artist Roderick Buchanan on an exhibition of his legacy of the Troubles art work. Ulrike regularly lectures on British First and Second World War art. Her current research interests include Holocaust art, portraits and artists in exile.
Wolfgang Form (University of Marburg, Germany)

Charging crimes against humanity in post-war Germany

Following WWII, for the first time in history, war crimes were punished on a large scale. The development of International Criminal Law began with the international tribunals at Nuremberg and Tokyo. Less well known are the thousands of national court cases in Europe. Three strategies can be established: 1. Trials in the country where war crimes had taken place. 2. Allied trials in Europe. 3. The prosecution of Nazi-crimes before German courts. The last aspect had a direct relationship to the allied politics of transitional justice, since the reconstruction of the German justice system had been regulated by the four military governments. My paper will address the planning and implementation of prosecution models in the West Zone. France and the United Kingdom applied a different model than that of the US-military administration. Based on the common foundation of Control Council Law No. 10 (CCL 10) as well as their own national laws, both European allies decided that as of 1946 German courts would have a new set of norms to work from. Not only German lawyers had significant problems with the inclusion of procedures from the area of international criminal law in national jurisdiction but also because the criminal proceedings were now expanded to include the period before WWII. Firstly, the precept nulla poena sine lege was affected as CCL 10 was from December 1945. The second: should the prosecution of crimes against humanity be devolved to German courts then a principle of the Nuremberg Statute would have been given up: Crimes against humanity were tied to war crimes or crimes of aggression. However, Germany should not have been allowed to try either of these delicts. Which considerations led to the United Kingdom and France deciding to abandon the dogma of not interfering with the domestic policy of a state in peace time and to them criminally prosecuting crimes which were perpetrated after the Nazis takeover of Germany? And: Why did they order the German side to have a parallel jurisdiction with the same legal basis (CCL 10)? At no time in the US zone were German courts permitted to try crimes against humanity. They kept this right exclusively for the so-called subsequent cases tried under Control Council Law No. 10. Furthermore, these cases brought a very different clientele before the courts than the bulk of the cases in both of the other zones.

Wolfgang Form, Dr. phil., Dipl. Pol., studied Political Science, Sociology, Social- and Economic History and Public Law in Marburg. He received his doctoral degree on political criminal justice during National Socialism in Germany at the University of Marburg. 2003 he co-founded the International Research and Documentations Center for War Crimes Trials, Marburg and is his project director since them, from 1992 lecturer for political science and peace and conflict studies at the University of Marburg, and Member of the Austrian Research Center for Post-War Trials Advisory Board. His main fields of research are: political criminal and military justice, history of international criminal law, peace and conflict studies and on local and regional history of National Socialism.

Svea Luise Herrmann (Leibniz University of Hanover, Germany)

Forced sterilization and the politics of reparation: framing and problematizing Nazi injustice in post-war Germany

The paper examines the struggle for reparations by victims of Nazi sterilization policy in Germany after 1945. This struggle was seriously impeded by a hegemonic interpretive frame restricting the scope of injustices that could constitute a right to reparations to “typical Nazi-injustice”, explicitly excluding forced sterilization from this frame. German reparations policy defined as “typical Nazi-injustice” certain negative-selective discrimination and elimination practices that were directed against persons persecuted for reasons of political opposition to
the Nazi-regime, or for reasons of "race", religion or worldview. While many Nazi crimes can be grasped within this scheme this is not the case for forced sterilisation. Rather than targeting certain persons predominantly for racist or biologist reasons, Nazi sterilization policy was based on a normalising and individualizing (Foucault) logic: Based on intersecting categorizations in terms of e.g. social, sexual, or health norms as well as directed at the modernization and improvement of the society as a whole, certain individuals were categorized as impeding such improvement and thus sentenced to sterilization. While the law itself was put on hold after 1945, the normalising and individualizing logic indeed sustained in particular in debates about whether or not forced sterilization was to be considered as injustice and whether or not to compensate the forcibly sterilized. Until the early 1980s the Nazi-German sterilization programme was framed as "normal and rational and indeed necessary population policy" – which prolonged the stigmatisation and individualization of the victims as well it meant the individualization of their struggle for reparations.

Dr Svea Luise Herrmann, political scientist, is currently researcher in a DFG-funded research project on "Eugenics and Restorative Justice. The Politics of Reparations for Coercive Sterilisations in Germany, the Czech Republic and Norway" at Leibniz University, Hanover. Her research focuses on reparations politics, biopolitics. Latest publications: Herrmann, Svea L. & Kathrin Braun (2009) "Excluded victims: the role of civil society in the politics of reparations for victims of Nazi sterilization policy in post-war Germany", online at: http://www.erj-projekt.uni-hannover.de/papers0.html. Herrmann, S. L. & K. Braun (2010). "Das Gesetz, das nicht aufhebbar ist: Vom Umgang mit den Opfern der NS-Zwangssterilisation in der Bundesrepublik." Kritische Justiz 43(3), 338-352. Leibniz University of Hanover, Institute of Political Sciences, Schneiderberg 50, 30167 Hannover / Germany; Email: s.herrmann@ipw.uni-hannover.de, http://www.erj-projekt.uni-hannover.de

Peter Pirker (University of Vienna, Austria)

Rehabilitation after 65 years: Wehrmacht deserters and other victims of Nazi military justice in Austria

During WWII, Wehrmacht court-martials prosecuted tens of thousands soldiers and civilians for desertion, subversion or undermining military efficiency. Many of them were shot, others died or suffered in prisons and concentrations camps. Based on recent research, case files of Austrian post-war authorities and oral history interviews this paper explores the experiences of Austrian Wehrmacht deserters after 1945. Unlike political dissidents, disobedient soldiers had little or no institutional or political backing in Austria to get compensation or legal rehabilitation. Why? I will argue that the marginalisation of deserters was the result of a deep identification with and loyalty to the Wehrmacht felt by a large majority of Austrians even from those sectors who did not support Nazi ideology. Beginning in the late 1940s a whitewashed view on the Wehrmacht and its courts was reinforced by the semi-military reconstruction of male identity in veterans associations all over Austria. They publicly stigmatised deserters in terms of criminals, traitors, comrade killers and cowards. In fear of defamation most survivors and their offspring did not oppose their discrimination openly. Neither did the traditional political associations of Nazi victims. It was a coalition of survivors and activists of the third generation that overcame the taboo. But it was only after a long political struggle of ten years that the Austrian parliament passed a law in October 2009 for the rehabilitation of Wehrmacht deserters. As a matter of fact it was more a symbolic act: Only a few survivors lived to witness its implementation.

Mag. Dr. Peter Pirker, Historian and political scientist in Vienna. Lecturer at the University of Vienna, Co-curator of the Austrian part of the exhibition “Was damals Recht war…” Soldaten und Zivilisten vor Gerichten der Wehrmacht; Co-Editor of “Da machen wir nicht mehr mit…” Österreichische Soldaten und Zivilisten vor Gerichten der Wehrmacht (Vienna 2010); Co-Editor of Wehrmachtsjustiz. Kontext, Praxis, Nachwirkungen (Vienna 2011); Vice-chairman of the committee Justice for victims of NS military justice. Member of the commission for
Simona Tobia (University of Reading, UK)

‘Loyal aliens’: Languages, identity and effectiveness in the process of denazification, 1945-1948

Over 10,000 German and Austrian Jewish refugees enlisted in the British forces, swore allegiance to the King and contributed to the victory over Nazism as the ‘King’s most loyal enemy aliens’. At the end of the war the vast majority of them joined the denazification effort back in their countries: their knowledge of the language, culture and society was vital, especially in the extremely highly charged roles of investigators, interrogators and interpreters, and in tracking down war criminals.

In those roles they had to face their own identities as well as the perpetrators of heinous war crimes. Investigations and the consequent trials were also encounters with the enemy and between speakers of different languages, as well as a moment of collision between different national and cultural identities. Identity and language are essential for military effectiveness involved in this process, and language played a crucial role in shaping the new (British) identities of this very special corpus of refugees especially in their post-war lives.

This paper, as part of the major AHRC project ‘Languages at War: policies and practices of language contacts in conflict’ based at the University of Reading, will analyze the role of languages and language encounters in the experiences of these ‘loyal enemy aliens’, focusing in particular on the process of denazification, and it will contribute to wider debates about the personal and shared memory of the war and war dissolution, and about the formation of national identity.

The paper is based on different types of primary sources (oral interviews with the author performed in 2009/2010, oral history interviews recorded between the 80s and the late 90s, Imperial War Museum Sound Archive, London, and original documents from the National Archives, Kew).

Dr. Simona Tobia currently works at the School of Languages and European Studies of the University of Reading, where she contributes to the AHRC project ‘Languages at War’. She is developing an interest on war and culture in the Twentieth century in general, and more specifically on the role of languages and interrogations in encounters with the enemy during war and occupation. Publications in this field include: “Crime and judgement. Interpreters/Translators in British war crimes trials, 1945-1949”, in The Translator’s Special Issue “Translation and Violent Conflict”, vol. 16, N. 2, 2010 and “Questioning the Nazis: languages and effectiveness in British war crimes investigations and trials in Germany, 1945-1948”, in Journal of War and Culture Studies, vol. 3, n 1, 2010, pp. 123-136. Simona is the author of Advertising America: The United States Information Service in Italy (1945-1956), a monograph on the cultural and diplomatic relations between the United States and Italy in the Cold War. Her recent publications in this field include: “Advertising America: VOA and Italy”, in Cold War History’s Special Issue “Europe Americanized? Popular Reception of Western Cold War Propaganda”, vol. 11, n. 1, February 2011; “International Broadcasting, la guerra nell’etere. Voice of America e BBC World Service” in Problemi dell’informazione. Trimestrale di media e comunicazione, Il Mulino, n. 2, 2008, pp. 222-250.
Beth Cohen (Chapman University, Orange, CA, USA)

The youngest remnant: child Holocaust survivors in the United States

A 1947 issue of Life magazine included a photo essay entitled “Orphans Clothed” featuring two child survivors who came to the United States on a fund-raising mission for European war orphans. “For the children the visit became a wonderful round of eating, shopping,” the reporter wrote. “The sight of Irene and Charles at daily luncheons and parties,” he continued “has already touched so many hearts that donations to Busy Buddies (sponsoring organization) have jumped 30%.” Despite the attention, Irene recalled, “I only wanted to back [to Europe] and…go to Israel… When it came time to ask when am I going back, this very nice gentleman said to me, we’re not sending you back.” Eventually, an American couple adopted Irene. This was not successful. She was placed with a second family where she remained.

The example of Irene is just one that illustrates the arduous and complex postwar journey that the approximately 150,000 child survivors faced. Not surprisingly, they were considered “the greatest treasures of the Jewish People.” Consequently, numerous organizations sought to claim and rehabilitate them. Several thousand were brought to the United States under various organizational auspices. What were the channels through which they ended up in the US? How did they fare once there? How did their wartime experiences inform their adjustment to American life? How did age and gender affect their resettlement? Many were teens for few young children survived. They often had their own ideas of destination, which might be at cross-purposes with agency or American relatives’ agendas.

Using oral histories, case files and letters from organizations’ archives, I will present an overview of my research on child survivors’ early postwar experiences first in Europe and then in the United States which highlights the complexity and challenges this group faced.

Beth Cohen, is author of Case Closed: Holocaust Survivors in Postwar America and numerous articles on survivors’ postwar experiences. She also consults widely to Holocaust educational organizations such as Facing History and Ourselves and the Jewish Foundation for the Righteous. Currently, she is Gold/Weinstein Visiting Professor of Holocaust History at Chapman University, Orange, CA. This paper is part of her current larger project on child survivors after the war.

Sonja Grabowsky (University of Wuppertal, Germany)

„And suddenly I was half!“ Jewish-Christian children and youths in Nazi Germany: ambivalence as an aftermath of a racialised classificatory regime

In my presentation people take center stage who have one Jewish and one Christian parent. The group under research is limited to those born between 1918 and 1925 in Germany and who were classified as ‘Half-Jews’ or ‘Mischlinge 1st degree’. They were excluded from the National Socialist ‘folk community’ and persecuted during the years between 1933 and 1945. The main focus of the presentation: ambivalence and ‘Half-Jews’ during the Nazi time. The central aim of my presentation will be the discussion of the theme ‘ambivalence’. Due to the categorical definition ‘Half-Jew’ that had not existed before the Nazis a group of people was created who did not count as ‘German-blooded’ nor as ‘Jewish’. With that classificatory regime the Nazis had an enormous impact of the self-definition and the self-perception of the persons concerned. The Nuremberg Laws produced inevitably a double ambivalence for the people concerned. They were in contrast to the so-called ‘full-Jews’ not only situated in limbo between being (racially defined) Jews and Christians but had to build their identity on the attribution of ‘half.’ To date, they describe themselves as ‘caught between the chairs’ and
‘always a little out of place’. In my presentation I will show the relevance of the attribution ‘half’ for people with Jewish-Christian parents and the impact of ‘half’ on their biographies. At the same time the aftermath of the governmentally established ambivalence of the individuals will be described. The representation will show how a racially defined classificatory regime has been influencing the self-ascriptions of a specific persecuted group of people until today.


**Tchiya Nedivi-Horovitz (Bar-Ilan University, Israel)**

*The episode of the ‘Teheran Children’ as a milestone in the educational-political path of the Mizrachi*

In the religious Zionist movement “Ha-Mizrachi” (1902), which was an ideological movement that strove to implement its ideals, education became one of the important venues of activity. The Mizrachi leaders sought to have the schools it supported integrated as an autonomous-educational unit within the framework of the educational institutions of the Zionist movement. The episode of the absorption of the “Teheran Children” into Palestine in 1943 became a highly significant milestone in the coalescence of the movement's educational-political policy.

“Teheran Children” was the sobriquet given to Jewish children from Poland who fled, together with their families, upon the German conquest to areas under Soviet control and who reached Teheran after many tribulations—with most of them already orphans—together with Anders’ Army and many Polish refugees. In Teheran, Jewish refugees and emissaries from Mandate Palestine organized a “children’s home” for them and arranged for them to be brought to Mandatory Palestine. Thus, a few months later, in February 1943, the children arrived on the shores of Egypt and proceeded from there by train to Atlit.

The “Teheran Children,” even though they were not the first survivors to arrive in the Land of Israel, were the first to come from “there” as a group while the war was raging, and they stirred great excitement. Alongside that excitement, even before the children arrived, a struggle began to be waged on the issue of their education. While still in the “transit camps” in Mandatory Palestine, awaiting their lodging arrangements, which were organized by the “Office for the Immigration of Children and Youth,” the children were exposed to the influence of movements—religious and anti-religious—as reported by various counselors and visitors. This assessment, in addition to the issue of their permanent absorption, aroused a fierce public debate. This ferocious debate stemmed from the prevalent concept that through educational institutions it is possible to instill values and ideology and thereby fashion the children’s character and from there the nature of the Yishuv. The ultra-Orthodox “Agudat Israel” argued that most of the children came from the homes of their members in Poland and that the education they were receiving in Palestine contradicted their parents’ spirit. In contrast, the secular movements, foremost among them being ha-Shomer ha-Tza’ir, claimed that most of the Jews in Poland had been secular and the proof for that—most of the Jewish children in Poland studied in Polish public schools. The Mizrachi movement, which combined religion and Zionism in its ideology, held, as usual, a stance midway between them. On the one hand, the chief rabbis were of the opinion that the children (and particularly those who had arrived without parents) should receive a religious education. On the other, there was a sense of obligation and loyalty to the Zionist Organization and consideration of the
importance of a Zionist education. At first, the Mizrachi leaders tried to reach an agreement with the Agudah on the distribution of the children, but after this attempt failed, they opposed handing the children over to the non-Zionist institutions of the Agudah.

The debate resulted in the crystallization of a new policy for absorbing youth that was determined by the “Youth Aliyah” Department in the Jewish Agency. The Mizrachi, whose educational institutions had garnered recognition from the Zionist Executive and had operated for a decade in absorbing immigrant youth as part of “Religious Youth Aliyah,” took in to its institution and farming installations some 280 children who constituted 40 percent of the children. Similar percentages were accepted by the institutions and farming installations of the Labor movement, while Agudat Israel took in only 32 children, and only three of the absorption institutions they offered were recognized by Youth Aliyah. (The other children were distributed among institutions of the general trend, infant crèches, and relatives’ homes.)

In this lecture I shall present the way in which this episode fashioned the educational concept of the Mizrachi movement, and the way in which this episode reflects the uniqueness of this movement. The Mizrachi had to determine its place in the Yishuv: between the secular-Zionist public and the religious–non-Zionist public. Inherent in this episode were a variety of practical decisions: the relations between the Mizrachi and Agudat Israel, the attitude of the Mizrachi toward the chief rabbis, and the status of the Mizrachi in the Jewish Agency. The absorption of the Teheran Children even led to organizational development of the movement: it resulted in the establishment of a seminar for the training of religious counselors; the institutions established for the Teheran Children served as a model for the institutions that later absorbed child survivors of the Holocaust and children from among the mass immigration after the establishment of the state. Analyzing this chapter in history in this manner will even yield insights into the question of the attitude of the workers’ movement to religious children and to religion, and the way in which this influenced the political stances of the Mizrachi and its aliya and absorption policy.

Tchiya Nedivi-Horovitz, doctoral student in the Department of Land of Israel Studies at Bar-Ilan University. My research, under the direction of Prof. Margalit Shilo and Dr. Lilach Rosenberg-Friedman, concerns the absorption of religious Zionist Holocaust survivors in the Land of Israel in the period 1943–1953. Last May, at a conference of doctoral candidates held at New York University, I gave a lecture on Sarah Stern-Katan and her leadership among religious-Zionist Holocaust survivors.

Monica Tempian (Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand)

War’s displaced geographies: child refugees and the ‘life after’ in New Zealand

Flight and exile always constitute a grave rupture in a refugee’s life history. Beyond the political implication of a temporary phase, exile constitutes an important part of the life cycle, which produces specific behaviours and social interactions (H. Spiel, "Psychologie des Exils", in H. Maimann et al. (eds.), Österreich in Exil 1934 bis 1945, Vienna: 1977, pp. xxi–xxxvii). In view of the process-like nature of exile, the history of flight of child refugees from Hitler’s Europe to New Zealand can be of special interest within the framework of the 2012 IWM conference.

The stories of the “Kindertransports” and the “Deckston transports”, which from 1935 to 1946 enabled 25 young Jews to escape as far as New Zealand, have recently entered public consciousness with the initiatives Nicholas Winton New Zealand Project and the Deckston Children Exhibition. This public consciousness emanated from a prior “life” of memory and knowledge of flight and refuge in oral histories and in the Jewish community in New Zealand. The experiences of child refugees reveal that in a world involving vast distances, group dynamics, language communities, and chain solidarities were core values on which refugees crucially depended. Family ties, peer-groups and informal social networks provided security
and trust as well as educational and employment opportunities for children. At the same time, the reconstruction of the refugee children’s life history in oral interviews since the 1980s often reveals repetitions of acts of flight during different stages of their biography, always linked with the hope of creating a self-determined space where they could enjoy social freedom and recognition. Such histories seem to suggest that flight can be an individual life pattern, implying not only futility, but also opportunity and latitude.

Using personal histories of two child refugees, the paper will investigate the intricate layers of biographical and collective experiences of the “life after” in a new country before and after the end of conflict in Europe. The paper will draw attention to forms of coping with flight and exile of the “life after” in New Zealand and “away” from Europe, which are typical for the Kindertransport and Deckston children at “the edge of the Diaspora”.

**Monica Tempian** is a Lecturer in the German Programme at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. She is currently working on projects in the areas of childhood exile, literary and life writing of Holocaust survivors, and the impact of World War II and immediate post-war emigration from Continental Europe on the arts in New Zealand.
It is over a decade since the inception of Holocaust Memorial Day. In this paper, we look at how efforts in two European states (Italy and Britain) to remember the Holocaust have generated different but also similar and increasingly problematic responses. The event initially provided an important opportunity for the articulation of memory from survivors, who had earlier struggled to be heard in a context when bystanders and perpetrators themselves did not wish to remember. As time passes, survivor memory is inevitably coming to play a diminishing role. Two tendencies, each problematic, appear to be emerging. One involves a move away from a supposedly narrow focus on Jewish suffering, suspected of “Zionist” instrumentalisation, to highlight instead only what was universal about the Holocaust. A serious difficulty with this response, particularly in the potential absence of survivor narratives, is that it can be based on a simplistic understanding of the Holocaust and be even more easily instrumentalised in other, quite problematic directions. A more extreme response has come from those who seek to replace the event with a Genocide Memorial Day, in which understanding of the Holocaust is further over-simplified and even more seriously and inappropriately instrumentalised. An important aspect of both responses, one articulated within the framework of Holocaust Memorial Day, the other in competition with it, is a form of anti-Zionism which sometimes comes close to/hides/expresses forms of anti-Semitism, rooted not so much in memory of the Holocaust but in amnesia about what happened to Jews in Europe.
Samuel Pisar and the legacy of the Holocaust in post-war international affairs

Born in a Jewish family from Białystok, Poland, Samuel Pisar (b.1929) became a well-known intellectual and international lawyer during the Cold War. A survivor of the concentration camps of Maidanek, Auschwitz and Dachau, he caught the attention of open-minded post-war Democratic politicians as a consequence of his unorthodox ideas on economical cooperation between East and West to force the stalemate of the two political-ideological camps during the post-war years of ‘containment’. Pisar soon became a senior advisor in the advisory team of John F. Kennedy, the latter who granted him US Citizenship in 1961. However, it was not until the presidential term of Kennedy’s Republican opponent, Richard Nixon, that economical (and humanitarian) cooperation of East and West as a means to strengthen forms of ‘peaceful coexistence’ became a reality. Pisar, who had then settled as an international lawyer in Paris, was part of various committees and teams that stimulated mutual cooperation. Having experienced ‘Dante’s imaginary inferno’ himself, and raised under Soviet rule before being sent into the camps, he was a fierce believer of détente politics, although he always set his cards on economic and humanitarian cooperation rather than on diplomatic talks and power politics.

Although slightly forgotten today, Pisar was a key-figure in the intellectual debates during the Cold War. A spider in the intellectual and political web of Cold War icons, he was well-acquainted with the Kennedy family, Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber and Valéry Giscard D’Estaing. He was a gifted international lawyer, moreover, and a brilliant writer. His autobiography, Of Blood and Hope, first published in 1979 in French, became an international bestseller, providing one of the most stimulating and inspiring life stories by Holocaust survivors still.

Pisar wrote a two-volume work, entitled Coexistence and Commerce, containing his main views and thoughts on humanitarian and economic cooperation between the US and the USSR. He also wrote various articles and held many speeches at pivotal conferences during the Cold War.

This paper will explore the interrelation of Pisar’s experience of the Holocaust and his intellectual and political ideas. It will offer an interesting case of a survivor who tried to come to terms with the (personally experienced) legacy of the Holocaust in a post-war reality.

Dr Steven Schouten is a research fellow at the Scientific Council for Government Policy in the Netherlands. He took his PhD at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy, and lectured at Gonzaga University in Florence, Italy. He is a specialist in Modern and Jewish History, with focus on the intellectual and political history of the United States and Europe since the French Revolution. He recently co-edited the volume Het gezicht van de publieke zaak: openbaar bestuur onder ogen (Amsterdam University Press: June 2010).

Marek Sroka (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA)

Telling the story of survival to America: Polish American narrative and perspective

The paper examines the Polish American community’s efforts to document, preserve and publicize the testimonies of Polish immigrants and survivors of Nazi persecution in order to foster a permanent understanding within the wider American community of Polish victimization under the Nazis. Some American historians, such as R. C. Lukas, believe that the story is “forgotten” and needs to be told anew. The paper discusses the role of the competing narrative of Poland as a victim of Communist dictatorship and investigates the possibility that the narrative of Nazi oppression was gradually eclipsed by the story of Communist persecution. Finally, the question of Polish victimization alongside Jewish victimization under the Nazis will be explored with respect to published and unpublished
testimonies of Polish survivors of Nazi persecution. To what degree were the efforts of the Polish American community to tell a story of survival inclusive of war-time testimonies of Polish Jews? Was the Jewish American community willing to include war-time narratives of non-Jewish Poles? These questions will be situated within the broader context of Polish-Jewish relations in America and the role of some Polish and Jewish organizations, such as the National Polish American-Jewish American Council, in bringing the two communities and their war-time narratives together.

The research will include, but will not be limited to, the archives of the Polish American Congress, Polish American periodicals and newspapers, popular and academic monographs, collections of the Polish Museum of America, and relevant library collections. The research may result in the discovery of unknown and unpublished testimonies and memories of Polish émigrés and survivors.


Monika Stromberger (University of Graz, Austria)

Ideas of ‘Europe’ and the evolution of the revolution: discourses in post-war Slovenia

After the Second World War Yugoslavia found its position between the „East“ and the „West“ and looked out for good relationship to both sides, but often felt „accused“ to be part of „Soviet Europe“, especially after Stalin’s death and new approaches between the UdSSR and the SFRY. In the 1950s however, the European integration movement evoked an interestingly ambivalent, even more positive response in Slovenian journals (as a case study). This integration movement was seen as a protection against the two antagonists of the Cold War period, but also against the „German thread“ concerning a return of „Hitler’s Europe“, a term that expresses evidently the presence of the traumatic experiences during occupation time.

The proposed paper will deal with the discourses on Europe within the framework of a strong discursive presence of the memories on Slovenian Liberation War (NOB) and a „socialistic way“ to cope with this matters with special emphasis on the 1950s and 1960s and flashes on the discourses afterwards. In this context, the meaning of the recent past changed slightly: the impacts of resistance against the fascist regimes lost its presence more and more in favour of the utopian ideas of the socialist revolution.

What means „Europe“ in these discourses? How does the integration discourse influence the memory strands at this period, and what continuities exists in this context? What are the signatures and signs of new concepts regarding the future by integrating remembrance of the war and occupation time? The Slovenian example in the framework of Yugoslavian history.

Monika Stromberger, historian at the Karl-Franzens-University, and lecturer at the Technical University of Graz. Main field of interests are: Urban Studies, Modernity, Memory Politics, Slovenia, Graz, Ljubljana, and the history of ABGB. Relevant publications: Stadt und Trauma/City and Trauma. Annäherungen – Konzepte – Analysen (2004), ed. with Bettina
The Nazi occupation (1941-1944) in the testimonies of Soviet peasants collected in the last years

We propose to examine the subject on the basis of memories of the Nazi occupation collected during the fieldwork in 2007-2011 in Belorussia (Vitebsk and Minsk regions) and in Western Russia (Smolensk and Kaluga regions). The testimonies collected in the last years present many new features of the war memories in the ex-USSR. While we can observe a large number of cases of their recent repolitisation both from above and below (the «anti-revisionist» discourse with its anti-Latvian accents (Russia), as well as the connection between the war memories and the attitude to the actual political system (Belorussia), the dominant tendency is, however, that of a general softening of the centralized ideological control over the memories, and consequently, their «localisation» and individualisation. Separate war memories, war memorials and commemorations for each of the different groups of survivors and explicit or implicit tensions among them are present (for ex., the «classical» Soviet memorials can be rejected by the survivors (case of Roslavl memorial, Smolensk region); the Holocaust memory can be opposed to that of traditional Soviet or actual non-Jewish civilians’ memories of occupation (case of Borisov); the partisans’ memory – to that of the civilians (case of Vitebsk); the villages of the same district occupied by the enemies forces and those located in the «partisan zones» can present contradictory versions of the same events (Vitebsk region), etc.). In the last years, the veterans of the Red army and of the partisan movement cede their (once dominating) place in the production of the local memory of occupation to a civilians’ majority, mostly women and children. Their version is less heroic, accentuating the sufferings and losses. The system of Nazi extermination politics is described in its everyday functioning, as seen close up: extermination of the civilian population in the «partisan zones», deportations, camps for the civilians and war prisoners, use of the civilians as «human shield» etc. Several traumatic subjects, silenced for many years such as the rape of local women by soldiers of the occupying army, now begin to be spoken about. This «little people»’s local memory seems eager to develop many previously unspoken (or «unheard» by the researchers) subjects. The image of the enemy is more differentiated: instead of a traditional «German fascist» we can see the large panoply of perpetrators, including for example Polish and French soldiers in Wehrmacht, Latvian policemen etc. At the same time, the minority of «good Germans», who seem to be in passive disagreement with the Nazi politics, are spoken about. Treason and collaboration are among the most traumatic experiences in the memories collected: local traitors are often seen from below not as a «product» of the Nazi occupation nor of the «old» political conflicts revived by the Nazis (first of all, those dating from the civil war and collectivisation) but as a crucial threatening «gap» in the community itself, making peasants doubt the foundation of their local society – cohesion and solidarity (that often leads the survivors to a reflexion on the actual crisis of peasant society in all four regions).

Gueorgui Chepelev is a lecturer in Russian language and civilisation in University of Paris (Paris 8), department of Slavic studies. He takes part in research projects aimed on collecting of oral memories of war and occupation in Belorussia and Western Russia (first results published in Chepelev G., Kulagina A., Mironihina L. «Iz pervyh ust. Velikaya Otechestvennaya voyna glazami ochevidcev (The eye-witnesses. The Great Patriotic War war seen by the Russian peasants). » Moscow, 2010; and on collecting and publishing of the private war photos taken by the German soldiers in the occupied territory of the USSR (publications: «Private photos taken by German soldiers as a source on Nazi extermination policy in the occupied territory of the USSR», in: «The war of extermination. Nazi Genocide politics in the Eastern Europe». Moscow, 2010, pp.429-447.
Gabriel Finder (University of Virginia, USA)

Testimony from Communist Poland about the rescue of Jews: Władysław Bartoszewski and He is from My Homeland (Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej)

In a speech delivered in June 1967, after Israel’s victory over its Arab neighbors in the Six-Day War, Polish Communist Party First Secretary Władysław Gomułka accused Polish Jews sympathetic to Israel of constituting a “fifth column,” setting the stage for the 1968 “anti-Zionist” campaign. An official anti-Israel party line had begun to take shape already for several months prior to the war. Yet in the spring of 1967, there appeared in Polish bookstores one of the more remarkable books to emerge from the debris of Polish-Jewish relations in the communist period. That book is Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej (literally, He is from My Homeland). Edited by Władysław Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewinówna, it is a tribute to Polish efforts to save Jews from the Nazis during the Second World War. The book was a bestseller in Poland and was reissued in an expanded second edition in October 1969. It was translated in short order into English. During the war, Bartoszewski was a soldier in the Home Army, a prisoner at Auschwitz, deputy head of the Jewish Bureau of the Delegate’s Office (Delegatura), the underground representative of the Polish Government-in Exile in Nazi-occupied Poland, and a founding member of the Council to Aid Jews (Rada Pomocy Żydom), known generally by its code name, Żegota. After the war, he spent seven years in prison for his opposition to the Soviet-installed communist regime. After his release from prison in 1954, he joined the staff of the respected Catholic periodical Tygodnik Powszechny. In 1963 Yad Vashem in Israel conferred on him the coveted title of “Righteous Among the Nations.” A member of the acculturated Jewish intelligentsia, Lewinówna was a Jewish fugitive from the Warsaw ghetto who hid on the “Aryan” side of Warsaw with assistance from Żegota. The idea for Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej germinated in March 1963, when Tygodnik Powszechny published the text of a questionnaire that Bartoszewski prepared about Poles who had helped to hide Jews during the war. Printed under the title of what would eventually become the title of the book, the questionnaire was reprinted in Polish-language newspapers in Paris, London, the United States, Argentina, Australia, and Israel. Tygodnik Powszechny published a fraction of the large number of replies to the questionnaire in 1963-1964. The overwhelming response to the questionnaire persuaded Bartoszewski to expand the scope of his inquiry. The book’s mantelpiece is the witness testimony of both ethnic Polish rescuers and Jews whom they rescued. It covers not quite 500 pages in the first edition but almost 800 pages in the second. While several contributors of personal recollections, Polish and Jewish alike, were prominent figures during the war or became prominent afterwards, most were ordinary people. All of the recollections are inspiring. The message the book’s editors wanted its readers to take from these eyewitness accounts is unmistakable: In Poland’s darkest hour, ethnic Poles in large numbers helped their Jewish compatriots; and however brutal, the German occupation was unable to extinguish this glimmer of humanity. The book strongly suggests, moreover, that Jews were supremely grateful for this assistance. This paper will examine not only the testimonies reproduced in Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej but also its guiding vision of extensive Polish aid rendered to Jews, which does not square with the historical evidence. The paper will ask further why the communist government tolerated the book’s appearance in 1967 and then reissue in 1969, with its sympathetic portrayal of Polish-Jewish relations and Polish Jews, in the midst of the regime’s concerted antisemitic campaign, which insinuated, among other things, that Jews were ungrateful for Polish assistance provided to them under Nazi occupation.

This paper would be suitable for panels on the fate of Jewish survivors and non-Jewish witnesses of the Holocaust, the implications of the rescue of Jews by non-Jews during the Holocaust, and collective memories, consciousness, and postwar narratives of the Holocaust and Nazi occupation.

Gabriel Finder is an associate professor in the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures and teaches in the Jewish Studies Program at the University of Virginia. His research interests lie in Central and East European Jewish history and culture, the Holocaust, memory of the Holocaust, the reconstruction of Jewish life after 1945, and
relations between Jews and non-Jews in Central and Eastern Europe with an emphasis on Poland, especially under communism. His publications in these areas have appeared in several scholarly journals. He is contributing coeditor of volume 20 of *Polin* (2008), which is devoted to the construction of Holocaust memory in Poland. He is currently working on a book entitled *Entangled: Jews, Poles, and the Making of Holocaust Memory, 1945-1968* that explores the efforts of Jews and certain ethnic Poles who were outside the mainstream to find common ground between their respective memories of the Holocaust and the Nazi occupation of Poland.

Sonja M. Hedgepeth (Middle Tennessee State University, USA)

**Snatched from the reach of Nazi persecutors: Margit Bartfeld-Feller’s narratives of deportation to Siberia**

In 1940, when Margit Bartfeld was seventeen years old, the Soviet Red Army occupied Czernowitz (Cernăuți, Romania—today Chernivtsi, Ukraine). In 1941, the Red Army abandoned the city as the German *Wehrmacht* advanced toward the Soviet Union and Einsatzgruppe D became “responsible” for Northern Bukovina.

As the Soviets retreated from Czernowitz, they “took along,” that is, arrested and forcibly deported 2,800 inhabitants of Bukovina; 80% of the deportees were Jews from Czernowitz. On June 13, 1941, Margit Bartfeld, as well as her parents and brother, were among those loaded on cattle cars headed for an unknown destination in Siberia. Upon the arrival of the Nazis in Czernowitz shortly thereafter, the remaining Jews were put in a ghetto. In 1942, one year later, most of the Jews were deported to Transnistria, where many died in Nazi labor camps.

Margit Bartfeld-Feller lives in Tel Aviv and writes in German; seven books of her short stories have been published in Germany. These provide readers interested in the fate of Jews during and after World War II with a unique and broader history to consider. The enormity and scope of “the war against the Jews” of Europe becomes evident from reading her narratives.

This paper will argue for the need to more fully research and understand the fate of Jews who were caught between the German and Soviet armies as the fronts shifted during World War II. In using Margit Bartfeld-Feller’s writings and particular life story, this paper will posit that we reconsider established categorizations regarding survivors of WW II and will make a case for wider demarcations, especially those used to delineate Holocaust Studies.

Dr. **Sonja Hedgepeth** is a full professor in the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures at Middle Tennessee State University. She teaches all levels of German language and literature. She has also taught beginning Modern Hebrew, as well as courses on foreign literature in translation, and inter-disciplinary courses on the Holocaust. Dr. Hedgepeth co-edited *Sexual Violence against Jewish Women during the Holocaust* (Brandeis University Press, 2010) with Dr. Rochelle Saidel, head of “Remember the Women Institute.”

Hanna K. Ulatowska (University of Texas at Dallas, USA)

**The Story of the first Holocaust opera: Auschwitz revisited**

The presentation will discuss the trajectory of the book *The Passenger* written by the Auschwitz survivor Zofia Posmysz in 1962 through nearly four decades and its reemergence as an opera in 2010. The topics to be discussed are how contents and form of the original literary work of Posmysz have been modified reflecting sociopolitical situation, stereotypes and perspectives at a given point in time. Posmysz’s book was made into a film by Andrzej
Munk in 1963. In 1968 Mieczyslaw Weinberg produced operatic music to the book and in 1986 a Russian composer Alexander Medvedev wrote the libretto to it in the Soviet Union. It was only in the last years that The Passenger was produced as an operatic music performance in 2006 in Moscow and a play in Tokyo and Wroclaw. The premiere of the opera was first staged in Bregenz and then in Warsaw in 2010. The Passenger opera was enthusiastically received in both countries and will go on an international tour both in Europe and in the United States. The most important question that will be addressed is the great significance of the universal themes such as the boundaries between good and evil, conscience and memory, contained in the original work of Posmysz and how the themes can survive over time as an important legacy of those who survived the disaster of the last century to those who have to learn from it.

Hanna K. Ulatowska Ph.D., Professor of communication disorders and neurolinguistics, in the School of Behavioral and Brain Sciences, University of Texas at Dallas. My area of expertise involves studies of language and art as mental representation of experiences of survivors of concentration camps.
Laura Jockusch (Hebrew University of Jerusalem / Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel)

A matter of honor: prosecuting Nazi collaborators at Jewish courts in post-war Germany

When the Second World War drew to a close, nationals of most countries formerly under German occupation used raw violence, public shaming and court cases to chastise compatriots who allegedly had collaborated with the Nazis. The quest to oust those who had insulted the nation’s honor by acting in collusion with the enemy generated myths of collective resistance, forged national cohesion and provided new postwar governments with political legitimacy and popular following.

Similar impulses to punish alleged Nazi collaborators also occurred among the remnant of European Jews. In the first years after the war, Jewish communities in the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Italy, and Poland established autonomous Jewish courts to try Jews who had served as capos, members of Jewish councils and ghetto police or had betrayed other Jews to save their own lives and those of their families.

This lecture focuses on a number of collaborator trials at Jewish courts in Allied-occupied Germany in the years 1945-1949. It argues that these court cases played a crucial role in survivors’ moral rehabilitation, the formation of their historical consciousness and their self-understanding as members of a Jewish nation with a need for statehood. Further, it demonstrates that the legal category “crimes against the Jewish people”—which would later provide the legal basis for Israel’s prosecution of Adolf Eichmann and John Demjanjuk—predated Jewish sovereignty and had emerged in survivor circles in the immediate wake of the liberation from Nazis rule.

Laura Jockusch received her Ph.D. in modern Jewish history from New York University with a study on the beginnings of Holocaust research by survivors in the immediate postwar years (to be published by Oxford University Press in 2011). She is currently Feodor Lynen Minerva Postdoctoral Fellow at the Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and at the Department of Jewish History at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. Her current research projects include a critical edition of early postwar Jewish Holocaust texts and a study of Jewish conceptions of retributive justice developed by survivors in the immediate wake of the Holocaust.

Claudia Kuretsidis-Haider (Austrian Research Centre for Post-war Trials, Austria)

Majdanek on trial: Polish, German and Austrian judiciary and the prosecution of crimes at the Lublin-Majdanek concentration camp

The Majdanek concentration camp was liberated on July 23 by the Soviet Army. The huge dimension of monstrous atrocities committed by German and Austrian perpetrators brought the Red Army to install a soviet-polish fact-finding commission to investigate the crimes of humanities and to prepare trials. The first took already place in Lublin in autumn 1944; an Austrian camp guard was – among others – sentenced to death. Between 1944 and 1950 polish prosecutors accused 130 alleged perpetrators of severe crimes committed in the Majdanek concentration camp.

In Germany and Austria the court investigations were initiated not before the 1960ies. The most important and famous trial took place in Duesseldorf between 1975 and 1981. Out of the 17 defendants, the Austrian female camp guard Hermine Ryan-Braunsteiner was sentenced to life imprisonment.
In Austria preliminary investigation against 64 alleged perpetrators by public prosecution ended already in 1973. No sentence was passed in connection with crimes committed in the Majdanek concentration camp. A last effort to bring someone to trial failed because of the death of the female camp guard Erna Wallisch in 2008.

The contribution deals with a transnational comparison of the Majdanek trials in Poland, Germany and Austria which were topic of a scholarly research project of the “Austrian Research Centre for Post-war Trials” in Vienna between 2009 and 2011.

**Claudia Kuretsis-Haider** studied History and Geography at the University of Vienna; got her PhD 2003 with a thesis about Nazi-crimes against Hungarian-Jewish forced labourers and the so called Engerau-trials in Austria 1945-1954. Since1993 scholarly projects at the Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance in Vienna, since 1998 co-director of the “Austrian Research Centre for Post-war Trials” in Vienna. Topics of research: Holocaust studies, post-war-judiciary in Austria and Europe and coping with the past in Austria. Co-editor of the series "Veröffentlichungen der Forschungsstelle Nachkriegsjustiz". (Vol. 3 published in 2010: Gerechtigkeit nach Diktatur und Krieg. Transitional Justice 1945 bis heute: Strafverfahren und ihre Quellen).

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**Andrei Muraru (US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington DC, USA)**

*Transnistria survivors and reshaping the memories during the Romanian war criminal trials*

The paper’s objective is to observe and analyze the way in which Transnistria war criminal trials in the People’s Tribunals (Romania, 1945-1946) contributed to building different war memories.

I’ll focus on the testimonies of survivors from Transnistria (the territory between Dniester and Bug, part of Ukraine) that participated in the trials. Using the unedited archive material – the files of the trials (from United States Holocaust Memorial Museum) – I’ll try to describe the way in which these trials reflect and, at the same time, constitute a source for real history. Moreover, a review of testimonies is an important contribution to structuring institutionalized memory after the war. The testimonies of the victims introduced in the Romanian historiography numerous proves about Transnistria war crimes, about the massacres of the deportees, about the establishment of ghettos and camps as well as about the harsh living conditions. An important objective is to discuss the complex ways in which victims remember and relate to their pasts.

Testimonies given in 1944-1946, thus closer in time to the events under question, reveal very complex behavioral and interpersonal transformation. I will examine if the post war politics influenced social conditions in shaping the memory of the witnesses.

The greatest part of the witnesses was represented by the survivors of Transnistria deportation, at least for the second half of the 1940s.

**Andrei Muraru** is Tziporah Wiesel Fellow (2010-2011) at the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies – US Holocaust Memorial Museum. He is a PhD student in history (University of Iași) preparing a thesis about Transnistria war criminal trials. He coordinated *The Dictionary of the Romanian Communist Prisons* (2008), he is co-author of *A History of Communism in Romania. High school Handbook* (2008; 2009) and co-editor of *Guide of National Archives of Romania* (2010). He was personal counsellor of the General Director of the National Archives of Romania and he is researcher within the Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes and the Memory of the Romanian Exile. He was Erasmus-Socrates, New Europe College and POSDRU Doctoral Fellow.
PANEL 29: Child survivors (II)

Rose Lerer Cohen (Jerusalem, Israel)

Case study of forced child labor in the ghettos of Lithuania, 1941-1944

The broad aim of this presentation is to examine the nature and extent of forced child labor in the ghettos of Lithuania and between the years 1941 and 1944. By the end of 1941, only 43,000 out of the 220,000-225,000 Jews who had been in Lithuania at the start of the German occupation remained alive, residing in four ghettos: Vilnius (Vilna), Kaunas (Kovno), Siauliai (Shavle) and Svencionys (Sventzion) (Arad 1980). In December 1941, a decision was taken to limit the murder of the Lithuanian Jewish population (YVA-O 18/245 in Arad, 1980). Under this order, the ghettos continued to exist and work camps were set up, outside the Vilnius (Vilna), Kaunas (Kovno) and Siauliai (Shavle) ghettos. Males and females, aged between 15 and 61, residing in the newly occupied Eastern Territories were put into forced labor groups (Arad, Gutman and Margaliot, 1981). Manpower utilization began in the spring of 1942, when it became clear to the leaders of the Reich that the war would last longer than anticipated. Thus, as the war progressed, the SS also established Zawangsarbeitslager, which were single-purpose forced labor camps with factories, either run by the Nazis themselves or by private businessmen on contract. In addition, outside the main concentration-camp system, there were numerous small camps built on or near the premises of private businesses, where Jews and others were “rented out” on a contractual basis to work as uncompensated slave laborers (Browning, 2010). The definition of the Holocaust survivors are generally considered as individuals who survived in Nazi-occupied Europe between 1941 and 1945 by whatever means and were younger than 16 at the end of the World War II (Krell, 1985; and Lerer Cohen, 2006), thus for this purposes of research child laborers are discussed within the framework of this definition. Children’s chances of survival and ability to do physical labor varied greatly with age. Children who were aged 13-to-14 when they arrived at the camps masqueraded as older so as to be included in the work force. This presentation discusses how children were utilized as force laborers in the ghettos of Lithuania by integrating published and unpublished archival material and testimonies to create a sequence of events.

Dr Rose Lerer Cohen, resident of Jerusalem, is an independent Holocaust researcher specializing in Lithuania and the Baltic States. Her PhD thesis focuses on Lithuanian Child Holocaust Survivors. She is active on a number of committees and lobbies concerning the welfare and rights of children. She co-authored The Holocaust in Lithuania 1941-1945: A Book of Remembrance. With a special interest in both slave labor and oral history, she coordinated the International Slave and Forced Labor Interviewing Project for the Fern University Hagen, Germany in Lithuania and South Africa and interviewed in these countries. Is currently editor of Sharsheret Hadorot: Journal of the Israel Genealogical Society.

Rita Horvath (Bar-Ilan University, Israel)

Somewhere in Europe: child Holocaust testimonies and film projects in the immediate aftermath of World War II

My paper will focus on the Hungarian film entitled “Valahol Európában” ["Somewhere in Europe"] that was shown in 1947. It was shot in Hungary with Holocaust survivor children. Most of the children were from one orphanage and the story of the children and the orphanage which was also a rescue operation during the Holocaust influenced the plot of the film. I will analyze the film in the context of Holocaust testimonies given by children also in the immediate aftermath of World War II and that of similar film projects, such as the 1948 Yiddish-language film “Unzere Kinder” shot in Poland. I would like to study how the film projects themselves became both group testimonies for the survivor children and also a
method to deal with their traumas. I want to assess the special aspects of the Holocaust trauma that emerged through the film projects.

**Rita Horvath:** I am a literary scholar and a historian. I received my Ph.D. from Bar-Ilan University (Ramat Gan, Israel) in 2003. In the spring semester of 2009/2010 academic year, I was a scholar-in-residence at Hadassah-Brandeis Institute, Brandeis University (Waltham, MA, USA). At present I am a research fellow at the International Institute for Holocaust Research in Yad Vashem. My latest book is: Rita Horváth, Anna Szalai, Gábor Balázs, *Previously Unexplored Sources on the Holocaust in Hungary*. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2007. I participate in the “Children’s Holocaust Testimony Project” together with Prof. Joel Walters (Bar-Ilan University) and Dr. Boaz Cohen at Bar-Ilan University. From 2004, I am teaching in the Holocaust Studies Program at Eötvös Loránd University (Budapest, Hungary) and from 2005, I am teaching English literature at Bar-Ilan University.

**Joanna Beata Michlic (Hadassah-Brandeis Institute, USA)**

*The future of testimony: voices of child survivors*

Child survivors belong to the generation that could not have, what we call an adult understanding of what had happened to them both during the war and in the immediate aftermath of the Holocaust. The very inability of children to possess and articulate an adult understanding of the world was the main reason why the members of the Jewish Historical Commissions, the first collectors (*zamlers*) and interpreters of child survivors' testimonies in the early postwar period, deemed these accounts of little historical value. In their eyes, child survivors’ testimonies could not be treated as evidentiary evidence because they lacked veracity; rather they should be viewed as a valuable material for psychological and educational purposes only. This position on child (and also on adult) survivors’ testimonies had dominated the historiography of the Holocaust almost until very recently. Nevertheless some new developments in history have been conducive to the change of approach towards personal testimonies, including child survivors’ accounts. Among these major developments are the introduction of the concept of integrative history of the Holocaust by the historian Saul Friedländer, the recognition that some events would have never been brought to light if not for the personal testimonies of survivors (underscored by Jan Gross and Christopher Browning), and the increasing acknowledgment that subjectivity in all its depths is a part of history. In this presentation I probe the role of nonliterary survivor testimony in the historical investigation and its importance for the writings of *Alltagsgeschichte* of Jewish children.

**Joanna Beata Michlic** is Director of HBI (Hadassah-Brandeis Institute) Project on Families, Children, and the Holocaust at Brandeis University. Until December 2008 she was an Associate Professor of History and Chair of the Holocaust and Ethical Values at Lehigh University, Bethlehem Pennsylvania. Her major publications include *Neighbors Respond: The Controversy about Jedwabne* (2004; co-edited with Antony Polonsky) and *Poland's Threatening Other: The Image of the Jew from 1880 to the Present* (hardback 2006, paperback 2008). She is currently working on two monographs, *The Social History of Jewish Children in Poland: Survival and Identity, 1945—1949* and *Bringing the Dark to Light: The Memory of the Holocaust in Postcommunist Europe*, co-edited with John-Paul Himka. Her research interests include the history and culture of East European Jewry, Polish-Jewish relations in the modern era, Jewish childhood, the Holocaust and its memory in Eastern Europe.
Dana Mihăilescu (University of Bucharest, Rumania)

Being without pleasurable memories: on the predicament of Shoah’s child survivors in Norman Manea’s Proust’s Tea

My paper analyzes Romanian-Jewish Norman Manea’s story “Proust’s Tea” (1991) in order to propose a category of analysis one could delineate within the survivor generation which scholars have failed to satisfactorily exploit so far. This is the generation of young children-survivors, of those who used to be around 2-6 years old at the time their forced encampment occurred. Such was the case of Manea, born in 1936 in Bukovina, Romania, deported with his family to Transnistria in 1941, surviving alongside his parents and who has lived, taught and written in the U.S. since 1986. Manea’s story offers us the case of such children-inmates whose experience of the Holocaust and the memories in its aftermath spring from their double alienation. On one hand, theirs is the alienation of camp inmates, by contrast to the power-possessing, violent Nazis, a position which they share with the adults. On the other hand, they equally experience alienation from adult camp inmates who still have pleasurable memories as temporary weapons against Nazi’s deployment of dehumanizing means. Deprived of a conscious relation to a prior pleasurable frame of life which offered the adult camp-inmates some temporary escape from trauma, this generation without pleasurable memories is highly important. It can offer a precious starting point for further research in point of psychology as well as Holocaust and memory/trauma studies. It opens the paths for undertaking a comparative foray into the particularities of developing future lives for children-survivors and adult-survivors following the criterion of successful or failed ability to have a store of pleasurable memories.

Dana Mihăilescu is a Junior Lecturer of English/American Studies, at the University of Bucharest. She earned her Ph.D. in Philology at the University of Bucharest in January 2010, with a dissertation entitled Ethical Dilemmas and Reconfigurations of Identity in Early Twentieth Century Eastern European Jewish American Narratives. She was a Fulbright Junior Visiting Researcher in 2008-2009 at Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts. She is co-editor of Romanian Culture in the Global Age (2010), and author of articles and book chapters in the fields of American literature, Jewish American identities, trauma and witnessing, ethics and memory. For more info, see: http://www.americanstudies.ro/?article=100
Ruth Barnett (London, UK)

Roma/Gypsy/Travellers and Jews: the legacy of Nazi persecution

This presentation will introduce O Baro Porrajmos (The Great Devouring), which is the Roma phrase for the Nazi Holocaust against German Scinti and Roma, comparing it with the Holocaust against the Jews. The trans-generational legacy of the Porrajmos will be addressed with a focus on the situation of anti-Gypsyism and anti-Semitism in the 21st century.

The ideology of race, racial purity and racial impurity, like anti-Semitism, long predates the Nazi ideology but was used by the Nazis to develop their own ideology based on the creation of a ‘pure-blooded’ master-race dedicated to its conquered territory (Lebensraum) and ‘fallen heroes’. Both Jews and Gypsies were regarded as ‘unnatural’ because they owned no land of their own and consequently were parasites on other lands and therefore unworthy of life. In order to convince the Aryan German population that Jews and Gypsies were parasitic, poisonous to the purity of Aryan blood and unworthy of life, the Nazis systematically isolated and vilified them as subhuman. The impact of this dehumanisation on Jews and Gypsies will be compared and related to their situation in the 21st century, in terms of individual and collective behaviour of both the target groups and the host communities.

Ruth Barnett, nee Michaelis, was born in Berlin. At age four she and her seven-year-old brother came to England in 1939 on the Kindertransport to escape Nazi persecution. Her Jewish father survived the war in Shanghai and her Aryan mother, who refused to divorce him, remained in hiding in Germany. Repatriation against her will in 1949 at age 14 was too traumatising for her to adapt; she returned to England within a year and remained there. After 19 years as a secondary school teacher and 30 as a psychotherapist, she currently gives seminars, talks and presentations in schools, training courses and conferences using her personal story to make links with current prejudice, racism and genocide, especially anti-Gypsyism.

Slawomir Kapralski (Warsaw School of Social Sciences and Humanities, Poland)

Post-Holocaust Roma/Gypsy identities

In the literature on Roma/Gypsy identities we may find three basic standpoints: essentialist – that claims Roma to be an ethnic group with strong identity consisting of reproducing cultural essence of “Romness” in the everyday life of Romani communities; relationist – that claims Roma to be a number of social groups which differently relate to each other and to the non-Romani environment, thus securing a variety of social spaces of Romani life; procesual – that claims Roma to be a (differently conceptualized or “imagined”) nation with its own past (largely “invented” in the present), through which one can project its future. The author claims that these three standpoints, often competing with one another, are actually representing three different aspects of Roma identity, which together are always present – although in different proportions – in the self-descriptions of particular groups. The author is inclined to think that the persecution of the Roma during WWII have: (1) seriously weakened the essentialist aspects of Roma identities; (2) bifurcated the relationist aspect into isolationist and assimilationist tendencies; (3) laid the foundations of the procesual aspect, by constituting an essential part of the historical narrative of identity advocated by Romani political movement. In conclusion the author defends a moderate standpoint, which opposes those who claim that the memory of the Nazi persecution is already an integral part of Romani identity as well as those who claim that such memory is “inauthentic” and artificially imposed by alienated Romani elites.
Dr. Slawomir Kapralski, sociologist and social anthropologist, lecturer at the Warsaw School of Social Sciences and Humanities (Warsaw, Poland). His research interests focus on nationalism, ethnicity and identity, collective memory, anti-Semitism and the Holocaust, and the Roma/Gypsies in Europe. Since the end of 1980s he has been involved in various research activities and educational initiatives in the field of Polish-Jewish relations and among Roma communities of East/Central Europe. He is a member of the Gypsy Lore Society and of the editorial board of Studia Romologica, the first Polish academic journal on Romani issues.

Régis Schlagdenhauffen (Free University of Berlin, Germany)

The recognition and commemoration of homosexual as victims of Nazism in Western Europe

The aim of my presentation is to analyse the recognition and commemoration of homosexuals as victims of Nazism in Western Europe (Germany, France, the Netherlands). One of the central questions on which I focus is how the commemoration was strategically deployed by the gay and lesbian movement and how the recognition of the homosexual victims of Nazism was supposed to be realized through this strategy.

My presentation refers therefore to three cases. After delineating “authentic” places, “memory activists” devote a new symbolism in Germany for places important for obtaining legal recognition by contemporary gay and lesbian communities. Unlike in Germany, the collective mobilisations focus in France on the inclusion of homosexuals in public commemorative rituals (cultural recognition). Furthermore, in Netherlands, homosexual victims are commemorated at the Homomonument (inaugurated in 1987). The commemoration permitted to obtain financial retribution for the damage caused to gays and lesbians during the Nazi occupation. I thus intend to show how the commemoration of the victims of Nazism, as observed in Berlin, Paris and Amsterdam, was strategically used to obtain different kinds of recognition: personal, cultural or legal. Moreover I shall highlight how recognition could be considered the first step in obtaining financial retribution for former victims.


Sophie Wagenhofer (Zentrum Moderner Orient Berlin, Germany)

Forgotten victims: Arab survivors of Nazi persecution

Academic research on victims and survivors of the Second World War and the Holocaust is still focusing very much on Central and Western Europe. Even though ever more victim groups, such as Sinti and Roma, homosexuals or Jehovah’s Witnesses, which for decades received no real attention in scholarly and public discussions are becoming inseparable from depictions of the Nazi persecution, non-Europeans affected by Nazi persecution are still found only at the fringes of historical research. Thus only a small number of historians look at African or Asian victims.
In my presentation I want to highlight a particular group of the Nazis' non-European victims, namely Arab victims and survivors of Nazi persecution. They became a target of Nazi persecution in various ways, either as so-called 'racial impure' people, political opponents, forced labourers, or - as Arabs who fought in the French Army - as prisoners of war. In spite of the multifarious ways in which the Nazi regime made Arabs a target of persecution, the fate of Arab victims and survivors is hardly referred to, neither in public depiction nor by 'Western' or 'local' researchers.

In order to investigate the different reasons for this omission, ranging from a problematic source material situation to political factors, I want to point at three different examples. Firstly, I will take a look at politics of remembrance in Germany and Austria that until very recently marginalised African or Asian victims. Secondly, the example of North African soldiers and prisoners of war who returned after the Second World War demonstrates that there was no space for the soldiers’ experiences in the collective memory and historiography of the postcolonial Maghreb. Finally, taking a look at modes of collective memory in Israel and Palestine reveals how sensitive the issue of Arab victims and survivors is against the background of the Middle-East conflict.

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